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SOCIAL NETWORKS BEFORE AND AFTER MARITAL SEPARATION:
A STUDY OF RECENTLY DIVORCED PERSONS

A Dissertation Presented

By

MARYLYN RANDS

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 1980

Psychology

Marylyn Rands

1980

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SOCIAL NETWORKS BEFORE AND AFTER MARITAL SEPARATION:
A STUDY OF RECENTLY DIVORCED PERSONS

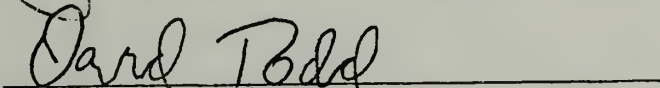
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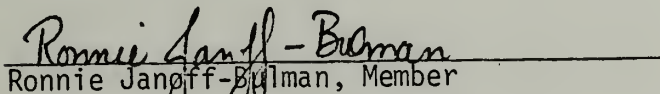
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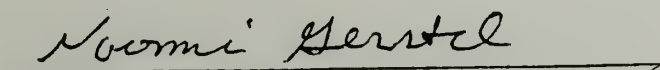
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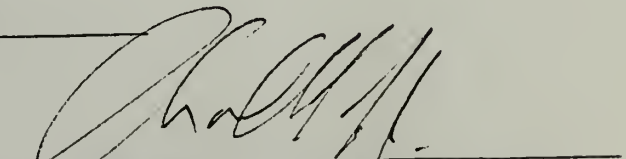
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

There are many people whose help and support enabled me to design and complete this research. Foremost was my advisor, George Levinger, who spent countless hours providing feedback and evaluation and teaching me the value of hard work and self-criticism.

There are those who assisted in the design and evaluation of the study at various stages in its progress: Dave Todd, Claude Fischer, Robert S. Weiss, Ted Huston, David Reiss, Murray Straus, Joseph Pleck, and Jim Averill.

There are those who provided interviewing space: Deidrich Snoek at Smith College, and John Farmakis at the Unitarian Society in Northampton, Massachusetts.

There are the 40 respondents, whose generous participation made the research possible and the effort personally rewarding.

There are those who helped with typing and keypunching: Gale Storum, Nancy Pride and Dan Rae.

Finally, there are my friends, members of my own social network, too numerous to mention, who provided the faith and emotional support that sustained me through the years in the graduate program. A special thanks to John DiTomasso, Ann Detrick, Pauline Scanlon, Nick Ney, Elaine Faunce, Deborah Goldstein, and also to my friends at the Northampton Unitarian Society.

ABSTRACT

Social Networks Before and After Marital Separation:

A Study of Recently Divorced Persons

(September 1980)

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Directed by: Professor George Levinger

A social network approach was utilized in order to understand changes in relationships with family and friends following the breakup of a marriage. On the basis of retrospective interviews, the networks of 40 recently divorced persons, 20 men and 20 women, were compared from one time period during their marriage to another following separation. Networks were compared on three categories of variables: network structure (its size, density, segmentation), network member characteristics (the members' relation to the respondent, members' sex and marital status), and network interaction (frequency and duration of contact between respondent and members, emotional intensity, exchange content). Another set of variables assessed respondents' psychological well-being before and after separation. Comparisons were made according to the respondents' sex, age, parental status, and who initiated the separation.

An average of 41.5% of a respondent's marital associates were dropped after separation. Some relationships were replaced, but, on the average, networks were smaller after separation. Compared to before separation, a respondent's eight most important associates after

separation were less likely to know each other and were drawn from a wider variety of contexts.

During marriage, network members were more likely to be kin than non-kin, but after breakup, friends became equally prominent. Relationships most likely to be dropped after separation were those with the spouse's kin, with persons the spouse knew first, with persons who had been closer to the spouse than to the respondent, with cross-sex associates, and with married friends.

Females were more likely than males to interact with kin, both before and after separation; otherwise, males' and females' networks were similar. The networks of parents, especially custodial parents, were more stable and kin-centered than those of nonparents. Few network differences were found, though, between respondents of different ages.

The respondents' interaction with network members changed following separation. Frequency and duration of contact increased with friends and decreased with kin. Average emotional intensity remained the same from before to after separation, although closeness increased for some relationships and decreased for others. Respondent self-disclosure increased and physical contact decreased as interaction shifted from the spouse to other network members.

Most respondents remembered themselves psychologically better off after separation than during the marriage, as reflected in their ratings of self-esteem, life-satisfaction, and happiness. The increased satisfaction after breakup occurred earlier for males than for females. There

were few differences in reported well-being between parents and nonparents or between respondents of different ages. There were, however, differences found in the well-being of those who had initiated their separation and those who had not. Initiators, especially males, were better off psychologically than those whose spouse had made the decision to divorce.

Psychological well-being varied with network participation, but differently for males and females. Males with high network turnover experienced greater well-being than did those who remained embedded in the marital network. Well-being was uncorrelated with network turnover for females. The number of friends in the network was positively correlated with well-being and the number of relatives was negatively correlated with it, but for females only during the marriage, and for males only after separation.

The conceptual, methodological, and practical implications of the above findings are discussed. It is suggested that marital networks can be conceived as consisting of both individual and jointly shared subgroups which will be affected differently by a pair's separation. Several issues regarding the method of the present study are considered including retrospective distortion, choosing time points, and eliciting names of network members. The practical importance of network loss for the maritally separated and the difficulty of assessing its psychological effects are discussed.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Throughout life, our associations with others are central to our experience. We are born with a propensity for affiliation with others, and this propensity is with us still in our old age. This desire for human contact is satisfied through participating in a variety of relationships, some which provide a deep emotional bond, others which offer the more casual connections that provide social integration (e.g., Weiss, 1974). One's "network" of close and casual associations varies across the life span to meet the requirements of our changing needs and roles.

Occasionally, one's life events disrupt existing social relations, changing the pattern of social involvement. Marriage or parenthood, geographic relocation, retirement, or losing one's spouse are all events that make one vulnerable to network disruption. The present study explores changes in the social networks of one such group--the recently divorced. These individuals have experienced a life event that not only severs the close relationship with the spouse, but often disrupts social ties with other friends and relatives. To a lesser or greater extent, divorcing individuals are forced to restructure their social network, that is, to accommodate to changes in existing relationships and to integrate new ones into their network. The present study looks at the nature of such network changes and what they may mean to

the divorced.

Social Network Analysis

The idea that individuals are embedded in a larger social context is not a new one. That perspective is central to anthropology and sociology. Yet it is a relatively new perspective for psychologists who have generally focused on an individual's internal processes rather than on the system of relationships that may be contributing to that individual's behavior. In clinical psychology, for example, research on schizophrenia has evolved from the earlier conviction that the problem lies within a schizophrenic individual to the current notion that all family members are involved in a pathologic system of interaction (Haley, 1959). This emphasis has shifted the focus of therapy from the treatment of one individual to the treatment of a system of several members--to the marital dyad, the immediate family, the extended family, and even the schizophrenic's social network.

A few early social psychologists conceptualized relationships in terms of their larger social context. Most notably, Lewin (1938) attempted to describe an individual's life space in terms of its regions and its boundaries. Groups of associates within this life space were delineated by the interdependence among their members. Groups could differ in their degree of inclusiveness: the marital dyad, for example, is embedded in the larger family, which in turn is embedded in a community and in a society. Some groups may overlap, as, for example, one's professional group and one's swimming club. Anticipating the

postulates of later systems theory, Lewin suggested that a change in any subpart of the lifespace would affect the state of any other subpart.

Balance theory also attempted to describe relations among several individuals. Heider (1958), for example, described the P-O-X relation as one where Person's and Other's attitude toward each other is affected by their attitudes toward a third person, X. (X could also be an object or an abstract concept.) Although balance theory is commonly applied to only three entities, it would be possible to systematically analyze relations among any number of group members.

Social Network Mapping

By graphically depicting relations among individuals, it becomes possible to conduct systematic analyses of a system. Lewin's early attempts to graph the life space showed its different regions and the boundaries between them as a set of planes and intersections. This system of representation visually portrayed the relations between different subgroups, but it was limited in the mathematical operations that could be performed on these relations. In the 1950's, group psychologists proposed a representation based on mathematical graph theory (see Harary & Norman, 1953). Using such an approach, Bavelas (1948) converted much of Lewin's work to a depiction based on points and lines. He then used this "group structure model" to describe the communication channels (the lines) among members of 5-person groups (the points), finding that a group's structure affects task efficiency and emergent leadership (Bavelas, 1951; Leavitt, 1951).

Social network techniques also rely on graph theory. A network is conceived as a number of network members linked to each other in specifiable ways. These relations can be visually represented and measured. This technique has been applied to the study of a variety of phenomena --for example, kinship patterns (Bott, 1971), connections in urban environments (C. Fischer, 1975, 1977a), friendship patterns (Boissevain, 1974; Laumann, 1969), and support networks (Caplan, 1974; Caplan & Killilia, 1976).

Network analysis, then, is a method of mapping and interpreting existing relations. Customarily, a pattern of relationships is traced outward from a central individual to that person's network members, in order to understand how the individual's behavior is affected by the total pattern of relations (Barnes, 1972, p. 3). It is not necessary that the units of analysis be individuals, however; Ridley and Avery (1979) have suggested the network approach for the study of dyadic development, where the close pair is used as the center of the network.

The Present Study

Huston and Levinger (1978) have recalled Lewinian conceptions of life space in their notion of relationship development within a cultural context. An individual is seen as located in a larger social environment, part of which consists of that person's kin, friends, and other associates--their social network. When two people form a close relationship, they tend to merge their private networks. Married partners, for example, come to share many of their individual friends and

relatives, although they may maintain some private associations. If a close relationship should dissolve, the two partners' shared network, too, may be pulled apart.

This study attempts to understand how social networks change following marital separation: it explores which relationships are maintained and which are dropped. It also investigates how social involvement is associated with one's psychological well-being, both before and after marital separation. The findings are based on interviews with 40 recently divorced persons.

A Review of the Literature

In what ways have researchers previously evaluated social networks? If we again visualize the network as one individual connected to a set of other individuals, we can conceive of four kinds of network variables. The first is to consider the network's overall structure; that is, what does the map look like? The second is to focus on the content of the interaction between the central person and each member, the set of P-O relations. The third is to assess the network members' characteristics, and the fourth is to evaluate the connections among these network members. Networks for different groups can be compared on these variables, or the same group can be compared across time.

Network Structure

Network structure is assessed by measuring its size, density, and segmentation. Most studies of relationships have restricted network size. Laumann (1969), for example, used the central individual's three

best friends, and Craven and Wellman (1973) used the six closest friends. Such restrictions are acceptable for comparing specific kinds of relationships, but, in order to determine the relations among subparts, social network analysis must rely on larger sets of associations.

Density refers to the number of interconnections among network members. Dense networks are those where many members are connected in some specified way, dispersed networks where few members are connected. As examples of such studies, high density has been associated with traditional conjugal roles and low density with nontraditional ones (Bott, 1971). High density among men's three closest friends has been associated with the tendency to perceive each friend as "very close," to have known the friends a long time, to see them often, and to get together as a group (Jackson, Fischer, & Jones, 1977). The correlations between size and density have been inconsistent, sometimes positive (e.g., Neimeijer, 1973), sometimes negative (Craven & Wellman, 1973).

Segmentation refers to the number of subgroups in the network (D. Todd, Personal Communication, 1979). Members of subgroups might be linked by kinship, work, school, or friendship. Networks can be integrated (all of the members interact with each other), dispersed (none of the members interact with any but the central member), or segmented (clusters of members interact, but there is little interaction among these clusters). Brennan (1977) found that density varied for different subgroups in the networks of human service professionals; density within any given subgroup was higher than that between subgroups.

Interaction between Central Person and Network Members

One characteristic of an individual's relationship with each network member is the nature of their interaction. A few studies have examined the frequency and duration of interpersonal contact (e.g., Jackson, Fischer, & Jones, 1977; Ridley & Avery, 1979). Others have looked at emotional intensity, which has been defined in different ways. Some regard intensity as the extent to which an individual will respond to appeals for support, whereas others (e.g., Jackson, Fischer, & Jones, 1977) consider it to be the reported "closeness" of a relationship.

Another characteristic of an individual's link with network members is its exchange content, the nature of the transaction between two persons. The nature of two partners' behavioral exchange is predictable from their social roles and personal characteristics. In a study of social relationships, for example, Rands & Levinger (1979) found that two partners' gender and emotional closeness affected raters' expectations of appropriate behavior for different pairs.

Member Characteristics

Who associates with whom? Studies of relationships have focused on whether the target of association is kin or nonkin (Booth, 1972), male or female (Booth, 1972) married or unmarried (Booth, 1972; Booth, & Hess, 1974), an associate of the husband or of the wife (Babchuk & Bates, 1963; Bott, 1971). Others have focused on the context from which associates were drawn (Booth, 1972; Stueve & Gerson, 1977), and on the associates' age (Stueve & Gerson, 1977).

Relations among Network Members

Network analysis makes it possible to assess how relations among network members affect the central individual. Generally, it is difficult to obtain information about the links among all members, partly because the number of possible connections among members grows astronomically as size increases (a network of 20 members has 380 potential links), and partly because, in order to be valid, the network members themselves should each be contacted, if only to confirm the central member's report. One solution is to limit analysis to a subset of the total network: Laumann (1969), for example, investigated relations among only three associates, but each of these three persons was individually contacted.

The Social Relations of Males and Females

A considerable amount of research has compared the social experiences of males and females. Males' friendships typically are more sociable than intimate, whereas females' are more intimate than sociable; that is, males tend to associate more with many casual friends, females with a few close ones (Parsons & Bales, 1955; Pleck, 1975). Males emphasize sharing activities, females supportiveness (J. Fischer, 1978; Weiss & Lowenthal, 1974); males emphasize equality, females intensity (Wish, Deutsch, & Kaplan, 1976). In same-sex friendships, females tend to be more emotionally involved than are males (Purdy, 1978; Rubin, 1973), and to disclose more of their personal feelings (Jourard, 1971; Rands & Levinger, 1979). Such sex differences occur before adolescence; Eder and Hallinan (1978) observed traditional

male-female differences among friends as young as 11 or 12 years old.

Males and females tend to draw their relationships from different contexts. Males tend to associate more with work mates or professional colleagues, females more with kin and neighbors (Weiss, 1974, p. 147). White-collar class wives report closer ties to kin, but fewer nonkin friendships than do their husbands (Booth, 1972). Males tend to have more cross-sex friendships than do females (Booth, 1972; Booth & Hess, 1974) and more friendships in old age (Powers & Bultena, 1976). Wives, at least in the past, have tended to give up their own premarital friends and to acquire their husbands' friends (Babchuk & Bates, 1963; Bott, 1971; Weiss, 1973).

Group participation is also different for males and females. In Booth's (1972) study, males were found to participate more in instrumental groups (for example, in professional or political groups), whereas women participated more in expressive groups (for example, in youth programs or church groups). Males joined a greater number of groups than did females, but their total participation time was equal.

The above findings probably reflect differences arising from traditional marital roles as well as from gender. The studies did not compare working males and females, nor unmarried persons. Both employment status and marital status would be expected to modify either sex's social relationships. One study, for example, found that when females do work outside the home, they have more collegial friendships than do males, although their friendships are not necessarily closer (Kaufman, 1975). The effects of marriage on social participation will be

discussed in a later section.

Women's social networks may be more supportive than men's in times of crisis. In one study of bereavement, males reported feeling the loss of the marriage partner more than did females, perhaps because females found it easier to console themselves with their families (Townsend, 1973). This difference could reflect either the more intimate nature of women's relationships or women's greater willingness to elicit support from their kin.

Variations in Social Relations according to Age

One's age or life stage influences the need for certain kinds of relationships and their availability (Hess, 1972). This is clearly seen with children, whose peer friendships gradually become equally as important as their relationship with the parents. Adults, too, vary in their social interaction at different life stages.

There are a number of studies of men's friendships across the life cycle (but few for women). Stueve and Gerson (1977) found that adult male friendships vary across the life cycle (a) in the context from which they are drawn, (b) in their characteristics (e.g., duration, meeting place, frequency of getting together, and intimacy), and (c) in their selection of age mates as friends. Farrell and Rosenberg (1977) found that men's intimacy in friendship decreased with age (the opposite finding of Stueve & Gerson's). Shulman (1975) characterized young men's networks as more active, more exchange-oriented, and less stable than those of older men. Middle-aged and older men reported denser networks than did younger persons, a finding contrary

to that of Boissevain (1974), who found network density to decrease with age.

The Effects of Marriage and Parenthood on Social Relations

One's social relations usually change following marriage or parenthood. Constraints on time and energy following marriage, for example, require that the two partners drop some of their former relationships and accommodate to the spouse's (Huston & Levinger, 1978). This shift involves a gradual loosening of ties with one's own family and single friends (Boissevain, 1974; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1977; Shulman, 1975). Studies have shown that marrieds interact more frequently with kin than do nonmarrieds (Brandwein, Brown, & Fox, 1974; Spicer & Hampe, 1975), and their networks become more stable, less exchange-oriented and less active than before marriage (Shulman, 1975). Socializing tends to occur more often than before marriage in a heterosexual context (Farrell & Rosenberg, 1977), and as time passes, married partners tend to share more friends in common (Lowenthal & Chiriboga, 1975).

Parenthood causes further changes in one's social connections. Stueve and Gerson (1977) found that males, who had frequently dropped some of their earlier friendships after marriage, dropped other friendships after parenthood. There was a substantial decline in frequency of getting together with friends after parenthood, similar to the earlier decline following marriage. After the children left home, these men tended to rebuild some of their old friendships.

Social Involvement and Psychological Well-Being

Participation in both close and casual relationships is considered necessary for one's psychological well-being (e.g., Durkheim, 1952; Weiss, 1974). One's close "attachment" relationships satisfy our need for an emotional bond; one's casual relationships provide social integration--social bonds, rather than emotional ones.

The presence of an attachment figure seems to benefit both infants and adults (e.g., Weiss, 1973, 1975). A number of studies have found married people (who have an attachment figure) to be better off psychologically than unmarried ones (who perhaps do not) (e.g., Bloom, Asher, & White, 1978; Bernard, 1972; Carter & Glick, 1976; Gove, 1972a, b; Kobrin & Hendershot, 1977). Without an attachment figure, one is vulnerable to the loneliness of emotional isolation (Weiss, 1973).

The presence of casual social ties also contributes to one's well-being. Friendship and other more casual social relationships provide a sense of belonging, information about appropriate behavior, and simple sociability (Komarovsky, 1967; Rubin, 1979; Weiss, 1973). Without such ties one is vulnerable to the loneliness of social isolation (Weiss, 1974).

Several studies have examined the links between social participation and well-being. One study of friendship showed that respondents' degree of social involvement correlated directly with their well-being (Bradburn & Caplowitz, 1965), and another found that having friends contributed more than eight other resources (e.g., one's own

intelligence, attractiveness) to a sense of competence for young men and women (Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers, 1976). Frequency of social participation was found to be negatively associated with one's frequency of death thoughts (Lowenthal & Chiriboga, 1975), indicating that absence of social involvement may make one vulnerable to self-destructive impulses. Other studies relate success in marriage directly to the spouses' degree of involvement with kin (Ackerman, 1963; Bott, 1971; Zelditch, 1964).

Another way of assessing the benefits of social connections has been to observe the psychological correlates of network loss or disruption. The effects of network loss created by aging or retirement (Rosow, 1967), by bereavement or separation (Weiss, 1973, 1975), and by geographical relocation (C. Fischer, 1977; Weissman & Paykel, 1973) are typical of this approach. Findings typically support the hypothesis that disruption of one's social network is stressful.

Social Support Networks

An important function of one's social network is to provide instrumental or emotional support (Hirsch, 1977). One's need for support varies from day to day. It can be low, as when one's lawn mower breaks down, or it can be high, as when one's marriage breaks down. Normally, there are limits to how much support one can expect from a given person; neighbors may be expected to lend a tool, but not to listen to one's emotional problems. During a severe crisis, such as divorce, however, one's family and friends may be called upon to provide emotional support beyond what is normally expected.

Social support has been found to alleviate the psychological stress of separation or divorce. One study of divorced women showed that the family was important in protecting and supporting the divorcee, and in softening the loss of her husband (Brandwein, Brown, & Fox, 1974). This supports Bernard's (1964) finding that, for divorced women, having a network of friends to call upon was crucial to well-being; when there was no supportive network, divorced women tended to feel isolated, depressed, and "worn out with the struggle to maintain the family" (pp. 34-38). Another study (Spanier & Casto, 1979) found that either men or women having loyal kin and supportive friends did better than those without such ties in recovering after marital separation.

A Model for Comprehensive Network Analysis

The literature summarized above shows that relationship studies have generally been unsystematic; they have tended to focus on only a few relationships within the total network, or to focus on a limited number of social variables. An exception is the work of Claude Fischer and his associates. Their comprehensive protocol for network research (C. Fischer, 1977b) provides a model for extensive network studies.

Some of the features of Fischer's approach are as follows: (1) It elicits network names according to an objective set of criteria based on social exchange notions. (2) It allows for the selection of a subset of names for extensive analysis. (3) It obtains systematic

information about all network members, and other more detailed information about the subset.

The present study relies extensively on Fischer's approach. Chapter III outlines the method used in the present study, which incorporates the features mentioned above. Such systematically obtained data are expected to reveal general patterns of change in social interaction from before to after marital separation.

C H A P T E R I I

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

The present study attempts to understand changes in relationships with family and friends following the breakup of a marriage by utilizing a social network approach. On the basis of retrospective interview data, the networks of 40 recently divorced persons were compared from one time period during their marriage to another period following their separation. The networks were compared on three categories of variables: network structure, member composition, and network interaction. Network variation was assessed for males and females, parents and non-parents, and according to respondents' age. Another set of variables assessed respondent well-being before and after separation.

This study is an exploratory one. Nonetheless, the conception of network change and of joint versus individual networks led to the statement of a number of hypotheses. Other hypotheses are based on earlier findings in the literature.

Network Structure

Three variables assessed a network's structure. They were network size, density, and segmentation.

Network Size

Size refers to the number of people in a network. This study elicited names of persons with whom there had been social interaction

during a given period of time (see the six questions used to elicit names in Appendix E). Size, then, was determined by a respondent's actual contact with a network member (the "effective" network), rather than by group membership per se. Hypotheses are as follows:

1.1 Networks will be smaller after the breakup of a marriage than before, as some marital associates will be dropped.

1.1.1 Networks of parents will shrink less following breakup than will those of nonparents, because parents will tend to maintain certain ties through their children. Networks of custodial parents will shrink less than those of noncustodial parents.

Network Density

Density refers to the number of links among different members of a network, operationally defined as "knowing the other well." Density is the ratio of total actual linkages to total possible linkages.

1.2 Networks will be less dense after marital separation than before as new members are added who do not know the former ones.

Network Segmentation

Segmentation refers to the number of subgroups in the network, those persons linked by kin, work, school, or friendship ties (D. Todd, Personal Communication, 1979). Networks can be integrated (all members interact with each other), dispersed (none of the members interact with any other but the central member), or segmented (clusters of members interact, but there is little interaction among these clusters).

1.3 Networks will be more segmented after marital separation as new relationships are formed.

Member Characteristics

Additional variables describe the network members' characteristics. Those examined in this study are the others' relation to the respondent, the nature of their acquaintance with the respondent, the other's sex and marital status.

Members' Relationship with Respondent

2.1 Respondents will report more kin relationships and fewer friendships before than after marital separation.

2.1.1 Females will interact with more kin than will males (Brandwein, Brown & Fox, 1974; Spicer & Hampe, 1975), and males will interact with more friends than will females (Booth, 1972; Weiss, 1973).

2.1.2 Parents will interact with more kin than will non-parents, as families with children tend to be more kin-centered than those without children. Custodial parents will maintain more kin ties after separation than will noncustodial parents.

2.1.3 Older respondents will interact with more kin and with fewer friends than will younger respondents, as kin involvement increases and friendship involvement decreases with length of marriage, and older respondents are likely to have been married longer than younger ones (Stueve & Gerson, 1977).

2.1.4 The presence of both kin and friends will contribute to well-being, as each type of relationship provides different resources.

Nature of Members' Acquaintance with Respondent

Two variables measure the respondent's acquaintance with each network member. The first refers to the context of initial acquaintance (e.g., work, school), and the second refers to whether the network members first knew the respondent or the spouse.

2.2 Network turnover will be higher for persons who knew the

spouse first than for those who knew the respondent first.

2.2.1 Males will report more collegial or work acquaintances, females more neighborhood or kin ties (Weiss, 1973).

2.2.2 Younger respondents will report more childhood friendships than older respondents, whereas older respondents will report more collegial or neighborhood friendships and more kin relationships (Stueve & Gerson, 1977).

Members' Sex

No differences were hypothesized in the networks' sex composition before and after separation.

2.3 Male respondents will report more cross-sex friends than will females, as males usually have more cross-sex friends during marriage (Booth, 1972; Booth & Hess, 1974) and they can more easily initiate heterosexual encounters after breakup.

Members' Marital Status

2.4 Networks will be composed of fewer married individuals after breakup than during marriage, as individuals drop their married associates and develop relationships with other single persons.

2.4.1 Respondents with unmarried associates, will experience greater post-separation well-being than those with predominantly married associates (Hunt, 1966; Weiss, 1975).

Network Interaction

Networks vary in the nature of the interaction between a central individual and the other members. Variables assessed in this study are emotional intensity, frequency and duration of contact, and the exchange content of the relationship.

Emotional Intensity

Emotional intensity refers to a person's feeling of closeness to a

given network member.

3.1 Average closeness to network members will not change after marital separation, although closeness to any given member might change.

3.1.1 Females' relationships will be "closer" than males' relationships (Jourard, 1971; Purdy, 1978; Rands & Levinger, 1979; Z. Rubin, 1973).

3.1.2 Reported closeness will decline with age (Stueve & Gerson, 1977).

Frequency and Duration of Contact

Frequency refers to the number of times that two people interact during a given period of time; duration refers to the amount of time spent together. Frequency does not necessarily reveal the intensity of a relationship, whereas duration does, in that the time one can spend with others is finite.

3.2 There will be no difference in frequency and duration of contact with the network's eight most important members before and after marital separation, although the targets of this contact will change.

Interpersonal Exchange Content

Exchange refers to the transaction between the respondent and the four most important adult members of the network. Five categories of behavior are measured: self-disclosure, physical contact, exchanging positive and negative feelings, and sharing joint activities (see Rands & Levinger, 1979).

3.3. There will be no difference in the overall amount of interpersonal exchange with network members from before to after marital separation, although the targets of that interaction will change, and certain kinds of interaction will become more or less likely.

3.3.1 Males' friendships will be more activity-oriented than females', whereas females' friendships will be more socially centered (Jourard, 1971; Rands & Levinger, 1979).

Respondent Well-Being

In addition to assessing respondent well-being as a function of social participation, this study assessed variations in well-being according to a respondent's sex, parental status, age, and decision to initiate the separation. It was expected that males would find it easier adjusting to marital separation than females (Kohen, Brown, & Feldberg, 1979), younger respondents easier than older ones, and initiators easier than non-initiators (Kressel, Lopez-Morillas, Weinglass, & Deutsch, 1979). No predictions were made regarding the relative well-being of parents and nonparents; parents, at least custodial parents, have the benefits of their childrens' companionship, but they also have additional financial and social responsibilities.

C H A P T E R I I I

METHOD

Respondents

Respondents in this study were 40 recently divorced persons, 20 male and 20 female, whose names were obtained from the public records of the Hampshire County Probate Court in Northampton, Massachusetts. Potential respondents were selected from these records if they met the following criteria: They must presently be at least 25 years old, have been married at least two years, separated for less than three years,¹ and have lived in the immediate area both prior to and following the separation. Those individuals who met these criteria were sent a letter inviting them to participate in the study (Appendix A). Some received a followup phone call; others were asked to indicate their willingness to participate on a return postcard.

In order to obtain 20 respondents of each sex, 98 males and 51 females had to be contacted--a response rate of 20% and 39%, respectively. Five males and five females in the sample had been married to each other. This was the first divorce for all respondents except for one female who had been divorced once before.

¹The initial restriction that respondents be separated no longer than two years was relaxed in order to obtain the sample of 40 respondents.

Respondent Characteristics

Females on the average were slightly older than males, 33.3 years (with a range from 26 to 48), compared to 31.8 years (with a range from 25 to 43 years).

Respondents in this sample were quite well-educated. Fourteen males and fourteen females had had some college, and of these, nine males and six females had a college degree.

The male respondents had higher incomes on the average than did the female respondents. The modal and median income for males at the time of the interview was in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range, whereas for females it was in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 range. During the marriage, however, joint income for either males or females had been in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range.

Respondent Marital History

Females had been married on the average slightly longer than males, 9.75 years (with a range from 2 to 24 years) compared to 6.75 years (with a range from 2 to 17 years). Both males and females had been separated an average of 23.4 months at the time of the interview. Eight males and six females had been separated at least once prior to the final separation.

Twelve males were parents, of whom six had full custody of their children, whereas sixteen females were parents, of whom fifteen had full custody. The percentage of males having custody of their children was much higher than the 10% found in the general population (Gersick, 1979). Whereas turndown rates were quite high for other males, all

custodial fathers contacted agreed to participate. Custodial fathers appeared to want to tell their story and to feel more responsibility toward the research.

Present Living Situation

Only nine respondents presently lived alone. Eighteen lived only with their children, and the remaining 13 lived with other adults or with both adults and children.

Males were more likely than females to be involved in a new heterosexual relationship, 14 males compared to 8 females. Four men and three women were now dating casually, and two men and nine women were not dating at all. One person of either sex had remarried shortly before the interview.

Reasons for Refusal to Participate

Men were more likely to refuse to participate in the study than were women. In three cases, men offered as the reason for their refusal the jealousy of their current partner who felt threatened by their having to discuss an old relationship, and two men offered this as their own reason. No woman offered this explanation, but it is quite likely that other respondents, either male or female, were reluctant to recall memories of their divorce. Several of those who did participate spoke of their anxiety about the interview, and others appeared nervous at its outset.

Another reason for respondent refusal could have been that the person had moved away from the area and simply did not return the

postcard. A nonreturn was considered a refusal.

Procedure

Each of the 40 respondents was interviewed by the author of this study during Spring 1979. Each interview lasted approximately two hours. Of the 40 respondents, 38 accepted \$8.00 for their participation, and two declined any payment.

Before each interview, the general purpose of the study was explained. It was emphasized that the focus would be on the respondent's relationships with family and friends at different times, and not on the marital breakup itself. Confidentiality was assured and written consent was obtained in conformity with human subject guidelines (Appendix B). Information was obtained about the respondent's demographic characteristics (Appendix C) and about his or her marital separation (Appendix D).

Selection of Time Points

Descriptions of a respondent's social network were obtained for two time points: before separation (Time 1) and after separation (Time 2). Time 1 was determined by having the respondent graph, on a time line (representing the length of the marriage and showing its significant events) his or her "confidence during each of these years that your marriage would go on indefinitely into the future." Time 1 was chosen to be the most recent period before separation when (a) the respondent still felt reasonably confident of staying together and (b) when the social relationships were typical of those held during the

marriage. Time 2 was chosen to be the period of time after separation when a respondent "...really began to feel like a single person again." Each of these two times referred to a period of about three months (e.g., Spring 1975).

Description of Social Network

Information was obtained about the respondent's social network and psychological well-being during marriage. This procedure required three steps.

Step I: Social network measures. The respondent's social network was described using a procedure similar to that of Fischer and his colleagues (C. Fischer, 1977b; Jones & Fischer, 1978). This procedure elicited the names of network members by asking six questions about interpersonal exchanges likely to occur with others in a variety of contexts (Appendix E). The name-eliciting questions referred to (1) sharing activities, (2) sharing common interests, (3) sharing feelings, (4) discussing decisions, (5) giving or receiving favors, and (6) keeping in touch. The names elicited were recorded in Appendix F.

A set of questions (Appendix G) asked about the respondent's relationship to each network member, the member's sex, age, and marital status, and the respondent's feeling of closeness to each person. For Time 1, it also asked whether the respondent or the spouse knew each member first. These responses were recorded in Appendix F.

Step II: Subset measures. Another set of questions (Appendix I) asked about a subset of the network's eight most important members at Time 1. These questions referred to how the respondent first met each

network member, that person's city of residence, their length of acquaintance, the frequency and duration of their contact, the member's employment, and the number and ages of children. These responses were recorded in Appendix H.

Respondents were asked to draw a map of their social network (Appendix J) by drawing circles to represent these eight network members. On this map, they indicated their feeling of closeness to each person by the relative distances between the circles. Larger circles were drawn around those members who were part of the same group (e.g., work group, family group) to indicate the degree of integration of the network. The degree of acquaintance among the eight network members, an indication of the network's density, was measured using the matrix in Appendix K.

Fourteen questions (Appendix L) asked about the frequency of feelings and activities shared with the network's four most important adults² (e.g., "I listened to _____'s innermost feelings," "I had dinner with _____").

Step III: Respondent well-being. There were four measures of well-being (Appendices M and R). Except for the fourth measure, these were obtained for Times 1, 2 and 3. The fourth one was obtained for Time 2 only.

(1) The self-description scale (Appendix M, top, numbers 4, 6 and

²The 8-member subset included the members of the 4-member subset. All persons in the 4-member subset were required to be adults, but respondents could include children in the 8-member subset.

8), included three self-esteem items, for example, worthwhile versus worthless (adapted from Bachman, Kahn, Davidson, & Johnston, 1967).

(2) A 10-item semantic-differential scale (Appendix M, middle) measured life satisfaction (adapted from Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976). An example of these items was "enjoyable versus miserable."

(3) Another measure (Appendix M, bottom) asked respondents to rate (a) their overall happiness and (b) their satisfaction with life on two line-scales ranging from "not at all" to "completely" happy or dissatisfied.

(4) In Appendix N, ten items measured social loneliness (from Russell, Peplau, & Ferguson, 1978) and five items (numbers 3, 5, 8, 11 and 15) measured emotional loneliness (adapted from Lopata, 1973). A sample item for assessing social loneliness was "I am unhappy doing so many things alone," and one for assessing emotional loneliness was "I wish I had someone to love."

Steps I through III were repeated for Time 2, the social network after separation. Step III was then repeated once more for the time of the interview (Time 3).

Completion of the Interview

At the end of the interview, respondents filled out several self-description scales. These measures are shown in Appendices O, P and Q.

(1) Five questions (Appendix O) asked about the respondent's tendency to seek help (C. Fischer, 1977b), his or her physical attractiveness, the felt importance of having a group of friends and of having a close heterosexual relationship, and need for autonomy.

(2) Eight items (Appendix P, top) measured the respondent's desire for attachment; that is, the desire to have a close, intimate relationship (adapted from Rubin, 1973). An example is "to have someone who cares for me."

(3) Eight other items (Appendix P, bottom) measured the respondent's desire for social integration; that is, their efforts to participate in a variety of casual social relationships (adapted from Schutz, 1958). An example was "I try to be with other people."

(4) Appendix Q assessed respondent's frequency of participation in a variety of social activities at Times 1 and 2 and their actual and ideal amount of leisure time.

The interview allowed respondents to describe in their own words their social life at Times 1 and 2 and to discuss any changes in relations with family and friends brought about by the marital separation. Respondents differed in their willingness to discuss these changes; some gave only brief responses, others elaborated their experience in great detail. At the end of the interview they were allowed to ask questions, were paid, and were thanked for their participation.

C H A P T E R I V

NETWORK CHANGE FROM BEFORE TO AFTER MARITAL SEPARATION

The findings from the 40 interviews were analyzed to answer the major questions raised in this study. In this chapter, we explore how respondents' networks changed from before to after marital separation and compare those changes for males and females, parents and non-parents, younger and older respondents. In Chapter V, we look at how social participation was associated with respondent well-being, and in Chapter VI, we look at a variety of analyses regarding respondents' perceptions of their marriage. Chapter VII draws some conclusions.

Network Turnover

Which associates were more likely to drop out of a respondent's social network after marital separation? Dropout, or network turnover, refers to the number of people from Time 1 who were reported no longer in the network at Time 2. The average turnover of Time 1 associates was 43% for males, 40% for females (see Table 1).

It was hypothesized (hypotheses 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) that certain relationships would be dropped more frequently than others: Those with the spouse's relatives, those with the spouse's acquaintances (versus one's own acquaintances), those with cross-sex associates (versus same-sex ones), and those with married acquaintances (versus nonmarried ones). All hypotheses were confirmed, but only the first two significantly. Respondents dropped an average of 67% of their

TABLE 1

Network Size, Density and Segmentation

Structural Variables	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Size ^a	20.25 (-43%)	21.25 (-40%)	17.10	18.80	**	**
Density ^b	.83	.83	.67	.63	**	**
Segmentation ^c	4.75	5.20	5.55	5.85	*	*

^aThe numbers in the first row refer to the average number of network members at Times 1 and 2. The numbers in parentheses refer to the average percentage of members from Time 1 who were no longer part of the network at Time 2.

^bDensity is the number of actual linkages, divided by the number of possible linkages in the 8-member subset.

^cSegmentation refers to the number of subgroups in the 8-member subset.

* $p < .06$

** $p < .01$

spouse's relatives, compared to only 6.5% of their own relatives. They dropped 70% of those persons the spouse had known first, compared to only 24% they themselves had known first. They dropped an average of 48.5% of their cross-sex associates, compared to 34.5% of their same-sex ones. And they dropped 38.5% of their married associates versus 32% of their unmarried ones.

It seems, then, that network turnover is highest for those persons with whom the respondent has little in common after separation: the spouse's kin and first acquaintances, cross-sex associates, and the married. After a newly-separated person rebuilds the network, how does it then compare to the network during marriage?

Structural Characteristics of Social Networks

Social networks can be compared on a variety of measures, including their structure, their members' characteristics, and the respondents' interaction with network members. In this section, we examine how networks before and after marital separation differed in their size, density, and segmentation.

Network Size

It was hypothesized (1.1) that a respondent's network would shrink following marital separation. Indeed, networks on the average were significantly smaller at Time 2 than at Time 1 (see Table 1). No gender differences in size were found.

Network Density and Segmentation

It was hypothesized (1.2) that density (the degree of interconnect-
edness among the eight most important network members) would decrease
and (1.3) that segmentation (the number of subgroups in this subset)
would increase following marital separation. Both hypotheses were sup-
ported. Subsets were significantly less dense and more segmented at
Time 2 than at Time 1 (see Table 1); this indicates that fewer network
members knew each other after separation than before, and that post-
separation relationships were drawn from a wider variety of contexts.

Characteristics of Network Members

Another way of assessing change in social networks is by comparing
a network's members at two time points. How did members differ from
Time 1 to Time 2 in their relationship to the respondent, the nature of
their acquaintance with the respondent, their sex, and their marital
status?

Relationship Composition

It was hypothesized (2.1) that respondents would be more likely to
associate with kin before separation and with friends after the breakup.
Females were expected (2.1.1) to report more kin associations than
males, and males more friendships than females.

The predictions regarding associations with kin were confirmed.
Both males and females associated with significantly fewer relatives
after breakup than during the marriage, especially with the spouse's
relatives (see Table 2). Females reported interacting with more of

TABLE 2

Network Turnover from Before to After Marital Separation

Relationship	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>TOTAL RELATIVES^a</u>	9.35 (-42%)	10.45 (-33%)	5.80	8.20	**	**
Own Relatives	4.60 (-2%)	6.55 (-13%)	4.65	6.55	*	*
Spouse and Spouse's Relatives	4.75 (-76%)	3.90 (-58%)	1.15	1.65	***	***
<u>TOTAL NONRELATIVES</u>	10.90 (-44%)	10.80 (-47%)	11.30	10.60		
Friends	8.85	9.10	8.55	8.35		
Coworkers	.65	.00	1.40	.55		
Other	1.40	1.70	1.35	1.70		

^aThe numbers in each column refer to the average number of network members in each category. The numbers in parentheses refer to the average percentage of members from Time 1 who were no longer part of the network at Time 2.

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

their own kin than did males.

There were, however, not more friends in the total network after separation compared to Time 1. Respondents did chose friends significantly more often for their 8-member subset at Time 2 compared to during the marriage (see Table 3), indicating that friendships were more important after separation than during marriage.

Nature of Member's Acquaintance with Respondent

Two questions were asked about a respondent's acquaintance with each network member: (1) What was the context of the initial acquaintance, and (2) who got to know the person first, the respondent or the spouse?

Context of initial acquaintance. There were no hypotheses about how acquaintances from different contexts would compare at Time 1 and Time 2, except (2.2) that acquaintances met through the spouse would be less prominent in the network at Time 2. (Employed females were expected to report more work associates than were unemployed females, but, because all but two females were employed at least part time, this hypothesis could not be tested.) Males were expected (2.2.1) to report more collegial or work acquaintances, females more neighborhood or kin ties.

Measures of 10 categories of initial acquaintance were obtained for the 8-member subset (see Table 4). At Time 1, these eight persons were most likely to be kin than members known through any other context, with associates met through the spouse the second most common source of acquaintance. At Time 2, kin were still the most common type of associate,

TABLE 3
 Networks' Eight Most Important Members

Relationship	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>TOTAL RELATIVES</u>	5.00 ^a	5.40	3.30	4.00	*	*
Own Relatives	2.95	3.50	3.05	3.65		
Spouse and Spouse's Relatives	2.05	1.90	.25	.40	**	***
<u>TOTAL NONRELATIVES</u>	3.00	2.60	4.60	3.90	*	
Friends	2.90	2.55	3.90	3.50		**
Other	.10	.05	.70	.40		

^aThe numbers in each column refer to the average number of subset members in each category. One male and one female respondent reported only seven associates at Time 2.

*p < .05
 **p < .01
 ***p < .001

TABLE 4
Context of Initial Acquaintance

Context	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
We're in the same family	2.90 ^a	3.35	3.00	3.50		
We grew up together	.50	.40	.45	.10 ^o		o
We were in school together	1.20	.65 ^o	1.00	.40 ^o		
We worked together	.50	.65	1.40	.95	*	
We were neighbors	.60	.45	.25	.60		
We were members of the same group or organization	.15	.20	.10	.60*		
We met through a friend	.50	.45	1.00	.95	o	*
We met through my ex-spouse	1.30	1.30	.30	.30	***	***
We met through my child	.05	.05	.05	.30		
Other	.30	.50	.35	.20		*

^aThe numbers refer to the average number of subset members in each category.

^op < .10

*p < .05

***p < .001

but persons met through the spouse were now only a minor part of the network, confirming the hypothesis. Interaction with those met either at work or through a friend became more likely after separation. Male respondents listed old school mates somewhat more often than did female respondents ($p < .10$, $p < .08$ for Time 1 and Time 2, respectively); otherwise, males and females did not differ in these categories.

Members' first acquaintance with respondent. The hypothesis (2.2) that Time 1 network members would be more likely to have been introduced into the dyad by oneself, rather than by the spouse was further tested by asking about each member in the total network. The hypothesis was confirmed. For respondents of either sex, network members were significantly more likely to be their own initial acquaintances, rather than people the spouse knew first or those met together with the spouse (see Table 5). One's own first acquaintances were almost four times as likely to be chosen as members of the 8-member subset as were the spouse's first acquaintances.³

Members' Sex

No predictions were made about the proportion of same-sex versus cross-sex associates; however, at either time point, respondents were significantly more likely to have same-sex associates than cross-sex ones (see Table 6). Males were hypothesized (2.3) to have more cross-

³Frequencies based on the relative closeness of either spouse to the network member were about equal to those based on the first acquaintance. One's own close acquaintances (compared to the spouse's close acquaintances) were more likely to be part of the 8-member subset and less likely to be dropped after separation.

TABLE 5

Network Members' First Acquaintance with Respondent or Spouse

First Acquaintance	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>TOTAL NETWORK</u>						
With Respondent First	10.40 ^a	10.90	7.75	8.40	**	***
With Spouse First	5.95	6.30	1.55	2.15	***	***
Respondent vs. Spouse	***	**	***	***		
With Both Spouses Together	2.90	3.05	1.75	2.25	**	**
<u>8-MEMBER SUBSET</u>						
With Respondent First	4.25	4.25	3.80	3.25		**
With Spouse First	1.20	1.30	.25	.65	**	*
With Both Spouses Together	1.55	1.45	1.25	.90		

^aThe numbers refer to the average number of network members in each category.

*p < .05

**p < .001

***p < .001

TABLE 6

Sex of Network Members

Sex of Network Members	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>TOTAL NETWORK</u>						
Males	10.95 ^a (-37%)	9.95 (-46%)	9.85	8.10		*
Females	9.30 (-51%)	11.30 (-34%)	7.25	10.70 ^{**}	**	
Males vs. Females in Network	*		**	**		
<u>MEMBER SUBSET</u>						
Males	4.10	3.30 [*]	4.45	2.80 ^{***}		
Females	3.90	4.70 [*]	3.45	5.10 ^{***}		
Males vs. Females in Network		**		**		

^aThe numbers in each column refer to the average number of network members in each category. The numbers in parentheses refer to the average percentage of members from Time 1 who were no longer part of the network at Time 2.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001

sex friends than would females. They did not report more cross-sex ties than did females in the total network; males did, however, report significantly more cross-sex associates in their 8-member subset. The females' eight closest associates were more likely to be other females, especially at Time 2, whereas males' associates were equally likely to be male or female.

Members' Marital Status

After separation, respondents were hypothesized (2.4) to associate with fewer married persons and with more unmarried ones than before separation. Confirming this hypothesis, there were significantly fewer associations with married persons at Time 2 than at Time 1 and, for females, more associations with unmarried ones (see Table 7).

Interaction with Network Members

A third way in which networks can be compared is in the nature of a respondent's interaction with network members. Interaction was assessed via four measures: (1) the respondent's feeling of closeness to each member of the network, (2) frequency and (3) duration of contact with the eight closest members, and (4) feelings and activities shared with the four closest members.

Emotional Intensity

No change was hypothesized (3.1) in respondents' overall closeness to network members from Time 1 to Time 2, although closeness to particular individuals would change.

TABLE 7

Marital Status of Members

Marital Status of Network Members	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>TOTAL NETWORK</u>						
Married ^a	12.05 (-45%)	14.55 (-34%)	8.30	10.75	***	***
Unmarried	7.20 (-39%)	5.70 (-25%)	8.35	7.50		*
<u>8-MEMBER SUBSET</u>						
Married	4.55	4.20	3.30	3.65	**	
Unmarried	3.45	3.80	4.60	4.25		

^aThe numbers in each column refer to the average number of network members in each category. The numbers in parentheses refer to the average percentage of members from Time 1 who were no longer part of the network at Time 2.

*p < .05

***p < .01

***p < .001

These expectations were confirmed. Average ratings of closeness were equal at each time point--before separation, after breakup, and at the time of the interview. Closeness to individual members did change, however. Of those Time 1 members who were still part of a network at Time 2, ratings of closeness decreased for one-third, increased for one-sixth, and remained constant for one-half of them.

Females' relationships were predicted (3.1.1) to be closer than those of males, but this hypothesis was not confirmed in comparisons of the networks' average closeness.

Frequency and Duration of Contact

How would marital separation affect one's frequency of getting together with others and the amount of time spent together? It was predicted (3.2) that there would be no differences before and after separation in overall frequency and duration of contact with the network's eight most important members; however, kin interaction was predicted to increase and friend interaction to decrease following breakup (3.2).

Table 8 shows that, as predicted, average frequency and duration of contact with the 8-member subset did not change following marital separation. However, at Time 1, interaction with kin was more frequent and longer-lasting than at Time 2, whereas interaction with friends was more frequent and longer-lasting after separation than before.

Interpersonal Exchange Content

Fourteen items assessed a respondent's interaction with the four most important adult members of the network. These five categories of

TABLE 8

Frequency and Duration of Contact with Network Members

Index	Time 1		Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>TOTAL FREQUENCY</u>	179.95 ^a	185.20	195.00	181.25
Relatives	201.80	199.00	167.20	171.85
Friends	145.10	154.90	193.40	180.05
<u>TOTAL DURATION</u>	209.95	265.85	226.00	229.85
Relatives	282.45	312.15	205.80	248.00
Friends	115.50	189.15	214.55	201.15

^aThese numbers represent linear values applied to different categories of frequency and duration, not actual units of time. These values ranged, for frequency, from 1 (get together about once a year) to 300 (get together more than once a week). They ranged, for duration, from 1 (spend less than one hour per week together) to 500 (spend more than ten hours per week together).

items, shown in Table 9, are self-disclosure, physical contact, positive affect, negative affect, and joint activities. Average interaction was hypothesized (3.3) not to differ from Time 1 to Time 2, although the target of that interaction would change.

As shown in Table 9, reported interaction with one's spouse at Time 1 was significantly greater than interaction with the other three members at Time 1 ($p < .001$) and greater than that with the four members at Time 2 ($p < .001$), showing that the marital relationship was one of high behavioral and affective interdependence, even for these spouses who eventually broke up. However, average interaction with members other than the spouse was significantly greater at Time 2 than at Time 1 ($p < .001$), indicating that respondents shifted their attention to other persons when the spouse was no longer available.

There were some changes in the nature of a respondent's interpersonal behavior. Self-disclosure was reported to increase from Time 1 to Time 2 (significantly only for females), and physical contact to decrease. As expected, females reported more self-disclosure than males to the four members of their subset, although these differences were not significant. Females' post-separation levels of physical contact--although lower than at Time 1--were as high as pre-separation levels for males, presumably because it is more acceptable for females to hug others. After separation, both sexes tended to decrease their expression of negative feelings (males significantly so) and their participation in joint activities. Contrary to hypothesis 3.3.1, males were not more activity-centered than females, though females' relationships

TABLE 9

Social Exchange with Four Persons at Two Time Points

Category of Behavior	Time 1		Time 2		Time 1 vs. Time 2	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Self-disclosure (4)	9.02 ^a	9.95	9.82	11.51		*
Physical contact (2)	3.46	5.12	2.46	3.88	*	**
Positive affect (2)	4.89	5.38	4.48	5.50		
Negative affect (2)	3.14	3.48	2.49	2.88	***	o
Joint activities (4)	9.61	10.06	8.95	9.43		
<u>AVERAGE INTERACTION</u>	28.69	31.55	27.22	30.78		
Interaction with Spouse	41.15	43.65				
Interaction with Others	24.53	27.52	27.22	30.78	***	***

^aThe numbers in each column represent average ratings for each category of behavior. See Appendix L for the items. The numbers in parentheses show the number of items in each category; the means in the last three rows are based on all 14 items.

o p < .10

* p < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

tended to be somewhat more emotionally-centered than males'.

Summary of Network Change

The respondents' networks, then, changed in fairly consistent ways. Compared to during the marriage, networks after separation were smaller and the 8-member subsets were less dense and less integrated. This indicates that divorcing individuals do lose a significant number of their associations, and in rebuilding their network, they select from a variety of contexts so that network members are not so likely to know each other at this period of about eight months after separation.

Networks also varied in who were their members from Time 1 to Time 2. At Time 1, associates were likely to be kin, to be both one's own and one's spouse's initial acquaintances, and to be married. After separation, one's associates were more likely than before to be friends, to be one's own initial acquaintances exclusively, and to be unmarried. At both time points, members were more likely to be own's one sex than the other sex.

Interaction patterns also changed after separation. Emotional intensity remained about the same overall, but shifted to different persons. More time was spent with friends and less time with relatives. Physical contact reportedly decreased, whereas self-disclosure increased.

Variations in Social Networks

A person's social experience following marital separation will differ depending on other factors in the situation. Some of the variables expected to influence social participation are the presence or

absence of children, and one's age. This section looks at differences in social networks of the 28 parents and 12 nonparents in this sample. It also compares the networks of custodial and noncustodial fathers and of childless males. It then summarizes differences according to a respondent's age.

Parents versus Nonparents

The divorce experience is complicated for spouses who have children. Parents have additional constraints on their time and energy compared to nonparents, and their responsibilities to their children often limit opportunities for other social contact (Kohen, Brown, & Feldberg, 1979).

Parents' networks were expected to be more stable than those of nonparents, reflecting their tendency to keep children embedded in the existing social network. Parents' networks were expected (1.1.1) to shrink less than those of nonparents, and parents were hypothesized (2.1.2) to interact with kin more frequently than would childless respondents.

Confirming the first hypothesis, parents' networks appeared to be more stable than those of nonparents. Parents dropped an average of only 9.32 associates, compared to 12.10 for nonparents ($F_{1,38} = 13.79$, $p < .0007$). Networks of parents and nonparents were basically the same size at Time 1, an average of 21.18 members for parents, 19.83 for nonparents. At Time 2, however, parents reported significantly larger networks than nonparents (19.14 members versus 15.17, $F_{1,38} = 4.01$, $p < .05$).

Partially confirming the second hypothesis, parents did report more kin in their network at Time 2 than did nonparents ($F_{1,38} = 5.73, p < .02$). This difference occurred because nonparents had ceased to interact with significantly more of their kin after separation than had parents (4.33 versus 2.29, $p < .02$).

Custodial and Noncustodial Fathers and Childless Males

Although having or not having children was expected to affect a divorced person's social experience, that experience is also affected by having the actual care of the child. Of the 16 mothers, all except one obtained custody of her children; therefore, for females the experience of custodial versus noncustodial parents could not be compared.

Of the 12 fathers, however, half obtained custody. How did the social experience of these two groups of male parents differ after divorce, and how did it differ from the social experience of the eight childless males? It was hypothesized (1.1.1) that male parents would have more stable networks than childless males, and that males having custody would have the most stable networks of the three groups. There was a tendency for this to be true but the differences were not statistically significant.

Custodial fathers were expected (2.1.2) to interact with kin more frequently than men in either of the other two groups. This hypothesis was confirmed. At Time 1, the three groups reported equal numbers of kin; however, by Time 2 only custodial fathers maintained that previous number of kin associations, significantly more than for males in the other two groups ($F_{2,17} = 3.43, p < .06$). The number of nonkin did not

differ for the three groups at either time.

Variations According to Respondent's Age

It was hypothesized that networks would vary according to respondents' age. The 8-member subset of older respondents was hypothesized (1.2) to be denser than those of younger ones. Older respondents were expected (2.1.3) to interact more frequently with relatives and less frequently with friends than younger ones, and younger persons were expected (3.2.1) to spend more time with members of their network. Older persons would report more collegial or neighborhood friendships than younger ones, younger persons more childhood friendships (2.2.2). Closeness to network members would decline with age (3.1.2).

The sample was dichotomized into two groups, a young group (mean age = 28.48) and an old one (mean age = 38.00). The 17 older members, compared to the 23 younger ones, had been married much longer (13 years versus 5 years), had a higher yearly income (\$11,625 versus \$9,800), and had received somewhat less education. Older respondents were also more likely to be parents, and they required a significantly longer time to feel single again after separation than did younger ones, an average of 11.4 months compared to 7.0 months ($p < .06$).

As hypothesized, the 8-member subset of older respondents was denser and less segmented at Time 1 than that of the younger group (density, $p < .08$; segmentation, $p < .01$). Density of both groups decreased after separation, for older more than for younger respondents, so that density did not differ for the two groups at Time 2.

Network size did not differ for these two age groups, nor, contrary

to the hypothesis, did their number of friends and relatives. Older respondents spent somewhat more time with their four closest associates at Time 1 ($p < .01$), more with the relatives in their 8-member subset at Time 1 ($p < .07$), and more with the friends in this subset at Time 2 ($p < .11$); these findings were contrary to the prediction.

A respondent's age did make a difference in the source of acquaintance for male respondents. At Times 1 and 2, older males were more likely than younger ones to choose associates from the same family. Younger males were more likely to name persons they had either grown up or gone to school with.

For females, age did not make a difference in the source of acquaintance; both younger and older women were about equally likely to choose their relationships from any category. There was a tendency for younger women at Time 1 to select more school friends than did older ones, but this difference disappeared at Time 2. At Time 2, older women were somewhat more likely than younger ones to choose their friends from persons they had met through their child.

Average closeness felt toward network members did not vary according to a respondent's age. However, younger members were more likely than older ones to share activities with their four closest associates (Time 1, $p = .04$; Time 2, $p < .09$) and to disclose their feelings to these persons at Time 1 ($p < .02$).

Summary of Variations in Social Networks

Several factors, then, affected respondents' social participation after marital separation. Having children tended to stabilize a network

and to reduce its turnover. Parents were more likely than nonparents to remain anchored in a kin network after breakup.

Having the actual custody of a child was an important factor for fathers in this sample. Custodial fathers tended to have more stable networks, and their networks after separation were notably kin-centered compared to those of noncustodial fathers and childless males. It is likely that for females, too, high kin involvement is a function of their having custody of their children.

A respondent's age also affected their social participation, but these differences are difficult to summarize. Older respondents appeared to spend more time with their closest associates during their marriage than did younger ones, and these associates were quite likely to know each other. However, younger respondents reported a higher frequency of engaging in mutual activities (at Times 1 and 2) and of disclosing personal feelings (at Time 1).

One's occupational status, income, and education would also be likely to affect social participation, but these variables were not examined systematically in this study.

CHAPTER V
PATTERNS OF RESPONDENT WELL-BEING

One major question of this study is how the respondents' well-being following marital separation was associated with their participation in different sorts of relationships. This chapter examines patterns of self-esteem, life satisfaction, and loneliness across three time points--before and after marital separation and at the time of the interview. It then looks at how variations in ratings on these variables are associated with a number of network variables and with network turnover.

Well-Being Before and After Marital Separation

Self-Esteem

Respondents were asked to rate their self-esteem at Times 1 and 2 retrospectively, and also to rate it for the time of the interview. There were three items in the self-esteem scale: worthwhile-worthless, useful-useless, and productive-unproductive. Intercorrelations among the three items and with the total score were all above .80 ($p < .001$) at each time point; therefore, only the total score was used in further analyses.

Respondents' self-esteem, as they remembered it, dropped from Time 1 to Time 2, and then rose again at Time 3 to an even higher level than at Time 1 (see Table 10). The drop in self-esteem from Time 1 to Time 2 was only marginally significant ($p < .17$ for males, $p < .10$ for females),

TABLE 10

Respondents' Ratings of Their Well-Being at Three Time Points

Index	Time 1		Time 2		Time 3		Time 1 vs Time 2		Time 2 vs Time 3	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIALS^a</u>										
Self-esteem	16.10	16.40	15.70	14.95	17.50	18.45			**	***
Life Satisfaction	45.00	42.30	49.55	43.85	54.00	54.45	**	***		***
<u>LINE SCALES^b</u>										
Happiness	6.18	6.93	6.74	6.25	7.71	8.39	*			***
Satisfaction	5.93	5.73	7.05	5.97	7.64	7.90	*	**		**

^aThe numbers in the first row reflect the average sum of the three self-esteem items, each rated on an 7-point semantic differential scale, with the high number representing the positive pole. The numbers in the second row reflect the sums of the ten life satisfaction items.

^bThese numbers represent mean ratings on an 11-centimeter line scale.

*p < .05
 **p < .01
 ***p < .001

but the level of self-esteem at Time 3 was perceived significantly higher than at Time 2. There was a nonsignificant trend for self-esteem at Time 3 to be higher than it had been at Time 1, during the marriage. For no time point were there differences between males' and females' self-ratings, nor between those of parents and nonparents. For males, self-esteem during their marriage was positively correlated with joint income ($r = .53, p < .001$). For females, self-esteem during marriage was positively correlated with their age ($r = .52, p < .001$).

Life Satisfaction

Ten items assessed life satisfaction at Times 1, 2, and 3 (e.g., enjoyable-miserable, full-empty; see Appendix M).⁴ Life satisfaction was perceived as about equal at Times 1 and 2, but significantly higher at Time 3 than at either of these two time points, especially for females (see Table 10).

One item in particular (free versus tied-down) showed strong variations in men's ratings across the three time points. Mean ratings for feeling free increased sharply from Time 1 to Time 2 ($p < .001$). At the time of the interview, men rated themselves as feeling freer than during marriage ($p < .02$), but less free than at Time 2 ($p < .004$). Females'

⁴In general, all ten items correlated highly with the total score. However, for males, whether their life was "free versus tied-down" did not correlate with their total life satisfaction at Times 2 and 3. For females, whether their life was "easy versus hard" did not correlate with their total satisfaction at Times 2 and 3. A factor analysis showed that these two items loaded on a different factor than the other eight, although the pattern varied somewhat across the three time periods and the two sexes. Omitting these two items made little difference in later analyses, however; therefore, all ten items were retained for the total score.

feelings of being free after separation did not increase significantly until Time 3 ($p < .04$).

Another item of interest was in women's ratings of their life's difficulty or its ease. Ratings of life's easiness dropped after marital separation, though not significantly. After this initial period of difficulty, however, ratings increased ($p < .04$) showing women to feel their lives were presently as easy as during their marriage and much easier than at Time 2. Men, on the other hand, saw no difference in their life's ease across the three time points.

It appears, then, that after divorce men quite quickly feel their life is freer, women more gradually so. Life seems harder for women immediately after their divorce than it does at the later time of the interview. For neither sex is life remembered as being easier after the divorce than during the marriage.

The respondents also checked on two 11-centimeter line scales how happy or unhappy, how satisfied or dissatisfied they were with their life in general at each time point. Happiness was reported to increase after separation, but not significantly so until Time 3 (see Table 10). Global satisfaction, as measured by the line scale, also increased after separation, but the pattern was different for males and females. For males, satisfaction increased significantly at Time 2, then showed little increase at Time 3. Females' satisfaction did not increase from Time 1 to Time 2, but did increase significantly at Time 3.

Parents and nonparents did not differ significantly in their reports of self-esteem, satisfaction, or happiness. Two trends should be

mentioned, however. Nonparents reported themselves somewhat more satisfied than parents during the marriage ($p < .10$, line scale), and they felt freer at Time 3 ($p < .11$).

Custodial and noncustodial fathers and childless males did not differ significantly in their average reports of life satisfaction. However, these three groups did differ in their pattern across the three time points (see Table 11). The two groups of divorcees without children to care for appeared to feel more satisfied after separation than during their marriage. Noncustodial fathers, who remembered themselves as the least satisfied group of men during marriage, appeared to gain satisfaction rapidly after separation and then to level off; the gain was slower for childless males. For custodial fathers, satisfaction dropped somewhat after separation and by the interview was reported as no higher than before separation.

Differences between these three groups of men were noted on two items within the satisfaction scale. Feeling free (versus tied-down) increased after separation for each group, most sharply for noncustodial fathers and least for custodial ones. Feeling that life is easy (versus difficult) increased after breakup for noncustodial fathers and childless males, but not for custodial fathers. These men felt that life was harder after separation, and at Time 3, ratings of life's ease were no higher than during the marriage.

Loneliness

Respondents rated their loneliness at Time 2, that time after separation when they first began to feel like a single person again.

TABLE 11

Well-Being of Three Groups of Males at Three Time Points

Index	Custodial Fathers	Noncustodial Fathers	Childless Males
Free, Time 1	4.33	2.50	3.50
Time 2	5.17	6.50	5.63
Time 3	3.83	4.83	5.00
Easy, Time 1	4.00	3.50	3.50
Time 2	3.00	4.35	3.88
Time 3	3.33	5.83	4.13 *
<u>LIFE SATISFACTION</u>			
Time 1	49.67	38.67	46.25
Time 2	43.83	56.33	48.75
Time 3	50.83	55.67	55.12
<u>LONELINESS</u>			
Social Isolation	10.83	5.83	9.75
Emotional Isolation	11.33	6.33	7.88

*p < .05

Loneliness was assessed via 15 items, shown in Table 12 according to the clusters which emerged from factor analysis. The first factor represents the loneliness of social isolation and the second, the loneliness of emotional isolation. Four items did not load on either factor. Two indices were created by summing responses to the six items in each factor, and a total loneliness score was created by summing the responses to all 15 items.

Ratings were about equal for social and emotional loneliness. There were no differences in reported loneliness between males and females, or between parents and nonparents, either on the total score or on the two subscales. However, female parents tended to report more social loneliness than did female nonparents, (12.38 versus 6.00), and custodial fathers to report more emotional and social loneliness than noncustodial fathers (11.08 versus 6.08).

Summary of Changes in Well-Being Before and After Separation

There were distinctive patterns in respondents' perceptions of their emotional experience following breakup. Compared to during their marriage, respondents rated themselves lower in self-esteem, about equally satisfied with their lives, and somewhat happier at Time 2. Their ratings at the time of the interview showed them to feel higher self-esteem, greater life satisfaction, and more happiness at either previous time point.

Males and females showed somewhat different patterns across the three time points. In general, males remembered themselves somewhat happier and more satisfied at Time 2 than did females, but by Time 3

TABLE 12

Respondent Loneliness at Time 2

Item ^a	Males	Females
<u>SOCIAL ISOLATION</u>	<u>8.90</u>	<u>11.10</u>
My social relationships are superficial	1.25	1.30
It is difficult for me to make friends	1.45	1.70
I feel as if nobody really understands me	1.15	1.85
I am unhappy doing so many things alone	1.80	2.30
There is no one I can turn to	1.75	1.75
My interests and ideas are not shared by others	1.50	2.20
<u>EMOTIONAL ISOLATION</u>	<u>8.45</u>	<u>9.70</u>
I feel starved for company	2.15	2.85
I feel completely alone	1.05	.95
I have nobody to talk to	1.30	1.55
I wish I had somebody to take care of	1.05	1.40
I wish I had someone to love	1.10	1.55
I feel that no one loves me	1.80	1.40
<u>OTHER</u>		
I wish I were married again	1.55	1.60
I feel shut out and excluded	1.55	1.40
I wish I had someone to help me with daily routines	1.10	1.45
<u>TOTAL LONELINESS</u>	<u>21.40</u>	<u>25.10</u>

^aRatings were made on 5-point scales ranging from 0 to 4.

ratings were about equal.

Fathers and childless males also showed different patterns of satisfaction. Noncustodial fathers and childless males felt more satisfied after breakup than before, whereas custodial fathers felt somewhat less satisfied. Custodial fathers preferred to have less leisure time than at present, with more time spent with others ($p < .07$) and less time spent alone ($p < .04$), indicating that they may have felt their social life to be inadequate. The other two groups of males were satisfied with their present amount of leisure time. Custodial fathers also were most likely to wish they were married again, noncustodial fathers least likely ($p < .03$).

Well-Being and Network Characteristics

One object of this study was to explore how respondent well-being was associated with patterns of social involvement. This section examines the correlation between the well-being indices and network size, density, and segmentation, and the members' relation to the respondent, members' marital status and sex.

Network Structure

Neither the sheer size of a network nor the segmentation of the 8-member subset was associated with respondent well-being at either Time 1 or Time 2 (see Table 13). Density of the 8-member subset during marriage was positively associated with reports of self-esteem, life-satisfaction, and happiness ($p < .05$), but a subset's density after separation appeared to make no difference in ratings.

TABLE 13

Correlations between Well-Being and Network Turnover

Turnover	Self-Esteem		Loneliness		Physical Attractiveness	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 2	Time 3	Time 2	Time 3
Turnover from Time 1 to Time 2	M	.32 ^a			.69	
	F	-.43		-.51	-.33	
Turnover of Married Associates	M					
	F					
Time 1 to Time 2	M	.35			.62	
	F	-.34		-.32		
Time 1 to Time 3	M	.40				.48
	F			-.49		

^aAn r of .44 is significant at the .05 level. Only r 's above .32 are reported.

Network turnover, however, did appear to be associated with well-being, at least for males. The more Time 1 relationships males dropped from their network, the less loneliness felt at Time 2. Also, for males, the more married associates dropped, the less loneliness, especially if turnover was measured at the time of the interview, rather than at Time 2. Turnover of unmarried members and of male or female associates made no difference in respondents' reports of well-being.

Turnover of males' networks was positively associated, and of females negatively associated, with ratings of their own physical attractiveness. In other words, males who rated themselves more attractive seemed to change their connections more and to feel less lonely than those who rated themselves as less attractive. Attractive females, on the other hand, appeared to remain embedded in their old network to a larger extent than did less attractive ones.

Member Characteristics

The number of friends and relatives in a network (H2.1.4) was correlated with reports of well-being (see Table 14). For females, this correlation occurred for during the marriage. The more relatives females mentioned at Time 1, the lower their reports of self-esteem, life satisfaction, and happiness at that time; in contrast, the more friends they mentioned, the higher their ratings on these indices.

For males, this correlation occurred instead for after separation. At Time 2, the more relatives named, the lower their rating of well-being; the more friends named, the higher their rating. Having a number of friends, then, appears to be beneficial to either males or females,

TABLE 14

Correlations between Well-Being and Network Composition

Network Variable	Self-Esteem		Life Satisfaction		Happiness		Loneliness	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
RELATIVES								
Time 1	M							
	F	-.60 ^a	-.43			-.38		

Time 2	M	.35	-.32	-.44	-.40	.62		
	F			-.42				
FRIENDS								
Time 1	M							
	F	.50	.55	.47		-.41		

Time 2	M				.37	-.46		
	F							
MALES								
Time 1	M	.46		.43	.36	-.49		
	F	.37	-.60	-.39	.33			

Time 2	M					-.48		
	F					.42		

TABLE 14 (CONTINUED)

Network Variable	Self-Esteem		Life Satisfaction		Happiness		Loneliness	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
FEMALES								
Time 1	M	-.46		-.43		-.36		.49
	F		.57		.39			
Time 2	M							.48
	F							-.42
AUTONOMY								
	M	.40		.48		.38		-.50
	F							

^aAn r of .44 is significant at the .05 level. Only r 's above .32 are reported.

but is especially important for married females and for single males.

The proportion of males and females in a network after separation was related to a respondent's degree of loneliness at Time 2 (see Table 14). The number of cross-sex associates was positively correlated with loneliness, and the number of same-sex ones negatively correlated with it.

The number of married versus unmarried acquaintances (H2.4.1) at Time 2 was associated with men's loneliness after separation (not shown). The more married associates, the greater loneliness, and the more unmarried associates, the less loneliness males reported after breakup. Females' reports of well-being were not associated with whether members were presently married or unmarried.

Network Interaction

To what extent is respondent well-being associated with how much they said they interacted with their network's four most important adults (H4.2)? Females who rated themselves high in self-esteem and life satisfaction and low in loneliness at Time 2 reported having more physical contact and sharing of positive feelings at Time 2 (not shown). Males who rated themselves high in physical attractiveness reported having more physical contact at Time 1 and sharing feelings more often at either Time 1 or Time 2 than those rating themselves low in physical attractiveness.

Summary of Well-Being Correlations with Network Characteristics

In summary, then, psychological well-being appears to be associated

with social involvement, but differently under different circumstances. Whether the respondent was rating the period during marriage or after breakup appeared to be influential in whether or not a well-being variable and a network variable were linked. During marriage, well-being was positively associated with density of the 8-member subset. For females, it was positively associated with the proportion of friends, especially female friends, in the network, and negatively associated with the number of kin associates.

After separation, well-being was positively associated for males with the number of their friends, especially male friends, and negatively associated with the number of their kin associates. Also, for males, well-being was positively associated with the number of nonmarried associates and negatively associated with the number of married ones. Network turnover, or the sheer number of Time 1 associates dropped, appeared beneficial for males, but was unrelated to females' reports of well-being.

These data show that network factors are associated with psychological experience following marital breakup, but further research needs to be done to clarify those factors and identify the circumstances under which they will be important.

Well-Being and Respondent Variables

This section examines correlations between well-being and respondents' ratings of their desire for autonomy and their willingness to talk to others about personal problems. It also compares the well-being

of those who are high versus low in desire for social integration and attachment, and of those who initiated the marital separation versus the non-initiators.

Desire for Autonomy

Males' reports of their desire for autonomy were consistently associated with well-being. To the extent they said that their autonomy is important, they also rated themselves as physically attractive, as having high self-esteem, satisfaction, and happiness, and as experiencing less loneliness following separation (see Table 14). Those men who were high in their desire for autonomy (compared to low autonomy men) associated with more males at Time 1 ($r = .61, p < .005$), with more friends at Time 2 ($r = .49, p < .03$), and had more network turnover from Time 1 to Time 2 ($r = .39, p < .09$). Autonomous males also associated with fewer females at Time 1 ($r = -.71, p < .001$) and with fewer relatives at Time 1 ($r = -.59, p < .01$) than did their less autonomous counterparts. Those high in ratings of autonomy were married shorter lengths of time ($r = -.48, p < .03$), and needed less time to feel single again ($r = -.49, p < .03$).

For females, their expressed desire for autonomy was not associated with their self-ratings of well-being (see Table 14). Autonomous females did, however, rate themselves as more physically attractive ($r = .48, p < .03$), as having larger networks (Time 1, $r = .51$; Time 2, $r = .60, p < .01$), and with having more turnover in the 8-member subset from Time 1 to Time 2 ($r = .53, p < .01$) than did less autonomous females.

Respondents' Willingness to Talk about Problems

A respondent's willingness to share personal problems with others was positively associated with females' self-rated well-being, but not males'. However, this association was true only for the time of the interview (Time 3); thus, for these female respondents, well-being either during marriage or shortly after separation was not connected to their present willingness to reveal their feelings.

Willingness to talk about problems was negatively correlated with age for females ($r = -.62, p < .003$). Younger women, then, felt it was more likely than did older ones that they would seek out others for social support.

Respondents' Affiliative Tendencies

The participants rated their desire for social integration (to have a large number of social ties) and their desire for attachment (to have an emotionally close relationship). These two indices were positively correlated for males ($r = .47, p < .05$), but not for females. Ratings were made on two sets of eight items, and responses were summed and dichotomized into high and low groups.

Social integration. Well-being at the time of the interview differed according to respondents' ratings of their desire for social integration. Respondents placing great importance on social integration (compared to those who did not) were, at Time 3, higher in their ratings of both self-esteem ($p < .001$) and life satisfaction ($p < .02$). High raters also reported themselves more extraverted than did low raters at Time 3 ($p < .001$), more likely to discuss their problems with others

($p < .004$), and more likely to have dropped their Time 2 relationships by the time of the interview ($p < .03$).

Attachment. It was expected that respondents who expressed a high need for attachment would have suffered more from the loss of the spouse than would those low in need for attachment. This hypothesis was not confirmed: there were no differences between these two groups in their ratings of self esteem, life-satisfaction, happiness, or loneliness at Time 2. However, those who placed high importance on attachment reported themselves more satisfied with their life during the marriage than those who placed low importance on having an attachment relationship ($p < .01$).

Initiators versus Non-Initiators of Separation

Which spouse was more likely to initiate marital separation, and how did being an initiator or a target affect psychological well-being? In this sample, females appeared to have initiated more of the marital separations. Of the male respondents, 7 reported themselves as initiators, 11 reported their wives as initiators, and 2 reported the decision had been mutual. Of the female respondents, 12 reported they themselves had asked for separation, 8 said it was their husband's decision.⁵

Being the spouse who decides to leave the other, rather than being the one left behind, was positively associated with psychological well-being during marital separation. Table 15 shows that initiators were

⁵The accuracy of these reports must be questioned, however; only three of the five pairs of doubly interviewed ex-spouses agreed on who had initiated their separation.

TABLE 15
Well-Being of Initiators versus Non-Initiators

Index	All Respondents			Males		Females	
	Initiators	Non-Initiators	Initiators	Non-Initiators	Initiators	Non-Initiators	
Self-Esteem							
Time 1	16.32	16.11	15.00	16.64	18.08	15.35	
Time 2	16.42	14.16 ^o	18.28	14.00	15.33	14.38	
Time 3	18.68	17.42	18.57	17.00	18.75	18.00	
Life Satisfaction							
Time 1	40.16	47.00 ^o	39.86	48.27	40.33	45.25	
Time 2	50.57	41.59*	57.28	43.00	46.67	39.63	
Time 3	56.63	52.21	57.86	52.18	55.92	52.23	
Happiness							
Time 1	5.74	7.39	5.36	6.68	5.97	8.36	
Time 2	6.96	5.78	8.19	5.43	6.25	6.26	
Time 3	8.74	7.47	9.04	6.98	8.56	8.14	
Loneliness	20.48	26.95	12.86	28.09	24.92	25.38	

^op < .10

*p < .05

less lonely, more satisfied with their lives, had higher self-esteem and were happier than non-initiators.

When the ratings of well-being are broken down further according to the respondent's sex, it can be seen that the difference in felt well-being between the initiators and non-initiators occurred primarily for males. Females who initiated breakup were somewhat more satisfied with their life than females who were the target of breakup, but they did not differ in loneliness, happiness, or self-esteem level. For males, however, those who were the targets of their wife's decision to leave felt much worse off than did males who themselves chose to break up. All six of the custodial fathers had wives who initiated separation; however, their ratings of well-being did not differ from those of the other five non-initiating males.

Summary of Well-Being Correlations with Respondent Variables

Many of the study's variables were intercorrelated. For example, for males, desire for autonomy was strongly and positively related to well-being. Autonomy was also associated with several network variables that in turn were associated with well-being. Because of the small sample size, these data were not submitted to multiple regression analyses; such analyses could have clarified the relations among the many intercorrelated variables.

Willingness to talk about problems was positively associated with well-being, but only for females, and only for the time of the interview. Even though these data did not show strong associations, such willingness to talk to others appears crucial in determining how much emotional

support one is likely to obtain in a time of need, and to affect the quality and quantity of one's interaction with others.

A respondent's desire for social integration (for getting together with others) was strongly and positively associated with their ratings of well-being. On the other hand, a respondent's desire for a close attachment relationship was not associated with ratings of psychological status. This finding suggests that casual social ties can help mediate the stress of divorce.

Whether a respondent was the initiator of the separation or the non-initiator was important to well-being. Initiators, especially male initiators, enjoyed much greater well-being than did their non-initiating counterparts.

CHAPTER VI

SPOUSES' REPORTS OF THEIR MARRIAGE

In this section, we examine spouses' perceptions of points in their marital history when they felt either married or single, we assess their reporting accuracy on several indices, and we compare the social networks of the two ex-spouses from the same marriage.

Perceptions of Being Married or Single

The two measures used to determine which time points respondents would use for describing their networks were the respondents' perceptions of feeling married and feeling single again. Time 1 was the most recent point during the marriage when the respondent felt fairly confident that the marriage would go on indefinitely into the future. Time 2 was that time after separation when the respondent really began to feel like a single person again. When do such points occur in the average history of a marriage and divorce?

Time 1: Confidence in the Continuation of a Marriage

For each year of their marriage, respondents were asked to graph their degree of confidence that their marriage would go on indefinitely into the future. Confidence in the continuity of their relationship was graphed across each year of marriage and recorded at four time points: (1) at the beginning of marriage, (2) half-way between marriage and separation, (3) at Time 1 (which occurred, for most marriages, during the

last half), and (4) at the time of separation, for which respondents graphed the probability that they would get back together again. At its beginning, 12 males and 16 females were 100% confident of their marriage's durability, 7 males and 3 females ranged in confidence from 70% to 95%, and 1 male and 1 female were only 50% confident (see Table 16). Halfway through the marriage and at Time 1, respondents on the average were somewhat less confident than at the beginning of their marriage that they would stay together, but only a few (5-6) expressed less than 50% confidence.

At the time of separation, however, over half the sample had virtually no expectation of getting back together. Another third expected at least a 50% chance of reconciliation, and the remainder reported the chances of getting together again as between zero and 50%. Two males, but no females, were completely sure they would eventually reconcile with their spouse.

There were no differences between parents and nonparents, nor between younger and older respondents, in their reported confidence in their marriage's continuity at any time point.

Respondents' confidence was associated with their reports of well-being, but differently for men and women. For men, the more confident they felt during their marriage, the higher their self-esteem, happiness, and satisfaction during that marriage. For females, the higher their confidence during their marriage, the lower their reported self-well-being at the time of the interview.

TABLE 16

Confidence in the Continuity of the Respondents' Marriage at Four Time Points

Percent Confidence	At Marriage		Halfway		Time 1		At Separation	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
100%	12 ^a	16	6	9	5	8	2 ^b	0
90-99%	4	2	6	3	5	2	0	0
80-89%	0	1	3	3	2	2	2	3
70-79%	3	0	0	0	4	1	0	1
60-69%	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
50-59%	1	1	2	1	2	2	2	1
40-49%	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
30-39%	0	0	1	2	0	1	1	1
20-29%	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
10-19%	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1
0- 9%	0	0	0	0	0	0	11 ^c	10
Average Confidence	91.05	94.95	82.35	80.70	79.20	76.00	27.05	29.70

^aThe numbers in each column show the number of respondents per category.

^bThe number of respondents certain that they would get back together again.

^cThe number of respondents certain that they would not get back together again.

Time 2: Feeling Single Again

The respondents were asked to tell when after the separation they first began to feel like a single person again. Overall, males more quickly became accustomed to single life than did females. The mean time required for males to feel single again was 7.75 months after separation (with a range from 1 to 29 months); for females, the mean time was 10 months (with a range from 1 to 24 months). By six months, 10 males and 8 females felt single; by one year, 17 males and 16 females felt single.

The length of time to feel single was negatively correlated with males' reports of their desire for autonomy ($p < .01$), and with their tendency to initiate social activities at Time 2 ($p < .01$). For females, the longer it took to feel single, the greater their loneliness at Time 2 ($p < .01$), and the lower their ratings of well-being at Time 3 (n.s.).

Accuracy of Respondents' Reports

One question in retrospective research pertains to the extent that memory may distort actual events. Retrospections are prone to inaccuracy and bias. For most of the present measures, there is no way to gauge the accuracy of respondents' reports. One measure of recall accuracy, however, was the participants' memory of dates of marriage, separation, and divorce, dates which are a matter of court record.

Respondents were asked to remember four dates: the date of marriage, the month and year the spouses last lived together, the date of

the NISI judgment, and the date of absolute decree. When respondents' reports were compared to court records, females corresponded 97.25% with court records, compared to an 83% correspondence among males.

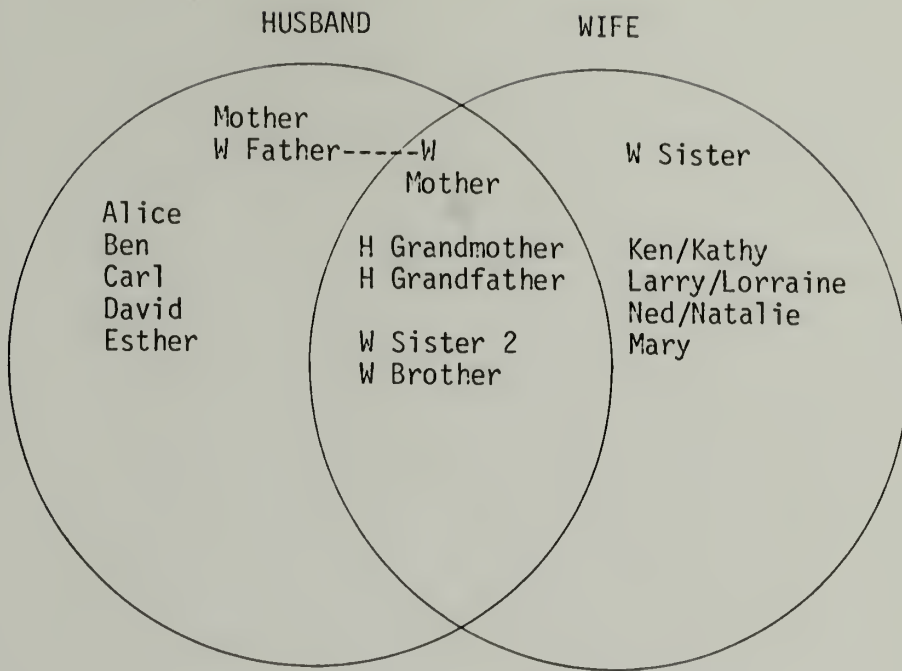
The five males and five females who had been married to each other were compared for their agreement on three additional items: who initiated the separation (60% agreement), who filed for divorce (100% agreement), and the number of earlier separations (60% agreement). For these five pairs, the average husband-wife agreement across these three items and the four items listed above was 70%.

Networks of Ex-Spouses from the Same Marriage

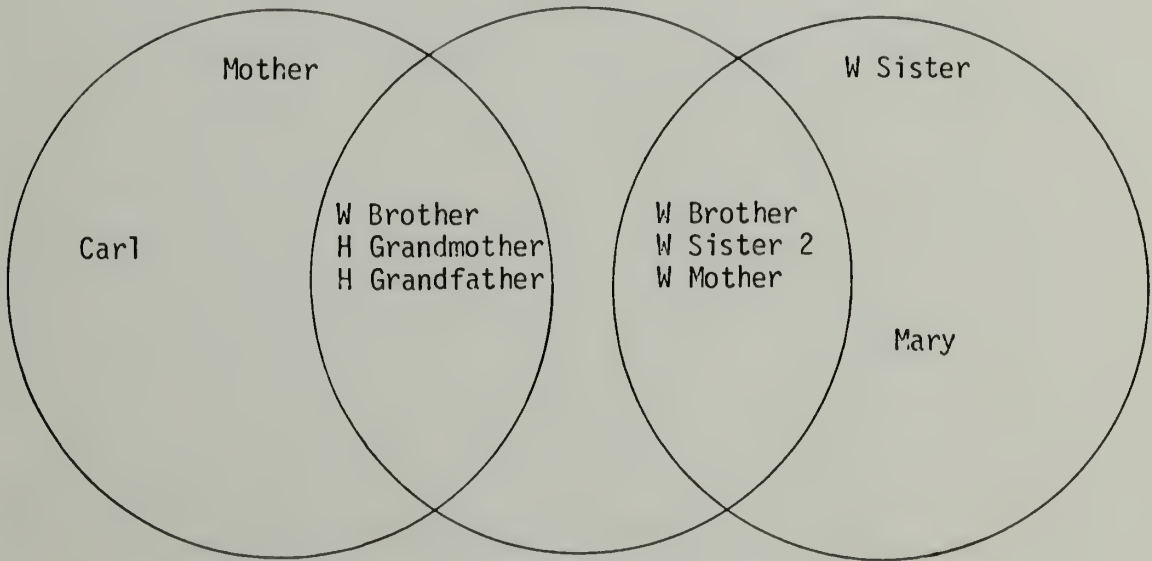
One important theoretical question is what happens to the shared network of two spouses when a marriage breaks up. This section explores this question by examining the social networks of the five males and five females who had been married to each other.

In none of the five pairs did the two spouses report identical networks; rather, some associates appeared in the networks of both spouses, others in the network of either one or the other spouse. Such findings corroborate theoretical speculations about joint versus shared subgroups within marital networks (e.g., Huston & Levinger, 1978).

An example of one couple's network is shown in Figure 1. This pair had been married about 9 years. For each spouse, Time 1 was two years before separation, and Time 2 was five months after breakup. There were 20 members in the both spouses' network. The ex-spouses shared five of these relationships, which were all kin relationships.



Time 1



Time 2

Fig. 1. A husband's and Wife's social networks before and after marital separation.

The husband associated with seven additional persons, and the wife associated with eight other ones. At Time 2, however, only one of the five former joint associates was still in both networks--the wife's brother. The husband no longer associated with the wife's mother or sister, she no longer associated with his grandparents. Not only did the shared network shrink; the husband dropped five of his seven own associates from Time 1, and the wife dropped six of her eight personal members, for an average total loss of 60% of each spouse's network.

All five sets of ex-spouses reported having a joint network during marriage, sharing an average of 56.7% of their associates. Nine of the ten spouses also had an individual network; males averaged 11 associates in their individual network, females averaged 8. (One male had no personal associates.)

After separation, the joint network did not totally dissolve. Seventy percent of the shared associates were still in the network of one or the other spouse, and 45.3% remained in both spouses' networks; most of these remaining members were kin. Of those persons in the spouses' individual networks, 42.5% remained at Time 2. Turnover, then, appeared to be about equal in the individual and the joint network for these five sets of ex-spouses.

Because of the small number of ex-spouses from the same marriage, these data are preliminary and sketchy. Nonetheless, the concept of jointly shared associates and individual ones seems worth developing. Future studies could explore the dimensions assessed in the present study by focusing on differences between joint and individual networks,

and their connections to each other. Density, for example, could be assessed for both joint and individual subgroups. Density within the shared network would be expected to be higher than density within the individual network or density between the two subgroups. Such analyses would enable us to better understand how the marital relationship is affected by each spouse's relationships outside the marriage.

discuss their implications. Finally, we will review some of the research issues involved in doing this study.

Network Change from Before to After Marital Separation

In general, there was a great deal of network turnover from Time 1 to Time 2, that is, from an average of two years before to eight months after marital separation. Almost half (41.5%) of an average respondent's associates during Time 1 were dropped after separation. Some of these relationships were replaced with new ones, but respondents' networks after separation were smaller by an average of 3 members (14%) than during the marriage. Furthermore, in each person's subset of eight closest associations, fewer members knew each other and the eight members were drawn from more contexts after separation than during the marriage.

The decrease in size largely reflects the loss (and non-replacement) of those associates who became part of the network through the spouse. After separation, the spouse's kin were frequently dropped from the network (more so than for any other group) and replaced with friends and work associates. Persons known first by the spouse or who were closer to the spouse than to the respondent were quite likely to be dropped from one's network at Time 2. Some of these relationships (e.g., the wife of one's husband's colleague) had not served an important function in the network. Others were dropped because their continuing association with the spouse made further interaction difficult.

Kin associates composed the largest category of relationship, both

before and after marital separation. However, friends became equally as important as kin after breakup. More friends and fewer kin were included in the 8-member subset at Time 2 than previously, and respondents after separation reported spending less time with kin and more time with friends in this subset.

Some associations were more likely to be dropped than others. These appeared to be those relationships where the respondent had less in common with the network member. Opposite-sex associates and married friends were more likely to be dropped than members of one's own sex and the unmarried.

Post-separation networks, then, resemble those from before marriage: They are less couple-centered, and the spouses or friends of one's friends are less likely to be part of the network (see also Farrell & Rosenberg, 1977; Lowenthal & Chiriboga, 1975). Networks are more likely to be composed of single friends than they were during marriage, another similarity to premarital networks (e.g., Boissevain, 1974; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1977; Shulman, 1975). And they are less kin-centered than during marriage, again resembling premarital networks (e.g., Brandwein, Brown, & Fox, 1974; Spicer & Hampe, 1975).

The nature of one's interaction with specific individuals also changes following marital separation. During marriage, the spouse is the target of most interaction. Respondents' ratings of self-disclosure, physical contact, sharing feelings, and participation in joint activities were significantly higher for the spouse than for any of the three other important adult relationships. After separation,

interaction appears to be more evenly distributed across one's four most important relationships and to be higher on the average for those four associates than for the three non-spousal connections during marriage, indicating that other relationships have come to fulfill the provisions of the lost marital ones (e.g., Weiss, 1974).

Self-disclosure at Time 2 increased over Time 1, significantly for females, indicating that one function of these post-separation acquaintances was listening to the separated person's account of her or his experience. The amount of physical contact reported by respondents decreased significantly after breakup, primarily due to the loss of the sexual relationship with the ex-spouse. There was a tendency for time spent participating in joint activities with the four closest associates to decrease; on other measures, however, respondents reported an overall increase in the amount of effort spent getting together with others, so sharing in activities may have been just as common after separation, but more widely distributed over a larger circle of acquaintances.

Network Changes and Psychological Well-Being

Respondents on the average considered themselves at least as well off psychologically, if not better off, at the time of the interview (an average of two years after separation) compared to during the marriage. Retrospective ratings of self-esteem showed a decrease after breakup, but then an increase to pre-separation levels. Life satisfaction reported at the time of the interview was higher than at Time 1. A respondent's well-being during marriage had no correlation with well-

being after separation.

Well-being was associated with network turnover, but differently for males and females. It was correlated with whether one's associates were primarily kin or friends, for females during the marriage and for males after separation. These findings will be discussed in the next section.

Well-being varied directly with a respondent's tendency to participate in social relationships (that is, to obtain social integration). High participators, compared to low ones were more satisfied and had more self-esteem at the time of the interview. They were also more extraverted, more willing to discuss their problems with others, and more likely to have dropped their Time 1 relationships. These findings are similar to those of Bradburn and Caplowitz (1965), who also found that degree of social involvement correlated directly with psychological well-being.

Whereas well-being appeared to be connected to one's tendency to socialize, it was not associated with one's desire for a close emotional tie (that is, to have an attachment relationship). Respondents who reported themselves as satisfied with life during the marriage, however, were more likely to want another attachment relationship (although not necessarily a marriage). This indicates that it might not be one's present well-being that dictates a person's interest in a new close relationship, but rather one's memories of the quality of the old one.

Being an initiator of separation rather than a non-initiator made a difference in ratings of well-being. In fact, loneliness after

separation--which was probably experienced by most respondents--did not vary according to the respondents' sex, parental status, or their having or not having child custody. It did vary, however, according to who did the leaving. The 19 initiators reported being much less lonely and much more satisfied with life than were the 19 non-initiators.⁶

Variations in Social Experience

What are the variables that affect one's social experience following breakup? This study compared the social experiences and well-being of males and females, parents and nonparents, custodial and noncustodial fathers and childless males.

Males versus Females

Network characteristics. Males and females are often found to have different social experiences. It was somewhat surprising in this study to find that social networks did not differ substantially for these two groups. Males and females named approximately the same number of network members, from approximately the same contexts, and with about equal degrees of participation. The few differences that were found, however, support the existing literature.

Females named significantly more kin as their network members than did males, both before and after marital separation. Females are frequently found to be quite involved with kin (e.g., Anspach, 1976; Spicer & Hampe, 1975), as traditional sex roles support their

⁶In two cases, the decision to separate had been mutual.

maintenance of family solidarity. After separation, either sex increased their involvement with friends, both in number of friends and time spent with them, and they decreased their amount of time spent with kin, a finding contrary to Anspach (1976) and Spicer and Hampe (1975), who found that females' involvement with kin increased after divorce.

A female's traditional role as caretaker of the home may prevent her establishing ties outside the family (Fischer & Phillips, 1979). Males and females in the present study did not differ, however, in their number of friends met in other contexts, except that males were somewhat more likely to associate with old school mates than were females.

Overall, both males and females reported more same-sex than cross-sex ties. However, males had more cross-sex relationships than did females in their 8-member subset, especially after separation; females' eight closest relationships were predominantly with other females, whereas males' relationships were equally likely to be with males or females. This finding reflects a tendency for either sex to be closely involved with females, probably because females are more frequently the target of intimate self-disclosure than are males (e.g., Jourard, 1971; Rands & Levinger, 1979).

Females' post-separation levels of physical contact with the four closest adults--although lower than during marriage--were as high as pre-separation levels for males. It appears more acceptable for females than for males to hug others, which probably accounts for most of this difference (Rands & Levinger, 1979).

Psychological well-being. Although the differences in males' and

females' networks were few, their experience of these networks did differ. For males, turnover of associates from Time 1 to Time 2 was positively associated with well-being after separation. To the extent that a male dropped his relationships with kin, married associates, and females, and established relationships with friends, especially unmarried male friends, his reports of well-being increased.

For females, this was not true. A female's well-being after marital separation appeared to have little to do with the number of associates she dropped or her relationship to them. Her well-being during marriage, however, was associated with network participation; she reported greater satisfaction if she was not totally embedded in a kin network, but also had same-sex friends. But after breakup, her well-being was apparently affected by factors other than the network construction itself.

For females, it is quite likely that the presence of only one close confidant is sufficient to allay psychological distress (e.g., Brown, Brohlchain, & Harris, 1975). If so, information about their absolute number of friendships after marital separation may reveal little. The observation that turnover appears beneficial to males but not to females could be interpreted as supporting one part of Pleck's (1975) suggestion that males' relationships are sociable, rather than intimate. The other part may be true as well, that females benefit from intimacy with one or a few confidants more than from mere sociability.

For both males and females, having a number of friends seems to contribute to a positive feeling about one's life, but at different

times. For females, having same-sex friends during the marriage was directly associated with well-being, perhaps because friends provided contact with a world apart from their family. For males, having same-sex friends after separation seemed important, perhaps because other males provided support for their decision to divorce.

The difference in males' and females' responses to having friends can be interpreted by applying some of Fischer and Phillip's (1979) observations. These researchers found that isolation from kin and nonkin differs in character, cause, and consequence (p. 27). It is isolation from nonkin that is most strongly associated with personal unhappiness. Marriage isolates women, but not men, from nonkin; those women in the present study who did have friends during marriage were more satisfied than those who did not. However, marriage isolates men, but not women, from confidants; in the present study men's well-being after separation was positively associated with their having male friends, suggesting that men benefited from gaining friends to talk to.

By the time of the interview, both males and females in the present study were more satisfied with life than they had been during marriage. However, males became satisfied much earlier than did females. Compared to during the marriage, males' life satisfaction increased rapidly between separation and Time 2 (on the average within 7.5 months after breakup) and then leveled off. Females' life satisfaction had not increased significantly by Time 2; however, by Time 3 (an average of 28.5 months after separation) females' satisfaction was higher than during their marriage.

Initiators of the separation tended to be female more often than male, which is a common finding (Kressel, Lopez-Morillas, Weinglass, & Deutsch, 1979; Hill, Rubin, & Peplau, 1979; Peplau, 1978). Being the initiator rather than the non-initiator made a difference in respondents' reports of their well-being following separation, especially if the respondent were male. Males who were the target of their wife's decision to leave were the sorriest group; those who themselves chose to leave were the most content. Few differences were found between female initiators and non-initiators. Female initiators were somewhat more satisfied with life than non-initiators, but no happier, higher in self-esteem, or lonelier after breakup.

Other gender differences. Females' confidence in their marriage's durability appeared to drop off before that of the males. Time 1, which was chosen to be that time most closely preceding separation when confidence was still relatively high, was earlier for females, an average of 28.15 months before separation, compared to 18.45 months for males. At the time of the separation, two males had complete confidence in getting back together with their spouse. No females expressed such total confidence. These differences in confidence, combined with the finding that more females than males initiated separation, indicates that females are more attuned to problems in their marriage. Hill, Rubin and Peplau (1979) reached a similar conclusion in their study of the breakup of affairs. In this study, females initiated more breakups and were less likely after breakup to believe their partner really loved them.

Males were more likely than females to be involved in a close

heterosexual relationship at the time of the interview. Seventy percent of the males were seriously dating by this time, and one had just broken off a close relationship, whereas only 40% of the females were seriously dating. The difference in males' and females' participation in a new attachment relationship is striking when we consider that females had been separated an average of 10.5 months longer than males. Presumably, females had had more time to get involved with a new partner, yet fewer had done so. This suggests that divorced women are either more cautious than are divorced men, or that they have fewer opportunities for finding suitable partners.

A few women expressed a desire to take time before getting involved again, indicating that for some women, the post-divorce period is used as a time for thinking things through before beginning a new relationship. Similarly, females in Weiss' (1975) study reported themselves more cautious than males about becoming sexually involved with others, preferring to wait until an emotional bond had been established.

For other females, though, the lack of male partners was considered a problem. Several women spoke of the difficulty of meeting suitable men, and most appeared to adhere to the traditional norm of waiting (often fruitlessly) for a man to initiate encounters. Divorced women appear to be at a disadvantage in meeting new potential partners. Many are single parents, tied to the home (Kohen, Brown, & Feldberg, 1979); most wait for men to initiate encounters; and the age range of eligibles is generally smaller for women than for men. These factors combine to make it more difficult for women than men to remarry. A 1975 census

found that 12% of divorced or separated women aged 25-54 had not remarried, compared to only 8% of such men (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975).

Females' psychological well-being after separation was positively associated with their involvement in a close relationship. To the extent they were dating, closely involved with, or living with a close partner, females reported themselves higher in self-esteem, happier, and more satisfied with their life. They also remembered themselves less content during their marriage than females who had no present involvement. Males' present involvement was not associated with their ratings of well-being.

Parents versus Nonparents

The existence of children affects the social life of divorcing parents. In this study, parents' networks were more stable than those of nonparents, as indicated by the fewer associates dropped from the marital network. Parents were more likely than nonparents to interact with kin after separation. The presence of children, then, appears to help maintain the existing network. Parents, for the sake of the children, seem willing to preserve family links in order to provide a stable network (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1970).

The six custodial fathers were more likely than the six non-custodial ones to maintain relationships with family members. Like the 12 women who also had custody, these men tended to remain anchored in a kin network.

Psychological well-being after breakup did not differ for parents

and nonparents. Parents tended to report themselves as less satisfied during marriage and more tied-down after than nonparents, but most of the variation appeared due to whether the parent had actual custody of the children. Custodial parents, both male and female, reported more loneliness than other groups, and custodial fathers compared to non-custodial ones reported feeling more satisfied during marriage and less satisfied after separation, suggesting that the difficulties of having custody affected their recollections of well-being.⁷

Even during marriage, parents in general tend to report themselves less satisfied with their marriage than do nonparents; children tend to interrupt sexual activity and conversation time, and parents' interaction comes to center around the children, rather than around each other (Feldman, 1971). Divorced custodial parents have similar problems in their attempts to build new relationships. They are restricted in their attempts to build new relationships. They are restricted in their opportunities to socialize and meet new people (Pearlin & Johnson, 1977), as well as having the sole burden of daily child care and extra financial responsibilities (Kohen, Brown, & Feldberg, 1979).

Variations According to Respondents' Age

Networks were expected to vary in their structure and content according to a respondents' age. However, because of the relatively

⁷All six custodial fathers, however, had been non-initiators of their separation. It may have been as much that their wives had made the decision to divorce, as it was their having the actual care of their children, that accounted for these men's memories of greater satisfaction during marriage and their dissatisfaction after breakup.

narrow age range of the sample, the findings were limited. When the sample was dichotomized, younger and older respondents varied in a few demographic characteristics. Older respondents compared to younger ones had been married longer, were more likely to be parents, had a higher yearly income, and had received somewhat less education.

Density and integration of the 8-member subset varied directly with age, but only at Time 1, indicating that members of older persons' networks did know each other better during marriage. After breakup, with the addition of new members, the number of interconnections within a subset were about equal for younger and older respondents. Thus, greater density during marriage for older persons did not seem to stabilize their choice of associates for the 8-member subset from Time 1 to Time 2.

Age made some difference in the context from which associates were chosen. Older males were more likely than younger ones to choose their associates from the same family, and older women tended to choose more friends met through their child than did younger ones. Younger males were more likely than older ones to select associates from school or childhood; younger females at Time 1 also selected more school friends than did older ones, but this difference disappeared at Time 2. These findings, though not strong, support those of Stueve and Gerson (1979).

It was expected that older persons would have a harder time than younger ones adjusting to the changes brought about by marital separation. In talking to the respondents, this appeared to be true; however, no differences emerged on measures of life satisfaction, self-esteem, or

happiness before or after separation, or in the degree of loneliness experienced after breakup. Older persons did rate themselves less willing than younger ones to discuss their personal problems, and it took them an average of 4.4 months longer after breakup to begin to feel single again.

Implications of the Present Findings

What, then, do such findings mean? In this section we explore the meaning of network change at the conceptual level, at the methodological level, and at the practical level.

Conceptual Implications

If we return to our earlier conceptual model (Chapter I), we see that it is possible to conceive of an individual at the center of a social network, linked to a number of network members. Such networks can then be compared on a number of different dimensions for different groups or for the same group across time. The present study helps illuminate which dimensions are important for understanding changes in an individual's network of social relationships and which stages should be emphasized.

There are several stages in the life course of a close relationship. Levinger (in press) identifies five of these stages as attraction building, continuation, deterioration, and ending. The character of one's total social network is likely to change as one's central relationship goes through these stages. Networks seem particularly likely to differ in three of these periods: the premarital stage (attraction,

building), where each individual is embedded in a private network; the marital stage (continuation), where the dyad is at the center of a shared network; and the post-separation stage (ending), where two formerly married individuals become once more embedded in a private network. The present study compared an individual's social network during the continuation stage and after marital separation.

A number of dimensions seemed important in describing changes following separation. Some referred to the structure of a network, that is, its size, density, or segmentation. Others referred to the network's content--the characteristics of its members and the interaction between respondent and member. Member variables were the network member's relation to the respondent, the nature of their acquaintance, the members' sex and marital status (see also Levinger, Rands, & Talaber, 1977). Interaction variables were frequency and duration of content, emotional closeness, and behavioral exchange.

When respondents' networks were described on these dimensions, the descriptions varied for each of the two stages, before and after marital separation. Post-separation networks appeared to resemble premarital networks (e.g., Brandwein, Brown, & Fox, 1974; Farrell & Rosenberg, 1977; Shulman, 1975). They were more likely than during marriage to consist of unmarried, same-sex friends and less likely to consist of married couples or kin. It appears that individual partners do bring members into the dyadic network: Certain relationships of one's own would not exist except for the initial acquaintance of that member with one's spouse. Other relationships are initiated that support the married

couple in their role, those with other married couples and those with kin, for example (e.g., Komarovsky, 1967).

Marital networks are a composite of shared associates and individually-held associates. The proportion of such relationships appears to be a useful dimension for future studies: To what extent does each spouse have their own set of friends, to what extent do they share friends? Whether the associate is kin or nonkin appears to differentiate the two sub-networks. In the networks of the five sets of ex-spouses, kin were usually in the shared network, friends were more often in the individual networks. After the breakup of a marriage, loss of associates appeared to be equally likely from either sub-network. It is not only a member's association with one's spouse that contributes to the dropping of a relationship; one's own relationships are dropped as well, implying that there are other reasons than the discomfort of sharing associations with an ex-spouse that contribute to dissolution.

Post-separation networks, however much they resemble premarital ones in their composition, differ in one crucial sense. After separation, the shared network does not totally disappear. Some relationships continue to be maintained by both partners, and others which were formerly shared continue to be maintained by one or the other ex-spouse. In the five sets of ex-spouses, 45% of the shared members continued to be shared; another 30% continued to be in one or the other spouse's network at Time 2, an average of eight months after separation. The psychological importance of such continuities (ties which are reminders of the former married state) needs to be studied.

Methodological Implications

It was earlier suggested that network mapping would be a useful technique for understanding an individual's pattern of social relationships and the complex interdependence among network members. This study provided 40 such maps at two different time points. It thus gives a general overview of changes in network structure and content from before to after marital separation. A critique of this method is presented later in this chapter.

There are several advantages to using a social network method. Network analysis, when based on a conceptual schema such as that described in the preceding section, and when conducted using a systematic method of mapping, lends itself to the testing of hypotheses. Several such hypotheses were derived and tested in the present study, for example the prediction that networks would be smaller in size following marital separation.

This method also lends itself to between-groups comparison. This study found, for example, that network turnover is positively associated with post-separation well-being for males, but not for females. Such findings have practical, as well as theoretical importance.

Network analysis' particular contribution to the study of social relations is its notion of mapping interrelationships among all the network's members. Systems theory postulates that changes in any one part of a system creates changes in relations to all other parts. Divorce, for example, can be viewed as a break in a social system, and such a break can be expected to reverberate throughout the entire network. Just how it will reverberate often depends as much on the

members' relationships to each other as to their relationship with the particular divorcing individual. Balance theory (Heider, 1958), for example, would predict that if P rejects the divorcing person, X, then P's friend O is also likely to reject X.

In the present study, interdependence between the network members was not assessed, except for the measure of density for the 8-member subset. Collecting data on more than a few variables about all interrelationships in a network becomes impractical, and good theory is needed to know which variables would be critical to measure. A thorough analysis of smaller subsets in the network is a practical compromise (e.g., Barnes, 1972) although the relation of those subsets to the total network must be specified.

Practical Implications

There are few institutionalized norms for social involvement after divorce. The divorced enter a terra incognita (Hunt, 1966), a world of unmapped territory. Yet most divorced persons lose friends, and most make new ones (Rasmussen & Ferraro, 1979; Weiss, 1975). We need further studies of the process that begins with the statement to one's friends and family that one intends to separate to that later stage when the nonsupportive are sifted out and new friends are added. Certainly in some cases, this process is fraught with struggle, as spouses vie for the sympathy of their mutual friends (Rasmussen & Ferraro, 1979). In others it may be less agonizing. In some amicable divorces, both spouses may be able to continue their relations with their mutual friends (Blood & Blood, 1979).

The shock of losing associates other than one's spouse is something the separated appear little prepared for. Some feel bitter over a supposed friend's rejection, or over one's exclusion from former couple occasions. Such bitterness often lingers long after those associations have been replaced. Respondents fortunate enough to have friends at such a time spoke with gratitude about those friends. Those who did not, spoke instead of their loneliness and isolation. Often the finding of new friends--or the deepening of an old friendship--provided one of the satisfactions of one's new single life, one way of coping with the loss of the spouse (e.g., Weiss, 1975).

Some persons found it easier than others to rebuild a social network. Parents found it easier than nonparents to maintain their marital ties; however, nonparents found it easier to drop old relationships and build new ones, thereby making a fresh start.

Younger people found it easier than older ones to get back into a lifestyle of being single. Some of the younger respondents moved into apartments with other single persons, and their dating usually resumed fairly soon after separation. Older respondents more frequently maintained their former residence, and they were slower beginning to date again.

Some persons found it easier than others to obtain emotional support after separation. Females in this sample were significantly more willing than were males to talk to others about their problems, and younger were more willing to seek support than were older respondents.

Many of the respondents in the present study expressed satisfaction

with their growth since their divorce. Indeed, divorce does not have to be a devastating experience. It may not immediately appear to be "the chance of a new lifetime" (Brown, Feldberg, Fox, & Kohen, 1976), but it does provide satisfying new opportunities, especially for women, for control over one's own life, over use of time and money, and in choice of social acquaintances (Kohen, Brown, & Feldberg, 1979). For most of the present respondents, however, growth was not possible without first going through a great deal of struggle and pain, and, for some, the struggle was still going on. Changes in relationships with family and friends were part of both the struggles and the satisfactions of this experience.

Critique of Present Social Network Method

Strengths and Limitations of Present Method

This study attempted to compare social networks of the married and the divorced by asking a sample of recently divorced persons to recall those persons whom they interacted with at two time points separated by marital breakup. It elicited names of network members with whom there had been some sort of social exchange (e.g., sharing activities, discussing personal problems). It then obtained information regarding the respondent's relationship to each member, the members' sex, and marital status, and the respondent's feeling of closeness to each member during the marriage, after separation, and at the time of the interview. Other information was obtained for a subset of the eight "most important" network members (their education and employment status, context

of the initial acquaintance, and frequency and duration of contact). For the first four persons in this subset--all of whom were adults--information was obtained about the nature of the interpersonal exchange between respondent and member.

Such an approach has the merit of being systematic. Identical information about all network members is obtained, and by choosing a subset for more detailed analysis, other specialized information can be assessed (e.g., Barnes, 1972). The approach is also workable, and respondents from all backgrounds were able to follow its procedure.

The major limitation of the present approach, however, was its reliance on retrospective accounts. Such accounts can suffer from two problems: distortion and forgetting. From recent studies on autobiographical memory, it seems clear that individuals do distort events from the past. For instance, Robinson (1976) found that when subjects were asked to report memories associated with certain cue words, those associated with affect, such as "happy" or "sad" memories, were of more recent age than those reported for other types. Robinson suggests that the saliency of recent emotional experiences may make them more easily retrievable than older experiences.

In the present study, respondents were asked to recall incidents associated with stressful experiences. Robinson's findings suggest that their more recent emotional experience of the separation may bias the recall of earlier memories of the marriage. For example, when custodial and noncustodial fathers rated their life satisfaction, custodial fathers, compared to noncustodial ones, tended to rate themselves as

more satisfied during marriage and less satisfied after separation. Noncustodial fathers probably experienced relief from both the unhappy marriage and the responsibilities of childrearing. In contrast to this feeling of relief, memories of the earlier marital experience would have seemed much less positive. On the other hand, the added responsibilities of custodial fathers after separation might have caused them to inflate their ratings of satisfaction during the relatively easier period of their marriage.

Our interpretation of such retrospective data, then, needs to take in account such distortions. Respondents' absolute ratings of satisfaction, in this case, may be less important than their before- and after-ratings relative to each other: our interpretation of their earlier rating should be based on the interpretation of their later one.

Another problem of retrospection is forgetting. Even if respondents did not distort their memories, would those memories be accurate? Messe, Buldain, and Watts (1979) found that people do actually forget events. A sample of married couples were asked to remember what they had done on their anniversary during the preceding year and five years earlier. There was some agreement about the anniversary of one year ago, but little about the anniversary of five years ago. In the present study, too, there appeared to be some forgetting. On four objective indices (e.g., dates of marriage and separation), these respondents agreed with court records 90% of the time. Among the five pairs of ex-spouses, however, there was only 70% agreement on seven indices.

In the present study, women appeared to remember more accurately

than did men. Robinson (1976) found also that when respondents were asked to recall emotional memories, women reported a larger number of recent memories than did males. He suggests that sex differences may be evident in the content of autobiographical material. It is not clear in what ways such sex differences in recall might have affected the present data, but it is quite likely that they did occur.

These two problems of autobiographical accounts--distortion and forgetting--suggest a serious bias in studies such as the present one that rely on memory for data. One can argue, perhaps, that it is what is remembered and the way that it is remembered that has meaning for a respondent. But it seems necessary to be clear about those circumstances in which we are willing to accept such bias, and those when memory bias presents a more serious problem.

In the present study, memory bias would seem to be conservative. Respondents were asked to recall persons in their social networks at two time points, one time fairly recently, the other an average of over four years earlier. Respondents recalling the earlier time may have forgotten more people than when recalling the later time. If people were likely to forget more of their associates at Time 1 than at Time 2, then the shrinkage of the network from Time 1 was even greater than was reflected in these data. In other words, differences were found in spite of the bias, not because of it.

Retrospective distortion also may have been a problem in respondents' graphing of their confidence in their marriage during each of the years the spouses were together. Inasmuch as these marriages did

end in divorce, retrospective ratings of confidence may have been deflated by the respondents' knowledge of their marriage's final dissolution (e.g., Bem, 1965). The rating of confidence (which determined the selection of Time 1) may have been higher if obtained during the actual marriage. We cannot be sure if such distortion did occur or to what extent it was systematic, but again it would seem to be a conservative bias.

Critical Issues in Network Study

There were three major issues to confront in designing and analyzing this study. The first refers to the problem of measuring change in networks; the second refers to the question of who should be contained in the network, and the third regards the circularity or interpretability of social participation effects on psychological well-being.

Measuring network change. One intriguing question in network study is how networks change as life situations fluctuate. When are the crucial points for measuring such change? Three kinds of change are suggested: changes in social role, changes in place, and changes in time. Changes in social role refer to those reconstructions that occur in networks when an individual marries, becomes a parent, loses a spouse, and so on. Changes in place refer to the establishment of new networks following geographical relocation, institutionalization, and similar changes in total environment. Changes across time refer to alterations in networks from one point in time to another, such as in the present study where networks before and after marital separation were compared.⁸

⁸ Respondents in this study actually experienced a combination of

How, then, do we select time points out of a flow of events so that meaningful comparisons can be made? Three methods are suggested: using fixed time points, subjective time points, or crisis points. This study relied on subjective time points: i.e., a respondent's confidence in the marriage for Time 1, and the feeling of being single again at Time 2. This approach provided a respondent with subjectively meaningful anchors for their experience.

The other two approaches may have been less satisfactory. If we had used fixed time points (e.g., 1 year before separation), social experiences would have been less comparable across participants. At Time 1, some respondents would still be embedded in the couple network, others already seeking social support outside the marriage.

If we had used crisis time points, other variables associated with the crisis may have affected social involvement. One study, for example, showed that divorcing persons' physical and psychological well-being are associated with the stage of their divorce (Chiriboga & Cutler, 1977). Periods of crisis are during the time before one's decision to divorce and at the time of the final separation. Periods of relief occur after the decision to divorce, at the filing for divorce, and at its final decree. One's social involvement is likely to be different during stressful crisis points than during the relief periods that might be more typical of an individual's social experience.

Determining network size. A second issue refers to the theoretical change in social role and change across time. An effort was made to keep geography constant, but a few respondents may have also experienced a minor change in location.

and methodological implications of who should be included in a given network. Again, there are three distinct approaches: One may use observational criteria, subjective criteria, or objective criteria. This study attempted to use objective criteria--that is, to record those persons with whom the respondent reported various kinds of social interaction during a given period of time (e.g., Jones & Fischer, 1978). Even though there were objective criteria for eliciting names, however, respondents did not strictly adhere to these criteria. Respondents often volunteered additional information about their network; that is, some named people they considered to be part of their network, even though there had been no social interaction during the time under question. Researchers need to be aware of this problem and control for it, perhaps by first eliciting names by objective criteria, and then eliciting any other names the respondent considers important.

The importance of a subjective reference group cannot be ignored, and objective criteria ought to reflect all relationships that are likely to be important for the current research. Respondents' symbolic relations are often as important in predicting their behavior as are objective ones. Several respondents in this study reported that their personal relationship with God helped them through their crisis. Other important symbolic ties are likely to be those with dead or distant friends or relatives--one's "invisible loyalties" (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1970).

Social participation and psychological well-being. The third question is a practical one. How can we determine if an individual's

well-being is affected by social participation? Recent studies point to positive correlations between social support and one's successful coping (see Hirsch, 1977, for a review). In the present study, there were a few patterns that tentatively link social involvement to self-esteem, life-satisfaction, and loneliness, at least for certain subgroups, but the variation accounted for was small, and in any event, merely correlational.

The connections--and the possible reciprocal effects--between social participation and psychological well-being need to be better understood. Counselors, community psychologists, and persons in crisis, as well as researchers, would benefit from such understanding. Yet, while the notion that social involvement affects well-being is intuitively appealing, such connections are complex and difficult to demonstrate. In the present study, for example, males who experienced a high degree of turnover in their social network appeared to be better off than those who remained embedded in the marital network. This was not necessarily true for females, whose well-being appeared to have little connection to their current pattern of social participation. How can we sort out the ways in which females, too, are likely to benefit from their social ties?

General Issues Regarding Method

There are two larger issues of method that determine the design of a study such as this. One refers to whether one's method should be longitudinal or retrospective. In this case, it was not feasible to do a longitudinal study. A sample of marriages would have to be extremely

large in order to include enough couples who would break up within a year or so. Even if such a sample could be obtained, time and expense make such an endeavor impractical. Although retrospective data are not always dependable, this sort of approach seemed to be the most sensible method for the present study. The findings obtained through these respondents' retrospections do seem logical and consistent regarding the nature of network change following marital separation.

A second choice is whether one's method should be qualitative or quantitative. Qualitative data are often unsystematic and difficult to synthesize; quantitative data have difficulty capturing a respondent's subjective experience. The primary intent of the present study was to obtain data on the nature of network change from before to after separation. That objective was best met using a quantitative method. Future studies, which will presume to understand the subjective meaning of these changes, will need to rely on qualitative as well as quantitative reports.

Suggestions for Further Research

The present study clarified the general nature of change one might expect in a social network following marital separation. A followup study with the present respondents is recommended. Network change since the time of the interview could be assessed and respondents' reactions to participating in such studies could be obtained.

Future studies should ascertain the meaning of such changes to a respondent. As stated in the previous section more emphasis on longi-

tudinal and qualitative methods would help with this problem. A select sample of recently separated individuals, for example, could be asked to keep a journal of their experiences with family and friends, and they could fill out structured questionnaires and be interviewed periodically about their social relationships. Such an approach is not without its problems, especially ethical problems. There would also be some confounding of results, in that the intervention itself would provide limited social support. Nonetheless, such a study could complement the present one.

Other studies could isolate the individual factors that affect social involvement. One factor is the individual's willingness to comply with a network's norms. In dense networks, compliance is often a prerequisite for acceptance and support; members are more likely than in diffuse networks to reward or punish each other for conforming, and they are most likely to be supportive when behavior reflects the group's values. Compliance may be less important in networks where members have little or no contact with each other (D. Todd, Personal Communication, 1979). Whether a recently separated person is supported or rejected by family and friends may depend on his or her willingness to conform to existing norms--for example, to abstain from having non-marital sexual relationships.

A second factor affecting social participation is the individual's affiliative tendencies. Fischer and Wilson (1977) suggest we will better understand the effects of social participation by studying the discrepancy between people's desired and their actual social relations.

Some people enjoy having a few close friends. Those who enjoy making new friends are likely to suffer less than the nongregarious from having to build new social connections. The gregarious may, however, suffer more when such partners are unavailable.

A third factor affecting post-separation social activity is the present stage of the divorce process. As discussed earlier, different stages in the divorce process are accompanied by differing degrees of stress (Chiriboga & Cutler, 1977). Social activity is likely to be affected by such changes in mood. Raschke (1978) found that social participation did vary systematically with length of time following marital separation. The social activity of divorced men and women was reported to drop off during the first six months after separation, then to climb during the second six months, faster for males than for females. It then leveled off again. Measures of social involvement at different times, then, are likely to reflect these different stages in the process of adjusting to divorce.

A fourth factor affecting social involvement after marital separation is a respondent's present pattern of interaction with the ex-spouse. Spouses usually have characteristic interaction patterns during their marriage, and these patterns often continue after their separation. Some spouses remain enmeshed, others disengaged; some relate directly, others exhibit an autistic pattern (Kressel, Jaffee, Tuchman, Watson, & Deutsch, 1980). By knowing a respondent's customary style of relating, we can better predict whether they are likely to maintain their old network, including their relationship with the ex-spouse, or to

build a new one, to get involved in another close relationship or to avoid involvement.

Finally, one's social involvement is the result of a combination of internal and external factors. Individuals desire certain rewards from their relationships; the environment constrains their selection of associates who might provide those rewards (e.g., Jackson, Fischer, & Jones, 1977). People interact with those with whom they come in contact; those social contacts may open up or close down. Costs of involvement may change; what an individual finds rewarding may change over the life cycle.

The recently separated have social needs particular to their new single status. Their satisfaction of these needs in relationships is constrained by the availability of associates who are able to meet these new requirements. Network change following marital separation needs to be studied as a reflection of an individual's exercise of choice operating within a system of social and environmental constraints.

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APPENDIX A

Letter to Potential Participants

I want to ask your help in a research study I am beginning for my doctoral degree in social psychology at the University of Massachusetts. My study is concerned with the social relationships people have after their marital separation or divorce--both those that continue from the marriage and the new ones that are established after separation. This is an important theoretical issue and also, of course, an important personal issue for divorced men and women.

I got your name and address from the divorce records at the Hampshire County court. If you are willing to help me, I would like to talk with you about a few of your relationships before and after your separation. I have a small amount of funding that will allow me to pay you a modest fee for participating. Will you please fill out and return the enclosed card to let me know if you might be willing to talk with me. Or call me at my home (584-2245).

I hope you will decide to talk with me. Your experiences, together with those of others, will contribute to our broader understanding of how people adjust to divorce. A report on our findings will be sent to all those who participate.

Sincerely,

Marylyn Rands, M.S.

MR/jrb

APPENDIX B
Informed Consent Form

Date: _____

I am a voluntary participant in this study on "Close Relationships." I understand that I will be asked a variety of questions about my relationships with others and will be given a few short paper-and-pencil questionnaires to be completed.

The purpose of this study is to learn more about relationships in general by focusing on a small sample of relationships in particular. I give my consent to having the data reported with the understanding that my anonymity will be guarded and my responses will be kept confidential. I have been informed that I can withdraw from the study at any time (or refuse to answer any given question) if I feel it would be reasonable for me to do so. I have been promised answers to any questions I might ask before or after the interview as well as written information about the results of the study after it has been completed.

Signed: _____
(Study Participant)

Signed: _____
(Investigator)

APPENDIX C

Personal Information

Sex

 Male
 Female

Birthdate _____

Occupation _____

 Full time
 Part time

 How long at present job? _____
 If less than 3 years, what was your
 previous occupation? _____
 How long? _____

Income

 \$0-\$4999
 \$5000-\$9999
 \$10,000-\$14,999
 \$15,000-\$19,999
 \$20,000-\$30,000
 Over \$30,000

Education

 Less than high school
 Some high school
 High school graduate
 Some college
 College graduate
 Some graduate study
 Master's, Ph.D., or other professional degree
 Other (e.g., vocational school)

Present Living Situation (check all that apply)

 Live alone
 Live with young child or children
 Live with parents
 Live with other adult(s) (What is their relationship to you? _____)

How long have you lived at your present address? _____

 What was your ex-spouse's occupation when you were married? _____
 Now? _____

What was your joint income during the last year of your marriage?

 \$0-\$4999
 \$5000-\$9999
 \$10,000-\$14,999
 \$15,000-\$19,999
 \$20,000-\$30,000
 Over \$30,000

 Number of Children _____ Ages _____
 (Circle ages of children that live with you)

APPENDIX D

Time Line

Questions About the Marriage

1. Date of your marriage _____
2. Date you last lived with your ex-spouse _____
3. Who initiated the separation _____
4. Did you and your ex-spouse ever separate and go back together again before the final separation?
 Yes _____ No _____ Dates _____
- 4a. If yes, who initiated these separations? _____
- 4b. Who initiated getting back together? _____
5. Who filed for the divorce? _____
6. Date of NISI _____
7. Date of absolute decree _____

Questions About the Separation

1. Geographical moves
2. Job changes
3. Other major changes
4. When did you first begin to think of yourself as a single person?

APPENDIX E

Questions Used to Elicit Names of Network Members

1. Here is a list of activities (see Appendix E). Think about which of these activities you did during Time 1. Who were the persons you did these activities with? Time 2?
2. Here are some examples of different kinds of spare time interests (see Appendix E). Think about the kinds of spare time interests you have. Who were the persons you got together with to talk about or share common interests during Time 1? Time 2?
3. During Time 1, when you needed to talk with someone about personal matters--for example, about someone you were close to or something you were worried about--who did you talk with? Time 2?
4. Often people rely on the judgment of someone they know in making important decisions about their lives--for example, decisions about their family or their work. During Time 1, who were the people you would want to talk with about any important decisions you were trying to make? Time 2?
5. People often need to turn to others for favors--for example, to borrow money, get help with moving furniture, or with making repairs, etc. During Time 1, who were the people you turned to when you needed a favor done? During this time, who were the people who would turn to you for favors? Time 2?
6. Sometimes people make a special effort to stay in touch with certain people; for example, by visiting them, calling them on the phone, or writing letters. During Time 1, who were the people that you made a special effort to stay in touch with? Time 2?

1. Social Activities

Examples

1. Had someone to your home for lunch or dinner.
2. Went to someone's home for lunch or dinner.
3. Someone came by your home to visit.
4. Went over to someone's home for a visit.
5. Went out with someone (e.g., a restaurant, bar, movie, park)
6. Met someone you know outside your home (e.g., at a restaurant, bar, park, club)

APPENDIX E (CONTINUED)

2. Shared Interests

Examples

1. Chess, checkers, or other board games
2. Card games
3. Tennis, golf or other sports
4. Hobbies
5. Tag sales, auctions
6. Music
7. Eating, drinking, smoking
8. Organizations, clubs
9. Pets
10. Related work interests

APPENDIX F

Recording Sheet for Total Network

NAME	A Relationship			B Sex	C Age	D Marital Status	E Time 1	F Closeness Time 2	G Now
	1*	2	3						
1. Spouse									
2.									
3.									
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									
11.									
12.									
13.									
14.									
15.									
16.									
17.									
18.									

*1 = the relationship code

2 = who had the first relationship with this person?

R = Respondent S = Spouse

3 = who had the closest relationship with this person? R,S

APPENDIX G

Questions About People in Your Life

- A. What was (is) _____'s primary relationship to you?
1. Relative
 2. Co-worker
 3. Neighbor
 4. Member of same organization
 5. Friend
 6. Acquaintance
 7. Other
- B. What is _____'s sex?
1. Male
 2. Female
- C. How old is _____?
- D. What was (is) _____'s marital status?
1. Married
 2. Widowed
 3. Divorced
 4. Separated
 5. Never married
 6. I don't know
- E. How close did you feel to _____ during Time 1? (_____)
0. Not at all close
 1. Somewhat close
 2. Moderately close
 3. Quite close
 4. Very close
- F. How close did you feel to _____ during Time 2? (_____)
(Use the scale in E)
- G. How close do you feel to _____ now?
(Use the scale in E)

APPENDIX H

Recording Sheet for Network Subsample

NAME	H First Met	I City	J How long known	K How Often	L How Long	M Employment	N Children
<u>Time 1</u>							
1. Spouse							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							
<u>Time 2</u>							
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
8.							

APPENDIX I

Questions About Subset of Names

- H. How did you first meet this person?
1. We're in the same family
 2. Grew up together
 3. In school
 4. At work
 5. As neighbors
 6. In a group or organization
 7. Through a friend
 8. Through my ex-spouse
 9. Through my child
 10. Other (How?)
- I. About how many years have you known this person? _____
- J. What city does this person live in? _____
- K. How often do you usually get together with this person?
1. More than once a week
 2. About once a week
 3. Two or three times a month
 4. About once a month
 5. Several times a year
 6. About once a year
 7. Less often than that
- L. How much time do you spend with _____?
1. Less than an hour a week
 2. About an hour a week
 3. 2-4 hours a week
 4. 5-10 hours a week
 5. More than 10 hours a week
- M. Is this person currently employed either full-time or part-time?
1. Employed full-time
 2. Employed part-time
 3. Not currently employed
- N. Does this person have children? (Circle all that apply)
1. No--no children
 2. Yes--preschool children
 3. Yes--school age children
 4. Yes--children over 18
 5. I don't know

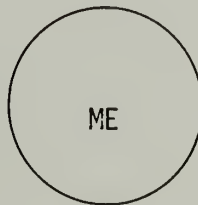
APPENDIX J

Network Map

The circle below represents you. Draw other circles to represent the eight persons you have selected as most important in your life at Time ____.

Draw a circle near you if the person was close to you at that time. Draw the circle farther away if the person was not so close to you. Use your judgment as to how near to draw each circle. Write the person's name in each circle.

Sometimes the people you know will be part of a group of friends or relatives. If some of the people on your list are part of the same group, draw their circles near each other on the page. Draw a dotted line around each group.



APPENDIX L

Shared Feelings and Activities

Circle the number in the scale that best describes how often you had these feelings or engaged in the following activities with _____ at Time _____.

	Not at all		Frequently		
	0	1	2	3	4
1. I listened to _____'s innermost feelings.	0	1	2	3	4
2. I expressed affection for _____.	0	1	2	3	4
3. I hugged _____.	0	1	2	3	4
4. I went on outings with _____.	0	1	2	3	4
5. I confided in _____ about my personal problems.	0	1	2	3	4
6. I praised _____.	0	1	2	3	4
7. I made love with _____ (had intimate physical contact).	0	1	2	3	4
8. I had dinner with _____.	0	1	2	3	4
9. I asked about _____'s personal problems.	0	1	2	3	4
10. I offered criticism of _____.	0	1	2	3	4
11. I went to _____'s home for a visit.	0	1	2	3	4
12. I told _____ my innermost feelings.	0	1	2	3	4
13. I expressed irritation with _____.	0	1	2	3	4
14. I got together with _____ to share mutual interests.	0	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX M

Measures of Well-Being

Self Description

For each of the following scales, put an "X" in the space that best describes you. Time _____

Outgoing	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Shy
Silent	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Talkative
Frank, Open	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Secretive
Worthwhile	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Worthless
Cautious	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Adventurous
Useless	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Useful
Sociable	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Reclusive
Productive	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Unproductive

Life Description

For each of the following scales, put an "X" in the space that best describes your life. Time _____

Enjoyable	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Miserable
Full	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Empty
Disappointing	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Rewarding
Doesn't give me much chance	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Brings out the best in me
Interesting	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Boring
Discouraging	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Hopeful
Friendly	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Lonely
Worthwhile	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Useless
Tied-down	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Free
Hard	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	—	:	Easy

Happiness Scale

Check the point on the scale below which best describes how happy you felt/feel these days, taking all things together. Time _____

Completely Unhappy _____ Completely Happy

APPENDIX M (CONTINUED)

Satisfaction Scale

Check the point on the scale below which best describes how satisfied you felt/feel with your present life, taking all things together.

Time _____

Completely
Dissatisfied

Completely
Satisfied

APPENDIX N

My Personal Feelings

For each of the following scales, circle the number that best describes your feelings during Time 2.

	I hardly ever feel this way			I frequently feel this way	
1. I am unhappy doing so many things alone.	0	1	2	3	4
2. I have nobody to talk to.	0	1	2	3	4
3. I feel that no one loves me.	0	1	2	3	4
4. I feel as if nobody really understands me.	0	1	2	3	4
5. I wish I had someone to help me with daily routines.	0	1	2	3	4
6. There is no one I can turn to.	0	1	2	3	4
7. My interests and ideas are not shared by those around me.	0	1	2	3	4
8. I wish I had someone to love.	0	1	2	3	4
9. I feel completely alone.	0	1	2	3	4
10. My social relationships are superficial.	0	1	2	3	4
11. I wish I had someone to take care of.	0	1	2	3	4
12. I feel starved for company.	0	1	2	3	4
13. It is difficult for me to make friends.	0	1	2	3	4
14. I feel shut out and excluded by others.	0	1	2	3	4
15. I wish I were married again.	0	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX 0

Personal Characteristics

For each of the following scales, circle the number that best describes you.

- | | | | | |
|--|----------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------|
| | Hardly
Ever | | | Almost
Always |
| 1. When you are concerned about a personal matter--for example, about someone you are close to or something you are worried about --how often do you talk about it with someone? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 4 |
| | | | | |
| | | Not at all
Attractive | | Very
Attractive |
| 2. How physically attractive do you consider yourself to be? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 4 |
| 3. How physically attractive do others consider you to be? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 4 |
| | | | | |
| | | Not at all
Important | | Very
Important |
| 4. How important is it to you at the present time to have a group of friends? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 4 |
| 5. How important is it to you at the present time to have a close heterosexual relationship? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 4 |
| | | | | |
| | | Very
Low | | Very
High |
| 6. How high is your need for autonomy--that is, your need to be your own boss, to come and go as you wish, to be independent, etc.? | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 4 |

APPENDIX P

What I Want From My Relationships

How important is it to you to have a relationship that provides each of the following?

	Not at All Important			Very Important	
1. To have someone to whom I can confide virtually everyting.	0	1	2	3	4
2. To have someone I would do anything for.	0	1	2	3	4
3. To have a person I can always turn to if I am lonely.	0	1	2	3	4
4. To have someone I can turn to for advice.	0	1	2	3	4
5. To feel responsible for someone's well-being.	0	1	2	3	4
6. To have someone who cares for me.	0	1	2	3	4
7. To have someone I can always depend on.	0	1	2	3	4
8. To be confided in by someone.	0	1	2	3	4

Circle the number for each item that best describes you.

	Not at All True			Very True	
1. I try to be with other people.	0	1	2	3	4
2. I try to include other people in my plans.	0	1	2	3	4
3. When people are doing things together, I tend to join them.	0	1	2	3	4

APPENDIX P (CONTINUED)

	Not At All					Very
	True					True
	0	1	2	3	4	
4. I try to participate in group activities.	0	1	2	3	4	
5. I like people to include me in their activities.	0	1	2	3	4	
6. I like people to invite me to things.	0	1	2	3	4	
7. I like people to ask me to participate in their discussions.	0	1	2	3	4	
8. I like to join social organizations when I have an opportunity.	0	1	2	3	4	

APPENDIX Q
Measures of Social Involvement

Social Activities

During Time 1, how often did you do the following?

	Not At All					Frequently				
	0	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4
1. Called someone just to have a friendly conversation.	0	1	2	3	4					
2. Invited someone to go somewhere with you.	0	1	2	3	4					
3. Wrote letters to friends or relatives.	0	1	2	3	4					
4. Asked friends to introduce you to others.	0	1	2	3	4					
5. Went to bars to try to meet someone.	0	1	2	3	4					
6. Went to church functions or other socials to try to meet someone.	0	1	2	3	4					

During Time 2, how often did you do the following?

1. Called someone just to have a friendly conversation.	0	1	2	3	4					
2. Invited someone to go somewhere with you.	0	1	2	3	4					
3. Wrote letters to friends or relatives.	0	1	2	3	4					
4. Asked friends to introduce you to others.	0	1	2	3	4					
5. Went to bars to try to meet someone.	0	1	2	3	4					
6. Went to church functions or other socials to try to meet someone.	0	1	2	3	4					

APPENDIX Q (CONTINUED)

Leisure Time

1. On the average, how many hours of leisure time do you have in one week? _____
hours
2. About how many of these hours do you spend alone? _____
hours
alone
3. About how many of these hours do you spend with others? _____
hours
with
others
4. Ideally, how many hours of leisure time would you like to have?

hours a
week
5. How much time would you ideally like to spend alone?
_____ less time alone
_____ about the same amount of time alone
_____ more time alone
6. How much time would you ideally like to spend with others?
_____ less time with others
_____ about the same amount of time with others
_____ more time with others

