

Divorce Access Attitudes in America:  
exploring structure and values for a new theoretical framework

by

Jonathan Frump

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

Approved April 2013 by the  
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Sarah Hayford, Chair  
Jennifer Glick  
Scott Yabiku

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2013

## ABSTRACT

This thesis builds upon previous research exploring the different factors that influence divorce access attitudes, using data drawn from the General Social Survey in 1991, 1994, and 2008. I examine different social values and economic characteristics and their influence on divorce access attitudes, and explore gender differences within these factors. I examine how information drawn from this analysis supports the argument for Second Demographic Transition Theory as a theoretical framework to explain influential factors in the formation of divorce access attitudes. I conclude that social values variables related to attitudes towards sex behaviors remain significant predictors of divorce access attitudes. I also recognize that socioeconomic context bears influence on the formation of divorce access attitudes. Gender differences lead to the conclusion that behavior and interactions around divorce access attitude formation are dynamic and complex, but are effectively explained using Second Demographic Transition Theory.

## DEDICATION

It is a gift to have a family who supports your endeavors and encourages you to continually grow. I have been blessed with two supportive and encouraging parents, who from my childhood instilled in me a desire to learn, and a desire to grow. They remind me that making mistakes is a part of learning, and that the only important part of falling down is remembering to get back up. They show me that hard work and dedication leads to achievement and success, but the true reward is being able to share what you have achieved with those around you. They are a beacon of generosity and love, and it is their generosity and love that has brought me to this point. My extended family remains steadfast in their support of my education, and always encourages me to succeed. Although they are not here to see me, my grandparents continue to inspire me, and I still hear the words of wisdom they gave to me, and the life lessons they taught me.

I am equally fortunate to have friends who have encouraged me throughout my educational journey, who have lifted me up when I was down, and reminded me that my goals lie ahead of me, not behind me. By helping to remove obstacles from my path, my friends have enabled me to be successful on this journey.

The completion of this work is especially rewarding, because I get to share my accomplishment with my many coworkers. Working in an academic environment, with people who truly value education and learning, has been an inspiration. To be encouraged by people who have stood in my shoes, and faced

the same challenges and hurdles that I faced in my educational journey, is something I will always appreciate.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Sarah Hayford (chair), Dr. Jennifer Glick, and Dr. Scott Yabiku for their tremendous contributions to both the completion of this thesis, and to my knowledge of sociology and the topics studied while under their direction at Arizona State University. I have been fortunate to study under the direction of these scholars.

I would like to thank Susan White for her assistance in proofreading and APA formatting, and for her consistent encouragement over many years. I would like to thank Andrew Maul for his assistance with document formatting and for being willing to assist me, even when free time was scarce. I would also like to thank Rebha Sabharwal, my classmate and friend, for enduring with me throughout this journey, and for being willing to assist me, from formatting SAS coding, to arguing theory and structure, to encouraging my progress, and for reminding me that all great goals are worth the effort.

I would finally like to thank the other professors at ASU that I had the pleasure of studying with: Dr. Cecilia Menjivar, Dr. Roy Levy, Dr. Stephen Kulis, Dr. Eric Margolis, and Dr. Jennie Kronenfeld. The time, energy, and enthusiasm they brought to my educational experience has both enriched me as a person, and instilled in me a desire to continue learning within my field.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES .....	vi
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
CHANGING ATTITUDES AND DIVORCE IN THE U.S.....	1
Background.....	1
Research Framework and Hypotheses .....	3
DATASET AND METHODS .....	12
Data and Analytic Sample .....	12
Dependent Variable .....	13
Independent Variables .....	13
Methods.....	17
Analytic Approach.....	19
RESULTS .....	22
Descriptive Results .....	22
Analytic Results .....	26
Discussion and Conclusions .....	28
WORKS CITED .....	31

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1A. Descriptive Statistics of Dependent and Independent Variables of Interest.	34
1B. Descriptive Statistics of all Dependent and Independent Variables .....	35
2A. Multinomial Ordered Logit Analysis with Both Gender Sample .....	38
2B. Multinomial Ordered Logit Analysis with Female Respondents Only .....	40
2C. Multinomial Ordered Logit Analysis with Male Respondents Only .....	42

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Change in extreme responses to survey question about divorce access attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.....	44
2. Change in extreme responses to survey question about pre-marital sex attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.....	45
3. Change in extreme responses to survey question about extra-marital sex attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders .....	46
4. Change in extreme responses to survey question about homosexual sex attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.....	47



## CHANGING ATTITUDES AND DIVORCE IN THE U.S.

### Background

Since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, attitudes regarding the social acceptability of divorce have dramatically moved in a more liberal direction. Although the movement of attitudes seems one-directional when observing the big picture, the dynamic of how divorce attitudes are formulated is not well understood. The recent work of Martin and Parashar [hereafter, M&P] on a specific subset of divorce attitude research serves as the springboard for this research. M&P in 2006 shed light on, and painted an interesting picture of the evolution of divorce attitudes in America over the past 35 years. Their work drew attention to a surprising trend: A crossover in attitudes towards divorce has happened in America amongst different educational groups for women. Their research indicated that the most educated Americans, the most socially liberal in the 1970s, had over time, become the most conservative group in attitudes towards accessing divorce by 2002. At the same time, the lowest educated group in America, the most socially conservative in the 1970s, was now the most socially liberal group in America in relation to attitudes towards access to divorce (Martin & Parashar 2006).

This analysis will use a similar research premise as M&P to suggest plausible theoretical explanations for changes in divorce access attitudes in recent years, focusing on Second Demographic Transition [SDT] theory as a potential explanation for new patterns of educational differences. My research will show that the recent changes in divorce attitudes have complex, changing dimensions

regarding socio-economic context and gender. It will review research that validates the need for specific socio-cultural control in analyses related to divorce attitudes and focus on indicators that warrant further research between cultural and social context and resulting influence on divorce attitudes, specifically the influence of economic structures, social variables and gender.

The idea of the SDT was first introduced by Dirk van de Kaa and Ron Lesthaeghe in 1986. Differentiated from the Demographic Transition which was characterized by decreased fertility and mortality, the Second Demographic Transition is characterized by fertility below replacement rate and increasing acceptance of alternative union formations. Along with alternative union formations, disconnection between marital unions and childbearing is also characteristic of this shift. Lesthaeghe states that shifting marital unions and childbearing behaviors are evidenced by increasing pre-marital and post-marital cohabitation, childbearing during cohabitation, cohabitations not converting to marital unions, cohabitation following divorce instead of remarriage, and delayed fertility (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Lesthaeghe references two social revolutions that occurred at the beginning of the SDT that are of special interest to this research. Lesthaeghe points to a sexual revolution that ignited strong reactions to social constructs around sexual behavior, rooted in religious and cultural ideals. This sexual revolution perpetuated the idea that sexual behavior was not limited to marital unions and that procreation was not its only purpose. The second revolution Lesthaeghe highlights is the gender revolution which brought about new ideas of

autonomy for women, rejecting the notion that women should be subservient to men and their husbands. Driving both of these revolutions was the advent of effective birth control methods. These innovations gave women the ability to regulate their own fertility, thus increasing their autonomy, both socially and within relationships (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Because Lesthaeghe points specifically to these revolutions as key influences of the SDT, this research uses those concepts to focus analysis of divorce access attitudes and the effective application of SDT theory. Applying SDT theory framework to this analysis would imply that liberalizing trends seen in divorce access attitudes are indicative of a cultural shift away from traditional union formation and dissolution constructs, and towards a greater acceptance of marital dissolution as a means to greater self-satisfaction in the life course. Evaluating the statistical significance of different indicators will illuminate key factors in predicting divorce access attitudes and, by exploration of those factors, support or reject the notion put forth by SDT theory that attitudes towards divorce access are reflective of a liberalization of social attitudes.

#### Research Framework and Hypotheses

A liberalization of pre-marital sex attitudes has been observed for several decades, with increasingly liberal attitude trends in recent years. Survey work in the 1970s showed that attitudes towards pre-marital sex were becoming increasingly permissive, and that these attitudes were distinctly linked to certain social and cultural context, namely religious identity and educational attainment (Clayton & Bokemeier, 1980). This same research also showed that in the 1970s,

contrary to attitudes towards pre-marital sex, attitudes towards extra-marital and homosexual sex were mainly restrictive (Glenn & Weaver, 1979; Singh, 1980). Further complexity in pre-marital sex research in the 1970s was made evident when additional research showed divergent attitudes among different racial groups within the same religious group, adding further urgency for the need for framework to describe changes in attitudinal trends regarding socio-cultural behaviors influenced by both context and values (Roebuck & McGee, 1977). Differences were also observed by gender during the 1960s, with men being more liberal than women, but women moving at a much greater pace towards a more liberal stance on pre-marital sex over men (Christensen & Gregg, 1970). This continuing trend in the 1980s is evidenced by indicators that sexual behavior was becoming less associated with marital unions, and more associated with interpersonal bonding and emotion (Earle & Perricone, 1986). This shift is indicative of SDT theory framework and the implication that behavioral change is driven by a movement away from traditional, religion-rooted union formation patterns, and moving towards a pattern of delayed union formation for the sake of increased education and other behaviors related to “self-realization” (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Along with patterns of increasing liberalization, some research has shown that attitudes about religion and first intercourse differentiate by gender (Meier, 2003), which coincides with Lesthaeghe’s ideas about the sexual and gender revolutions which occurred at the beginning of the SDT. The survey data used in this analysis begins in 1991, but a few years prior, some research showed that pre-

marital sex was widely discouraged by mothers of adolescent and pre-adolescent children, and pre-marital sex was only viewed as acceptable by a small fraction of mothers surveyed, contradicting an overall social trend toward more permissive attitudes, and demonstrating a further complication with the effect of parental influence and possible persistence of social values across generations (Marsman & Herold, 1986). Additionally, research during the 1980s also identified links between the marital status of respondents' parents, and their attitudes towards divorce acceptability and sexual permissiveness, identifying intergenerational relational links between divorce and sexual behavior, but indicating that the context of the respondent may influence the direction of the relationship (Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986). Although SDT theory makes overarching statements regarding behavioral patterns, it does recognize possible contradictions at the micro-level within larger populations (Lesthaeghe, 2010). Drawing from multiple research conclusions, the inclusion of pre-marital sex attitudes in this analysis is extremely important since previous research has shown that attitudes about pre-marital sex can influence attitudes towards divorce access, and exposure to divorce by parents, can influence pre-marital sex attitudes.

Historical attitudes on extramarital sex have remained consistently restrictive throughout the course of the General Social Survey [GSS]. Although social attitudes have remained consistently restrictive regarding extra-marital sexual behavior, it is important to consider attitudes towards extra-marital sex in the analysis of attitudes towards divorce access, since prior to the implementation of no-fault divorce laws, proven infidelity was one of a very few ways a legal

divorce could be obtained (Fine & Fine 1994). Other research has shown a growing liberalization in attitudes towards sex behaviors, including extra-marital sexual behavior (Thompson, 1983). Additional research has linked permissiveness towards pre-marital sex as the primary indicator of possible permissiveness towards extra-marital sex (Thompson, 1983). As previous research has shown the connection between pre-marital sex attitudes and divorce access attitudes, the need for consideration of extra-marital sex attitudes as an important factor to consider when exploring divorce access attitudes is apparent.

Another social variable that has become increasingly more included in the conversation regarding union formation is that of homosexuality, homosexual marriage and related behaviors. The GSS only began measuring attitudes towards homosexual sex in 1991, but in recent years, support for the allowance of same sex unions and the social acceptability of being homosexual have both increased tremendously. This pattern of change is consistent with assertions made by SDT theory of the growing acceptance of alternative union formations (Surkyn & Lesthaeghe, 2004). The increasing acceptance of homosexual sex and union formation coincides with a growing departure from the idea that union formation is inextricably intertwined with childbearing (Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006). With the increasing acceptability of same sex unions, measuring attitudes towards the social acceptance of homosexual sex may add an unexplored dimension to the analysis of attitudes towards divorce access, since conceptual complexities are added with the notion of a possible future with same sex marriage, and consequently, same sex divorce. Liberalizing trends in attitudes towards the

acceptance of homosexual sex have been notably quite different from other sex behaviors being considered. This analysis is unique in considering this measure, it captures changes in attitudes in the last two decades, when homosexuality as a social construct has gained rapid acceptance, whereas prior to the 1990s, attitudes were extremely restrictive (Treas, 2002).

The inclusion of these social values variables related to sex behavior has been historically linked to attitudes and behaviors related to union formation and dissolution, or closely associated with social liberalization, which has been demonstrated to have connections to divorce attitudes and behaviors. The inclusion of this group of variables hopes to show increased complexity and change in regards to how attitudes towards divorce access are formed.

In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, marriage was seen as the gateway and proper transition to childbearing behavior. The end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw stabilization in traditional beliefs about union formation and childbearing, and an increase in acceptance toward non-marital cohabitation, pre-marital sex, divorce, and childless couples. The work of Thornton and Young-DeMarco asserted that attitudes about divorce may be influenced by different factors and at different points in the lifecycle. They highlight observed differences towards marriage by younger respondents compared to older respondents, indicating that divorce attitudes could be influenced both by attitudes towards marriage and by position in the lifecycle, depending on if respondents had been exposed to marriage. They also recorded observable decreases in optimism toward marriage as a lifetime commitment by female respondents, but not male respondents, pointing to

changes in attitudes toward marriage, with implications for divorce, with gender specificity. This timeframe also saw stabilization in the social acceptance of divorce, notably at a considerably high rate (Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001). Thornton and Young-DeMarco also reference the work of Moore & Stief and Sweet & Bumpass whose research shows that during the end of the 1980s and beginning of 1990s, despite a trend of acceptance towards divorce, marriage remains a lifetime commitment in the eyes of most Americans (Moore & Stief, 1991; Sweet & Bumpass, 1990). The findings of this past research highlight the importance of considering childbearing and children in an analysis regarding divorce attitudes. Additional research affirms this concept and reinforces the complexity of motivators behind divorce attitude formation, pointing out that female children of divorced parents who remarried have a more favorable view of divorce than those of single parents or parents who remained married (Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986).

The focus of gender consideration within childbearing practices and union formation is also paramount, since recent years have shown a shift away from traditional union formation, and a division of priority in the childbearing process by men and women, where men focus more on mating behavior and less on the children this behavior produces, and women bond tightly with their children, but less with the men by whom they bore their children (Popenoe, Elshtain & Blankenhorn, 1997). Although the subset of the GSS used for my research does not measure the marital status of respondents' parents, it is important to note that consideration of children in a marriage is not the only aspect that childbearing and



children can have on divorce attitudes, as this specific research has shown. The growing acceptance of childbearing during cohabitation, outside of marital unions, has complicated the dynamic of how childbearing influences attitudes toward divorce access. SDT theory points to alternative patterns of childbearing as indicative of the liberalizing pattern of social change, and the departure from previous cultural and moral constraints (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Another contextual change in American society that has influenced attitudes about divorce access and divorce behavior is the implementation of no-fault divorce laws in all fifty states. The changes in divorce law in the U.S. began in the 1960s, which saw an increase in the divorce rate that carried through until a pattern of stabilization emerged in the 1980s (Fine & Fine, 1994; Phillips, 1988). The work of Nakonezny, Shull and Rodgers showed that this change in divorce law impacted the divorce rate and impacted the societal perception of divorce by removing the stigma associated with fault divorce. Their research also showed some predictive values between socioeconomic indicators and divorce rate (Nakonezny, Shulls & Rodgers, 1995). These changes in divorce law and social perception of divorce coincide with the introduction of SDT theory and are indicative of the patterns of resistance to previous social behaviors and an increasing desire for individualistic focus and freedom (Lesthaeghe, 2010).

Although extensive research has shown links between sex behavior, union formation, childbearing patterns and divorce behavior, it is important that research has also drawn connections between socioeconomic context and divorce. Prior research identified links between a women's income and increased likelihood of

divorce, further pointing to a need for increased research and exploration into this and related dynamics (Amato & Rogers, 1997). In addition to measuring asset acquisition and labor market potential, research has indicated possible connections between resource scarcity initially in a marriage and an increased likelihood of divorce (Johnson, Caughlin & Huston, 1999). Further research has recorded that resource scarcity is sometimes observed as reason to maintain a marriage, for fear of financial hardship or resource scarcity (Previti & Amato, 2003). Although direct relationships between divorce attitudes and divorce behaviors have been called into question, the discovery of economic links to divorce behavior leads to further inquiry as to the influence of family economics on both attitudes and behavior. Additional research has approached the issue of marriage, divorce and childbearing from an economic standpoint by pointing to economic incentives sponsored by the government to accommodate for changes within the population over time. The implementation of social security, child tax credits, and daycare reimbursement collectively point to attempts to change behavior by incentivizing specific decisions that affect social framework (McLanahan, 2004). McLanahan's research also points out how labor market conditions and the stratification of the workforce can affect marriage opportunities and decisions for those in the lowest tiers of the labor market (2004).

Research of this nature gives rise to curiosity about the growing influence of economic factors in how individuals approach union formation and dissolution. In addition to this research, SDT theory recognizes that context can influence the composition of change within a country, and that within-country and between-

country variation can be present (Lesthaeghe, 2010). My research includes socioeconomic factors to explore possible variation in the application of SDT theory in the U.S. based on extensive prior research pointing to socioeconomic context as a possible influence in divorce access attitudes.

In this thesis, I examine the relationship between attitudes toward divorce and other social, economic, and demographic variables. I test three specific hypotheses, Hypothesis 1 states that social values variables that have historically been associated with divorce attitudes (pre-marital sex and extra-marital sex) will be significantly associated with divorce access attitudes. These variables will show a statistically significant association with divorce access attitudes indicating a significant link between liberal social values and liberal divorce access attitudes, indicating that attitudes toward divorce are part of a broader pattern of ideational change and thus support the use of SDT theory framework in explaining changes in divorce access attitudes. Hypothesis 2 states that socioeconomic characteristics will be significantly associated with divorce access attitudes. Hypothesis 3 states that given the changing social context and patterns of liberalization that have been observed, gender differences will be observed in overall divorce access attitudes, and in the influence of specific variables of interest. These hypotheses have arisen from the identified changes in women's social context and labor force participation, the pattern of increasing social liberalization, and conclusions that have been stated in previous research, including M&P.

## DATASET AND METHODS

### Data and Analytic Sample

Analyses used data from the General Social Survey [GSS], a nationally-representative survey of social attitudes that has been repeated at regular intervals since 1972. The GSS, which is facilitated by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, collects data for basic scientific research on the structural and developmental change of American society. The core of the GSS is a series of demographic, behavioral and attitudinal questions, which in many cases have been asked across many of the years that the GSS has been annually or biennially administered between 1972-2012. The GSS is regarded as one of the best data sources for societal trends in the United States (National Opinion Research Center, 2010). The original dataset available for my research consisted of the 1972-2008 survey years. After variables were selected to highlight the focus areas of this study, the dataset was restricted to respondents from the survey years 1991, 1994 and 2008 by the specified social values variables that I selected. Although past research has emphasized that divorce attitudes and divorce behaviors are not the same (Martin & Parashar, 2006), variable selection focused on social and contextual controls, economic indicators, and sexual behaviors that historically have been linked to union formation. This specific variable selection will measure if variables that have historically been linked to attitudes regarding union formation are linked to divorce access attitudes, and if variables that have been shown previously to be linked to divorce access attitudes remain significant predictors of divorce access attitudes given a more

current dataset. I selected additional variables for socioeconomic change and cultural change as well to investigate if changes in socio-cultural context have influenced the significance of previously identified predictors, and if new predictors have become important along with this change.

#### Dependent Variable

My research uses the same outcome variable as M&P's, "should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now? (2006)." This question was asked in all but five survey years from 1972-2008. Possible responses were "easier," "more difficult," or "stay the same." Based on these original responses, I created a three-category ordered variable ranging from liberal (easier) to conservative (more difficult).

#### Independent Variables

The social values variables selected for this analysis were chosen because they all relate to sexual behavior that has historically been linked to divorce attitudes, or changing cultural context has raised research curiosity regarding possible associations with divorce access attitudes. The selection of these variables also allowed for a sufficient sample size for analysis. Additionally, I decided that using social values variables all related to attitudes regarding sexual behavior would be more in alignment, and identification and interpretation of relationships between social values variables and the outcome variable would be clearer. These specific variables have ordered response outcomes that mirror a similar pattern to the dependent variable, and are indicators of conservative or

liberal social attitudes towards sex behaviors. These social values variables, attitudes toward premarital sex, attitudes toward extramarital sex and attitudes toward homosexual sex were all coded in the original format of the GSS.

For the independent variables of interest in this analysis, the social values variables that represented attitudes towards pre-marital sex, extra-marital sex and homosexual sex all had outcome measurement scales of “always wrong” “almost always wrong” “wrong only sometimes” and “not wrong at all”. After careful analysis, I determined that the social values variables were correlated with each other enough to influence accurate output of the statistical analysis. I therefore created an index variable based on these three indicators. This index combined all four answer categories for each of the three social values variables, scaling the numbers in increasing value from 0 to 3, with 0 being the most liberal answer of “not wrong at all”, and 3 being the most conservative answer of “always wrong”. The social values variables were then combined into a single index, so index scores ranged from 0 to 9, with 0 being the most liberal score and 9 being the most conservative score. This increasing scale is in alignment with the increasing scale of conservative attitudes for the dependent variable for divorce access attitudes. This values index will indicate if a shift in conservative or liberal values is a significant predictor of divorce attitudes.

The socioeconomic variables selected for use in this analysis were respondents’ family income at age 16, occupational prestige, and education. All years used in this analysis used the same format for the occupational prestige

variable. Occupational prestige is measured on a scale of 0-100, with responses in this dataset ranging from 17-86, with 17 being the lowest observed score and 86 being the highest observed score. For respondents who are employed, the occupational prestige variable measures the prestige of the current job. For respondents who are not currently employed, occupational prestige refers to the most recent job held. I conducted exploratory analysis using Occupational Prestige as both a categorical and continuous variable. The measure was not associated with divorce attitudes in any specification. Final models use the continuous specification since it is the most parsimonious. The response format for respondents' family income at age 16 was in a series of five categories. Response categories for this variable were: "far below average", "below average", "average", "above average" and "far above average". This variable reflects the socioeconomic context around the time of value formation, not current income. Based on exploratory analysis, I coded respondent's family income when 16 years old as a three-category variable (below average, average, above average). Options for economic variables to be utilized in my research are limited because of the restriction of available survey years, due to the frequency with which the social values variables were included in survey years. These variables are included in this research to test if original assertions made about the explanatory benefit of SDT theory may be influenced by economic factors that weigh in on divorce access attitude formation, or if overarching patterns of social liberalization are more likely to explain recent changes in divorce access attitudes.

In their research, M&P point to education as a key factor in changing attitudes towards divorce access, but education is treated as an indicator of values in SDT writings. Lesthaeghe and Neidert connect increased education to fertility delay, a main premise of SDT theory (Lesthaeghe & Neidert, 2006), but do not draw any causal link between increased education and union formation or dissolution. My research will treat education as a contextual variable linked to socioeconomic status. This shift away from basic SDT theory results from the research of M&P and the extensive research linking education to socioeconomic context. Additionally, exploratory analysis showed some correlation between education and respondents family income at age 16, thus reinforcing the validity of interpreting education as part of socioeconomic context.

In choosing control variables, my research used many of the same variables as M&Ps' research, but in many cases, my research used variables of interest from M&P as control variables. Controls selected include gender, year of survey, age, race, religious preference, marital status and number of children.

The sample size was restricted by the limited number of years in which the social values variables were asked. Additionally, not all respondents were asked all questions in those specific survey years, which resulted in further sample size reduction. Respondents with missing values on any independent or dependent variable were excluded from the analysis. The dataset and variable selection, and subsequent modifications resulted in an overall sample size of n=1559. When



divided by gender, overall samples were n=698 for men, and n=861 for women across all three survey years.

## Methods

In order to focus on the presence of significance of specific variables or variable groups, a quasi-nested design was formulated. Ordered logit analysis was used because the variable of interest had three response categories with meaningful order. This ordered format lent itself to easier interpretation as dependent variable outcomes can be interpreted as “more conservative” or “more liberal” in comparison to reference categories, if values are positive or negative, by the constraints of the dataset.

The variable for survey year used in this analysis was coded directly from the year in which the survey was administered. Based on exploratory analysis, I combined 1991 and 1994 into a single category representing the 1990s. The data from the survey year 2008 was relabeled as the 2000s. This created a dichotomous variable, with the 1990s used as the reference category, so that analysis could be made evaluating changes over time. Along with variables for survey year, an interaction term was created for survey year x gender. This interaction term will measure if patterns of change over time differ by gender. This interaction term will provide important information regarding gender specificity if a liberalizing pattern is observed.

Age ranges for the GSS are coded from age 18 to 89 and older. I tested multiple specifications (continuous, decades of ages, etc) before choosing a four part designation, representing early adulthood, middle adulthood, later adulthood

and old age. This format also lends to further explanation of the function of divorce in relation to respondents' attitudes towards its access.

I followed M&P's coding for education using three categories for educational attainment, no high school diploma, high school diploma and more than a high school diploma. High School diploma was used as the reference category, since it is widely considered a demographic milestone in both the lifecycle and educational attainment.

The variable for religion is coded into multiple religious categories. Because of uneven distribution within the variable, responses were collapsed and dummy coded into four main groups: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and none. The collapsing of response categories helped to create more robust sample sizes for each group. Religion was an important variable to control for, since many religions have clear doctrinal beliefs regarding the acceptability and use of divorce.

Marital status was a similarly important variable to control for in this analysis, since different marital groups would have different opinions of divorce and its access based on whether or not divorce would be functional or whether it had been previously utilized by respondents. The original structure of the marital status variable was kept intact, and the variable was subsequently coded into four dummy categories of: married, widowed, divorced/separated, and never married. Never married was identified as the reference category for this variable, since the remaining three categories all had experienced or were currently experiencing a marital union. It is also important to note that marital status is not a topic of focus

for this analysis, since previous research has established that divorce attitudes and divorce behavior are not one and the same and should be treated as such in this type of analysis (Previti & Amato, 2003)

I also control for number of children, since the presence of children in a marital union shapes how individuals might evaluate divorce and consequently influence attitudes towards divorce (Previti & Amato, 2003). But because being married is not a requirement for childbearing, direction and causation would be impossible to determine with the given dataset. Because of this, I controlled for the number of children to avoid data related to this variable from confounding other variables of interest.

#### Analytic Approach

Models 1-4 show the base, quasi-nested model structure used. Model 1 shows all control variables in a model to elicit identified significance in control variables. In addition to controls, an interaction term was added to Model 1 to measure whether time trends in divorce attitudes were different for men and women. This interaction will be considered as an individual component of the analysis, and any observed changes in significance or direction of coefficients will be measured as variables are added to more complicated models. The inclusion of this interaction term will test Hypothesis 3 with respect to change over time between genders. The inclusion of the interaction term will lend further insight into the assertions made by SDT theory that changes in attitudes towards divorce access are indicative of a cultural shift towards a more liberal stance regarding union formation and the function of marriage in society.

Model 2 contains Model 1 with the addition of the social values variables identified. This model will show potential significance of social values variables on the outcome variable without the influence of economic variables. This design will test the baseline assumption of Hypothesis 1 that social values variables will be significantly associated with divorce access attitudes, given the results of historical research done on the topic and previous liberalizing trends observed.

Model 3 contains Model 1 with the economic variables added, but the social values variables excluded. This model will test Hypothesis 2, clearly identifying any significant correlation between the identified economic variables and divorce access attitudes. This model will also attempt to validate some of the socio-economic assertions that have been made in previous research regarding changing influences on divorce attitudes. This model will also test assertions of increasing influence by contextual and socio-economic factors in the formulation of attitudes toward divorce access.

Model 4 is the full nested model, containing Models 1, 2 and 3. This model will demonstrate the overall significance of all variables of interest, and the possible effect that the inclusion of both social values and economic variables may have on divorce access attitudes, each other, and the interaction term of interest included in Model 1. This model will test Hypotheses 1 and 2. In addition, this model will also provide further insight into the assertion in Hypothesis 3 regarding gender differences.

Models 5 through 12 provide a more specific analysis of Hypothesis 3 by separating out Models 1-4 and analyzing them by gender. These models are meant

to lend insight into the overall assertion of Hypothesis 3. These models will show specific differences, not only in gender, but patterns of change in significance for variables for different genders. The statements of Hypothesis 1 and 2 will also be examined in Models 5 through 12 to determine if gender differences influence the relationships between social values and economic variables and how they interact with the formation of divorce access attitudes. These gender distinct models will also show if any observed patterns of liberalization possess unique characteristics by gender.

I also analyzed comparative graphs of the distribution of the social values variables and the outcome variable to lend further insight into research questions and contextual assertions that have been made. I also constructed variable distribution graphs separately by gender to lend further insight into the overarching assumption regarding gender differences. Patterns of conservative and liberal movement can be observed in these figures.

## RESULTS

### Descriptive Results

The analysis of distribution figures 1 through 4 give us insight into the presence of gender differences and patterns of social liberalization, in both divorce access attitudes and the social values variables that have been linked to divorce access attitudes. When we begin to analyze the pattern of responses for social values, variation across gender becomes more visible.

In figure 1 we can see that divorce access attitudes became more restrictive between 1991 and 1994, and then became more liberal by 2008, but the overall shift is rather moderate. The figure 1 data for men shows a decrease in liberal attitudes, and the overall information shows a moderating pattern for men with decreases in both liberal and conservative attitudes, and an increase in neutral attitudes. When looking at women however, a much stronger shift toward liberal attitudes is indicated. In 2008, the dataset shows women are more polarized on the issue of divorce access attitudes than men, once again indicating that although men were more liberal than women in 1991, women have surpassed men in response rates for liberal attitudes, and that at a more focused level, a gender-specific pattern of liberalization emerges for this variable. This variable, much like the other social values variables is indicative of overall liberalizing social patterns. This data trend again supports Hypothesis 3 by showing a pattern of clear gender differences. (In order to assess the contribution of economic and attitudinal characteristics to gender differences, I explore this difference in a multivariate framework in the regression models presented below.)

In Figure 2 we can see the distribution of attitudes towards pre-marital sex for both genders. This graph shows us that overall pre-marital sex attitudes became slightly more conservative in 1994, but then became significantly more liberal in 2008. When we examine Figure 2 we can see that men experienced the same slight movement towards a more conservative stance in 1994 and then became noticeably more liberal in 2008. When we look at the same data for women (Figure 2), we can see that the women are noticeably more conservative than men in 1991, and then shift to an even more conservative stance in 1994, but in 2008, we can see sharp movement in the female data towards a more liberal stance towards pre-marital sex, with the female data in 2008 closely representing that of the male data for the same year. This is a strong indication that women are becoming more socially liberal towards pre-marital sex at a faster rate than men for the later part of this survey period.

When the variable for extra-marital sex is examined in the same fashion, we can see the trend in attitudes for the years surveyed for both genders (Figure 3). The attitudes for men appear to increase on the conservative end of the scale significantly over the years surveyed, with most liberal attitudes lower in 2008 than they were in 1991. This evaluation reveals a noticeable conservative trend among men regarding attitudes towards extra-marital sex. When examining the same data for female responses, a different picture emerges. Women have a more conservative stance across all three survey years than men. The dataset shows that women have an approximated 6% increase in most conservative attitudes between 1991 and 2008, compared to a 16% increase for men for the same time frame.

Women have the highest measure of most liberal attitudes in 2008, whereas men have the highest liberal attitude response in 1991. This comparison reinforces the notion that men are becoming more conservative at a faster rate than women in regards to attitudes towards extra-marital sex.

In Figure 4 we can see responses for the variable measuring attitudes towards to the acceptance of homosexual sexual behavior. This variable shows the strongest trend towards liberal attitudes over pre-marital and extra-marital sex, however when Figure 4 is examined closely, we can see can see the noticeable difference in the rate of liberalization of attitudes for men and women. Although men show a marked decrease in the most conservative attitude in the dataset and an increase in the most liberal attitude, women show the same trend, but at a rate more than twice that of men. Interestingly, this is the only social values variable where women are more liberal than men in 2008, despite being more conservative than men in all three social values measures in 1991.

Given these observations and previous research correlations, we can begin to speculate that if the same underlying determinants influence attitudes about pre-marital and extra-marital and homosexual sex, as do attitudes towards divorce access, then positive correlation between these variables will continue to occur. The observed significant increase in acceptance of homosexual sex by women supports the assertion by previous research that women are continuing to experience a trend of social liberalization. The rate of change for women regarding pre-marital sex and extra-marital sex also support a liberalizing trend, although not as pronounced as the trend for homosexual sex attitudes.



The evidence that women are becoming increasingly liberal in regards to pre-marital and extra-marital sex compared to men, and have surpassed men in regards to acceptance of homosexual sex supports the assertion of Hypothesis 3 that there will be gender differences between men and women, because the social values measures have previously been linked to divorce attitudes. The graphical representation of descriptive results for the social value variables and for the outcome variable point to different patterns of change across survey years for each individual variable, but overall represent a pattern of liberalization.

The gender differences highlighted above are summarized in Table 1.A where mean scores for each social value and economic variable are listed overall. This table highlights the population trends represented in this analysis. The observed directional differences between attitudes for pre-marital sex and homosexual sex, compared to extra-marital sex, may indicate a more complicated dynamic in how attitudes towards these values-based ideas may be formed, especially in recent years and moving forward. The varied directions of these variables may be material for consideration in future analysis and research. Some of the variation in graphical data and correlation in statistical data is remedied by the formation of the social values index in the multivariate analysis explained below.

Table 1.B shows descriptive statistics for all variables used in this analysis, including frequencies for dummy coded variables, and mean and standard deviation scores for original variables. This table gives overall insight into the

characteristics of the dataset, and adds explanatory insight into specific variable interpretation.

### Analytic Results

With patterns of liberalization present in Figures 1-4, the data in Table 2.A shows the results of the ordered logit analysis for both genders and provides statistical evidence of the influence of variables indicative of social liberalization. Model 2 shows a strong, statistically significant correlation for the social values index, validating the assertion that social attitudes are in fact, a strong predictor of divorce attitudes. The social values index would be interpreted as for every one unit increase on the social values index, the log odds of being in a more conservative response category for divorce access attitudes increases by 0.23. These results validate the assertion of Hypothesis 1, that social values variables are in fact significantly, positively correlated with divorce access attitudes.

Model 3 excludes the social values index and includes controls and economic variables only. It is clear that the economic variables included in this analysis bear no statistically significant influence on divorce access attitudes. This observation remains true for the gender specific analyses of the same structure in Models 7 and 11. When we evaluate the influence of education as a socioeconomic indicator however, we see that education is significant in models 1-8 indicating that for combined gender analyses and female only analyses, having less than a high school diploma increases your log odds of being in a more liberal response category for divorce access attitudes by roughly 0.5-0.7. Although significance is observed for combined gender analyses, there is no

observed significance for male only analyses. For this reason, Hypothesis 2 is accepted, based on the use of education as a socioeconomic variable. It is likely that any significant predictive influence that respondents family income at age 16 and occupational prestige have is correlated with education and therefore represented by the education variable. I recognize that having less than a high school diploma is a significant predictor of being more liberal on the divorce access attitudes scale compared to those having a high school diploma.

Additional data in Chart 2.A that supports both Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 3 is the change in significance for the interaction term between gender and year, with Model 1 and Model 3 showing the interaction term as significant, but when the social values variables are included in the models, the interaction term loses significance in the model. This result affirms initial support for Hypothesis 3 in the descriptive results as represented by the social values figures. Although this interaction term does not definitively show the significance of gender over time, in some model frameworks there is a statistically significant correlation between women and more liberal divorce access attitudes compared to men over time. This outcome points to possible gender variation within the SDT, and supports Lesthaeghe's assertion of gender revolution as a characteristic of the SDT.

Models 4,8 and 12 further support Hypothesis 1. A clear positive correlation between increases in the social values index and conservative divorce access attitudes is present. The initial conclusions drawn from Figures 1-4 in regards to the plausibility of Hypothesis 3 is further supported by the analyses of

Chart 2.B and 2.C. Differences are observed in effect size for the social values index between men and women. The main support for gender differences remains the significant outcome for the interaction term between gender and year found in Models 1 and 3. These results have led to the acceptance of Hypothesis 3.

### Discussion and Conclusions

The anchor research of M&P for this analysis showed changing attitudes towards divorce access for women by educational group over time. M&P's initial assertion of a need for alternative theory framework to explain divorce access attitudes led to the research framework of this analysis. The contents of my research have shown that the observations of M&P regarding women and differences in divorce access attitudes by educational group was an indicator of a much broader, continuing connection between social liberalization and divorce access attitudes. The patterns seen in this study between the conservative to liberal spectrum regarding social values and its correlation to the same spectrum regarding divorce access attitudes strongly supports the framework assertions made by STD theory. Within the SDT theory framework, I acknowledge that within-country variation is seen as education functions as an indicator of socioeconomic context, and effectively predicts liberal attitude shifts for those with less than a high school diploma. Furthermore, this analysis shows that social liberalization, for the timeframe of this research, is the strongest predictor of divorce access attitudes. Additionally, we see that this pattern of social liberalization is being led by women, who are moving towards increased social

liberalization at a faster rate than men, further supporting the idea of a gender revolution occurring in the SDT.

Further research is needed to clarify the application of SDT theory in explaining the changes observed in divorce access attitudes, and how such a framework would be constructed and quantified to explain observed variations. My research shows that although divorce rates may have moderated in recent decades, the process by which divorce access attitudes are formed continues to change, and the social context in which divorce is evaluated continues to play the primary role in influencing how respondents formulate these attitudes. It is clear that the liberalizing trend in divorce access attitudes between the mid 1990s and late 2000s is clearly being driven by women according to my research, additionally the initial assertions of Martin and Parashar that socioeconomic influences are also present in changing divorce access attitudes is seen only in lower educational attainment predicting more liberal divorce access attitudes. Although this variation cannot be specifically rationalized in my research, it is further evidence that more research is needed to clarify the complex, dynamic relationships present between the different categories of variables and variables themselves and how they related to divorce access attitudes in America. This variation with Martin and Parashars' research concerning the influence of economic indicators also highlights the importance of targeted research based on large, robust samples. The limitations of this dataset inhibit strong inference from other research or the establishment of causal links between specific variables of this analysis and divorce access attitudes, but does give focused insight into the

changing dynamics of how divorce access attitudes are formed. My research also raises unique questions of its own, not only in relation to the changes in divorce access attitudes over time, but in relation to differences by gender, and changes in social values variables that have historically been closely related to divorce attitudes, and the addition of new social values that may add complexity and shift influence towards divorce access attitudes as time moves forward and the social structures related to marital unions and divorce continue to increase in complexity.

## WORKS CITED

- Amato, P.R. & Rogers, S.J. (1997). A Longitudinal Study of Marital Problems and Subsequent Divorce. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 59, (3), 612-624.
- Christensen, H.T. & Gregg, C.F. (1970). Changing Sex Norms in America and Scandinavia. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 32, (4), 616-627.
- Earle, J.R. & Perricone, P.J. (1986). Premarital Sexuality: A Ten-Year Study of Attitudes and Behavior on a Small University Campus. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 22, (3), 304-310.
- Fine, M.A. & Fine, D.R. (1994). An Examination and Evaluation of Recent Changes in Divorce Laws in Five Western Countries: The Critical Role of Values. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 56, (2), 249-263.
- Glenn, N.D. & Weaver, C.N. (1979). Attitudes toward Premarital, Extramarital, and Homosexual Relations in the U.S. in the 1970s. *Journal of Sex Research*, 15, (2), 108-118.
- Johnson, M.P., Caughlin, J.P. & Huston, T.L. (1999). The Tripartite Nature of Marital Commitment: Personal, Moral, and Structural Reasons to Stay Married. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 61, (1), 160-177.
- Kinnaird, K.L. & Gerrard, M. (1986). Premarital Sexual Behavior and Attitudes toward Marriage and Divorce among Young Women as a Function of Their Mothers' Marital Status. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 48, (4), 757-765.
- Lesthaeghe, R. (2010). The Unfolding Story of the Second Demographic Transition. *Population and Development Review*, 36, (2), 211-251.
- Lesthaeghe, R.J. & Neidert, L. (2006). The Second Demographic Transition in the United States: Exception or Textbook Example? *Population and Development Review*, 32, (4), 669-698.
- Marsman, J.C. & Herold, E.S. (1986). Attitudes toward Sex Education and Values in Sex Education. *Family Relations*, 35, (3), 357-361.
- Martin, S.P. & Parashar, S. (2006). Women's changing attitudes toward divorce, 1974-2002: Evidence for an Educational Crossover. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68, 29-40.
- McLanahan, S. (2004). Diverging Destinies: How Children are Faring under the Second Demographic Transition. *Demography*, 41, (4), 607-627.

Meier, A.M. (2003). Adolescents' Transition to First Intercourse, Religiosity, and Attitudes about Sex. *Social Forces*, 81, (3), 1031-1052.

Moore, K.A. & Stief, T.M. (1991). Changes in marriage and fertility behavior. *Youth & Society*, 22, 362-386.

Nakonezny, P.A., Shull, R.D. & Rodgers, J.L. (1995). The Effect of No-Fault Divorce Law on the Divorce Rate Across the 50 States and Its Relation to Income, Education, and Religiosity. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 57, (2), 477-488.

National Opinion Research Center (2010). *The General Social Survey*. Retrieved from the National Data Program for the Sciences NORC at the University of Chicago <http://www3.norc.org/gss+website/>

Phillips, R. (1988). *Putting asunder: A history of divorce in Western society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Popenoe, D., Elshtain, J.B., & Blankenhorn, D. (1997). Promises to Keep: Decline and Renewal of Marriage in America. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102, (6), 1792-1793.

Previti, D. & Amato, P.R. (2003). Why Stay Married? Rewards, Barriers, and Marital Stability. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65, (3), 561-573.

Roebuck, J & McGee, M.G. (1977). Attitudes toward Premarital Sex and Sexual Behavior among Black High School Girls. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 13, (2), 104-114.

Singh, B.K. (1980). Trends in Attitudes toward Premarital Sexual Relations. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 42, (2), 387-393.

Sorokin, P. (1947). *Society, culture and personality*. New York: Harper.

Surkyn, J. & Lesthaeghe, R. (2004). Value Orientations and the Second Demographic Transition (SDT) in Northern, Western and Southern Europe: An Update. *Demographic Research, Special Collection 3, Article 3*, 45-86.

Sweet, J.A. & Bumpass, L.L. (1990). *Religious differentials in marriage behavior and attitudes* (NSFH Working Paper No.15). Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, Center for Demography and Ecology.

Thompson, A.P. (1983). Extramarital Sex: A Review of the Research Literature. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 19, (1), 1-22.



Thornton, A. & Young-DeMarco, L. (2001). Four Decades of Trends in Attitudes toward Family Issues in the United States: The 1960s through the 1990s. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63, (4), 1009-1037.

Treas, J. (2002). How Cohorts, Education, and Ideology Shaped a New Sexual Revolution on American Attitudes toward Nonmarital Sex. *Sociological Perspectives*, 45, (3), 267-283.

Table 1.A – descriptive statistics of dependent and independent variables of interest

	Survey Year		Survey Year		Survey Year	
	1991	N=697	1994	N=334	2008	N=528
<u>Variables</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
Divorce Access Attitudes	2.23	0.86	2.29	0.84	2.19	0.85
Social Values Index	6.34	2.33	6.33	2.42	5.77	2.33
Respondent Family Income at Age 16	2.82	0.87	2.88	0.84	2.76	0.93
Occupational Prestige Score	42.40	12.73	44.45	13.69	42.77	13.47
Respondent Highest Degree Earned	1.28	1.09	1.63	1.27	1.54	1.16

Table 1.B – Descriptive statistics of all dependent and independent variables.

Variable	Dummy Category	Frequency	Freq (%)	Mean	Std Dev
Should divorce in this country be easier or more difficult to obtain than it is now?				2.23	0.85
	More Difficult (1)	429	27.52		
	Stay the Same (2)	341	21.87		
	Easier (3)	789	50.61		
Respondents Sex				1.55	0.5
	Male (1)	698	44.77		
	Female (2)	861	55.23		
Survey Year				1997.4	7.67
	1991	697	44.71		
	1994	334	21.42		
	2008	528	33.87		
Respondent Age				46.46	17.39
	18-34	463	29.70		
	35-39	703	45.09		
	60-75	282	18.09		
	75+	108	6.93		
Respondent Race				1.2	0.5
	White (1)	1321	84.73		
	Black (2)	168	10.78		
	Other (3)	70	4.49		
Respondent Highest Degree Earned				1.44	1.16
	Less than High School (0)	267	17.13		
	High school (1)	815	52.28		
	More than High School (2, 3,4)	477	30.60		
Respondents Religion				1.65	0.98
	Protestant (1)	935	59.97		
	Catholic (2)	410	26.30		
	Jewish (3)	37	2.37		
	None (4)	177	11.35		
Respondents Marital Status				2.29	1.6
	Married (1)	824	52.85		

	Widowed (2)	153	9.81		
	Divorced/Separated (3,4)	259	16.61		
	Never Married (5)	323	20.72		
Respondents Number of children				1.9	1.65
	0	388	24.89		
	1	269	17.25		
	2	438	28.09		
	3 or more	464	29.76		
Is Pre-Marital Sex Wrong?				2.77	1.24
	Always Wrong (1)	411	26.36		
	Almost Always Wrong (2)	183	11.74		
	Wrong Only Sometimes (3)	322	20.65		
	Not Wrong At All (4)	643	41.24		
Is Extra-Marital Sex Wrong?				1.31	0.66
	Always Wrong (1)	1215	77.93		
	Almost Always Wrong (2)	235	15.07		
	Wrong Only Sometimes (3)	76	4.87		
	Not Wrong At All (4)	33	2.12		
Is Homosexual Sex Wrong?				1.77	1.22
	Always Wrong (1)	1070	68.63		
	Almost Always Wrong (2)	79	5.07		
	Wrong Only Sometimes (3)	104	6.67		
	Not Wrong At All (4)	306	19.63		
Respondents Family Income at Age 16				2.81	0.88
	Below Average (2)	498	31.94		
	Average (3)	756	48.49		
	Above Average (4)	305	19.56		
Occupational Prestige				42.96	13.21

	0-19	9	0.58		
	20-29	237	15.20		
	30-39	423	27.13		
	40-49	428	27.45		
	50-59	234	15.01		
	60-69	182	11.67		
	70-79	43	2.76		
	80-100	3	0.19		



Marital Status	Married	0.19	0.17	0.15	0.17	0.20	0.17	0.16	0.17
	Widowed	*0.53	0.26	0.43	0.26	*0.54	0.26	0.44	0.26
	Divorced/Separated	*-0.39	0.19	-0.34	0.19	-0.37	0.19	-0.32	0.19
	Never Married (ref)								
Number of Children	0 (ref)								
	1	0.15	0.17	0.11	0.17	0.15	0.17	0.11	0.17
	2	0.07	0.16	-0.03	0.17	0.07	0.16	-0.03	0.17
	3 or more	0.20	0.17	0.02	0.18	0.19	0.17	0.01	0.18
Social Values Index	0-9			*** 0.23	0.02			*** 0.23	0.02
Respondents Family Income When 16 Years Old	Below Average					-0.18	0.11	-0.22	0.17
	Average (ref)								
	Above Average					-0.22	0.14	-0.16	0.14
Occupational Prestige	17-86					0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 2.B Multinomial Ordered Logit Analysis with Female Respondents Only ( \* = <.05; \*\* = <.01; \*\*\* = <.001 )

		Model 5		Model 6		Model 7		Model 8	
		Log Odds	Std Error	Log Odds	Std Error	Log Odds	Std Error	Log Odds	Std Error
Year	1990s (ref)								
	2000s	-0.22	0.15	-0.11	0.15	-0.22	0.15	-0.10	0.15
Age	18-34 (ref)								
	35-59	0.07	0.17	0.09	0.18	0.08	0.18	0.11	0.18
	60-75	**0.66	0.24	0.48	0.25	**0.68	0.24	* 0.51	0.25
	75+	***1.51	0.40	** 1.23	0.41	***1.52	0.40	** 1.25	0.41
Race	White (ref)								
	Black	***- 1.01	0.22	*** -1.13	0.22	***- 1.02	0.22	*** - 1.14	0.22
	Other	-0.12	0.34	-0.48	0.35	-0.12	0.34	-0.48	0.35
Education	Less than HS	***- 0.69	0.20	*** -0.77	0.21	***- 0.70	0.21	*** - 0.76	0.21
	High School (ref)								
	More than HS	-0.04	0.16	0.10	0.17	0.00	0.18	0.14	0.18
Religious Preference	Protestant	*0.53	0.26	0.09	0.27	*0.56	0.26	0.12	0.27
	Catholic	0.14	0.28	-0.04	0.28	0.18	0.28	0.00	0.28
	Jewish	*-0.99	0.48	* -0.96	0.49	-0.92	0.49	-0.90	0.49
	None (ref)								
Marital Status	Married	0.35	0.24	0.32	0.24	0.35	0.24	0.33	0.24
	Widowed	0.64	0.34	0.62	0.35	0.65	0.34	0.63	0.35
	Divorced/Separated	-0.32	0.27	-0.29	0.27	-0.29	0.27	-0.26	0.27



	Never Married (ref)								
Number of Children	0 (ref)								
	1	-0.25	0.25	-0.29	0.25	-0.25	0.25	-0.28	0.25
	2	-0.17	0.24	-0.24	0.25	-0.16	0.24	-0.23	0.25
	3 or more	-0.14	0.25	-0.28	0.26	-0.15	0.25	-0.28	0.26
Social Values Index	0-9			*** 0.21	0.03			*** 0.21	0.03
Respondents Family Income When 16 Years Old	Below Average					-0.17	0.16	-0.24	0.16
	Average (ref)								
	Above Average					-0.28	0.18	-0.28	0.19
Occupational Prestige	17-86					0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Table 2.C - Multinomial Ordered Logit Analysis with male respondents only ( \* = <.05; \*\* = <.01; \*\*\* = <.001 )

		Model 9		Model 10		Model 11		Model 12	
		Log Odds	Std Error	Log Odds	Std Error	Log Odds	Std Error	Log Odds	Std Error
Year	1990s (ref)								
	2000s	0.23	0.16	0.22	0.16	0.24	0.16	0.23	0.16
Age	18-34 (ref)								
	35-59	-0.07	0.19	-0.06	0.19	-0.05	0.19	-0.04	0.19
	60-75	0.08	0.24	0.07	0.25	0.10	0.24	0.09	0.25
	75+	0.23	0.37	0.11	0.38	0.24	0.38	0.11	0.38
Race	White (ref)								
	Black	*** 0.98	0.26	*** 1.07	0.26	*** 0.99	0.26	*** 1.06	0.26
	Other	-0.33	0.35	-0.35	0.36	-0.32	0.35	-0.36	0.36
Education	Less than HS	-0.23	0.20	-0.36	0.21	-0.23	0.21	-0.34	0.21
	High School (ref)								
	More than HS	0.16	0.17	0.31	0.17	0.19	0.19	0.29	0.20
Religious Preference	Protestant	*** 0.75	0.21	0.24	0.22	*** 0.74	0.21	0.24	0.22
	Catholic	0.09	0.23	-0.24	0.24	0.08	0.24	-0.24	0.24
	Jewish	-0.19	0.54	-0.21	0.54	-0.15	0.55	-0.24	0.55
	None (ref)								
Marital Status	Married	0.03	0.24	-0.04	0.24	0.05	0.24	-0.02	0.24
	Widowed	0.03	0.43	-0.15	0.43	0.03	0.43	-0.15	0.43
	Divorced/Separated	-0.40	0.28	-0.32	0.29	-0.41	0.28	-0.33	0.29
	Never Married (ref)								

Number of Children	0 (ref)								
	1	*0.62	0.25	0.59	0.26	*0.62	0.25	* 0.59	0.26
	2	0.33	0.23	0.18	0.24	0.33	0.23	0.17	0.24
	3 or more	*0.56	0.25	0.31	0.26	*0.55	0.25	0.32	0.26
Social Values Index	0-9			*** 0.26	0.04			*** 0.26	0.04
Respondents Family Income When 16 Years Old	Below Average					-0.18	0.17	-0.18	0.17
	Average (ref)								
	Above Average					-0.14	0.21	-0.01	0.21
Occupational Prestige	17-86					0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01

Figure 1- Change in liberal responses to survey question about divorce access attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.

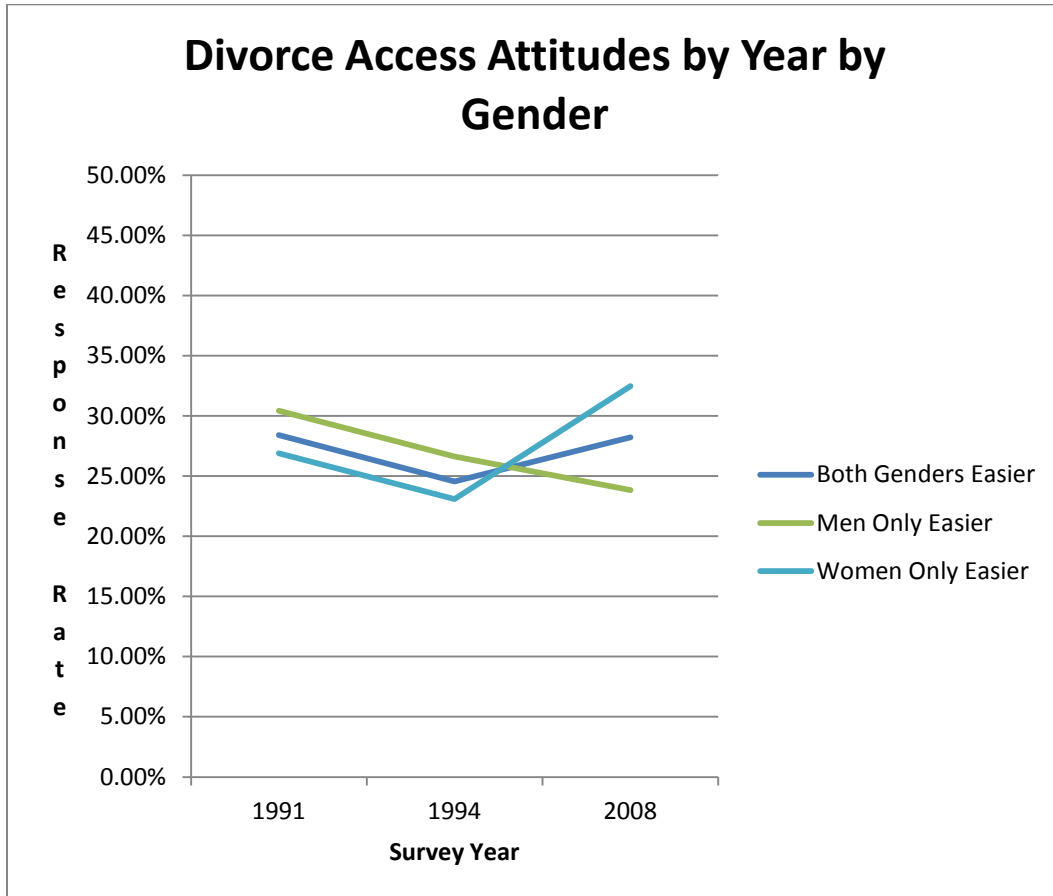


Figure 2 - Change in extreme responses to survey question about pre-marital sex attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.

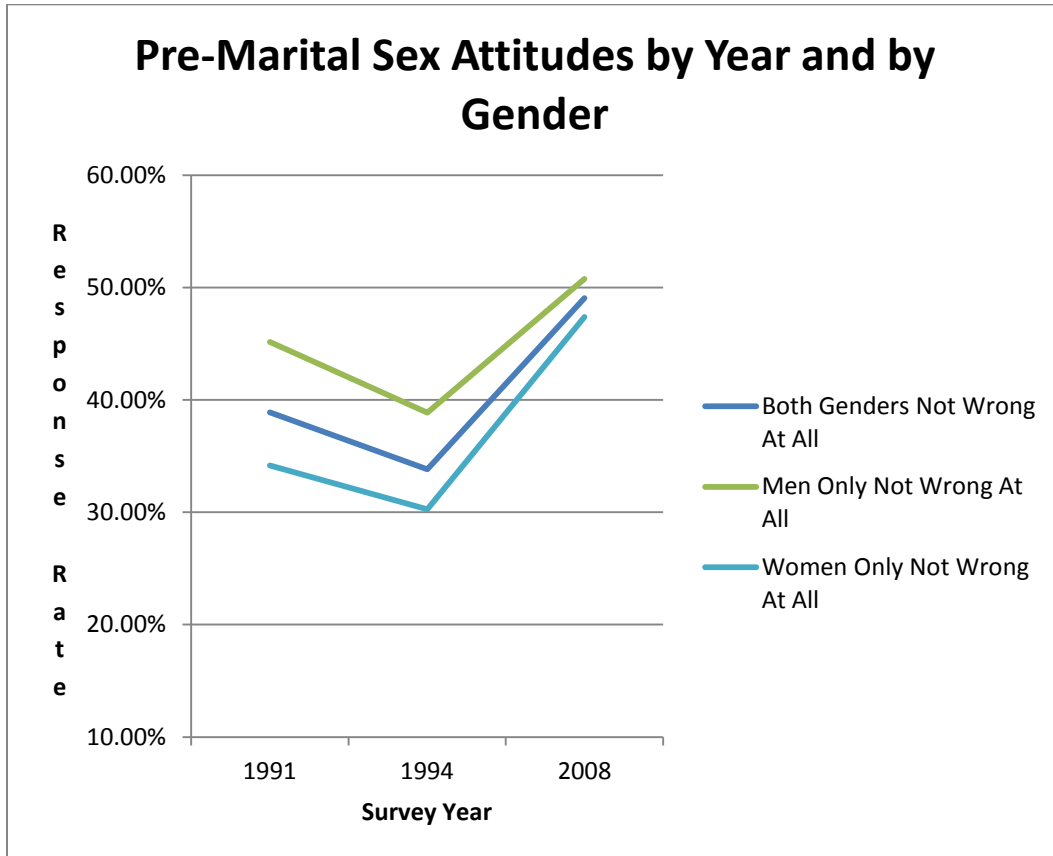


Figure 3 - Change in extreme responses to survey question about extra-marital sex attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.

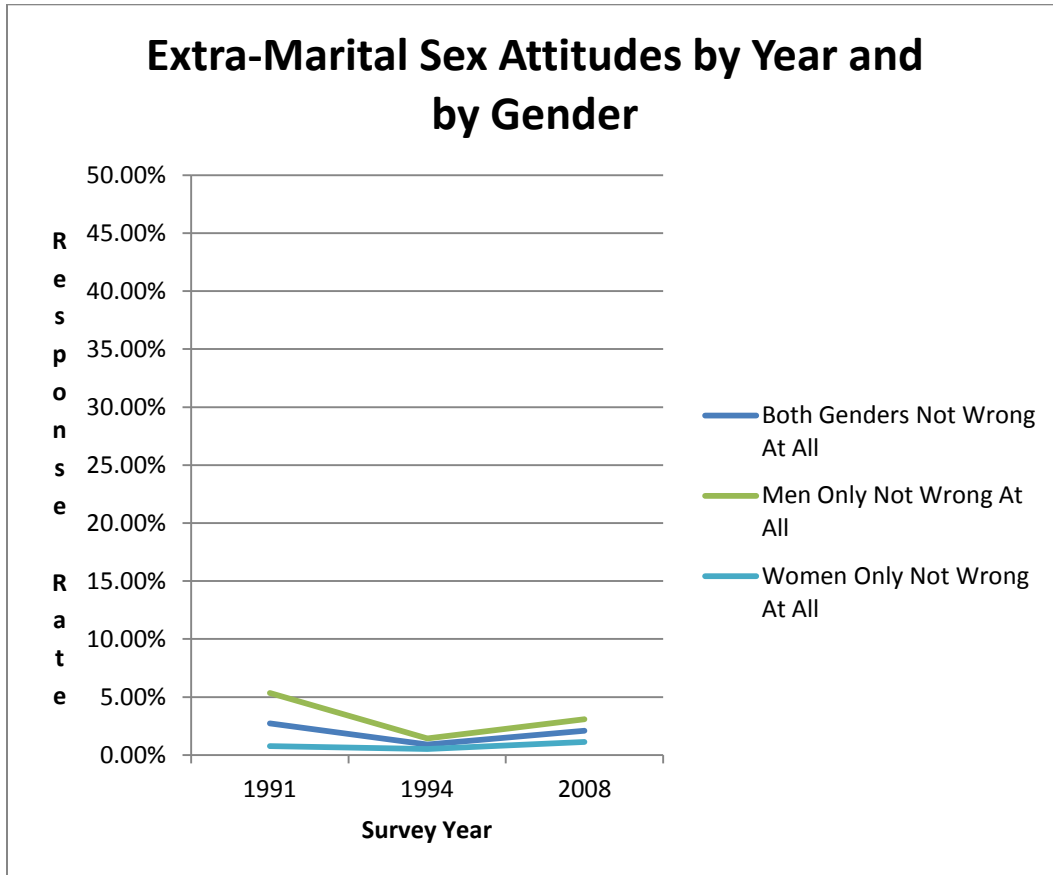


Figure 4 - Change in extreme responses to survey question about homosexual sex attitudes across survey years, combined and separated genders.

