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## Parental family variables and likelihood of divorce

### Summary

*It has long been established that divorced men and women have substantially higher standardized general mortality than same gender persons. Because the incidence of divorce is increasing in many countries, determinants of divorce rates assume great importance as indirect risk factors for several diseases and conditions that adversely affect health. We have undertaken a study in Athens, Greece, to evaluate whether sibship size, birth order, and the gender composition of spousal sibships are related to the probability of divorce. 358 high school students, aged between 15 and 17 years, satisfactorily completed anonymous questionnaires, indicating whether their natural parents have been separated or divorced, their parents' educational achievement, birth order and sibship size by gender. The study was analyzed as a twin case-control investigation, treating those divorced or separated as cases and those who were not divorced or separated as controls. A man who grew up as an only child was almost three times as likely to divorce compared to a man with siblings, and this association was highly significant ( $p \sim 0.004$ ). There was no such evidence with respect to women. After controlling for sibship size, earlier born men – but not women – appeared to be at higher risk for divorce compared to those later born. There was no evidence that the gender structure of the sibship substantially affects the risk for divorce. Even though divorce is not an organic disease, it indirectly affects health as well as the social well-being. The findings of this study need to be replicated, but, if confirmed, they could contribute to our understanding of the roots of some instances of marital dysfunction.*

Divorce is a common problem with increasing incidence in many countries and is frequently considered as a problem with serious social dimensions<sup>1,2</sup>. It has also been established that the divorce state is associated with substantially increas-

ed mortality from several causes among both men and women<sup>3–9</sup>, thus, accounting for a sizable population attributable fraction of morbidity and mortality<sup>10</sup>. Several papers have hypothesized various explanations for this patterning,

revolving primarily around two main theories, those of “marital selection” and “marital protection”. The former suggests that health and health related attributes determine marital experience; the latter suggests the other way around<sup>11–15</sup>. Many papers also try to assess the relative importance of psychological factors, such as stress, available material resources, support networks and health behaviours, in trying to explain the above mentioned difference in mortality and morbidity rates<sup>16–18</sup>, while two papers have reported suppressed immunological functioning in stressful conditions such as divorce<sup>19,20</sup>. Although there is very extensive literature in the fields of sociology and psychology concerning the dynamics of marriage<sup>21–25</sup>, the social consequences of divorce<sup>1, 26, 27</sup> and the secular trends and socio-economic differentials in divorce frequency<sup>21, 28</sup>, very little is known about the effects of family structure and in particular sibship composition on divorce likelihood. We have undertaken a study in Athens, Greece, to evaluate whether sibship size, birth order, and the gender composition of spousal sibships are related to the probability of divorce. We hypothesized that individuals who grew up as only children would be

more prone to divorce and that children belonging to sibships containing both genders would be more likely to withstand the pressures of a later marriage.

**Subjects and methods**

In May 1997 we have asked the teachers of three senior classes of a Lyceum (high school) in Athens, serving the education of children from middle and upper-middle class families to help us in the implementation of a questionnaire-based study exploring the association between parental family structure and the risk of parental divorce. Of 395 students from three classes, 358, aged between 15 and 17 years, satisfactorily completed anonymous questionnaires, indicating whether their natural parents have been separated or divorced, their parents' educational achievement (years of schooling as a proxy to socio-economic class), as well as their sibship size by gender and their birth order.

The study was analyzed as a twin case-control investigation, one focusing on fathers and the other on mothers, treating those divorced or separated as cases and those who were not divorced or separated as controls. The Mantel-Haenzel procedure was used to control for confounding when needed<sup>29,30</sup>.

**Results**

Table 1 shows the distributions of fathers and mothers of the participating 358 students by parental sibship size, birth order and marital status. Thus, among divorced fathers, 12 were only children, whereas 10 had a single sibling; the corresponding numbers among non-divorced fathers were 44 and 137. Similarly, among divorced mothers, 16 had another sibling and of those, 11 were first born and five were second born; among non-divorced mothers, the corresponding numbers were 79 and 63.

Table 2 indicates whether the sibships of parents who were not

themselves only children also included siblings of the opposite gender. For example, among divorced mothers, six had only sisters whereas 25 had at least one brother; the corresponding numbers among controls were 84 and 181.

The results of the statistical analysis are summarized in Table 3. A man who grew up as an only child was almost three times as likely to divorce compared to a man with siblings, and this association was highly significant ( $p \sim 0.004$ ). There was no such evidence with respect to women. There was some evidence that men and women from small families are at somewhat higher risk for divorce, but neither of the respective associations was statistically significant. After controlling for sibship size, earlier born men – but not women – appeared to be at higher risk for divorce compared to those later born ( $p \sim 0.07$ ). Finally, there was no evidence that the gender structure of the sibship substantially affected the risk of divorce.

Birth order	Father (cases/controls)					Mother (cases/controls)				
	1	2	3	4+	All	1	2	3	4+	All
<b>Sibship size</b>										
1	12/44 (27.3%)				<b>12/44 (27.3%)</b>	7/55 (12.7%)				<b>7/55 (12.7%)</b>
2	5/71 (7.0%)	5/66 (7.6%)		<b>10/137 (7.3%)</b>		11/79 (13.9%)	5/63 (7.9%)			<b>16/142 (11.3%)</b>
3	5/16 (31.3%)	3/22 (13.6%)	2/19 (10.5%)		<b>10/57 (17.5%)</b>	7/24 (29.2%)	3/29 (10.3%)	3/17 (17.6%)		<b>13/70 (18.6%)</b>
4+	2/15 (13.3%)	3/19 (15.8%)	0/17 (0.0%)	1/31 (3.2%)	<b>6/82 (7.3%)</b>	0/7 (0.0%)	1/13 (7.7%)	0/12 (0.0%)	1/21 (4.8%)	<b>2/53 (3.8%)</b>
<b>All</b>	<b>24/146 (16.4%)</b>	<b>11/107 (10.3%)</b>	<b>2/36 (5.6%)</b>	<b>1/31 (3.2%)</b>	<b>38/320 (11.9%)</b>	<b>25/165 (15.2%)</b>	<b>9/105 (8.6%)</b>	<b>3/29 (10.3%)</b>	<b>1/21 (4.8%)</b>	<b>38/320 (11.9%)</b>

**Table 1.** Frequency distributions of the parents of 358 high school students in Athens, by their sibship size, birth order and marital status (cases: divorced or separated; controls: other).

	Fathers <sup>a</sup>				Mothers <sup>a</sup>			
	with brother(s) only		with at least one sister		with sister(s) only		with at least one brother	
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)
<b>Cases</b>	8	(8.3)	18	(8.8)	6	(6.7)	25	(12.1)
<b>Controls</b>	89	(91.7)	187	(91.2)	84	(93.3)	181	(87.9)

<sup>a</sup> Parents who were themselves only children are not included.

**Table 2.** Distribution of parents with siblings by gender composition of their sibship and marital status (cases: divorced or separated; controls: other).

Evaluated variables	Control variables <sup>b</sup>	$\chi^2$ (1 df)	p (two-tailed)	Odds ratio	95 % Confidence interval
Father only child vs. other	None	8.2	0.004	2.9	1.4 to 6.0
Mother only child vs. other	None	0.0	0.97	1.1	0.5 to 2.6
Paternal sibship size, <i>ordered</i>	None	2.7	0.10		trend test (inverse)
Maternal sibship size, <i>ordered</i>	None	0.5	0.48		trend test (inverse)
Paternal birth order, <i>ordered</i>	Sibship size	3.2	0.07		trend test (inverse)
Maternal birth order, <i>ordered</i>	Sibship size	1.2	0.27		trend test (inverse)
Father with sister(s) vs. brother(s) only	Sibship $\geq$ 2	0.0	0.88	1.1	0.5 to 2.6
Mother with brother(s) vs. sister(s) only	Sibship $\geq$ 2	2.0	0.16	1.9	0.8 to 4.8

<sup>a</sup> References 15, 16.

<sup>b</sup> There were no substantial or statistically significant differences with respect to age or educational level between cases and control fathers, and cases and control mothers.

**Table 3.** Results from the statistical analyses using the Mantel extensions of Chi-square procedure<sup>a</sup>.

## Discussion

Divorce has, in addition to a wide-range of social consequences, several adverse health effects on the persons involved, as well as on their children. Divorced men and women have higher overall mortality than their married, widowed or single counterparts<sup>4–6,8</sup>. Specifically, divorced individuals, in comparison to married ones, have been found to be at increased risk for cardiovascular diseases<sup>31–34</sup>, depression<sup>35</sup>, neurotic behavior<sup>36</sup>, eating disorders<sup>37</sup>, panic attacks<sup>38</sup>, suicide<sup>39</sup> and accidents<sup>40</sup>. It has been suggested that divorcees may also be at increased risk for several cancers<sup>9,41</sup>, including cervical cancer<sup>42</sup>,

prostate cancer<sup>43</sup>, lung cancer<sup>41</sup> and gastrointestinal tumours<sup>44</sup>, while married individuals might have better survival rates among patients with cancer<sup>45,46</sup>. It has been reported that the divorced state is associated with the perception of pain and the general prognosis in conditions such as rheumatoid arthritis<sup>47</sup> and musculoskeletal pain<sup>48</sup> and that increased rates of divorcees are being noted among fibromyalgia syndrome patients<sup>49</sup>. It has also been claimed that divorced individuals adopt high-risk behaviours, such as smoking<sup>50–52</sup>, drinking<sup>52,53</sup> and drug-taking<sup>54</sup>, which are precursors to a variety of adverse health effects, while the divorced state has been

reported as a predictor of non-adherence to medical rehabilitation programs<sup>55</sup>. In addition, children of divorced parents have demonstrable psycho-developmental aberrations<sup>26,56–60</sup> and often neurologic manifestations such as pseudo-seizures<sup>61</sup> and tension-type headaches<sup>62</sup>.

Thus, it is not possible to equate lack of statistical significance with lack of association. Statistically significant results, however, and those that approach conventional levels of significance can justifiably be subjected to further consideration. There is no obvious source of bias in the present database because all students of particular classes of a regular school were included and

the reasons for questionnaire exclusion were purely technical (mostly omissions in some of the items). Age and social class are generally associated with divorce<sup>21,28</sup> but in this data set the respective associations were both minimal and statistically non-significant. Sibship size and birth order were mutually adjusted for in order to control confounding. It appears that the two findings that stand out in the present investigation, that is, the higher divorce risk of men who grew up as only children and the apparent higher risk for divorce of men belonging to earlier birth orders can legitimately be considered as genuine.

Factors affecting divorce vary considerably by time, place, socioeconomic conditions, religious beliefs, social traditions and legal constraints<sup>21–24, 63, 64</sup>. Therefore, the results of the present investigation are not necessarily generalizable to other population groups, time periods, or cultural settings. It should be realized, however, that generalizability can only be compromised when the factors that define a particular population group (e.g. time, culture, religion, etc.), *interact* with the variables that predict the outcome under study – in this instance, divorce<sup>10</sup>. Interactive phenomena may be more common in the social sciences than in biology, but they have to be demonstrated rather than assumed in order to challenge generalizability.

Social values are rapidly changing in Greece, but undercurrents of the male dominance and the special, and spoiling, attention bestowed to male only children and early-born boys are still easily identifiable. It is not difficult to attribute an increased divorce proneness to

men brought up with the illusion that they should represent the focus of their social milieu. In contrast, we found no evidence in these data that early-life interaction with siblings of the other gender affects to a demonstrable degree the likelihood of divorce. Divorce is not an

organic disease, but it indirectly affects health as well as the social well-being. The findings of this study need to be replicated, but, if confirmed, they could represent a contribution to our understanding of the roots of some instances of marital dysfunction.

### Zusammenfassung

#### **Variablen der elterlichen Familie und Scheidungswahrscheinlichkeit**

*Es ist seit langem bekannt, dass geschiedene Männer und Frauen eine wesentlich höhere standardisierte allgemeine Sterblichkeit haben als Personen des gleichen Geschlechtes, die nicht geschieden wurden. Da die Ehescheidungsrate in vielen Ländern zunehmen, können Determinanten, die mit Ehescheidung assoziiert sind, eine wichtige Rolle als indirekte Risikofaktoren für Krankheiten und andere, die Gesundheit negativ beeinflussende Lebensumstände, sein. Wir haben deshalb eine Untersuchung in Athen, Griechenland, durchgeführt, die zum Ziel hatte, die Zusammenhänge von Zahl, Reihenfolge, und Geschlechtszusammensetzung der Geschwister der Ehepartner mit der Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Ehescheidung zu korrelieren. Hierzu beantworteten 358 Schüler im Alter von 15 bis 17 Jahren einen anonymen Fragebogen über den Ehestatus und die Berufsausbildung ihrer leiblichen Eltern sowie deren Geschwisterzahl, Geschlecht der Geschwister und die Geburtsreihenfolge der Geschwister. Die Untersuchung wurde als Fallkontrollstudie ausgewertet, wobei geschiedene oder getrennt lebende Elternteile als Fälle und nicht geschiedene bzw. getrennt lebende Elternteile als Kontrollfälle dienten. Die Ergebnisse zeigten, dass Männer, die als Einzelkinder aufwuchsen, eine nahezu dreifach höhere Ehescheidungsrate aufwiesen als Männer mit Geschwistern ( $p < 0.005$ ). Für Frauen wurde ein solcher Zusammenhang nicht beobachtet. Nach Kontrolle der Geschwisteranzahl hatten früher in der Geschwisterreihenfolge geborene Männer, nicht aber Frauen, eine höhere Scheidungsrate als Erwachsene als später geborene Männer. Es fanden sich keine Hinweise über die Rolle der Geschlechtszusammensetzung der Geschwister. Obwohl eine Ehescheidung keine organische Erkrankung ist, beeinflusst sie dennoch Gesundheit und soziales Wohlbefinden. Die Ergebnisse dieser und gleichartiger Untersuchungen könnten dazu beitragen, ein besseres Verständnis über die Ursachen von letztlich nicht erfolgreichen ehelichen Gemeinschaften zu erhalten.*

**Résumé****Variables de la famille des parents et probabilité de divorce**

C'est connu depuis longtemps que les hommes et les femmes divorcés ont une mortalité générale plus haute que les autres personnes du même genre. Puisque l'incidence de divorces augmente dans beaucoup de pays, les causes déterminantes de divorce prennent grande importance en tant que facteurs indirects de risque pour plusieurs maladies et conditions que compromettent la santé. Nous avons entrepris une étude à Athènes, Grèce, pour évaluer si le sexe et le nombre d'enfants de la famille d'origine d'une personne et son rang de naissance sont liés à la probabilité de divorce de cette personne. 358 étudiants du lycée, âgés entre 15 et 17 ans ont remplis d'une manière satisfaisante des questionnaires anonymes indiquant si leurs parents naturels ont été séparés ou divorcés, le niveau d'éducation et une description du rang de naissance des frères et soeurs de leurs parents. L'étude a été analysée comme recherche de castémoin jumelle, traitant ceux qui ont été séparés ou divorcés comme cas et ceux qui n'ont pas été séparés ou divorcés comme témoins. Un homme qui a grandi comme seul enfant avait une probabilité de divorcer trois fois plus grande, en comparaison avec un homme avec des frères et/ou soeurs, et cette association était très significative ( $p \sim 0.004$ ). Il n'y avait aucune évidence pareille en ce qui concerne les femmes. Après avoir contrôlé pour le nombre des enfants de la famille d'origine, les hommes – mais pas les femmes – nés en avance étaient caractérisés par une probabilité de divorce plus grande, en comparaison avec ceux qui étaient nés plus tard. Il n'y avait aucune évidence que le sexe des enfants de famille d'origine affecte sensiblement la probabilité de divorce. Quoique le divorce ne soit pas une maladie organique, il affecte indirectement la santé, aussi bien que le bien-être social. Les résultats de cette étude doivent être repliqués, mais si confirmés, pourraient contribuer à notre compréhension des racines de quelques exemples de dysfonctionnement matrimonial.

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