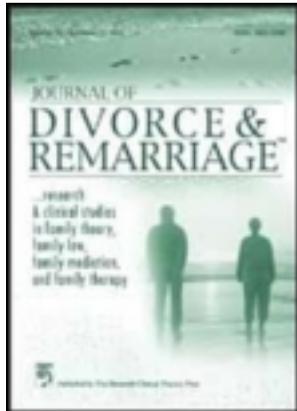


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Reasons for Divorce and Openness to Marital Reconciliation

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This study explores the factors that divorcing couples say contributed to the breakdown of their marriage and how those factors are related to thoughts and interest in reconciliation. A sample of 886 individual divorcing parents in Hennepin County, Minnesota, in 2008 responded to a brief survey after mandated parenting classes. The two most common reasons given for seeking a divorce were “growing apart” (55%) and “not able to talk together” (53%). Growing apart, differences in tastes, and money problems were negatively associated with interest in reconciliation; abuse and adultery were not associated with interest in reconciliation.

KEYWORDS *divorce, divorce attitudes, reconciliation*

This study explores how the factors that divorcing people believe contributed to their divorce are related to openness to reconciliation and the belief that their marriage could still be saved. The limited body of research on reasons for divorce suggests that most divorces are initiated because of problems such as falling out of love, changing personal needs, lack of satisfaction, and feelings of greater entitlement, especially for more educated individuals, whereas severe problems such as abuse and addiction are noted less frequently (Amato & Previti, 2003). De Graaf and Kalmijn (2006) noted a change over time in the Netherlands from more serious reasons for divorce, such as violence and infidelity, to less acute reasons, such as relational problems (e.g., growing apart, not enough attention). A U.S.

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national survey (National Fatherhood Initiative, 2005) found that the most common reason given for divorce among those who had ever divorced was “lack of commitment” (73%). Other significant factors included too much arguing (56%), infidelity (55%), marrying too young (46%), unrealistic expectations (45%), lack of equality in the relationship (44%), lack of premarital preparation (41%), and domestic violence (29%). This limited body of research suggests that a number of divorces might be prevented without threat to the health and safety of the spouses.

Another reason why some believe that more divorces can be prevented comes from longitudinal research with representative samples of U.S. adults. One study found that half of divorces come from marriages with low rather than high amounts of conflict (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott, 2007). This suggests that there is more potential than often assumed to repair relationships. Those who end low-conflict marriages generally report declines in well-being; those who end high-conflict marriages report increased well-being (Amato & Hohmann-Marriott). Waite, Luo, and Lewin (2009) also found that divorce is not a reliable path to better psychological well-being for adults.

In addition, a recent study documented that a subset of divorcing individuals hold hope for the marriage well into the divorce process. Doherty, Willoughby, and Peterson (2011) found that about 25% of individuals and about 10% of couples (both spouses) going through a mandated divorcing-parents class felt that their marriage could still be saved, even at a late stage in the legal process of divorce. Similarly, 30% of individuals and 10% of couples expressed interest in a formal reconciliation service, if it were available.

Finally, research on people already divorced suggests that some who divorce later have regrets about the divorce. A handful of surveys from various states suggest that perhaps half of divorced individuals wished they had worked harder to try and overcome their marital differences (see Hawkins & Fackrell, 2009, for a summary). A study that followed divorced individuals over time found that, in 75% of divorced couples, at least one partner was having regrets about the decision to divorce 1 year after the breakup (Hetherington & Kelly, 2002). Divorce scholar Robert Emery reports that ambivalent or mixed feelings about a divorce are common (Emery & Sbarra, 2002). These findings suggest that, for some, the decision to divorce might not have been fully considered.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

This study aims to understand better the reasons that divorcing individuals give for the breakdown of their marriage and whether these reasons differ significantly by gender. Also, we seek to understand whether the reasons divorcing individuals give for marital breakdown are due primarily to inherently destructive problems, such as abuse, addiction, and adultery, or

whether they are more likely due to interpersonal issues such as growing apart, or to conflict over money or domestic labor, or in-laws. If the latter, then this gives more credence to divorce prevention intervention and policy, whereas if the former is true, then this raises important concerns about subjecting individuals to unwanted and perhaps unwise consideration of reconciliation.

In addition, it would be useful for researchers and policymakers to understand how reasons couples give for marital breakdown are associated with openness to reconciliation. We hypothesized that divorcing individuals who report experiencing destructive problems such as abuse, addictions, or adultery would be less interested in reconciliation. In contrast, those who report interpersonal problems concerning role issues, communication difficulties, violation of expectations, feelings of inattention, and the like would be more interested in reconciliation because their problems are less severe. We also explore whether these potential associations differ by gender.

METHOD

Sample and Procedure

Individuals in the sample were surveyed while taking parent education courses offered in Hennepin County, Minnesota, the metropolitan area of Minneapolis. The total sample consisted of 886 individual divorcing parents who took parenting classes mandated by state law and district court policy from March to December of 2008 at two sites, one free site for noncontested cases offered at the court building and one private facility that charged a fee to couples with contested cases. At the end of the courses, participants were asked to fill out an evaluation form and a one-page survey used in this study. The University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board approved the research. All those attending the classes were asked to complete the evaluation and survey; 98% did so. Nevertheless, despite the mandatory nature of the classes, court records indicated that only about 60% of all divorcing couples in Hennepin County completed the classes. Information about parents who did not attend the classes is not available. Thus, it is unknown how the current sample differs from those who did not attend the classes.

Approximately 45% of the sample was male and 55% was female. The average age of the participants was 39.1 ($SD = 7.9$) years old. The average marriage length was 11.8 ($SD = 6.6$) years. About 19% of the sample had been married for 5 years or less, and 10% had been married for more than 20 years. The mean number of children was 1.9 ($SD = .94$). In terms of education, 2% of the sample had less than a high school education, 16% had only a high school diploma or equivalent, and 53% had graduated from college. These educational levels closely reflected those of the married population in Minnesota.

Measures

REASONS FOR DIVORCE

Reasons for divorce were assessed by a scale developed and validated by de Graaf and Kalmijn (2006) in their study of changing reasons for divorce over historical time periods. It provides individuals with a list of 20 possible factors in their divorce. In the directions for this study, each individual was asked to check the factors that were important in his or her divorce. Reasons are provided in Table 1. If individuals marked a reason as important, that item was coded as yes (1) for analyses. Otherwise, responses were coded no (0). Thus for each participant, yes responses indicated the reasons he or she felt were important factors in his or her divorce.

Preliminary data reduction analyses were undertaken to see if reasons for divorce covaried or could be combined into subcategories. Tetrachoric correlations and exploratory factor analyses using techniques appropriate for dichotomous variables were both examined to determine if responses loaded on common factors. These preliminary results (not reported here) suggested a poor factor structure and little overlap between reasons for divorce. The only two items with significant and strong overlap were the items "how we divided child care responsibilities" and "how we divided household responsibilities," which produced a tetrachoric correlation of .68. Due to this higher correlation, responses to this item were summed into

TABLE 1 Percentage of Sample Indicating Factor Was an Important Reason in Their Divorce, by Gender

Factor	Total sample	Female	Male	χ^2
Growing apart	55%	52%	59%	3.62*
Not able to talk together	53%	53%	52%	0.153
How my spouse handles money	40%	42%	38%	1.21
Infidelity	37%	39%	34%	2.19
Personal problems of my spouse	37%	35%	39%	1.99
Not getting enough attention	34%	33%	36%	0.724
My spouse's personal habits	29%	29%	28%	0.072
Sexual problems	24%	22%	27%	2.99
Differences in tastes and preferences	23%	23%	24%	0.318
Alcohol or drug problems	22%	27%	16%	16.43**
How we divided household responsibilities	21%	26%	16%	11.69**
Conflicts over raising our own children	20%	21%	18%	1.34
In-law problems	18%	19%	17%	0.683
My spouse's leisure activities	18%	23%	12%	18.30**
How we divided child care responsibilities	17%	22%	10%	24.56**
Physical violence	13%	18%	6%	29.78**
My spouse's friends	11%	10%	13%	3.01
My spouse worked too many hours	9%	13%	5%	19.27**
Religious differences	9%	9%	8%	0.704

Note. $N = 886$.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

one measure assessing the importance of division of domestic labor to divorce.

OUTCOME MEASURES

Two outcome measures were assessed. Belief about whether their marriage could be saved was assessed by one item asking participants, "Even at this point, do you think your divorce could be prevented if one or both of you works hard to save the marriage?" Responses were 2 (*yes*), 1 (*maybe*), and 0 (*no*). Interest in possible reconciliation services was assessed by one item proposing to participants, "If the court offered a reconciliation service, I would seriously consider trying it." Responses were 2 = (*yes*), 1 = (*maybe*), and 0 = (*no*). (The item does not give any detail about the potential service.)

CONTROLS

Participants were asked a series of questions regarding their backgrounds, including age, gender, level of education, and the number of children in their family. Education was assessed by asking the participants the highest grade they had completed. Divorce initiation was also controlled for by asking each participant who took the lead in the divorce process. Responses were *you*, *your spouse*, or *both of us together*. *You* and *your spouse* responses were combined to create an outcome that reflected if one or both partners took the lead in the divorce process.

Data Analysis

Analyses for this study consisted of multinomial logistic regression models run to predict responses separately for the "marriage could be saved" outcome and "interest in a reconciliation service" outcome. There was a moderate correlation of .6 between these two items. Because we believe that the items assess conceptually different concepts, and because the moderate correlation left room for distinctive sets of statistical findings, we analyzed the items separately. The reference outcome for both items was "no." Each model included all reasons for divorce as predictors and controlled for age, gender, number of children, education, and divorce initiation. Due to the data collection method utilized, it was possible that data could include information from both spouses, creating potential dependency in the data set. To address this, spouses were identified by matching individuals within the data who indicated the same marriage date, number of children, and age of those children. Individuals who matched on all three items were labeled as couples and removed from the data set utilized in this study. Missing data were handled by listwise deletion. Difference by site of data

collection (i.e., courthouse for uncontested, private facility for contested) were examined to explore if participants differed in their listed important reasons for divorce. Only two significant differences emerged. Participants from the private facility, who were referred there because they had contested cases, were more likely to report that conflicts over raising their own children, $\chi^2(1, N = 886) = 5.94, p < .05$, and how the couple divided household responsibilities, $\chi^2(1, N = 886) = 10.45, p < .05$, were important factors in the divorce. No other site differences emerged. Due to these differences, data source was also coded and included as a control in all analyses.

RESULTS

Descriptive Results

Twenty-six percent of the sample indicated some agreement (yes or maybe) to the item asking if their marriage could still be saved. Thirty-three percent of the sample indicated some interest in reconciliation services if they were offered. Eighty-four percent of the sample indicated that one spouse initiated the divorce process; women (66%) were twice as likely as men (33.1%) to indicate that they initiated the divorce process, $\chi^2(2, N = 886) = 271.35, p < .001$, and men (19%) were more likely than women (14%) to indicate the divorce was initiated by both partners, $\chi^2(1, N = 886) = 9.83, p < .01$.

As shown in Table 1, the most commonly cited reason for seeking a divorce was growing apart (55%). This was followed by not being able to talk together (53%), money problems (40%), personal problems of spouse (37%), infidelity (37%), and not getting enough attention (34%). The three least common reasons given were my spouse's friends (11%), spouse worked too much (9%), and religious differences (9%).

Table 1 also reports on gender differences in reasons for divorce. Several significant differences were found. Women were significantly more likely than men to report that alcohol and drug problems, how household responsibilities were divided, spouse's leisure activities, physical violence, and spouse working too many hours were important factors in the divorce. Men (59%) were more likely than women (52%) to report growing apart as an important factor in the divorce.

Predictors of Belief That Marriage Could Be Saved

Multinomial logistic regression results predicting responses to the item asking if their marriage could still be saved are summarized in Table 2. Results controlling for age, gender, education, number of children, initiation status, and data collection site showed that three reasons for divorce significantly influenced the likelihood that individuals would select yes as opposed to no on this item. Indicating that growing apart ($e^{\beta} = .511, p < .01$) and

TABLE 2 Multinomial Logistic Regression Results Predicting Belief That Marriage Could Still Be Saved

Variable	Response = Maybe			Response = Yes		
	β	<i>SE</i>	e^{β}	β	<i>SE</i>	e^{β}
Growing apart	-.495*	.219	.610	-.671**	.235	.511
Can't talk together	.167	.228	1.18	.294	.246	1.34
Spouse's money habits	-.146	.220	.864	-.125	.242	.882
Infidelity	.030	.215	1.03	.357	.229	1.43
Spouse's personal problems	-.057	.220	.945	-.133	.242	.875
Inattention	.397	.231	1.49	.569*	.250	1.77
Spouse's personal habits	-.055	.248	.947	-.162	.283	.850
Sexual problems	.453*	.227	1.57	-.254	.278	.776
Difference in tastes	-.613*	.278	.542	-.665*	.326	.514
Alcohol or drugs	-.095	.269	.909	-.407	.322	.666
Domestic labor	.231	.184	1.26	.280	.221	1.32
Parenting conflict	-.367	.291	.693	-.353	.332	.703
In-laws	.448	.266	1.57	.467	.298	1.60
Spouse's leisure activities	.164	.283	1.18	-.518	.380	.596
Violence	-.141	.348	.868	.073	.402	1.08
Friends	.077	.332	1.08	-.131	.392	.877
Spouse worked too much	.305	.355	1.36	.586	.376	1.80
Religion	.579	.331	1.78	-.059	.469	.943

Note. Models control for gender, age, education, initiator status, data collection site, and number of children.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

differences in tastes ($e^{\beta} = .514$, $p < .05$) were important factors in the divorce lowered the likelihood by about half that individuals believed that their marriage could be saved. Not getting enough attention ($e^{\beta} = 1.77$, $p < .05$) increased by 77% the likelihood that individuals thought their marriage could be saved compared to those who said their marriage could not be saved. Notably, the most serious factors—physical violence, alcohol or drug problems, and infidelity—were not associated with increased or decreased odds of believing the marriage could be saved.

On the item asking if the marriage could still be saved, the factors growing apart ($e^{\beta} = .610$, $p < .05$) and differences in tastes ($e^{\beta} = .542$, $p < .05$) decreased by about half the likelihood that individuals reported “maybe” compared to “no.” Conversely, on the same item, indicating that sexual problems were an important factor in the divorce ($e^{\beta} = 1.57$, $p < .05$) increased the likelihood by 57% that individuals reported “maybe” compared to “no.”

To test if gender moderated the relationship between reasons for divorce and belief that the marriage could still be saved, a series of gender-by-reasons-for-divorce interactions were added to the base model and tested. To simplify these results, responses to the item asking if the marriage could still be saved were dichotomized, with “yes” and “maybe” responses being combined to indicate any beliefs that marriage could be

saved. Results found no significant interactions, suggesting that the associations between reasons for divorce and belief that marriage could be saved were stable across gender.

Predictors of Interest in Reconciliation

For multinomial logistic regression models predicting the likelihood of being interested in reconciliation services, five factors were significant in predicting “yes” versus “no” responses. Full results are summarized in Table 3. Four factors decreased the probability of being interested in reconciliation services (saying “yes”): money problems ($e^{\beta} = .571$, $p < .05$), growing apart ($e^{\beta} = .355$, $p < .01$), alcohol or drug problems ($e^{\beta} = .465$, $p < .05$), and differences in tastes ($e^{\beta} = .417$, $p < .01$). Indicating that in-law problems were an important factor in the divorce ($e^{\beta} = 1.39$, $p < .01$) increased by 39% the likelihood of being interested in reconciliation services. Note that experiencing physical violence or infidelity was not associated with increased or decreased odds of interest in a reconciliation service.

With regard to interest in reconciliation services, only one factor, inattention, increased significantly the probability ($e^{\beta} = 1.78$, $p < .05$) of selecting “maybe” versus “no” on that item.

TABLE 3 Multinomial Logistic Regression Results Predicting Interest in Reconciliation Services

Variable	Response = Maybe			Response = Yes		
	β	<i>SE</i>	e^{β}	β	<i>SE</i>	e^{β}
Growing apart	-.291	.219	.748	-1.04**	.247	.355
Can't talk together	-.119	.226	.888	.336	.258	1.40
Spouse's money habits	-.135	.217	.873	-.561*	.261	.571
Infidelity	.078	.210	1.08	.162	.242	1.18
Spouse's personal problems	-.400	.226	.671	-.278	.249	.757
Inattention	.575*	.228	1.78	.240	.264	1.27
Spouse's personal habits	-.122	.250	.885	-.317	.296	.728
Sexual problems	.158	.236	1.17	.015	.272	1.02
Difference in tastes	-.447	.269	.640	-.875*	.343	.417
Alcohol or drugs	.134	.256	1.14	-.765*	.364	.465
Domestic labor	.046	.177	1.05	.049	.218	1.05
Parenting conflict	-.326	.294	.722	-.173	.323	.841
In-laws	.301	.278	1.35	.898**	.290	1.39
Spouse's leisure activities	-.018	.289	.982	.008	.348	1.01
Violence	.046	.343	1.05	.148	.414	1.16
Friends	-.182	.363	.834	.500	.356	1.65
Spouse worked too much	.303	.346	1.35	.603	.397	1.83
Religion	.506	.346	1.66	.205	.437	1.23

Note. Models control for gender, age, education, initiator status, data collection site, and number of children.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Gender interactions were also explored using the same method previously described. One significant interaction was found, between gender and listing inattention as an important reason for divorce ($\beta = -.693, p < .05$). Post-hoc analysis of this interaction via simple slope analysis revealed that indicating inattention was significant for men ($e^{\beta} = .871, p < .01$), in that it lowered the probability that men were interested in reconciliation, but had no effect for women ($e^{\beta} = 1.02, ns$).

DISCUSSION

The most common reasons for divorce cited by both men and women were the less severe problems such as growing apart, communication problems, and not enough attention from the spouse. This was in accord with de Graaf and Kalmijn's (2006) Dutch study, which indicated a trend over time from "hard" reasons for divorce (e.g., abuse, adultery) to "soft" reasons (e.g., psychological and relational problems). In our study, experiencing physical violence or alcohol and drug problems in the marriage, two of the most destructive factors, were infrequently given as reasons for divorce. Infidelity, a factor that is difficult to overcome, was given as an important reason for divorce by slightly more than one third of respondents. These findings also are similar to the reasons for divorce cited in the research by Amato and Previti (2003). Overall, these data suggest that the most common factors that contribute to seeking a divorce, at least in this sample, are the ones most amenable to intervention.

Our results exploring how reasons for divorce were related to outcomes were somewhat counterintuitive. Some of the less severe reasons that we expected would be associated with greater hope for the marriage actually decreased expectations and interest in reconciliation services. Specifically, growing apart, differences in tastes, and money problems were negatively associated with the outcomes. But two other factors that could be considered less serious—feeling a lack of attention from one's spouse and in-law problems—were associated with thinking the marriage could be saved and interest in a reconciliation service. One speculation is that some of the less serious reasons such as growing apart and differences in tastes reflect a conclusion by the individual that there is now a basic incompatibility in the relationship. Lack of attention from one's spouse, on the other hand, implies a sense that the spouse could still offer something in the relationship if he or she chose to be attentive. Likewise, in-law problems might feel repairable if the spouse took a different stance toward his or her family.

Just as intriguing as the significant predictors of the outcomes are the reasons for divorce that were not associated with the belief that the marriage could still be saved and interest in a reconciliation service. Note that neither physical abuse nor infidelity influenced the odds of these outcomes. These

results are hard to explain. That is, one would expect that destructive problems such as physical abuse and infidelity would produce less ambivalence about divorce and more determination to terminate the marriage. Instead, the results suggest that divorcing individuals who have experienced these destructive problems are no more or less likely to believe the marriage can be saved or to have interest in a reconciliation service than those experiencing less severe problems. One possibility is that these are more apt to be volatile relationships with higher levels of both positives and negatives, thus canceling out an effect on hopes for reconciliation. Our findings might also be linked to studies suggesting that those in abusive relationships are often still invested in and committed to their partners (Rhatigan & Axsom, 2006), indicating that those in destructive relationships might feel conflicting feelings about ending such relationships despite the presence of violence or abuse.

This study has a number of limitations worth noting. The data came from one county in Minnesota and the findings cannot be generalized beyond that population. The outcome measures reflected beliefs and interests and not behavior; we don't know how many respondents would follow through on their expressed interest in reconciliation services. The reasons-for-divorce scale did not ask for weighted reasons for divorce, just a list of all reasons that were important; thus, the reasons cannot be ranked at the individual level.

The implications of this study for divorce prevention policy are complex. On the one hand, a number of reasons for seeking a divorce that are quite common and would seem to be amenable to marital intervention to repair the relationship nevertheless are associated with less hope for reconciliation and less interest in a reconciliation service. Accordingly, policy efforts that urge divorcing parties to consider seriously the possibility of reconciliation are more likely to be ignored by the very people for whom marital problems could be addressed by marital interventions with reasonable chances of success. On the other hand, those individuals experiencing the most destructive problems are no less likely to be hopeful of saving their marriage or no less interested in a reconciliation service than those experiencing less serious problems. Policymakers then must make sure that efforts to help couples reconcile make use of trained professionals with the skills to deal with serious and difficult marital problems such as abuse and infidelity.

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