The Concurrent Development of Expectations to Marry and to Divorce Across the Transition to Adulthood

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Abstract

Expectations for marriage and for divorce can predict behavior in young adulthood and may have important long-term implications. Most previous studies of these expectations have used one measure, but longitudinal studies of marital expectations suggest they are not static. I documented patterns of change in expectations for both marriage and divorce in unmarried young adults, and then used hybrid effects (between-within) models to predict changes in expectations over time from experiences and changes in other characteristics separately for males and females. Results showed that expectations are dynamic and a number of experiences predict change in expectations. Future studies should consider how expectations at any given time may be associated with current circumstances and may change over time.

INTRODUCTION

Marriage is pervasive in the United States; even if individuals never experience marriage themselves, they are exposed to it in their personal lives and the surrounding culture (Cherlin, 2004; Willoughby Hall, et al., 2015). Most individuals believe they will marry (Anderson, 2016), and expectations for marriage are associated with behavior, including risktaking and substance use (Carroll et al., 2007; Willoughby & Dworkin, 2009), delinquency (Arocho & Kamp Dush, 2016), and actual union formation (Arocho & Kamp Dush, 2017; Willoughby, 2014).

Expectations for marriage are unlikely to be static, and some previous evidence has shown that gender, race, family of origin structure, relationship experiences, and experiences with education and employment may predict change in marital expectations over time in adolescence and young adulthood (Barr et al., 2015; Willoughby, 2009; Willoughby, Medaris et al., 2015). Expectations to divorce, although potentially also predictive of behavior and relatively common (Arocho & Purtell, n.d.; Waller & Peters, 2008), are less well-understood. As these beliefs are likely to be closely related in young adults' minds (Halpern-Meekin, 2012; Willoughby & Hall, 2015), the development of expectations for marriage and divorce should be studied together. In this study, I tested a variety of predictors of interindividual differences and intraindividual change in expectations for both marriage and divorce over the transition to adulthood.

THEORY

Marital paradigms framework (Willoughby, Hall et al., 2015) says that, even if they don't expect to marry, young adults form opinions and attitudes towards marriage, including marital context (readiness) and permanence.

The **theory of emerging adulthood** suggests that young adults will change their marital beliefs over time as they develop identities and opinions and gain experiences (Arnett, 2000).

I draw from the **expectancy-value framework** (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000) and empirical evidence regarding feelings of adulthood and marital readiness (e.g. Carroll et al., 2009; Silva, 2013) to posit that relationship experiences, educational expectations and achievement, gainful employment, contextual markers, and mental and emotional health will predict change in expectations for both marriage and divorce over time.

DATA

I used the **Panel Study of Income Dynamics Transition to Adulthood** supplement data collected between 2005 and 2015. Youth entered the sample at age 18 and were interviewed every other year until age 28. I included respondents who completed at least two interviews while unmarried (2,195).

Description of Dependent Variables

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

What do you think are the chances that you will get [married / divorced]? Would you say: no chance · some chance · about 50-50 · pretty likely · it will happen

Likelihood of Marriage						
	No	Some	About	Pretty	lt will	
	Chance	Chance	50-50	Likely	Happen	These tables show the frequency of
No Chance	44	38	28	16	17	transitions between interviews.
Some Chance	37	147	118	102	60	Overall, marital expectations (48% stable)
About 50-50	27	117	392	268	202	were less stable than divorce expectations
Pretty Likely	17	110	309	852	497	(59% stable).
It will Happen	15	58	157	440	977	
		Stable: 4	8%			

		LIKE		Divorce		
		No	Some	About	Pretty	lt will
		Chance	Chance	50-50	Likely	Happen
	No Chance	1,627	509	148	19	19
	Some Chance	615	1,316	280	27	9
The table below shows the	About 50-50	193	296	240	24	9
percentage of respondents who	Pretty Likely	27	26	23	8	1
never changed their expectations by	It will Happen	12	9	6	2	1
gender, type of expectation, and	Stable: 59%					
number of completed interviews.						

Young Adults who Never Changed Expectations								
		Male	es	Females				
		Marriage	Divorce	Marriage	Divorce			
۸S	2	49%	43%	53%	48%			
<u>vie</u>	3	50%	43%	47%	50%			
ter	4	53%	42%	56%	42%			
<u> </u>	5	61%	43%	59%	43%			

The chart below shows the percentage of transitions and how much response values changed. Overall, most changes were small (if responses changed at all), between 1 and 2 points, though some respondents did change in both positive and negative extremes.



Points Change between Waves

Regression

Due to small cell sizes, I collapsed responses into:

- Four categories (*less than 50%, about 50-50, pretty likely, it will happen*) for marital expectations.
- Three categories (*no chance, some chance, 50% or greater*) for divorce expectations.

To examine differences both between and within individuals, I analyzed a hybrid (AKA "between-within") panel regression model by calculating individual mean and deviation scores of time-varying variables and including both in models with standard errors clustered by individual (Allison, 2009).

Coefficients of deviation scores indicate the change within individual in the outcome associated with change in the variable in question.

Odds ratios (exponentiated coefficients) are reported. Values above one show positive association, values below one negative.

To model the ordinal outcome variables, I used ordinal logistic regression. All four models (males and females, expectations of marriage and divorce) violated the parallel lines (proportional odds) assumption, necessitating a partial proportional odds generalized ordinal logistic regression model (*gologit2* command in Stata14), allowing the association between variables and the outcomes to vary over levels of the dependent variable.

One model (males, marriage expectations) required the "difficult" maximization option to converge.

Results below are unweighted and were calculated with list-wise deletion method of missing data analyses.

Variables that did not vary across levels of the dependent variable (met the parallel lines assumption) are shown in the first set. Those that did vary are shown for each comparison made in the model (three comparisons for marital expectations, two for divorce expectations).

Females: n (observations) = 2,576, j (individuals) = 994

Males: *n* = 2,309, *j* = 925

Table 1: Full results of hybrid, proportional-probability generalized ordinal regression models, **males' expectations of marriage**. *Rachel Arocho (2017) analyses of PSID-TA 2005-2015; preliminary analyses, please do not cite or distribute*.

		Consistent Across Levels	1 vs. 2,3,4	1,2 vs. 3,4	1,2,3 vs. 4
	Age Relationshin Status (ref: Single)	1.01			
	Cohabiting	-	0.50	4.24***	0.76
	Dating	1.20			
	Educational Expectations (ref: 4-yr College)	0.08			
	2-yr College or Vocational	-	1.07	0.72	0.94
	More than 4-yr College	0.82			
	Something Else	0.88			
	Ever Attended College	1.02			
	Education Completed (ref: High school or GED)				
	Less than High School	0.69			
	2yr College or Vocational 4yr Degree	1.02			
	Graduate or Professional Degree	1.17			
ion	Employment (ref: Full-time)	0.07			
ariat	Part-time Not Working	0.97			
20	Residence (ref: Not with Parents)	0.00			
qua	With Parents All Year	-	0.77	0.91	0.53**
divi	With Parents Part of Year Ever in Military	- 0.40*	0.79	0.95	0.47*
n n	Ever Arrested	0.98			
vee	Percent of Friends Marriage	1.10			
Beth	Changed State since Last Interview	1.06			
_	Importance of Religion (ref: Very)	0.07			
	Less Important	0.48**			
	Not Religious Religious Attendance	0.86			
	Have a Child	0.06***			
	Likelihood of Having a Child		3.55***	2.62***	6.04***
	Languish/Flourish (Scale) Psychological Distress (Scale)	1.11*** 1.00			
	Worry (Scale)	0.97			
	Savings (ref: between \$1 and \$1k)				
	No Savings Savings >\$1K	- 1 02	0.52*	0.69	0.78
	Student Loans	0.77			
	Responsibility for Self (Scale)	0.93			
	Job in Career Plan	1.04	0.98	0.51***	0 59***
	Age	0.99	0.00	0.01	0.00
	Relationship Status (ref: Single)				
	Cohabiting	- 1 29*	1.46	1.44	4.39***
	Educational Expectations (ref: 4-yr College)	1.20			
	High School	0.60			
	2-yr College or Vocational More than 4-yr College	1.09			
	Something Else	1.25			
	Ever Attended College	1.64			
	In College Now Education Completed (ref: High school or GED)	0.87			
	Less than High School	1.39			
	2yr College or Vocational	0.48*		4.001	0.5.4
	4yr Degree Graduate or Professional Degree	- 1 25	0.66	1.63*	0.54*
c	Employment (ref: Full-time)				
atio	Part-time	0.88			
/ari	Residence (ref: Not with Parents)	0.97			
Jal /	With Parents All Year	1.27			
vidı	With Parents Part of Year	0.83			
Ind	Ever Arrested	0.84			
thin	Percent of Friends Marriage	0.98			
Ň	Changed State since Last Interview	1.10			
	Importance of Religion (ref: Very)	0.85			
	Less Important	0.88			
	Not Religious	0.91			
	Have a Child	0.17***			
	Likelihood of Having a Child	2.78***			
	Languish/Flourish (Scale) Psychological Distress (Scale)	1.07*			
	Worry (Scale)	0.93			
	Savings (ref: between \$1 and \$1k)				
	NO Savings Savings >\$1K	0.89			
	Student Loans	1.03			
	Responsibility for Self (Scale)	0.98			
	Job in Career Plan Expectations for Divorce	1.03	1 62**	0.82	0.82
t)	Race (ref: White)	-	1.02	0.02	0.02
rian	Black	0.64**			
JVal	Utner Race Family of Origin Structure (ref: Married)	0.84			
Je-ji	Never Married	-	0.57*	0.89	1.09
: (tin	Ended Marriage	-	1.05	0.93	1.30
rols	Less than High School	0.97			
Con	Some College	0.97			
5	College or More	0.99			

Table 2: Full results of hybrid, proportional-probability generalized ordinal regression models, **females' expectations of marriage**. *Rachel Arocho (2017) analyses of PSID-TA 2005-2015; preliminary analyses, please do not cite or distribute*.

		Consistent Across Levels	1 vs. 2,3,4	1,2 vs. 3,4	1,2,3 vs. 4
	Age	0.91			
	Cohabiting	4.24***			
	Dating	-	6.32***	2.79***	2.66***
	Educational Expectations (ref: 4-yr College)			0.44	0.44**
	2-vr College or Vocational	0.72	1.41	0.44	0.11
	More than 4-yr College	-	0.37**	1.00	0.77
	Something Else	-	0.22*	0.75	1.58
	Ever Attended College	0.97	2.88*	1 19	0.82
	Education Completed (ref: High school or GED)		2.00	1.10	0.02
	Less than High School	-	0.85	1.85	2.08*
	2yr College or Vocational 4yr Degree	1.30			
	Graduate or Professional Degree	0.54			
ion	Employment (ref: Full-time)	0.00			
ariat	Part-time Not Working	0.80			
2°	Residence (ref: Not with Parents)	0.02			
idua	With Parents All Year	0.91			
divi	Ever in Military	0.95			
a Ir	Ever Arrested	1.19			
wee	Percent of Friends Marriage	0.98			
Bet	Risky Behavior	0.74*			
	Importance of Religion (ref: Very)				
	Less Important	-	0.43*	0.45**	0.82
	Not Religious Religious Attendance	0.79			
	Have a Child	0.10***			
	Likelihood of Having a Child	-	2.62***	2.62***	3.36***
	Languisn/Fiourisn (Scale) Psychological Distress (Scale)	1.12***	0.92*	1 02	0.98
	Worry (Scale)	-	0.95	0.86*	1.01
	Savings (ref: between \$1 and \$1k)	0.00			
	No Savings Savings >\$1K	1.32			
	Student Loans	1.16			
	Responsibility for Self (Scale)	0.81*			
	Expectations for Divorce	-	1.01	0.51***	0.48***
	Age	-	1.07	0.93*	0.97
	Relationship Status (ref: Single)		0.94	1 4 4	0.00***
	Dating	-	0.84	1.44	1.23
	Educational Expectations (ref: 4-yr College)				
	High School	1.11			
	Z-yr College or Vocational More than 4-vr College	0.98			
	Something Else	0.77			
	Ever Attended College	0.83			
	Education Completed (ref: High school or GED)	1.09			
	Less than High School	0.60			
	2yr College or Vocational	1.16			
	4yr Degree Graduate or Professional Degree	1.31			
c	Employment (ref: Full-time)				
atio	Part-time	0.87			
/ari	Residence (ref: Not with Parents)	0.97			
'al	With Parents All Year	0.83			
ividu	With Parents Part of Year	0.77			
pul	Ever Arrested	0.87			
thin	Percent of Friends Marriage	1.07			
Ň	Changed State since Last Interview	-	1.07	0.77***	0.90
	Importance of Religion (ref: Verv)	0.98			
	Less Important	1.02			
	Not Religious	1.14			
	Have a Child	-	0.06***	0.15***	0.23***
	Likelihood of Having a Child	1.90***			
	Languish/Flourish (Scale)	1.04			
	Worry (Scale)	0.99			
	Savings (ref: between \$1 and \$1k)				
	No Savings	1.11			
	Savings > TK Student Loans	0.98			
	Responsibility for Self (Scale)	0.93			
	Job in Career Plan	1.01	1 10	0.00	0.60**
~	Race (ref: White)	-	1.10	0.82	0.69
iant	Black	-	1.19	0.67**	1.11
var	Other Race	0.91			
e-in	Parmy or Origin Structure (ref: Married) Never Married	0.89			
(tim	Ended Marriage	0.93			
ols	Mother's Education (ref: High School)				
ontro	Less than High School Some College	0.91 1 12			
ŭ	College or More	1.03			

Table 3: Full results of hybrid, proportional-probability generalized ordinal regression models, **expectations of divorce (both genders)**. Rachel Arocho (2017) analyses of PSID-TA 2005-2015; preliminary analyses, please do not cite or distribute.

	···· g······ · , · ····· · · · · · · · ·	Consistent Across	s Levels	1 vs.2	2,3	1,2 v	s. 3
	Ana	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
	Relationship Status (ref: Single)	1.00	0.52				
	Cohabiting	0.77	0.86				
	Dating	1.27	-		0.95		0.53*
	Educational Expectations (ref: 4-yr College)	0.32	1 75				
	2-yr College or Vocational	0.92	1.30				
	More than 4-yr College	1.52*	1.26				
	Something Else	0.36*	1.47		1 40		0.95
	Ever Attended College	1.15	- 1 48	1.30	1.48	0.73	0.85
	Education Completed (ref: High school or GED)		1.40	1.50		0.75	
	Less than High School	-	0.81	1.07		1.94	
	2yr College or Vocational	-	0.61	0.81		2.08	
	Graduate or Professional Degree	-	2.02	0.46		0.03*	
ч	Employment (ref: Full-time)		0110	0110		0.00	
iatio	Part-time	1.09	1.13				
Var	Not Working Residence (ref: Net with Parante)	2.21*	1.09				
ual	With Parents All Year	0.93	1.41				
ivid	With Parents Part of Year	0.95	0.80				
pu	Ever in Military	0.85	1.77				
en	Ever Arrested Percent of Friends Marriage	1.08	1.26				
twe	Changed State since Last Interview	1.16	1.06				
Be	Risky Behavior	1.24	1.45***				
	Importance of Religion (ref: Very)						
	Less Important	1.21	1.06	1 82**		1 10	
	Religious Attendance	-	0.80***	0.79***		0.89	
	Have a Child	0.90	0.98				
	Likelihood of Having a Child	1.10	-		0.85		1.07
	Languish/Flourish (Scale) Revended Distress (Scale)	0.92*	0.99				
	Worry (Scale)	1.15*	1.20**				
	Savings (ref: between \$1 and \$1k)						
	No Savings	0.67	1.72*				
	Savings >\$1K	1.09	-		1.54*		0.73
	Responsibility for Self (Scale)	0.99	1.04				
	Job in Career Plan	1.25	1.57*				
	Expectations for Marriage	0.62***	-		1.07		0.72**
	Age Relationship Status (ref: Single)	0.95	0.94^				
	Cohabiting	0.62**	0.59**				
	Dating	0.76*	0.75*				
	Educational Expectations (ref: 4-yr College)						
	High School	0.71	0.62				
	More than 4-vr College	1.09	0.95				
	Something Else	0.64	0.81				
	Ever Attended College	0.73	0.99				
	In College Now	0.87	1.03				
	Less than High School	1.02	2.21*				
	2yr College or Vocational	0.84	0.86				
	4yr Degree	0.91	1.00				
	Graduate or Professional Degree	1.16	0.61				
<u>o</u>	Part-time	0.96	1 19				
riat	Not Working	1.17	1.22				
Va	Residence (ref: Not with Parents)						
lual	With Parents All Year	-	1.08	1.09		0.73	
livio	Fver in Military	0.25	0.64				
<u>P</u>	Ever Arrested	1.43	1.10				
thin	Percent of Friends Marriage	1.01	1.03				
Š	Changed State since Last Interview	0.90	0.85**				
	Importance of Religion (ref. Verv)	0.99	1.01				
	Less Important	0.95	0.84				
	Not Religious	1.01	0.86				
	Religious Attendance	0.96	0.95				
	Likelihood of Having a Child	0.84*	0.81				
	Languish/Flourish (Scale)	1.00	0.96				
	Psychological Distress (Scale)	1.03	1.00				
	Worry (Scale)	1.04	1.02				
	No Savings	0.89	0.87				
	Savings >\$1K	1.01	1.09				
	Student Loans	1.11	0.83				
	Responsibility for Self (Scale)	0.94	0.99				
	Jud In Career Plan	0.86	1.01	0.95		0.76**	
÷	Race (ref: White)		1.12	0.33		0.70	
iant	Black	-	-	1.03	0.76	1.72**	1.51*
var	Other Race	0.94	0.90				
e-in	Rever Married	1.04	1.05				
ti,	Ended Marriage	-	1.45**	1.33*		1.97***	
) sic	Mother's Education (ref: High School)						
ntrc	Less than High School	-	0.85	0.79		1.12	
ŭ	College or More	0.86	0.75				

CONCLUSION

Even in a rigorous intraindividual model, strong predictors of expectations were apparent, but often varied between genders.

Some variables, such as expectations for children, predicted higher marital expectations for both males and females. Other variables, like educational expectations, were only significant for males.

Current relationship status consistently predicted expectations; individuals were more expectant of marriage and less expectant of divorce when dating and cohabiting compared to when they were single.

Expectations expressed at any given time may be heavily dependent on current circumstances. Current context, particularly a relationship one may already be in (not only cohabitation), should be considered in future studies.

LIMITATIONS

Although a national and economically-diverse sample, these data are not nationally-representative and have limited racial diversity. Thus, results are not generalizable to all emerging adults and should be confirmed in other samples.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Missing data: Although no variable is missing more than 10% of values, 276 whole cases and nearly 40% of observations were lost to list-wise deletion in the model reported here. To retain cases with missing data but who otherwise qualify, I will estimate missing data using multiple imputation using chained equations, being careful to consider the interdependence inherit to longitudinal data (Graham, 2009; White et al., 2010; Young & Johnson, 2015).

Weighting: The Panel Study of Income Dynamics was developed with a complex sampling strategy, meaning that estimates should be adjusted and weighted to properly account for design effects. The results reported here are unadjusted, but I will apply weights and survey design variables in final estimates.

Predictive value: In another project with these data, I am using this timevarying measure of expectations for both marriage and divorce to predict cohabitation and marriage rates and timing in young adulthood.

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