THE KIDS’ TURN PROGRAM EVALUATION: PROBING CHANGE WITHIN A COMMUNITY-BASED INTERVENTION FOR SEPARATING FAMILIES

Jeffrey T. Cookston and Wenson W. Fung*

We provide evaluation results for Kids’ Turn, a community-based divorcing parent education program. Based on pre- and post-test results from 61 parents, we found that parents reported improvements over time in interparental conflict, the number of topics parents argue about, parental alienation behaviors, parent anxiety and depression, and children’s internalizing behaviors. These changes over time remained after we accounted for child sex, parent and child age, and time since separation. However, we did not observe any change in parenting behaviors. We discuss these results in light of factors influencing the ability of community-based programs to affect change in families after divorce.

Keywords: divorce; program evaluation; marital conflict; intervention; parent anxiety; parent depression; community services

I. THE KIDS’ TURN PROGRAM EVALUATION: PROBING CHANGE WITHIN A COMMUNITY-BASED INTERVENTION FOR SEPARATING FAMILIES

Over the past three decades, considerable change has occurred in knowledge about the implications of parent divorce for the social, emotional, and cognitive adjustment of children and parents. In the 1970s and early 1980s, research emerged to document that children of divorce are at increased risk for a number of deleterious outcomes and are at double the risk for developing a mental health disorder as compared to their peers from nondivorced families. Later, in the 1980s and early 1990s, attention was dedicated to the risk and protective factors associated with the divorce experience. Finally, a number of randomized field trial preventive intervention programs were developed and tested for efficacy in an attempt to help families ameliorate the supposed negative effects of divorce for children. Presently, however, few of the programs that have been evaluated for efficacy are currently available in the community (Wolchik, Sandler, Winslow, & Smith-Daniels, 2005). Further, efficacy results for community-based programs that serve divorcing families tend to lack evaluation data. This paper reviews the literature described above and introduces Kids’ Turn, a divorcing family education program that has been offered in the San Francisco Bay Area continuously since 1988. This manuscript reports change over time within a sample of families who had participated in the Kids’ Turn program and observed reductions in conflict intensity and breadth, parent rejection of child behavior, and parent anxiety and depression. These results are the first to provide evidence of change within participants in a community-based divorcing family education program.

A. THE EFFECTS OF DIVORCE ON CHILDREN

Divorce is a common experience for many children today with 50% of first marriages predicted to end in divorce (Kreider & Fields, 2002) and 1.5 million children a year impacted by a family transition (National Center for Health Statistics, 1995). Separation and divorce create family context disruptions that may have long-range implications for parents and children alike. Children of divorce typically experience lower levels of well-being than do children living in intact families (Amato & Keith, 1991a) and are at twice the risk for a mental health disorder at some point in their lives as compared to peers from structurally intact families (Howard et al., 1996; Zill, Morrison, & Coiro, 1993). The
stress associated with divorce is both internalized in the form of anxiety and depression (Pelkonen, Marttunen, Kaprio, Huurre, & Aro, 2008) and externalized in the form of aggression and delinquency (Stolzenberg & D’Alessio, 2007). These adjustment problems are generally short-term, but depending on the individual, family context, and interactions between child and context, difficulties in adjustment can progress into long-term effects (Amato & Keith, 1991b). Parents’ adjustment difficulties following divorce have been shown to reduce parenting quality and the parent-child relationship, which eventually affect children’s post-divorce adjustment and well-being (Kelly & Emery, 2003). Furthermore, pre-separation marital conflict can indirectly affect children’s emotional adjustment and behavior problems through its effects on the parent-child relationship (Tschann, Johnston, Kline, & Wallerstein, 1989).

In response to the awareness that a) divorce is problematic for children and b) the link between divorce and adjustment can be explained by intervening risk factors (e.g., exposure to conflict, changes in parent-child relationship quality), a number of preventive interventions for divorcing families have emerged. Rigorously controlled, randomized theory-based multiple session control trials of family education programs for divorcing couples have been found to be efficacious in reducing parental conflict (Cookston, Braver, Griffin, De Lusé, & Miles, 2007), improving parenting and communication skills, and promoting parent-child relationships (Wolchik et al., 2005) and children’s positive post-divorce adjustment (Goodman, Bonds, Sandler, & Braver, 2004). The number of parent education programs for divorcing couples provided through the courts has increased in recent years, and while most of these programs are mandatory, few are theory-based multiple session programs with rigorous evaluation histories (Geelhoed, Blaisure, & Geasler, 2001).

Besides promoting parenting and communication skills that directly enhance parent-child relationships and children’s post-divorce adjustment, evidence from one randomized field trial showed that parent education programs are helpful in improving co-parental behaviors that reduce parent conflict and contributes to children’s well-being following the divorce. Parental conflict is found to be a major factor affecting children’s post-divorce adjustment, and an enormous body of research suggests that children of parents who are better able to handle their conflicts have better adjustment following the divorce compared to children of high conflict families (Goodman et al., 2004; Grych, 2005). For this reason, the main goal of most intervention programs is to educate parents about the effects of family conflict on children’s mental health and the significant outcome divorcing interventions have in reducing interparental conflict. Parents who participate in parent education interventions show more willingness to cooperate with the other parent and to let their ex-spouses spend more time with the children (Arbuthnot & Gordon, 1996). Findings of a study that intervened with divorced fathers showed that after a 10-week intervention program, mothers and fathers were reporting lower levels of family conflict than comparison group families (Cookston et al., 2007). Additionally, evidence for the differential efficacy of intervention programs has indicated that high-conflict families benefit more from parent education divorcing interventions than low-conflict families (Kramer & Washo, 1993).

B. COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAM EVALUATIONS

While randomized field trials have demonstrated positive outcomes for participants, community-based programs have proven more difficult to test for efficacy (Simmel & Price, 2002). Typically, community-based programs are developed to serve a population that has been identified as being in urgent need. Evaluation in a community setting is rarely considered from the outset, and is often difficult to accomplish. Tucker, Van Teijlingen, Philip, Shucksmith, and Penney (2006) noted the following barriers to evaluation in community settings:

1) the design of the intervention; 2) possible lag time to effect; 3) many potential intervening or concurrent confounding factors; and 4) the high cost of evaluation research, as studies are likely to be large scale and long term (Long, 1994; Plewis & Mason, 2005; Rolls, 1999) p. 176
C. KIDS’ TURN—A PREVENTIVE INTERVENTION FOR FAMILIES EXPERIENCING SEPARATION AND DIVORCE

Kids’ Turn is a divorcing parent education program that has been offered continuously since 1988 in 5 counties in the San Francisco Bay Area and has been continually revised to serve the socioeconomic and ethnic diversity of the area. The program content is well documented and is the core of a self-help parenting book, *Good Parenting Through Your Divorce* (Hannibal, 2006). The program is unique for community-based programs because 1) it includes six sessions and 2) it is designed to be offered to all members of a divorcing family, with parents in different rooms of mixed-sex participants and children participating in separate, age-appropriate groups. The objectives of the first session include orienting parents to the Kids’ Turn workshop format by informing families that mothers and fathers will participate in different groups of approximately equal numbers of men and women in each group and that children will participate in different groups based on the age of the child (i.e., 4–6 years, 7–9 years, 10–14 years). Family members then meet with their separate groups and are provided with the materials and resources that will be used in service of the program content including an overview of the content and suggested books and resources for parents. Parents are informed of the “Ten Basic Rules” for divorcing families from Ricci’s book *Mom’s House, Dad’s House* (1997; e.g., look for what works and what does not, do not go through this alone). The parent group discussion also informs parents of children’s responses to divorce, provides tasks for adults as they divorce from Wallerstein and Blakeslee’s 1989 book (e.g., end the marriage, mourn the loss, reclaim oneself), and encourages parents to explore how they can rebalance their lives for their children. Finally, this information is used to engage parents in setting goals for themselves in the program. Additionally, in response to the fact that 4 in 10 children in the United States are born outside marriage (National Center for Health Statistics, 2009), the first session includes some information for never-married parents that emphasizes the commonalities and differences such parents may experience in their separation.

The second session is devoted to informing parents of how children typically adjust to divorce, how such adjustment might be behaviorally expressed by the child, and how the responses of children may be unique based on their developmental level. To accomplish these goals, evidence from multiple sources is provided in a handout that describes common reactions children have to divorce given their age (Baris & Garrity, 1997; Hetherington & Kelly 2002). Activities encourage parents to identify three factors that contribute to emotional problems for their children after the divorce, namely, exposure to parent conflict, the importance of a consistent and reasonable parenting style, and acceptance of the separation without fantasies of reconciliation. Parents are encouraged to identify the challenges they face in parenting through the divorce (Ahrs & Tanner 2003; Fabricius, Braver, & Deneau, 2003) and creating a close relationship with their children (Bienenfeld, 1987). Parents are also guided through exercises in a) avoiding efforts to alienate the child from the other parent, b) making transitions between visits go smoothly, c) communicating with stepparents and live-in partners, and d) dating and re-partnering. The session ends with a review of the day’s content and the assignment of homework.

The third session focuses on achieving effective communication with children and the child’s other parent. This is accomplished by teaching parents about elements of parent-child communication from Gordon Thomas’ Parent Effectiveness Training work (Thomas, 1989) and encouraging the use of “I” statements. Parents are also provided tips in encouraging their child, listening for understanding, and showing children that parents are listening. Parents are also encouraged to engage in homework to use active listening and attempt to understand how children might view the parent’s reaction to the separation and divorce.

The fourth session focuses on the parent-parent relationship and coparenting. The session begins with a review of homework and introduces the topic of conflict resolution. Based on Ricci’s suggestions in her 1998 book, parents are encouraged to view their relationship with the child’s other parent differently given the separation and divorce. Parents are provided a new vocabulary for thinking about
their family after the divorce (e.g., wife becomes child’s other parent). After a group discussion that
involves working together to generate ideas, parents are trained in identifying characteristics of the
parent-parent relationship that can be changed (e.g., attitudes about the former partner) and those
that are less malleable (e.g., the former partner’s personality). Parents are encouraged to “own” the
problems that emerge in the relationship and identify heightened levels of conflict in the home
(Garrity & Baris, 1994). Parents are assigned homework at the end of the session to try the activities
practiced in class, to think about who their child will be as an adult, and to read handouts for the next
session.

The fifth session focuses on parenting skills and taking the child’s perspective in the divorce.
The session begins with a review of the homework and then parents are informed about the benefits
of the authoritative parenting style after divorce (Fauber, Forehand, Thomas, & Wierson, 1990) and
the benefits to children when parents are emotionally warm yet strict disciplinarians. Working in
small groups, parents are encouraged to practice authoritative parenting techniques. Next, parents
review the newsletter that the children have been preparing as part of their program participation.
The goal of this discussion is to create awareness among the parents of children’s responses to the
divorce. The session ends with an opportunity for the parents to write a pledge to the other parent
to reduce parent to parent hostilities.

The sixth session is intended to bring closure to the program and to graduate those who completed
the majority of sessions. Activities not completed in earlier sessions are discussed and parents and
children attend a graduation ceremony potluck in the last 45 minutes. After the current evaluation was
completed, Kids’ Turn added elements of Emotional Intelligence (EQ) to the program. The added
elements resulted in some modifications throughout the program to better integrate EQ training into
the curriculum.

D. EVALUATION OF THE KIDS’ TURN PROGRAM

Over the past 20 years hundreds of family members have participated in the Kids’ Turn
program. Like many community-based services (Tucker et al., 2006), most aspects of the Kids’
Turn program have not been rigorously evaluated for efficacy. A past evaluation focused on the
experiences of the children, not the parents (Gilman, Schneider, & Shulak, 2005) and no past
evaluations have followed participants over time. At the end of most community-based programs,
participants are hopeful about what they experienced and most report the programs were
beneficial. However, without an explicit focus on behavioral change, it is difficult to assess whether
parents have been affected by the program in a meaningful way that could benefit their children.
To evaluate the Kids’ Turn program, the first author of this manuscript collaborated with Kids’
Turn to articulate the theory that underlies the preventive intervention and to test that theory for
efficacy.

After a thorough review of the program materials and over a year of consultation with the
program staff, we collaboratively developed a theory of the intervention that could be evaluated.
This theory, which appears in Figure 1 and was informed by the theory of Braver, Griffin, and
Cookston (2005), suggests that when participants leave the program they should demonstrate
greater awareness of their children’s needs in light of the divorce, show more authoritative parent-
ing skills, and be more motivated to promote the child’s relationship with the other parent. Addi-
tionally, the program should impact coparenting processes and knowledge of how to help the child
cope with the divorce. The theory also articulates that participation in the program and change in
the above factors should lead to better parent-child relations and reduced levels of interparental
conflict. Finally, the theory proposes that these program changes will likely result in improved child
and parent functioning and fewer court actions. This report offers tests of within-person change
over time as a function of the program based on a subsample of participants for whom we have
received and entered data at Wave 1 and Wave 2 and who have participated in the Kids’ Turn
program between the surveys.
II. METHOD

A. PARTICIPANTS

Participants were 61 parents for whom complete data were present before they entered the Kids’ Turn program (Wave 1) and after they had completed the program (Wave 2). Participants were eligible if they had children between the age of 4 and 17 and had 1) registered to complete the Kids’ Turn program, 2) agreed to participate in an independent evaluation of the program efficacy, and 3) had participated in the evaluation study both before their first Kids’ Turn session and after they had completed the program. The majority of participants were female (79%) and most had a college degree or more (53%). Participants provided an open-ended response regarding ethnicity, and the sample was somewhat ethnically diverse, with 40 participants reporting they were of European American ancestry, 5 of Asian ancestry, 5 of Latino ancestry, 5 of African ancestry, and 6 who either declined to answer or provided an answer that could not be coded (e.g., American). Participants reported on their relationship with a single child (who would also participate in the Kids’ Turn program). The children were an average of 8.10 years-old (SD = 2.71) and approximately equally split between boys (49%) and girls. Parents ranged in age from 25 to 60, with an average age of 40.85 (SD = 7.41).

B. PROCEDURES

The recruitment procedure proceeded through four stages. After parents registered for the program and were assigned to a session, stage one of the recruitment involved the Kids’ Turn program staff contacting parents and asking whether they would be willing to participate in an independent evaluation study of the program. To reduce the perception that participants’ involvement in the evaluation efforts would result in a change in Kids’ Turn services, contact information for interested and willing parents was mailed to the evaluation team. After a participant’s name was referred for the evaluation, Kids’ Turn was not informed whether that parent participated at either wave of the study. Of the 412 cases referred to the evaluation team, 179 were referred too late to allow for recruitment and participation in the study before the first session of the Kids’ Turn program began. In the second

Figure 1  Theoretical Model of Immediate, Proximal, and Distal Effects of the Kid’s Turn Program.
stage of recruitment, the remaining 57% of possible participating parents were mailed a letter from the San Francisco State University evaluation team that described the project and informed parents that they would be contacted by a member of the research team in the coming days. Once parents were reached by the evaluation team, they were informed that they would be asked to complete a survey (either online or in a mailed booklet given their preference). Parents were guided through a procedure to randomly select one child who they would report on for the purposes of the study. Of all the participants, 69% completed the online survey. In stage three of the recruitment, participants were mailed the Wave 1 study materials (either through e-mail or through the postal service) and were asked to complete the survey before their first Kids’ Turn session. In the first wave, 144 parents completed and returned the survey, accounting for an 80% response rate from the eligible sample. In the fourth stage of recruitment, parents who had completed Wave 1 surveys were contacted again after they had completed the Kids’ Turn program and were asked to complete another survey booklet that was almost identical to the Wave 1 survey. Fifteen of the Wave 1 parents indicated they did not complete the Kids’ Turn program and were not sampled, and 70 parents completed the Wave 2 survey—a retention rate of 54%.

To explore the degree to which our sampling retention had an impact on the sample we originally interviewed at Wave 1, we conducted analyses comparing our Wave 2 sample to the Wave 1 sample on a number of demographic variables that have demonstrated links to divorce-stress adjustment. We did not observe differences in retention based on any of the key study variables nor on any of the following demographics: participant ethnicity \( \chi^2(5, N = 130) = 5.13, p = .40; \) level of parent education \( \chi^2(4, N = 130) = 5.24, p = .26; \) parent income \( \chi^2(10, N = 126) = 7.88, p = .64; \) number of children \( \chi^2(4, N = 131) = 7.40, p = .12; \) parent gender and age, \( \chi^2(1, N = 130) = .949, p = .42 \) and \( t(117) = -.51, p = .61, \) respectively; child gender and age \( \chi^2(1, N = 141) = .81, p = .40 \) and \( t(136) = 1.12, p = .27, \) respectively; and source of referral, \( \chi^2(3, N = 134) = 1.67, p = .64. \) We did find, however, that the participants who had been separated for a longer period of time at the beginning of the Kids’ Turn program tended to not be retained to Wave 2, \( t(130) = 2.569, p < .05. \) Reviewing this differently, the parents who completed Wave 2 tended to be separated for a shorter period of time (24.14 months) as compared to the attrition cases (37.71 months). To account for this possible bias, we will control time since separation for all significant within-person changes.

C. MEASURES

Four measures were used to assess hypothetical constructs related to the relationship between the divorcing parents.

*Coparenting.* Participants responded to 13 items that assessed the degree to which the parents are able to work together as a parenting team. The items were developed by Dumka, Prost, & Barrera (2002) and have demonstrated validity for use with ethnically diverse populations. The items were scored from (1) *almost never or never* to (5) *almost always or always*. Higher scores indicated more willingness to work as a team. In this sample the inter-item consistency estimates were \( \alpha = .94 \) at Wave 1 and \( \alpha = .94 \) at Wave 2.

*Interparental Conflict.* Thirteen items from the Children’s Perception of Interverparental Conflict Scale (CPICS; Grych, Seid, & Fincham, 1992) were used to assess disagreements between former partners. Items were scored from (1) *false*, (2) *sort of true*, to (3) *true*, and appropriate items were recoded so that higher scores indicated greater ongoing conflict. In this study a single scale was developed as a mean score of the thirteen items (\( \alpha \) Wave 1 = .84; Wave 2 \( \alpha = .85).\)

*Parental Alienation.* Participants responded to three items from the Dads for Life project (Braver, Griffin, Cookston, Sandler, & Williams, 2005) that assessed the degree to which participants perceived the other parent was competing for the child’s affection. One item queried, “Do you sense that
your child knows about any of your child’s other parent’s negative feelings or thoughts about you?” The response categories ranged from (1) there are no negative feelings to (5) I sense this a great deal. The other two items had a slightly different response set that ranged from (1) not at all to (4) a great deal. The items were, “How much do you feel your child’s other parent is competing with you for child’s loyalty?” and “I think my child’s other parent wants the child to think badly of me.” Because the items used different response categories, z-score transformations of the three items were performed on the data and a mean score assessed across the z-scores. Internal consistency was good at both Waves (α at Wave 1 = .80 and α at Wave 2 = .79).

Conflict Breadth. Participants responded to eight items that assessed the degree to which participants perceived conflict occurred around certain topics such as discipline, activities shared with the child, money, and child support. Respondents answered each item from (1) didn’t happen to (5) happened very often. Two sample items are “You and your child’s other parent argued about moral values related to raising your child” and “You and your child’s other parent argued about friends and relatives of his that spent time with the child.” These items from the Dads for Life project (Braver et al., 2005) demonstrated good internal consistency at both Waves (α at Wave 1 = .82 and α at Wave 2 = .90).

Four measures were used to assess hypothetical constructs related to the relationship between parents and children.

Sharing Problems with Parent. Participants answered five items that assessed the degree to which the child found support from the parent in discussing problems. The items used a scale that ranged from (1) disagree a lot to (5) agree a lot. Sample items included, “Child felt that it really made things better when (he/she) told you about (his/her) problems” and “When child told you about a problem, you were really interested in what happened.” These items, developed by Sharlene Wolchik and Irwin Sandler for use in the New Beginnings program at Arizona State University, observed good internal consistency when used over time in that sample (Wolchik et al., 2000). In the current sample, internal consistency was adequate over Wave 1 (α = .84) and Wave 2 (α = .75).

Divorce Communication. Fifteen items were developed for use in this study because they closely mapped onto the underlying theory of the Kids’ Turn program. These items were answered on a scale from (1) disagree a lot to (3) neither agree nor disagree to (5) agree a lot. The mean score of the items was scaled such that a higher score indicated a higher degree of parent-child communication about the divorce. Items included “Child talks to me about how the divorce affects him/her,” “Child asks questions about the divorce,” “Child shares worries about the divorce,” and “Child has told me he/she is getting used to the divorce.” The 15 items had good internal consistency at both Wave 1 (α = .89) and Wave 2 (α = .90).

Parent-Child Communication. The quality of communication between parent and child was assessed with 10 items from the Parent—Adolescent Communication Scale (Barnes & Olson, 1982). The response set for the items ranged from (1) disagree a lot to (5) agree a lot and items mean scores were calculated such that higher scores indicated a higher quality of parent-child communication. The internal consistency of these items was good at both waves (α Wave 1 = .85 and .83 at Wave 2).

Family Routines Inventory. Participants responded to 23 items from the Family Routines Inventory (Jensen, James, Boyce, & Hartnett, 1983), a scale that assesses behavioral consistency within families and has been linked with children’s mental health functioning (Cohen, Taborga, Dawson, & Wolchik, 2000). This measure has been used with divorcing families in the Divorce Adjustment Project, and four items were slightly altered for use with that sample. The item response categories ranged from (1) never to (3) always and mean scores were scaled so that higher scores indicated more consistent family routines. Internal consistency was good at both waves (α Wave 1 = .93 and α Wave 2 = .94).
Three measures were used to assess hypothetical constructs related to the adjustment and commitment to parenting for the respondent.

Parenting Identity. Four items from Dads for Life (Braver et al., 2005) were used to assess the participant’s identification with the parenting role. Item response categories ranged from (1) definitely false for you to (5) definitely true for you. Mean scores were formed such that higher values suggested greater identification with the parenting role. Internal consistency was adequate at both waves (α Wave 1 = .65 and α Wave 2 = .58).

Brief Symptom Inventory (BSI)—Anxiety. Participants responded to nine items that assessed symptoms of anxiety from the BSI (Derogatis, 1975), a measure designed to assess psychiatric symptoms in clinical and non-clinical populations. This reliable and valid scale (Boulet & Boss, 1991) includes symptoms such as nervousness, trembling, worrying, feeling fearful, avoidance, and feeling tense with responses ranging from (1) not at all to (4) a great deal. Internal consistency was good at both waves (α Wave 1 = .92 and α Wave 2 = .92).

BSI—Depression. Participants responded to eight items that assessed symptoms of depression from the BSI (Derogatis, 1975), including symptoms such as poor appetite, crying easily, blaming self, feeling lonely, feeling blue, feeling no interest, and feeling hopeless. As with the BSI Anxiety score, items ranged from (1) not at all to (4) a great deal. Internal consistency was good at both waves (α Wave 1 = .88 and α Wave 2 = .90).

One scale was used to assess hypothetical constructs related to the child’s problem behavior functioning.

Behavior Problems Inventory. These 64 items were adapted from the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) to assess externalizing behaviors and internalizing behaviors. For each item, parents indicated on a scale from (1) not true to (3) often true, how often in the past month certain behaviors were expressed. The behaviors include “argues a lot” and “physically attacks people.” The measure has high internal consistency, high test-retest correlations, and predictive ability (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983). A single total score was estimated where higher scores suggested more problematic behavior. Internal consistency was good at both waves (α Wave 1 = .96 and α Wave 2 = .93).

Demographics. Participants also provided responses to a number of demographic questions including their birth date, age, place of birth, length of time in the United States (if born abroad), ethnic identity, relationship to child, income, education, neighborhood ethnic composition, number of prior marriages, whether the parents were ever married, and whether family members had sought counseling to cope with the divorce.

III. RESULTS

A. TESTS OF WITHIN-GROUP CHANGES

The analyses reported here include within person changes from the pre-test Wave 1 score to the post-test Wave 2 using a series of paired sample t-tests. Analyses are reported in separate tables for constructs related to the relationship between parents (Table 1), for constructs related to the parent-child relationship (Table 2), for parent functioning (Table 3), and for child functioning (Table 4). For each significant result we sought to enhance support for the internal validity of the finding while accounting for the limited power associated with our modest sample size. As a result, for each main effect we conducted separate repeated measures tests with important individual level constructs (i.e., child gender, child age, parent age, and time since separation) covaried to account for their unique association.
Table 1
Mean scores and within subject t-test values for questions related to relationship between parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construct</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coparenting (N = 55)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>2.39</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>-0.57</td>
<td>.57</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>1.10</td>
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<td>Interparental conflict (N = 58)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>1.75</td>
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<td>3.27</td>
<td>.002</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
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<td>Parental alienation (N = 58)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>2.68</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.55</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conflict breadth (N = 57)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>.045</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>0.97</td>
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Table 2
Mean scores and within subject t-test values for questions related to parent-child relationship

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<th>Construct</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sharing problems with parent (N = 61)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>0.63</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Divorce communication (N = 59)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>-1.08</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>3.28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Parent-child communication (N = 61)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>.08</td>
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<td>Wave 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Routines Inventory (N = 56)</td>
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<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>2.70</td>
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* p < .05

Table 3
Mean scores and within subject t-test values for questions related to parent functioning

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Construct</th>
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<th>Mean</th>
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<td>Parenting identity (N = 57)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-0.55</td>
<td>.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSI Anxiety (N = 56)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>0.72</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSI Depression (N = 57)</td>
<td>Wave 1</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wave 2</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 reports within-parent differences over time in quality of the relationship with the child’s other parent. For the five parent relationship variables, three demonstrated significant change over time—interparental conflict, conflict breadth, and parent alienation. First, compared to Wave 1, at Wave 2 participants reported significantly less conflict with the child’s other parent ($t = 3.27, p < .01$). In addition, separate repeated measures analyses of parental conflict with the covariates were conducted, and the effects of change over time continued to be significant at $p < .10$ for child gender ($F = 3.11, p < .10$), child age ($F = 2.94, p < .10$), parent age ($F = 9.19, p < .01$), and time since separation ($F = 4.79, p < .05$). Second, there was a significant reduction in the report of conflict breadth, the number of topics the participants reported arguing about ($t = 2.05, p < .05$). Our subsequent models with the covariates did not affect the change over time trend. Third, there was a significant reduction in parental alienation, the degree to which the participants perceived the other parent was competing for the child’s affection ($t = 2.68, p < .01$). The addition of the covariates to the
models did not affect the change over time trends. Finally, although not statistically significant, the other parent relationship constructs demonstrated mean trend differences in the direction of more favorable adjustment over time.

Table 2 reports changes over time in constructs that assessed the parent-child relationship and parent behavior. None of the four constructs demonstrated statistically significant change.

Table 3 reports changes over time in constructs related to parenting function. Of the three constructs assessed, two demonstrated statistically significant patterns of change over time. Compared to Wave 1, at Wave 2 there was a significant decrease in participants’ level of anxiety (t = 2.55, p < .05), and reduction of depressive symptoms (t = 2.98, p < .01). Separate repeated measures analyses of anxiety and depression with the covariates did not explain the change over time trends.

Table 4 reports change over time in child behavior problems. Of the three constructs assessed, one was statistically significant. Compared to Wave 1, at Wave 2 the participants reported a significant decrease in their child’s internalizing behavior problems (t = 2.15, p < .05). When the covariates were added to the models, the change over time for internalizing behavior remained significant.

IV. DISCUSSION

It is an indisputable fact that parental divorce is now a common experience for children, with approximately half of all marriages predicted to end in divorce (Kreider & Fields, 2002), over one million children affected by divorce per year, and findings that parental divorce has long-term effects on children (Amato & Keith, 1991a; Pelkonen et al., 2008; Stolzenberg & D’Alessio, 2007). Since its creation in 1988 the Kids’ Turn program has served hundreds of families in several San Francisco Bay Area counties. However, because the efficacy of the program had not been rigorously evaluated over time—a past evaluation focused only on the experiences of the children and did not look at change over time (Gilman, Schneider, & Shulak, 2005)—we sought to fill these gaps and explore links between Kids’ Turn and change in parent perceptions after participation in Kids’ Turn.

The analysis of the parent relationship constructs indicates a significant decrease in interparental conflict (i.e., decrease in the intensity and frequency of conflicts with the other parent). The links between change over time could not be accounted for by other factors such as child gender, child age, parent age, or time since separation. These results are consistent with the results of Dads For Life, the only controlled, randomized trial of family education programs for divorcing couples which had been found to reduce interparental conflict (Cookston et al., 2007). Dads For Life, however, was designed only for noncustodial fathers and is targeted for men. Kids’ Turn, on the other hand, seeks to serve men and women in mixed sex groups although we detected no moderating effects for parent gender. Considerable research has found that interparental conflict is a major factor that affects children’s post-divorce adjustment, and that children whose parents are better at handling conflict tend to be
better adjusted (Goodman et al., 2004; Grych, 2005). Furthermore, children in high-conflict households have an increased risk of depression, anxiety, difficulty concentrating, and anti-social behaviors (Amato & Sobolewski, 2001), which may lead to long-term maladjustment. If the trend we observed for improvements in the parent-parent relationship after participation in the Kids’ Turn program families did not occur as a function of the normal reduction in conflict change over time or a placebo effect, Kids’ Turn program can potentially interrupt the trajectory from conflict to distress and, thus, lead to better long-term adjustment for children.

In addition to decreasing interparental conflict, these evaluation results also indicate a significant decrease in conflict breadth—the number of topics that parents disagree on (e.g., child discipline strategies, activities shared with the child, finances, and child support). The decrease in conflict was found after other demographic factors such as child gender, child age, or parent age were controlled. However, the results revealed that the length of time since separation may be more strongly associated with a decrease in conflict breadth over time rather than the program. This should come as no surprise because the longer parents are separated, the number of subjects they disagree on may naturally decrease. In addition, conflict breadth and interparental conflict are intertwined. It is not difficult to imagine that a decrease in conflict breadth can also lead to a potential decrease in interparental conflict. If there are fewer topics that parents disagree on, the potential for conflict naturally decreases. Children living in high-conflict households have an increased risk of maladjustment (Amato & Sobolewski, 2001) and children in low-conflict post-divorce environments tend to be better adjusted (Goodman et al., 2004; Grych, 2005). If the Kids’ Turn program has the potential to decrease conflict breadth and interparental conflict, it may indirectly benefit children of divorced parents by reducing risk in the home environment of children. The decrease in interparental conflict and conflict breadth support the model developed in collaboration with the Kids’ Turn program staff (Figure 1). The immediate intervention goals of the program to decrease post-divorce interparental conflict for families appear to have been supported by these evaluation findings.

Finally, for the parent relationship variables, the results indicate a significant decrease in reports of parental alienation. The decrease in parent alienation could be linked to the decrease in conflict breadth and parental conflict, but our analyses including the covariates suggest the changes are not better explained by parent gender, time since separation, or parent or child age. Parental alienation is a controversial concept in the psychological literature because it is more typically associated with the diagnosis of a parental alienation syndrome (see Warshak, 2001). However, there is no doubt that these behaviors present challenging pressures for children. Overall, the decrease in these three parent relationship constructs—parent alienation, conflict breadth, and parental conflict—are to be expected from a divorce education program like Kids’ Turn, however, they are difficult to attain (Goodman et al., 2004). No matter how it is achieved, the bottom line is the reduction in parental conflict observed here, which suggests that parents who participate in the Kids’ Turn program are better prepared to understand the role of conflict for their children’s adjustment and reduce their conflict levels.

The analyses on the parent-child relationship variables yielded no significant change over time results for the Kids’ Turn parents. These results did not support our theory of the program and failed to replicate results previously found in controlled, randomized trials of family education programs for divorcing families, which have been found to improve parent-child relationship and communication (Wolchik et al., 2005). There are a number of reasons why we may have failed to detect these effects. First, given our limited sample size, detecting change in behavior was difficult except in the case of medium to large effect sizes. Second, it is possible that Kids’ Turn affects change in parenting behavior, but not the parenting behaviors we assessed which had been assessed in other randomized field trials. Finally, it is possible that a) the classroom-based content delivery style with b) limited emphasis on homework and out-of-class activities and c) only four sessions of content delivery may have been inadequate to affect change in parenting behavior that could be detected. Given evidence from other interventions with divorcing families, we expected to find changes in the parent-child relationship and might not have expected to observe changes in children’s adjustment. Although one program observed immediate effects on children’s internalizing symptoms (e.g., Dads for Life,
Cookston et al., 2007), it is more typical that divorcing parent education program participation benefits children as a result of changes in parent discipline (Zhou, Sandler, Millsap, Wolchik, & Dawson-McClure, 2008) or parent-child relationship quality (Forgatch & Degarmo, 1999; Tein et al., 2004). We posit that because both parents are involved in Kids’ Turn, there is greater emphasis placed on the parent-parent relationship with less focus on skills for single-parenting. Future adaptations to the Kids’ Turn core curriculum may benefit from a more detailed focus on changes in parenting and the parent-child relationship following divorce. The issue of change in parenting behavior after participation in community-based services is one that merits further study.

Past research has examined anxiety and depression in the context of divorce, but has primarily focused on the experiences of children (Gilman, Schneider, & Shulak, 2005) and not parents. Previous studies found that for children, the stress associated with divorce can be internalized in the form of anxiety and depression (Pelkonen et al., 2008). However, parents can also be affected by anxiety and depression. Our analysis of the variables related to parent function in the current study indicates a decrease in parents’ anxiety and depressive symptoms. These results suggest that children are not the only ones affected by anxiety and depression due to the divorce. Thus, in addition to promoting positive adjustment for children, the goals of divorce intervention programs should also include decreasing anxiety and depression of the parents. As the results have demonstrated, the Kids’ Turn is a good example of such a program. Improved parent functioning is one of the program’s predicted distal outcomes (Figure 1). In addition to the direct effects that the program has on parents, the decrease in parents’ anxiety and depression may also affect children. Parents’ post-divorce adjustment has been shown to have negative effects on parenting quality and the parent-child relationship, which in turn, affect children’s well-being (Kelly & Emery, 2003). Furthermore, it is not difficult to imagine that, if parents are less anxious and have fewer depressive symptoms, they can focus more on the needs of their children, and put more effort into meeting their children’s needs at a crucial time in their lives.

Finally, there is a significant decrease in children’s internalizing behavior problems (e.g., anxiety and depression), which supports the program model’s prediction of lower child anxiety and overall improvement in mental health (Figure 1). These results are consistent with previous studies of randomized field trial intervention programs, which found that children of mothers who completed parenting programs had fewer internalizing behavior problems (Tein, Sandler, Mackinnon, & Wolchik, 2004). Although research has found that internalizing behavior problems are generally short-term, interactions between the child and the family context can turn these adjustment problems into long-term concerns (Amato & Keith, 1991b). The importance of these results should not be underestimated, especially for younger children. Children whose parents divorce when they are in elementary school are at a higher risk of internalizing behavior problems (Lansford et al., 2006). Thus, families with younger children may benefit even more from the Kids’ Turn program.

There are a number of limitations in the current study. First, our study lacked random assignment or a nonequivalent comparison control group. Thus, it is difficult to know whether the changes we observed occurred as a function of normative changes over time, a placebo effect, or as a result of the Kids’ Turn intervention. Second, because 61 parents participated in both waves of the evaluation, our sample size was small. Because of this, some of our results may lack the statistical power to detect an effect within a sample. To employ a metaphor, power in statistical analysis is analogous to the strength of a microscope to observe a small object. Three factors influence statistical power: a) the size of the sample used in the study (where larger samples have more power to detect small effects), b) the size of the statistical effect being tested (where large effects are easier to detect), and c) the level of confidence a researcher can take in a result (where greater confidence requires more power). The components of power are dynamically related; for example, larger effects require a smaller sample to detect the effect but necessitate greater attention to confidence for how the effect can be generalized. As with past research on the effects of divorcing parent education programs (Braver et al., 2005; Cookston et al., 2007; Wolchik et al., 2002), we used the $p < .05$ level of confidence. The effect sizes of the present trend results tended to be of a small to average, which is consistent with past divorcing
parent education program evaluations. A third limitation is the lack of multiple control variables in a single analysis. Because it is common for samples to be biased in certain ways, statistical control variables are entered into analyses to ensure that all participants’ data are evaluated in light of the bias characteristics. Future evaluations should simultaneously control for the age of the child, the age of the parent, socioeconomic factors, and other demographics associated with divorce adjustment. Such analyses are a hallmark of prevention program results (Braver et al., 2005; Cookston et al., 2007; Wolchik et al., 2002), but our sample size limited the number of controls we could reasonably expect to include. Fourth, there is a lack of attention to how the program might work differently across individuals. The search for these trends, also referred to as exploring for differential efficacy, is common in preventive intervention research and speaks to how the program might benefit some populations more so than others. For example, Braver and colleagues (2005) found that the Dads for Life program effect was moderated by the child’s problem behaviors at the beginning of the program where families of children with more problem behavior showed a better response. Additionally, Wolchik and colleagues published their program results in 2002 and the differential efficacy results followed two years later (Tein et al., 2004).

Despite these limitations, the current evaluation of the Kids’ Turn program has several strengths. First, a past evaluation of the Kids’ Turn program focused on the children, but not the parents (Gilman, Schneider, & Shulak, 2005). Not only did the current evaluation assess the changes that the program has on the parents, we also asked the parents to report on their children’s behaviors. Thus, the current evaluation filled in some gaps left open by previous evaluations. In addition, previous evaluations did not follow parents over time. At the end of intervention programs, participants are usually hopeful that they have gained something from the program. As a result, participants may falsely believe the program is beneficial, which will introduce bias into the results. Furthermore, without a focus on the behavioral changes of both parents and children, it becomes difficult to know whether the program affected the parents in ways that will benefit the children. The current evaluation avoids these limitations by explicitly measuring behavioral changes. In addition, the current evaluation measured parent and child behaviors before and after they participate in the program, and thus increased the confidence that the results are due to participation in the program. Finally, because this evaluation involved collaboration between an external evaluator and a service provider with a long history in the community, there was a possibility for strong local political pressure from stake holders to rush the findings or to obtain positive results. Because such pressure can compromise results, both the evaluator and the Kids’ Turn staff continually collaborated to discuss our unique perspectives. Our findings reported here include both change over time and null effect trends and provide suggestions about maintaining what is working in Kids’ Turn as well as offering insights for areas of future program development.

Overall, our results indicate that the Kids’ Turn program has the potential to improve the lives of parents and their children after a divorce. For parents, there is a decrease in parental conflicts and improvement in parent functioning (i.e., lower anxiety and depression). For children, there is lower anxiety and overall improvement in mental health. While these results are promising and withstood tests of selection bias, we cannot conclude that Kids’ Turn caused the changes we observed within the design of the present study. The change might be due to the passage of time, a “placebo” effect, or demand characteristics of the evaluation process. That we found change behaviors following participation in a community-based program suggests that families will benefit from participation in the Kids’ Turn multiple session group. Given that divorce is one of the most difficult times that both parents and their children face, and that the Kids’ Turn program has demonstrated the ability to help these families recover, we are hopeful that further attention will be paid to offering these services in multiple communities.

NOTES

* We wish to acknowledge the families who participated in this study, the Kids’ Turn Curriculum Committee and Board of Directors for their willingness to engage in a longitudinal evaluation of their program curriculum, and the research assistants
who helped to recruit participants, track families over time, and enter data. The first author contracted with Kids’ Turn as an independent program evaluator.

1. Because this evaluation focuses on parent results, only the parent program is described.

REFERENCES


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