

**GENDER AND THE STABILITY OF SAME-SEX AND
DIFFERENT-SEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG YOUNG ADULTS**

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GENDER AND THE STABILITY OF SAME-SEX AND DIFFERENT-SEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG YOUNG ADULTS

Most research on the stability of adult relationships focuses on coresidential (cohabiting or married) unions and estimates rates of dissolution for the period of coresidence. Studies examining how the stability of coresidential unions differs by sex composition typically find that same-sex female couples have higher rates of dissolution than same-sex male couples and different-sex couples. We argue that the more elevated rates of dissolution for same-sex female couples are a bi-product of the focus on coresidential unions. We use data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health to compare rates of dissolution based on the total duration of romantic and sexual relationships for same-sex male couples, same-sex female couples, and different-sex couples. Results from hazard models that track the stability of young adult relationships from the time they are formed demonstrate that male couples have substantially higher dissolution rates than female couples and different-sex couples. Results based on models restricted to the period of coresidence corroborate the counterintuitive finding from earlier studies that female couples have the highest rates of dissolving coresidential unions. This study underlines the importance of comparisons between these couple types for a better understanding of the role that institutions and gender play in the stability of contemporary relationships.

Introduction

Scholarly and media attention to same-sex relationships (i.e., relationships between partners of the same biological sex) has risen dramatically in recent years, reflecting increases in their visibility and validation. The prevalence of same-sex cohabitation doubled in the last decade, and in 2016, 7.3% of Millennials reported that they were lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (Gates 2017; Lofquist et al. 2012). The share of American adults who consider a same-sex cohabiting couple to be a family grew to such an extent that now over two-thirds of Americans include this arrangement in their definition of family (Powell et al. 2010). The legal environment supporting marriages to same-sex couples has also fundamentally shifted, as evidenced by the 2015 Supreme Court ruling that declares marriage to same-sex couples a constitutional right in the United States. Against this backdrop, the recent Institute of Medicine report (IOM 2011) calls for more research on how the health and well-being of adults and children differ across a variety of living arrangements, including households with same-sex couples. As health and well-being are associated with the stability of romantic and sexual relationships, it is essential to compare same-sex relationships to different-sex relationships with respect to stability and identify factors that explain any differences.

Comparisons of same-sex and different-sex couple stability are motivated by public health concerns, as well as the insight they provide on the importance of social and legal institutions for the outcomes of contemporary relationships. Contrasting relationships between two men versus two women, in particular, reveals how gender influences relationships (e.g., Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Lau 2012). Yet, prior studies comparing these couple types track the stability of select samples of couples (e.g., coresidential relationships). Overall, same-sex couples (both male and female) have higher rates of dissolution than different-sex couples. This

finding is consistent with a minority stress perspective articulating the unique challenges faced by same-sex couples due to the stigmatized status of their relationship (Frost and Gola 2015). Most research shows that relationships with two women have higher rates of dissolution than relationships with two men. The finding that same-sex female relationships are the *least* stable (compared to different-sex and same-sex male relationships) belies decades of theory and research suggesting that women are, on average, more relational than men. It begs the question of whether patterns found in previous studies are an artifact of differential selection of lesbians and gays into more established relationships.

Data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health) offer an unprecedented opportunity to compare the stability of same-sex and different-sex relationships for a cohort of young adults that came of age when state courts and the media were beginning to debate the rights of same-sex couples. Importantly, these data allow us to track the stability of relationships from the time they are formed. Add Health's fourth wave (2007-2008) obtained detailed information from young adult respondents on their most recent romantic and/or sexual relationship, including the biological sex of their partner and the entire duration of their relationship. We compare the rates at which same-sex male, same-sex female, and different-sex relationships dissolve from their start (e.g., first date or sexual involvement) and then show how patterns differ during the period of coresidence. While a growing number of surveys permit an examination of same-sex couple stability, their sample sizes require that researchers pool a broad age range of respondents in same-sex relationships. As these respondents are, on average, older and in longer duration relationships, these surveys represent same-sex couples that are hardier. Thus, they may not provide the most accurate barometer of the challenges that same-sex couples face, particularly those comprised of young adults.

Theories of Same-Sex Relationship Stability

Theories on the stability of same-sex relationships have evolved from decades of research comparing them to different-sex relationships. These theories assume that the correlates of relationship stability are, for the most part, similar for same-sex relationships and different-sex relationships (Moore and Stambolis-Ruhstorfer 2013). Differences in the stability of same-sex and different-sex relationships are therefore a function of differences in their rewards, alternatives, and/or barriers (see Lau 2012). A fundamental way in which same-sex couples have differed from different-sex couples is in their right to legally marry (Herek 2006). To the extent that marriage engenders enforceable trust and relationship investments (Cherlin 2004), same-sex couples are destabilized by their low rates of marriage. Prior to the fourth wave of Add Health (2007-2008), same-sex couples were entitled to civil union or domestic partner benefits in six states and legal marriage only in Massachusetts. Few same-sex coresidential couples (i.e., roughly one-fifth) in the U.S. were in legally recognized relationships (domestic partnerships, civil unions, marriages) when Add Health's fourth wave was fielded (Badgett and Herman 2013; Gates 2009); the share of legally recognized unions among young adults at this time was likely smaller.

Same-sex couples not only have fewer legal barriers to dissolution, but experience more stress in their day-to-day lives (Meyer 2003). According to the minority stress perspective, sexual minorities (e.g., gays, lesbians, and bisexuals) and members of other socially disadvantaged groups are exposed to unique stressors (e.g., interpersonal and institutional discrimination) that can diminish the quality of their romantic relationships (Doyle and Molix 2014; Doyle and Molix 2015; Frost and Meyer 2009). This perspective also highlights couple-level stressors that partners must navigate (LeBlanc et al. 2015). For example, same-sex couples must negotiate and manage the visibility of their relationship among friends, family members,

and coworkers. While different-sex couples must also decide when and how to introduce partners to third parties, they are less likely to anticipate and experience disapproval of their relationship (Frost and Gola 2015; Rostosky et al. 2007). Men and women in same-sex relationships appear to be similarly exposed to most minority stressors; however, men in same-sex relationships experience more stress related to violence and harassment while women in these relationships experience more stress due to family reactions (Todosijevic et al. 2005; Rothblum 2009). To the extent same-sex couples are more likely than different-sex couples to anticipate disapproval, they may be less likely to invest in their relationship by moving in together or integrating partners into their social networks, investments that potentially stabilize relationships (Lau 2012).

An obvious way in which same-sex and different-sex relationships differ is in their sex composition. According to the “gender-as-relational” perspective, the dynamics of relationships “unfold in different ways for couples with two men in comparison to couples with two women, or couples with one man and a woman” (Umberson et al. 2015, p. 9). Typically, same-sex relationships reinforce gendered tendencies while different-sex relationships challenge these tendencies (Umberson and Kroeger 2016; Umberson et al. 2015). In a recent qualitative study, Umberson and colleagues (2015) compared gay, lesbian, and heterosexual couples and found oppositional patterns of emotional intimacy and autonomy in male and female couples, reflecting the fact that partners in these couples were more concordant in relationship preferences than partners in different-sex couples. Female partners in same-sex couples spoke of sharing their thoughts and feelings and attending to each other’s emotional needs to enhance emotional intimacy and minimize boundaries. Male couples discussed expending considerable effort respecting boundaries and providing emotional space. For many different-sex couples, the differential value that partners placed on emotional intimacy and autonomy was a source of

contention (Umberson et al. 2015). If efforts to enhance intimacy and minimize boundaries promote the well-being of partners and bind them together, then we would expect female couples to have lower rates of dissolution than both male couples and different-sex couples.

Research on Same-Sex Relationship Stability

Empirical comparisons of same-sex and different-sex couples stability are limited in scope (Table 1). Fewer than 20 papers, chapters, books, or reports contrast same-sex and different-sex couple stability and the bulk focus on coresidential unions. Many studies utilize data collected decades ago; consequently, they cannot depict contemporary patterns. These studies combine individuals from a wide age range and thus fail to distinguish the relationships of younger respondents. Further, the population-based samples are drawn primarily from European countries, specifically Norway, Sweden, Britain, and the Netherlands (e.g., Andersson et al. 2006; Kalmijn et al. 2007; Lau 2012; Noack et al. 2005). Given the challenges in identifying sufficient numbers of same-sex couples in random samples, early U.S. studies were based on convenience samples (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Kurdek 1998; Kurdek 2004). Some recent U.S. studies rely on population-based samples (i.e., Balsam et al. 2008; Gates 2006, Badgett and Herman 2013, Manning et al. 2016; Rosenfeld 2014; Weisshaar 2014). While U.S. studies based on national survey data, How Couples Meet and Stay Together (HCMST) and Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP), provide new insights into the stability of same-sex relationships, their samples include a wide range of ages and relationship durations (two weeks to 50 years in the HCMST). As the HCMST and SIPP samples are “left truncated,” they are disproportionately comprised of couples that are more stable (Guo 1993).

[TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Many of the studies included in Table 1 show that same-sex coresidential unions (cohabiting and formalized) have greater instability than different-sex married unions (Andersson et al. 2006; Balsam et al. 2008; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Gates 2006; Kalmijn et al. 2007; Kurdeck 1998; Lau 2012; Manning et al. 2016). It is difficult to generalize from these findings because the contrast group, married unions, is more stable than both same-sex and different-sex cohabiting unions (Manning et al. 2016). To date there is no evidence that legalized same-sex relationships are less stable than legalized different-sex relationships. Analyses using U.S. survey data (HCMST) indicate that same-sex and different-sex couples in marriages or “marriage-like” relationships (e.g., civil unions and domestic partnerships) have similar rates of dissolution (Rosenfeld 2014). In contrast, analyses based on registry data in England and Wales suggest that same-sex registered partnerships are more stable than different-sex marriages (Ross et al. 2011). Aggregate-level analysis of U.S. administrative data indicates that dissolution rates are higher among different-sex marrieds than same-sex couples in legally recognized unions (Badgett and Herman 2013). These differences may stem in part from the selection of individuals who form same-sex legally recognized relationships (e.g., older and more educated individuals).

Given that same-sex unions have only recently been legally recognized in the U.S., it is critical to highlight studies that are more inclusive in their samples. Besides, marriage occurs late in the romantic relationships of young adults (Sassler 2010) and late in young adulthood (Manning et al. 2014). Ten of the studies listed in Table 1 include in their samples cohabiting relationships (Balsam et al. 2008; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Gates 2006; Kalmijn et al. 2007; Kurdek 1998, Kurdek 2004; Lau 2012; Manning et al. 2016; Rosenfeld 2014; Weisshaar 2014). Only one of these studies additionally includes romantic and/or sexual relationships that do not involve coresidence (Rosenfeld 2014). European studies focusing on cohabiting

relationships find that same-sex couples are less stable than different-sex couples and that differences in the stability of these couples persist in models that include a raft of control variables (Kalmijn et al. 2007; Lau 2012). Older U.S. studies similarly find greater instability on the part of same-sex cohabiting couples relative to different-sex cohabiting couples (Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Kurdek 1998, Kurdek 2004). In contrast, studies based on more recent U.S. data find that same-sex and different-sex cohabiting couples have similar dissolution rates. Relying on data from SIPP, Manning and colleagues (2016) find that same-sex and different-sex cohabiting couples share comparable dissolution rates. Analyses of HCMST indicate that same-sex unmarried couples experience higher rates of dissolution than different-sex unmarried couples during the first five years of the relationship but lower rates thereafter (Rosenfeld 2014).¹

Considering the role of gender, most of the studies listed in Table 1 (nearly all which are coresidential) document lower rates of dissolution among couples with two men than among couples with two women (Andersson et al. 2006; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Carpenter and Gates 2008; Gates 2006; Noack et al. 2005; Office for National Statistics 2013; Ross et al. 2011; Rosenfeld 2014). In only a few studies are similar rates of dissolution reported for male and

¹ The left-truncated hazard models in these recent U.S. studies do not specify interactions between the covariates and time. In the case of HCMST, the risk period extends several decades (e.g., Rosenfeld 2014). We suspect that differences between same-sex and different-sex couples would be larger in models that begin exposure to the risk of dissolution at the time of relationship formation and include a shorter risk period (e.g., the first seven years), as the same-sex couples at risk of dissolution would be relatively less select.

female couples (Kurdek 2004) or lower rates of dissolution reported for female couples (Kalmijn et al. 2007; Lau 2012). At the same time, there is evidence of gender differences in the formation of coresidential unions, with fewer gay men than lesbian women classified as married or cohabiting at the time of interview (Carpenter and Gates 2008; Rosenfeld 2014). Coresidential unions with two men appear to be more select with respect to stabilizing factors (e.g., commitment) than unions with two women (Lau 2012).

In sum, the stability of same-sex couples appears to rest in part on whether they are in a legally married, formalized (registered partnership, domestic partnership), cohabiting, or dating relationship. The finding that legalized same-sex relationships are just as stable as legalized different-sex relationships, if not more stable, suggests that marriage has a protective effect on same-sex relationships, or alternatively, more stable same-sex couples gravitate towards marriage. The greater instability of same-sex couples in dating and cohabiting relationships is consistent with a minority stress perspective that emphasizes the challenges of being in a stigmatized relationship. Gaps in the stability of same-sex and different-sex relationships appear to be weakening over time and in some recent studies are not significant. Most prior studies on same-sex couple stability find that female couples are less stable than male couples, a finding that runs counter to the gender-as-relational perspective. Female couples should be more stable than male couples given their emphasis on emotional intimacy and minimizing boundaries between partners. Again, the findings of prior studies examining same-sex couple stability are potentially biased by differential selection into more established relationships.

Current Investigation

This study examines the stability of the most recent romantic and/or sexual relationship reported by young adult Add Health respondents during the most recent wave (2007-2008).

Tracking the stability of relationships from their point of initiation removes the bias posed by differential selection into more established relationships. We distinguish three groups of relationships based on respondent's own sex (marked by the interviewer) and the sex of their most recent partner (marked by the respondent): different-sex, same-sex female, and same-sex male. As in previous research, we do not distinguish different-sex couples according to the respondent's sex. We compare the stability of these three couple types from the point of initiation and during the period of coresidence. This strategy helps address whether patterns in previous studies are due to sample selection.

We test two specific hypotheses. Our first hypothesis is that male couples will have higher rates of dissolution than different-sex couples. This hypothesis is motivated by theory and research suggesting that male couples are uniquely exposed to minority stressors such as harassment and that they place a greater premium on personal space and autonomy. Our second hypothesis is that gaps in the rates at which male couples and different-sex couples dissolve will be smaller during the period of coresidence. This hypothesis assumes that male couples transitioning to coresidence are more select in terms of factors that stabilize relationships (e.g., relational orientation, age, and socioeconomic status) than are different-sex couples transitioning to coresidence. It is less clear how female couples will compare to different-sex couples in terms of stability. Female couples, like male couples, are exposed to minority stressors that are potentially destabilizing. However, their efforts to enhance partner well-being and "merge" could be stabilizing.

To test these hypotheses, we estimate hazard models that contrast the dissolution rates of young adult male and female couples with those of different-sex couples before and after including variables associated with relationship stability (e.g., demographic heterogamy) and

found to distinguish same-sex and different-sex couples (Jepsen and Jepsen 2002; Rosenfeld and Kim 2005; Schwartz and Graf 2009). We then contrast the dissolution rates of couples during the period of coresidence. We supplement these analyses with a number of sensitivity tests. For instance, Add Health's collection of detailed information on sexual behavior and sexual identity allows us to examine the sensitivity of results to inconsistent reporting. These sorts of comparisons are the hallmark of demographic studies on sexual minorities (Black et al. 2000; Lau 2012).

Data and Sample

Add Health is a longitudinal school-based study (Harris et al. 2009). Using rosters from each school, Add Health selected a nationally representative (core) sample of 12,105 adolescents in grades seven to twelve to participate in the first in-home interview completed in 1995. In 2001 and 2002, Add Health re-interviewed 15,197 of the Wave I in-home respondents. Between 2007 and 2008, Add Health conducted the fourth wave of in-home interviews with 15,701 respondents (80.3% response rate) who were between the ages of 24 and 32.

Add Health used audio computer-assisted self-interviewing (ACASI) and partner rosters to identify all of the partners with whom respondents had ever experienced a "romantic or sexual relationship" that eventuated in pregnancy, cohabitation, or marriage. Respondents were then asked to identify any additional partners with whom they had a romantic or sexual relationships since 2001. Towards this end, Add Health asked respondents to provide the initials of each romantic/sexual partner and subsequently report their gender, age, and race/ethnicity. ACASI not only maximizes privacy, but also allows for more complicated skip patterns (Paik 2015). The partner rosters produce little discrepancy in the number of different-sex partners reported by men

and women (results not shown).

Add Health targeted most recent relationships for additional questions about the relationship, including its entire length.² At the fourth wave, 14,800 respondents had valid weights; 14,346 of these respondents reported having had a romantic and/or sexual relationship. Twenty-four of these respondents failed to provide information necessary to classify their most recent relationship (e.g., sex of their partner). Among the 14,322 respondents with such information, 170 men and 175 women are classified as having a same-sex partner, while 6,509 men and 7,468 women are classified as having a different-sex partner. We further restrict the sample to 14,005 respondents who supply information on the duration of their entire relationship. Our final sample includes 169 men and 166 women with a same-sex partner and 6,339 men and 7,331 women with a different-sex partner.

Dependent Variable

Relationship stability. We estimate the rates at which couples dissolve their most recent relationship following its formation using life table methods. These methods require information on whether the respondent defined the relationship as “current” at the time of interview (i.e., censored) and the duration of the relationship at the time of dissolution (if dissolved) or

² It was rare for respondents, including males with same-sex partners, to have more than one current partner at the fourth wave. In such cases (roughly 5% of the entire sample), Add Health administered a set of rules for choosing the focal partner.

interview (if current).³ To obtain information on relationship duration, Add Health asked respondents, what is “the total amount of time that you (have been/were) involved in a romantic or sexual relationship with {initials}”? Respondents were allowed to report the time in days, months, and/or years; we use this information to compute the duration of the relationship in months. Note that this measure of duration represents the *total* amount of time they have been a couple. For instance, for respondents who coresided with a partner, this represents the time from dating through coresidence. We measure the length of the coresidential relationships on the basis of beginning and end dates that respondents gave for coresidence and marriage. As few respondents contribute years of exposure beyond the seventh year, we limit the period of risk by censoring respondents whose relationships extended beyond seven years at 84 months.⁴

Independent Variables

Individual Characteristics. Our models include a number of relevant variables, including age at wave four.⁵ Race of respondent was collected from the first wave of the study and recoded to a series of dummy variables (non-Hispanic black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic other versus the

³ Respondents who indicated their relationship was not current and reported their marriage ended with the death of a spouse were treated as censored.

⁴ We extended the models to cover the entire period of risk (not shown), not just the first seven years. The results were generally similar regardless of whether or not we censored relationship dissolution at seven years.

⁵ The models control for age at the time of interview rather than age when the relationship began. In this sample of most recent relationships, age when the relationship began is a proxy indicator of duration.

omitted reference category of non-Hispanic white). Based on the household roster at wave one, we establish whether respondent was living with both biological parents in adolescence. Family SES is based on a measure developed by Bearman and Moody (2004) that incorporates information on parental education and occupation from wave one. As a measure of adolescent context, we use the wave one school administrator's report of whether their school was in a rural, urban, or suburban area. Relationship history variables include whether respondents were ever married prior to the relationship and their logged number of lifetime sex partners (excluding their partner if the relationship was sexual).

Heterogamy. We utilize respondents' reports on partner characteristics to create measures of whether they were a different race (using the categories above) and the age difference (absolute value) between partners.

Ultimate Status of Relationship. To conduct some of the sensitivity checks, we create a categorical variable capturing the eventual status of the most recent relationship at the time of dissolution or wave four interview based on several questions. The categories for ultimate status include hookups ("only having sex"); dating casually (i.e., "dating frequently, but not exclusively" or "dating once in a while"); dating seriously ("engaged" or "dating exclusively"); cohabiting; and married. We also create a time-varying covariate for marriage that is included in a model of stability for the coresidential period, as discussed later.

Parenthood within the Relationship. For descriptive purposes, we distinguish whether respondents had a biological child with their most recent partner.

Consistency of Reports at Wave Four

Previous studies have suggested that some respondents inadvertently select the wrong sex

when answering questions about their partner (Black et al. 2000). Prior to the section in which respondents provided information on recent partners, Add Health respondents were asked about their sexual identity and how many male and female sex partners they had during their lifetime. Based on this information, we identify a subset of respondents who were consistent in their reports of sexual orientation across two different sections of the questionnaire. Respondents in same-sex relationships are defined as consistent if they indicated they have ever had at least one same-sex sex partner and were not “100% heterosexual (straight).” Respondents in different-sex relationships are defined as consistent if reported they were 100% straight and had no same-sex sex partners in their lifetime. While not a perfect flag, our indicator of consistent reporters enables us to examine how results differ when potentially inaccurate reporters are excluded from the sample.

A recent study suggests that differences in the wording of questions used to define the end of marriage may lead to different conclusions about demographic disparities in marital dissolution (Tumin et al. 2015). Add Health asked respondents to provide the end dates of their relationships, even if they had earlier reported that the relationship was “current.” The questions for the end dates offered respondents the option of selecting “relationship not ended.” Respondents are flagged as having an inconsistent report on the status of the relationship if they selected current but then later provided an end date of the relationship that preceded the interview by more than one month. Other respondents are flagged as having an inconsistent report if they failed to select current but then later selected relationship not ended when asked to provide a relationship end date.

Analysis Plan

We first present descriptive statistics on the dependent and independent variables for the three groups of respondents: male and female respondents with different-sex partners (different-sex couples), female respondents with female partners (female couples), and male respondents with male partners (male couples). We also display their cumulative estimates of dissolution based on life table methods. Next, we present results from two sets of hazard models of dissolution, juxtaposing zero-order and multivariate effects. The first set of these models estimates the relative hazards of dissolution from the start of the relationship while the second set estimates the hazards of dissolution from the start of coresidence. Results from these models test whether significant differences exist in the hazard rates of dissolution for male and female couples in comparison to different-sex couples. As a supplement, we show how differences in the relative hazard rates of dissolution for male and female couples vary according to a series of sensitivity tests.

Results

Table 2 presents descriptive statistics that are adjusted for survey design effects. Recall that our sample consists of young adult respondents who reported a relationship at wave four and that we focus on their most recent relationship. We indicate the level of significance for differences between same-sex and different-sex couples. Table 2 first displays whether the relationship dissolved prior to wave four and its duration (the number of months since the partners became romantically or sexually involved). Male couples are significantly more likely than different-sex couples to have dissolved their relationship (i.e., 38% versus 19%); however, female couples fail to differ significantly from different-sex couples in this respect (i.e., 22% versus 19%). Male and female respondents in same-sex relationships reported durations that are

significantly shorter than those reported by respondents in different-sex relationships (i.e., 26 months and 35 months versus 59 months). These same statistics for the period of coresidence (for respondents who coreside) reveal a different pattern of results: male couples are similar to female couples in terms of their likelihood of dissolving during the period of coresidence (i.e., roughly 20% dissolve) and the average duration of their coresidential relationship (around 40 months). Different-sex couples are less likely than same-sex couples to have dissolved during the period of coresidence (i.e., 12%) and have coresided for a significantly longer period of time (i.e., over 55 months).

[TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

Contrasts of the demographic variables for same-sex and different-sex couples indicate some significant differences. Male respondents with male partners are less likely than respondents with different-sex partners to have been married prior to the relationship and reported a greater number of prior sexual partners on average. In contrast to respondents with different-sex partners, male respondents (but not female) with same-sex partners are more likely to be in an interracial relationship. Male and female respondents in same-sex relationships differ more from their partners in terms of age than do respondents in different-sex relationships. Similar shares of respondents in same-sex and different-sex relationships indicate they were in a hookup or casual dating relationship; however, male respondents in same-sex relationships are most likely to indicate they were dating seriously. Respondents in different-sex relationships are most likely to have coresided (73%), followed by female respondents in same-sex relationships (65%), and male respondents in same-sex relationships (48%). A small share of male and female respondents in same-sex relationships married their partner (i.e., 5% and 11% versus 46% of respondents in different-sex relationships).

While almost two-fifths of respondents in different-sex relationships reported having a birth with their partner, virtually no male respondents in same-sex relationships and less than one-tenth of female respondents in same-sex relationships did so.⁶ Births for female couples are concentrated among the subgroup that was inconsistent in their reports of sexual orientation (results not shown).⁷

Figure 1 shows results from life table analyses of dissolution for the three groups of couples. The *x*-axis shows the number of years since the start of the relationship and the *y*-axis shows the weighted proportion of relationships that have dissolved by a given year. This figure reveals that male couples are most likely to dissolve and different-sex couples are least likely to do so; female couples fall between these other two groups but are closer to different-sex couples. These results support our first hypothesis that male couples would have higher rates of dissolution than different-sex couples.

[FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Figure 2 shows results from life table analyses of dissolution for the period of coresidence for relationships that transition to cohabitation or marriage. It is like Figure 1, except

⁶ We also investigated whether male and female couples had an adopted child by examining the household roster; this was an extremely rare event for these couples.

⁷ Men are more likely than women to have consistent reports of sexual orientation: 93% of men in same-sex relationships and 92% of men in different-sex relationships were consistent versus 78% of women in same-sex relationships and 78% of women in different-sex relationships. We suspect the elevated rates of inconsistency for women are partly a reflection of their greater sexual fluidity (Savin-Williams et al. 2012).

that the x -axis shows the number of years since the start of the coresidential relationship. This figure reveals that male and female couples continue to have greater rates of dissolution than different-sex couples during the period of coresidence. However, male couples and female couples share similar likelihoods of dissolving coresidential relationships. In general, these patterns are consistent with the notion that coresidence attracts partners with stabilizing characteristics to the relationship and that it creates a barrier to dissolution. As predicted by the second hypothesis, percentage differences between male couples and different-sex couples in the likelihood of dissolution are smaller during the period of coresidence.

[FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE]

We present the results from design-adjusted Cox models of dissolution in Table 3. All four models capture differences between the three different couple types using two separate indicator variables for male and female couples, with different-sex relationships serving as the omitted reference group. Results from Model 1 show at the zero-order level that both male and female couples have a significantly higher monthly hazard rate of dissolution than different-sex couples. Specifically, female couples have a hazard rate that is 63% higher (i.e., $63\% = 0.63 \times 100 = 1.63 - 1$) or 1.63 times ($p < .05$) the hazard rate of different-sex couples. Male couples have a hazard that is 241% higher or 3.41 times ($p < .001$) the hazard of different-sex couples. Results from Model 2 demonstrate that the hazard ratios for male and female couples diminish in magnitude after we control for individual and relationship characteristics. With the inclusion of the control variables, the hazard ratios for female and male couples are 1.48 and 3.10 ($p < .001$),

respectively. In fact, the female couple ratio falls out of significance. The unusually large hazard ratio for male couples is consistent with the first hypothesis.⁸

[TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE]

Several other variables have significant associations with the dissolution rate of most recent relationships at a $p < .05$ or higher level of significance. Black respondents have a higher hazard of dissolution than do white respondents. The hazard of dissolution decreases with age at interview. Higher values of family SES are associated with a higher hazard of dissolution in the multivariate models. Individuals have a higher hazard of dissolving their relationship if they accumulated more sex partners prior to its formation. As expected, differences in both the race and age of partners translate into higher rates of dissolution. The declines in the hazard ratios for male and female couples across Models 1 and 2 are largely driven by number of prior sex partners and heterogamy by race and age.

Results from Model 3 show hazard ratios at the zero-order level for the period of coresidence. Many of the same covariates that are significantly associated with the dissolution of the entire relationship are associated with the dissolution of the coresidential relationship (i.e., whether black, age, number of sex partners, and heterogamy). Consistent with Figure 2, male and female couples have over twice the monthly hazard rate of dissolution (at a $p < .05$ and $p < .001$ level, respectively) as different-sex couples (i.e., 2.46 for male couples and 2.66 for female couples). Results from Model 4 show, once again, that the hazard ratios for male and female couples decrease with the inclusion of control variables and decline in their levels of

⁸ We constrain differences between same-sex and different-sex couples in hazard rates to be proportional. We failed to find any evidence that their rates were not proportional.

significance. Specifically, the hazard ratios for male and female couples are 1.90 and 2.09 ($p < .01$), respectively. The declines in the hazard ratios across Models 3 and 4 are once again due to the inclusion of information on number of prior sex partners and heterogamy by race and age. The findings from these models are consistent with the second hypothesis that predicted gaps between male couples and different-sex couples would be smaller during the period of coresidence. Models that include a time-varying indicator of legal marriage (results not shown) indicate that marriage is associated with greater stability. In these models, female couples continue to have a higher hazard rate and the ratio is reduced in magnitude (i.e., 1.70) yet still significant. The hazard ratio for male couples is also diminished in magnitude (i.e., 1.39).

Sensitivity Tests

To investigate the robustness of these findings, we estimate Model 2 of Table 3 for five different samples. Figure 3, a forest plot, displays a pair of 95% confidence intervals for the hazard ratios of dissolution based on the models for each sample. The first interval of each pair shows the likely values of hazard ratios corresponding to female couples; the point estimate of this ratio is marked by a circle. The second interval shows the likely values of the hazard ratios corresponding to male couples, with the point estimate marked by a square. Values for the point estimates that are greater than 1 indicate a higher hazard of dissolving the relationship relative to different-sex couples and values less than 1 reflect a lower relative hazard. Intervals that include 1 (i.e., intervals that cross the y-axis on the left) indicate that the relative hazard ratio fails to significantly differ from 1; a hollow marker also indicates that the hazard rate for same-sex couples fails to significantly differ from the hazard rate for different-sex couples.

[FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE]

To place these results in perspective, we first redisplay the results from Table 3 (labeled Most Recent Relationships). Again, the point estimates are 1.48 for female couples and 3.10 ($p < .001$) for male couples (versus different-sex couples). The next five sets of intervals are based on models that restrict the sample in different ways. First, we estimate a model that removes respondents who were inconsistent in their reports of partnering. The estimates for consistent reporters (the second set of intervals) are slightly further away from 1 than the estimates for the broader sample, but the patterns of significance are the same. Next, we estimate a model that instead removes respondents who were inconsistent in their reports of whether the relationship dissolved. Once again, the results barely change.

Third, we remove respondents who selected the response category “only having sex with partner.” Excluding these respondents increases the hazard ratios slightly and produces a significant difference between female couples and different-sex couples. Additional analyses (not shown) reveal that hookups are the least stable of relationships on the ultimate status spectrum for different-sex couples (but less distinct among same-sex couples). Therefore, removing this group increases the instability of female couples relative to different-sex couples. Fourth, we exclude from the sample both hookups and casual dating relationships so that the sample is comprised of serious dating relationships and coresidential unions. The patterns for this model are like those for the model excluding hookups, suggesting this added restriction is inconsequential.

Finally, we estimate the model only for respondents who eventually cohabit or marry. Restricting the sample to those who coreside alters the ratios (and sample sizes) for male and female couples dramatically, reducing the gap between male and female couples. Precisely, female couples have 2.20 times the hazard of dissolution as different-sex couples, while male

couples have 1.90 times the hazard of dissolution as different-sex couples. For the coresidential sample, female couples differ significantly from different-sex couples, but male couples do not. This pattern is consistent with the results in Model 4 of Table 3 and offers additional support for the second hypothesis.

Discussion

Differences in the stability of same-sex and different-sex relationships vary across prior studies, reflecting their time period, country, and selection of relationships. One of the most consistent patterns in prior studies is arguably the most perplexing: female couples are less stable than both male couples and different-sex couples. As Blumstein and Schwartz (1983) first noted, this finding runs counter to the notion that women are more relational than men. However, previous studies comparing the stability of same-sex and different-sex couples have primarily included in their samples relationships that were ongoing at the time of first observation and that had attained a specific status (coresiding or legally recognized). Data from Add Health gave us the unusual opportunity to track the stability of young adult same-sex and different-sex relationships from the date they were formed and to differentiate the period of coresidence. This strategy improves on prior work that analyzed the stability of relationships that were ongoing at the time of the initial interview and typically coresidential by allowing us to assess the bias posed by differential selection into coresidential relationships.

Our first hypothesis was that male couples would have higher rates than different-sex couples of dissolving their most recent relationship. The rationale for this hypothesis is that male couples place greater emphasis than different-sex couples on individual autonomy and that they are uniquely exposed to minority stressors. Hazard analyses for our sample of young adult relationships demonstrated that male couples had much higher monthly rates of dissolution than

different-sex couples. These patterns were observed across several different specifications of the analytic sample, including when the sample was purged of respondents with inconsistent reports on sexual orientation. Female couples also exhibited higher rates of dissolution than different-sex couples, but the differences were explained in multivariate models.

We also hypothesized that gaps between male couples and different-sex couples in rates of dissolution would be smaller during the period of coresidence than during the entirety of the relationship. This second hypothesis assumes that male partners who coreside are relatively more select than different-sex couples in terms of stabilizing characteristics. Indeed, models distinguishing the period of coresidence for our sample of young adult relationships offered a different picture of how sex composition shapes couple stability. Female couples exhibited significantly higher rates than different-sex couples of dissolving coresidential relationships but male couples did not. The dissolution rates of female couples were only slightly higher than those of male couples, but power for detecting significant differences was greater for female couples. These results demonstrate the need to consider differential selection into coresidential relationships when assessing relationship stability, especially for male couples.

The finding that female couples were the least stable of the three types of young adult relationships during the period of coresidence is consistent with many prior studies focused on coresidential unions, but it is somewhat at odds with the notion that female couples are more relational than other couple types. To the extent that women are more relational, female couples may monitor their relationships more closely (Umberson and Kroeger 2016). As documented in prior studies, married women are ultimately more likely than married men to initiate separation (Amato and Previti 2003). In addition, it may be the case that issues specific to coresidence pose special challenges for female couples (Lavner 2016). Female couples may experience more

stress in response to concealment of the relationship by a partner or hostility (or rejection) from family members (Todosije vic et al. 2005). Male couples may be more likely to compartmentalize such experiences (Rostosky et al. 2007). Furthermore, qualitative studies continue to suggest that same-sex couples, particularly lesbian couples, are distinct in terms of the value they place on autonomy, equality, trust, and disclosure (e.g., Dunne 1997; Weeks et al. 2001). According to Giddens (1992), same-sex couples are the pioneers of pure (or confluent love) relationships. Pure relationships are not structured by gender role norms or by a lifetime commitment, but defined collaboratively by partners and subject to re-negotiation on an ongoing basis. These relationships are inherently unstable, as they last only as long as both partners remain satisfied with them, or in the words of Giddens (1992, p. 187), “good until further notice.” We believe more nuanced attention to the nature of same-sex relationships is warranted.

This study contributes to a groundbreaking body of research that has brought same-sex couples to the forefront of social science research. Importantly, it provides innovative analyses of couple stability for a cohort overlooked by prior studies comparing same-sex and different-sex stability. Studies have rarely compared these relationship types for a specific age or cohort (with the exception of Lau 2012), presumably reflecting the challenges posed by small sample sizes in studies of atypical family arrangements (Cheng and Powell 2005). Most of Add Health’s respondents were born between 1976 and 1982, and consequently, were between the ages of 24 and 32 at the time of the fourth wave. Add Health’s large sample and recent fielding resulted in ample numbers of same-sex male and female relationships for a recent birth cohort of young adults. Prior studies considering same-sex couples have presented results based on much smaller samples, even after pooling observations from different surveys (i.e., Black et al. 2000).

Our sample and measurement is, however, limited in some respects. As it may be challenging for respondents to provide the initials of most recent partners who were causal, our sample of most recent relationships is likely biased towards more meaningful relationships. Our focus on most recent relationships means that we are excluding prior and concurrent relationships, most of which have ended. We cannot address the bias posed by this restriction, as we know the duration of most recent relationships but not prior relationships. The fact that male respondents with same-sex partners (and not female respondents with same-sex partners) accrue more lifetime sex partners than both male and female respondents with different-sex partners is consistent with the results pertaining to the stability of most recent relationships.

Another limitation is our measurement of stability. The estimation of rates of dissolution requires information on the length of the relationship and whether it was current at the fourth wave. It may have been challenging for respondents to determine the length of their entire relationship, especially if it had dissolved. As in prior studies, we measure dissolution as a dichotomous event, defining relationships as dissolved if respondents did not classify them as “current” at the time of the fourth wave. Like most prior studies on dissolution, we cannot capture the fluidity of ending a relationship with a dichotomous construct (Le et al. 2010). It is reassuring to note that we continue to find elevated rates of dissolution for same-sex male couples when we exclude the types of relationships for which our measure of dissolution could be most problematic: hookups and casual dating relationships. We also obtain similar patterns when we use an indirect indicator of whether the relationship has dissolved (i.e., Figure 3).

Our focus on a narrow age band of young adults means that our findings cannot be generalized to other birth cohorts or periods of the life course. Given the growing acceptability of LGBT relationships, we would expect fewer differences in the outcomes of same-sex and

different-sex relationships the more recent the cohort of young adults. We might also expect differences to be less pronounced at older ages as LGBT individuals gain more practice with these relationships. As shown in Table 2, and consistent with national statistics, very few same-sex relationships became marriages. Thus, we cannot examine whether marriage has the same protective effect for same-sex couples as it does for different-sex couples. Nor are we able to identify sufficient numbers of couples with children to assess stability for this important subgroup (Moore and Stambolis-Ruhstorfer 2013; Tornello and Patterson 2015).

Finally, this study does not identify the mechanisms producing relatively greater instability for men in same-sex relationships that were not coresidential. Add Health includes items capturing the experience of minority stress at wave four, but they were not asked at prior waves so they cannot be measured prospectively. Another mechanism that is traditionally related to relationship stability which we cannot examine prospectively is sexual exclusivity. Prior studies based on recruitment samples consistently find that same-sex male couples are more likely to be sexually nonexclusive than other couple types (Adam 2006; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Kurdek 1998; Rothblum 2009; Solomon et al. 2005). Yet, some couples, particularly same-sex male couples, are shown to have agreements about the acceptability of sexual non-exclusivity (Adam 2006; Blumstein and Schwartz 1983; Parsons et al. 2012; Weeks et al. 2001). Future research should use prospective data to identify the mechanisms that underlie relationship stability for same-sex male and female couples (Eeden-Moorefield et al. 2011).

Prior studies on the stability of same-sex relationships are dominated by samples that are coresidential, European, or decades old. We demonstrate that it is critical for researchers to address the differential selection of lesbians and gays into more established relationships when comparing the stability of same-sex and different-sex relationships. Our work offers new insights

by focusing on young adults who came of age in the United States, but it does not address how patterns differ spatially. A new feature of the American legal climate is the recent legalization of same-sex marriage in every state on June 26, 2015. It is important for data collections to keep pace with this change and include questions on same-sex marriage. The Add Health sample is moving beyond the typical age at first marriage for different-sex couples and new assessments of the lives and well-being of new cohorts of young adults will be necessary. Despite calls for new population-based surveys that include measurement of sexual orientation and same-sex couple dynamics (Gates 2011; Manning 2015), as of this date there appear to be no large-scale quantitative data collections of young adults on the horizon that will inform new research on the implications of marriage for same-sex couples.

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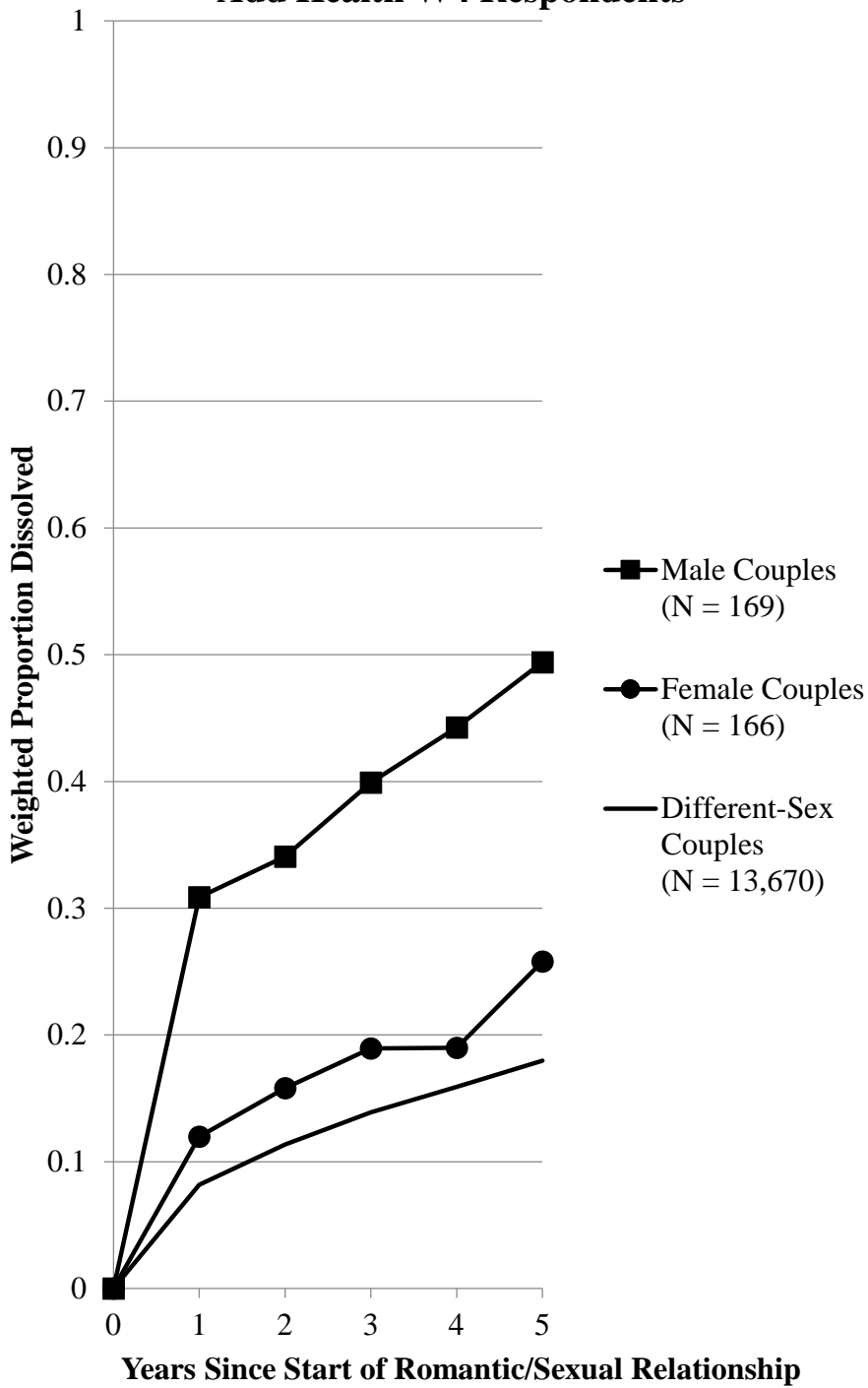
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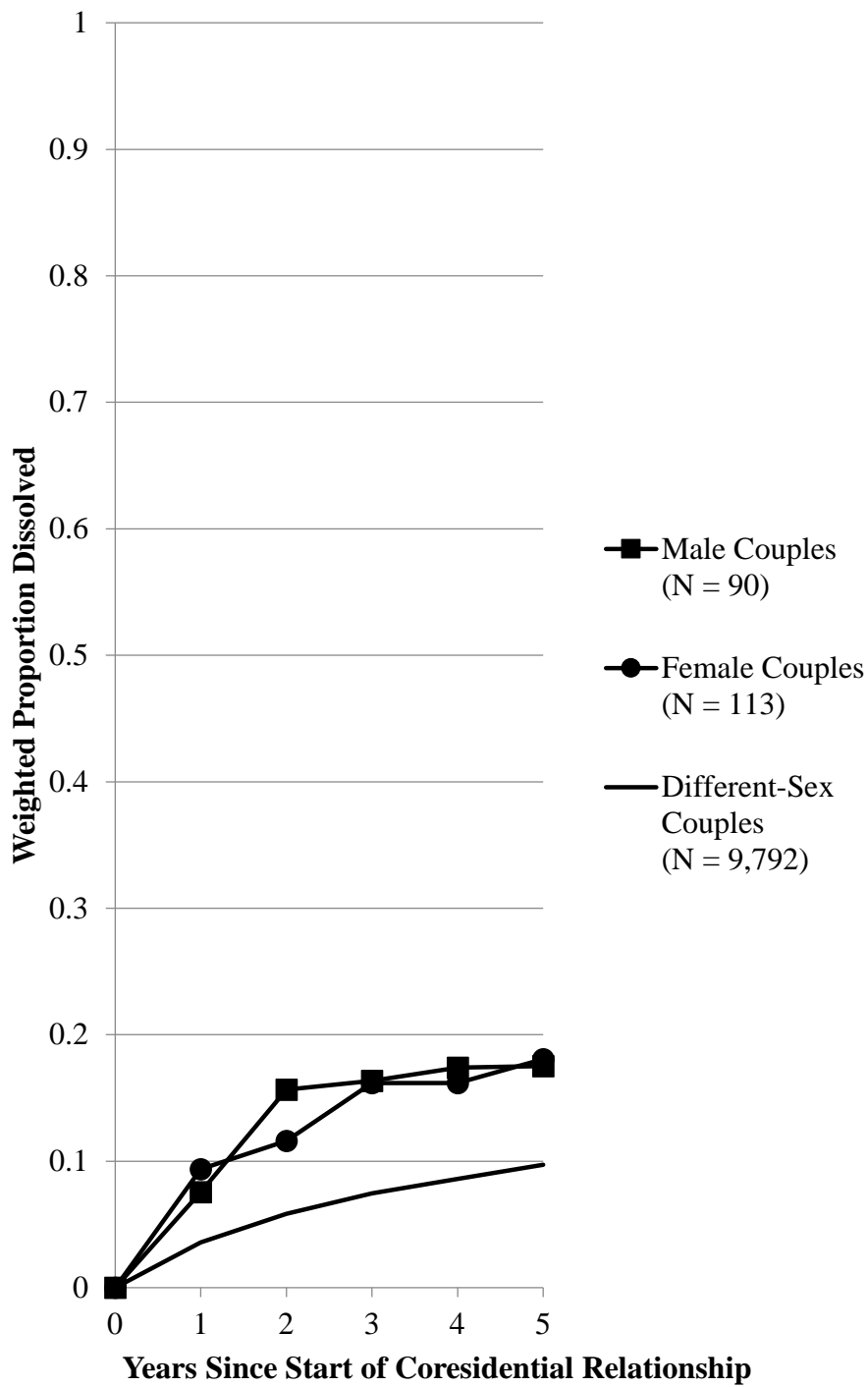
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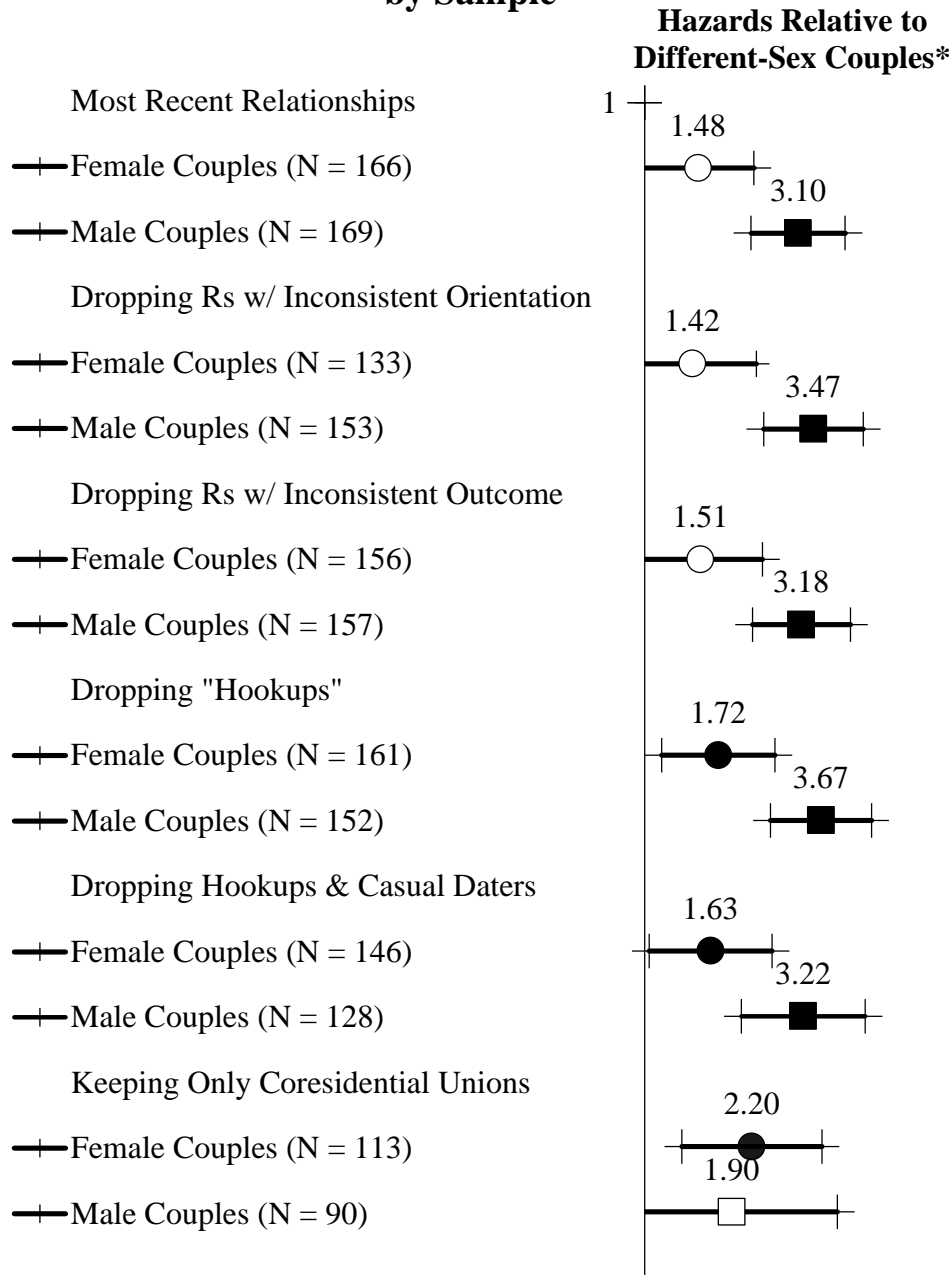
**Figure 1 Life Table Estimates of Dissolution:
Most Recent Relationships of
Add Health W4 Respondents**



**Figure 2 Life Table Estimates of Dissolution:
Period of Coresidence**



**Figure 3 Hazard Ratios of Dissolution,
by Sample**



*Ratios and 95% confidence intervals based on design-adjusted Cox models that include the same variables as in the multivariate models of Table 3. Solid circles/squares indicate significance ($p < .05$).

Table 1 Studies of Stability among Same-Sex (SS) Couples

U.S. Studies					
Author(s) & Year	Data Source(s)	Data Yrs.	Same-Sex Sample	N of SSC	Measurement of Instability
Badgett & Herman 2013	Administrative from 11 U.S. States	1997-2010	Marriages, civil unions, and domestic partnerships	≈93,652	Dissolution of legal relationship
Balsam et al. 2008	CUPPLES ¹	2000-2001	Couples with and without civil unions	287	Dissolution of relationship at or prior to 3-year follow-up
Blumstein & Schwartz 1983	American Couples ²	1978-1981	Cohabiting couples	828	Dissolution of relationship at or prior to 18-month follow-up
Carpenter & Gates 2008	California LGBT Tobacco Survey	2003	Self-identified gay men and lesbians	547	Retrospective duration length
Gates 2006	U.S. Census 2000	2000	Co-residential couples	77,114	Co-residential couple together 5 or more years (versus < 5 years)
Kurdek 1998	Kurdek Primary Data Collection ³	1990-1995	Cohabiting couples	117	Dissolution of relationship at or prior to last of 5 yearly interviews
Kurdek 2004	Kurdek Primary Data Collection ³	1990-2002	Cohabiting couples	227	Dissolution of relationship at or prior to last of 12 yearly interviews
Manning et al. 2016	2008 SIPP ⁴	2008-2013	Cohabiting couples	126	Dissolution of relationship over a 56-month interview period
Rosenfeld 2014	How Couples Meet and Stay Together	2009-2011	Romantic or sexual (any type)	399	Dissolution of relationship at or prior to last of 3 yearly interviews
Weisshaar 2014	How Couples Meet and Stay Together	2009-2011	Co-residential couples	402	Dissolution of relationship at or prior to last of 3 yearly interviews

¹Population and convenience sample: primary respondents drawn from all same-sex couples who obtained civil unions in Vermont from 2000-2001; other couples were recruited from the friendships and siblings of primary respondents.

²Convenience sample.

³Convenience sample: different-sex couples primarily based in Ohio, same-sex couples were recruited through requests published in periodicals for gay men and lesbians.

⁴Data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP) comes from 14 waves of data collected every four months in a 56-month period.

Table 1 (Continued)

European Studies					
Author(s) & Year	Data Source(s)	Data Yrs.	Same-Sex Sample	N of SS	Measurement of Instability
Andersson et al. 2006	Norway Registers Sweden Registers	1993-2001 1995-2002	Registered partnerships	1,293 1,526	Registration of divorce at or prior to last year of data (8 years)
Kalmijn et al. 2007	Netherlands Income Panel Study	1989-1999	Cohabs (\geq 1 year) 30+ year olds	731	Dissolution at or prior to last year of data (10 years)
Lau 2012	NCDS (G. Britain) BCS70 (G. Britain)	1958-1991 1970-2004	Cohabiting unions since age 16	263	Dissolution at or prior to last year of data (8 years)
Noack et al. 2005	Norway Registers	1993-2001	Registered partnerships	1,293	Dissolution at or prior to last year of data (8 years)
Office for National Statistics 2013	Civil Partnership Statistics, UK	2005-2012	Civil partnerships	60,454	Number of dissolution at each year of available data (7 years)
Ross et al. 2011	Civil Partnership Statistics, UK	2005-2010	Civil partnerships	31,827	Number of dissolution at each year of available data (4 years)
Wiik et al. 2012	Norway Registers	1993-2011	Reg. partnerships and marriages	3,422	Divorce at or prior to last year of available data (18 years)

¹ Population and convenience sample: primary respondents drawn from all same-sex couples who obtained civil unions in Vermont from 2000-2001; other couples were recruited from the friendships and siblings of primary respondents.

² Convenience sample.

³ Convenience sample: different-sex couples primarily based in Ohio, same-sex couples were recruited through requests published in periodicals for gay men and lesbians.

⁴ Data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation comes from 14 waves of data collected every four months in this period.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics on Variables: Most Recent Relationships of W4 Respondents

Variable	Different-Sex	Female	Male	
	(DS) Couples	(M) Couples	(F) Couples	
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	
Key variables for survival models:				
Dissolution of recent W4 relationship	0.19 (0.01)	0.22 (0.04)	0.38 (0.05)	***
Duration of recent W4 relationship	59.21 (1.04)	34.67 (3.85)	26.35 (3.04)	***
Dissolution of coresidential relationship	0.12 (0.01)	0.20 (0.05)	0.21 (0.06)	
Duration of coresidential relationship	56.49 (1.12)	39.84 (4.53)	38.51 (5.60)	**
Respondent characteristics:				
White	0.68 (0.03)	0.67 (0.05)	0.60 (0.06)	
Black	0.15 (0.02)	0.22 (0.04)	0.12 (0.03)	
Hispanic	0.12 (0.02)	0.07 (0.02)	0.20 (0.05)	
Other	0.05 (0.01)	0.05 (0.03)	0.08 (0.03)	
Age at W4 interview	28.37 (0.12)	27.99 (0.23)	28.69 (0.22)	
With both biological parents at W1	0.55 (0.01)	0.48 (0.06)	0.48 (0.05)	
Family SES W1	5.51 (0.10)	5.38 (0.27)	5.53 (0.36)	
Urban area W1	0.26 (0.04)	0.22 (0.05)	0.32 (0.07)	
Suburban area W1	0.58 (0.05)	0.64 (0.07)	0.52 (0.08)	
Rural area W1	0.16 (0.04)	0.14 (0.05)	0.15 (0.06)	
Prior marriage	0.10 (0.01)	0.09 (0.03)	0.00 (0.00)	***
No. of other sex partners	10.82 (0.20)	11.97 (1.80)	20.79 (1.78)	***
Heterogamy:				
Interracial relationship	0.19 (0.01)	0.25 (0.05)	0.36 (0.06)	*
Partner age difference (absolute value)	3.40 (0.05)	4.31 (0.40)	4.44 (0.48)	*

Table 2 (Continued)

Variable	Different-Sex	Female	Male		
	(DS) Couples	(M) Couples	(F) Couples		
	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)	Mean (SD)		
Ultimate status of relationship:					
Only having sex (hookups)	0.04 (0.00)	0.03 (0.01)	0.08 (0.03)		
Dating casually	0.07 (0.00)	0.09 (0.04)	0.17 (0.05)		
Dating exclusively or engaged	0.16 (0.01)	0.23 (0.05)	0.27 (0.05)	*	
Cohabiting	0.27 (0.01)	0.54 (0.05)	0.43 (0.05)	***	**
Married	0.46 (0.01)	0.11 (0.03)	0.05 (0.02)	***	***
Parenthood within the relationship:					
Had a birth with partner	0.39 (0.01)	0.07 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)	***	***
Consistent reporting of sexual orientation:					
100% straight & no lifetime SS partners	0.85 (0.00)	---	---		
Not 100% straight & any SS partners	---	0.78 (0.04)	0.93 (0.03)	**	
Consistent reporting of whether dissolved:					
Discrepant reports on whether the relationship is ongoing at interview	0.05 (0.00)	0.05 (0.02)	0.07 (0.03)		
N of cases	13,670	166	169		

Note : Means and standard deviations adjust for design effects.

$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests between DS & M or DS & F)

Table 3 Hazard Ratios from Cox Models of Dissolution: Most Recent Relationships of W4 Respondents

Variable	Entire Relationship				Coresidential Relationship			
	Zero-Order		Multivariate		Zero-Order		Multivariate	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 3	Model 4	Model 3	Model 4
Couple type (versus DS Couples):								
Female Couples	1.632 *	1.483	2.659 ***	2.094 **				
Male Couples	3.410 ***	3.101 ***	2.456 *	1.901				
Control Variables:								
Black (versus white)	1.340 ***	1.355 ***	2.105 ***	1.985 ***				
Hispanic (versus white)	0.985	0.941	1.001	1.038				
Other (versus white)	1.701 ***	1.516 ***	1.543 *	1.584 *				
Age at W4 interview	0.902 ***	0.893 ***	0.886 **	0.876 ***				
With both biological parents W1	0.985	1.033	0.796 *	0.988				
Family SES W1	1.024 *	1.031 **	0.981	0.996				
Urban area W1 (versus suburban)	1.012	1.025	0.906	0.899				
Rural area W2 (versus suburban)	0.843 *	0.902	0.801	0.842				
Prior marriage	1.128	1.179	1.494 **	1.395 *				
Logged no. other sex partners	1.065 ***	1.049 **	1.226 ***	1.192 ***				
Partner race difference	1.493 ***	1.344 ***	1.416 ***	1.172				
Partner age difference	1.030 ***	1.029 ***	1.050 ***	1.038 ***				
N of cases	14,005	14,005	9,995	9,995				

Notes : Models are estimated in STATA and adjust for design effects.

$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed tests)