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Wiik, K. Aa., Seierstad, A. & Noack, T. (2014). Divorce in Norwegian same-sex marriages and registered partnership: The role of children. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 76(5), 919-929.

<https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12132>

"This is the peer reviewed version of the following article, which has been published in final form at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/jomf.12132>

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Divorce in Norwegian Same-sex Marriages and Registered Partnerships: The Role of
Children

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Abstract

Using Norwegian register data on the total population of same-sex couples who formalized their unions from 1993 through 2010 ($N = 3,422$, 52% male), this study addressed the level and correlates of divorce among these couples as compared with all opposite-sex marriages in the same period ($N = 407,494$). In particular we investigated the role of same-sex parenting, which has been little studied so far. Multivariate results confirmed that same-sex couples had a higher divorce risk compared with opposite-sex couples and that female couples were more divorce prone than male couples. Further, having children was negatively related to divorce among female couples, whereas male couples with common children were more divorce prone than their childless counterparts. We found no evidence that the gender gap in divorce or the difference between same-sex and opposite-sex couples narrowed over the study period.

Key words: Divorce, Same-sex Marriage, Same-sex Parenting, Norway

Although there has been an increase in research on same-sex unions in recent years, there are still few studies on union dissolution among couples consisting of two partners of the same sex (Moore & Stambolis-Ruhstorfer, 2013; Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007). The studies that do exist consistently show that the dissolution rates for same-sex couples are higher than those of opposite-sex couples (e.g., Andersson, Noack, Seierstad, & Weedon-Fekjær, 2006; Kalmijn, Loeve, & Manting, 2007; Lau, 2012). As there generally are fewer barriers to union dissolution among same-sex couples than opposite-sex couples, like common children and legal institutions (Kurdek, 2004), same-sex couples may, however, be more exposed to risk factors associated with union instability.

Few studies have focused on the association between having common children and relationship stability among same-sex couples (Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007). One reason for this lack of research is the biological, social, as well as legal obstacles faced by same-sex couples who want to become parents. In many countries the legal and social acceptance of same-sex relationships has, however, increased in recent decades, making it possible to form families through donor insemination, surrogacy, or adoption (Moore & Stambolis-Ruhstorfer, 2013, p. 495). This article extends the literature by examining the role of having common children for union stability using register data on all Norwegian same-sex couples who formalized their unions from 1993 through 2010 ($N = 3,422$).

BACKGROUND

The Scandinavian countries were among the first to legally recognize unions between partners of the same sex when so-called registered partnerships, which were different in name but otherwise quite similar to heterosexual marriages, were introduced in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Chamie & Mirkin, 2011). Unlike in some other countries, like the Netherlands and France, registered partnerships in Scandinavia were not open to opposite-sex couples. In 2009, Norway and Sweden adopted fully gender neutral marriage legislation and gave those

already living in registered partnerships the opportunity to convert their civil status to marriage. Analyses covering the period 1993 to 2002 showed that divorce risks were higher in same-sex registered partnerships than in opposite-sex marriages. In both countries the divorce risk for female partnerships was twice that for male partnerships (Andersson et al., 2006). Same-sex couples who formalized their union in this pioneering period of registered partnerships in Scandinavia could, however, differ in their behavior from those who registered or married in subsequent years. Most importantly, in these first years, the majority of couples were male and same-sex parenting was uncommon (Andersson & Noack, 2010).

In Norway, same-sex registered partners have mostly the same legal rights and duties as married couples and the procedures for entering and dissolving registered partnerships and marriages are identical. In the first years, exceptions applied to solemnization of the union and to rights to joint adoption and to have medically assisted insemination (Andersson et al., 2006). These exceptions have been moderated during subsequent years, and from 2002 step child adoptions were allowed. With the introduction of the gender neutral marriage law in January 2009 it was no longer possible to enter registered partnerships, and existing registered partners got the same legal rights and duties as those married. In particular, registered partners and same-sex married couples were given the opportunity to adopt children jointly and artificial insemination with sperm from a known donor became available to women who are married, registered partners, or live in a stable cohabiting union. Surrogacy is prohibited in Norway, regardless of sexual orientation and marital status (Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs, 2014). From 2009, faith communities were also allowed, but not required, to wed same-sex couples. As of today, no churches will wed same-sex couples. (See Rydström, 2011, for a history of registered partnerships and same-sex marriages in Scandinavia.)

Most studies on union dissolution among opposite-sex couples consider the importance of

having children and usually find that those with common children are less likely to dissolve their unions than their childless counterparts (Lyngstad & Jalovaara, 2010), also when accounting for selection into parenthood (Steele, Kallis, Goldstein, & Joshi, 2005). The presence of step children in the household, on the other hand, is associated with a higher dissolution risk for opposite-sex (Manning, Smock, & Majumdar, 2004) and same-sex couples (Andersson et al., 2006) alike. There are several possible explanations to why joint children act as “glue” in situations where a break-up would otherwise be a likely solution. According to Stanley and Markman (1992), children create “internal constraint commitment,” defined as actual or perceived costs of exiting a union, and they argue that the greatest increase in constraint commitment comes when couples have children. Similarly, children may be understood as a form of “union specific capital” (Becker, Landes, & Michael, 1977) or “joint production” (Brines & Joyner 1999) that increases partners’ commitment to the union. To be sure, children may also put stress on relationships. Goldberg and Sayer (2006) studied female couples with children in the U.S. and found that conflict increased with the transition to parenthood. A similar negative relation between common children and union quality is found among opposite-sex couples (Wiik, Keizer, & Lappegård, 2012).

The protective effect of having common children should apply equally to couples regardless of their sexual orientation. Nevertheless, the obstacles that influence family formation for same-sex couples could also influence their risk of divorce. Whereas many legal barriers to same-sex parenting have been removed, same-sex families, particularly those formed by two men, are still met with prejudice (Biblarz & Savci, 2010). This is also the situation in Norway, although attitudes toward same-sex parenting have become more positive in recent years (Anderssen & Malterud, 2013). In addition, there are biological barriers to same-sex parenting, and the process of becoming parents is particularly hard for male couples. Whereas female couples currently have access to donor insemination in

Norway, and many lesbian women have been inseminated artificially in Denmark where insemination with donor sperm from anonymous donors has been available since 1999 (Stiklestad, 2011), male couples are left with one legal option, adoption. There are, however, very few Norwegian children for adoption and intercountry adoption is in practice impossible for same-sex couples (for further details, see below). The remaining option for male couples wanting children is surrogacy abroad. Some male couples have had children this way and applied for step child adoption in Norway (Stiklestad, 2011). Nonetheless, regardless of how same-sex couples form families, only one of the partners is the biological parent. Same-sex parents may thus have to negotiate their relatedness to the child (Berkowitz & Marsiglio, 2007). Taken together, the process of getting and raising children could be especially hard for couples consisting of two partners of the same sex, perhaps increasing their divorce risk.

Using Norwegian population data, the current paper presents an analysis of divorce of all same-sex registered partnerships and marriages in the period 1993 – 2011 ($N = 3,422$). We assess differentials in divorce across sexual orientation (same-sex vs. opposite-sex unions) and gender (male vs. female couples), and eventual changes in these differences over the study period. In particular, we investigate the relation between same-sex parenting and divorce, giving new insights into the understanding of the dynamics of same-sex couples.

METHOD

Data and Procedure

We used Norwegian register data on all same-sex registered partnerships and marriages in the period 1993 through 2011 ($N = 3,681$). To give all couples a minimum of one year exposure time, we restricted the analyses to same-sex couples who formalized their unions from August 1 1993, when registered partnerships were introduced, through 2010 ($N = 3,422$, 52% male). Of these, 2,870 (84%) were partnerships registered 1993 to 2008, whereas 552 (16%) were new same-sex marriages contracted in 2009 and 2010. The total population of

opposite-sex marriages entered in the same period ($N = 407,495$) was included as comparison group. Using a system of universal ID numbers, we linked these data with longitudinal register data on children, education, geography, and marital history. Regrettably, these data do not include information on cohabitating couples.

To analyze the relative risk of divorce, we used Cox proportional hazards models. In these models, each couple was followed from the day of partnership registration or marriage to the day of any registration of divorce, or to censoring due to the death of one of the partners, the emigration of both partners or the end of the last year for which we have data (i.e., December 31 2011), whichever came first. Intact partnerships converted to marriage 2009 – 2011 ($n = 752$, 35%) were treated as continuing unions. The date of divorce corresponds to the date the divorce was legalized. In Norway there is a required separation period of minimum one year before a divorce can be granted. This separation period also applies to registered partnerships.

Independent Variables

Our main explanatory variable is type of union, and we included a variable indicating whether couples were male (1), female (2) or opposite-sex (3). Next, the influence of having common children on the divorce risk was captured by a time varying dummy measuring whether couples became parents or registered as parents to at least one child after their union was formalized (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*). Our definition of common children thus includes biological and social (i.e., joint adoption or step child adoption) children. Regrettably, we were unable to disaggregate the types of children using the available data. To be sure, the right to adopt joint children remains almost illusory since there are very few Norwegian children for adoption and inter-country adoption in practice is impossible as all sending countries Norway has established formal adoption cooperation with require that applicant couples are heterosexual (Norwegian Directorate for Children, Youth and Family Affairs, 2014). In the period 2000-2011 only 499 adoptions (6% of all adoptions) involved Norwegian children

(including foster children). 72% of all adoptions in this period were inter-country adoptions whereas 22% were step-children adoptions (Statistics Norway, 2014). We also included an indicator measuring whether (1) or not (0) one or both partners had any prior children with another partner. Any prior children that were adopted by the couple were defined as common children (i.e., step child adoption). In all multivariate models, year of partnership registration or marriage was included as a set of dummies, with 2008 serving as reference year.

We controlled for several other variables frequently included in studies of divorce among heterosexual couples (Lyngstad & Jalovaara, 2010; Steele et al., 2005). Prior studies confirm that these variables are similarly related to divorce in same-sex couples (e.g., Author's reference; Kalmijn et al., 2007; Lau, 2012). First, we included a variable measuring couples' education level at time of the partnership registration or marriage. This variable was grouped into five categories depending on whether both partners' were primary educated (up to 9 years) (1), whether one partner (2) or both partners (3) had completed a secondary education (up to 12 years), and whether one of the partners (4) or both (5) had completed any tertiary education (13 years +). Next, the mean age of the couple at time of the partnership registration or marriage was grouped into four categories: < 31 years (1); 31 – 35 years (2); 36 – 40 years (3), and > 40 years (4). Alternative specifications of the age variable yielded similar results in multivariate models. Age difference between the partners was grouped into three categories (< 4 years (1); 4 – 8 years (2); and 9 years or more (3)). We also included a dummy indicating whether one or both partners had experienced a prior heterosexual marriage (1) or not (0). We further describe the geographical background of the partners, measured by citizenship at the time of partnership formation. Couples in which both partners were Norwegian (1) were distinguished from those in which at least one partner was foreign (0). Note that permanent residency (at least one of the partners) was required to enter a registered partnership. Last, we included a dummy measuring whether couples resided in the

capital region (i.e., the counties of Oslo and Akershus) or not (1 = *yes*, 0 = *no*).

RESULTS

Sociodemographic characteristics of couples who formalized their unions 1993 to 2010 are shown in Table 1. From this table we first note that 13% of same-sex couples had one or more common children. Parenting, here defined as both partners / spouses being registered as parents to one or more common children while living in a registered partnership or same-sex marriage (including adopted children born prior to formalization of the union), was much more common among female than male couples. 24% ($n = 401$) of female couples had children compared with less than 3% ($n = 49$) of male couples. The corresponding share among opposite-sex married couples was 72%. Also, 20% of the registered partnerships and same-sex marriages contracted 1993 – 2010 involved partners who had one or more children from a prior relationship (25% of female couples and 14% of male couples). In comparison, 36% of the opposite-sex married couples involved at least one partner who had prior children.

[Table 1 about here]

Next, we see from Table 1 that nearly one third of the same-sex couples were at ages above 40 years when they married or registered their partnership, compared with 18% of opposite-sex couples. Male couples were, however, substantially older than female couples. It is also evident that there were quite large age gaps between same-sex partners, particularly among male couples. As shown in earlier research (e.g., Andersson et al., 2006; Black, Gates, Sanders, & Taylor, 2000), same-sex couples were relatively highly educated and more often lived in urban areas relative to opposite-sex married couples. Further, about one third of all same-sex couples involved one or two foreign partners, but cross-national partnerships were more common among male (46%) than female (17%) couples. Table 1 confirms that 22% of female partnerships included at least one partner who had been previously married to a partner of the opposite sex. The corresponding share among male couples was 15%.

746 same-sex couples (22%) who formalized their unions in the period 1993 to 2010 were divorced by the end of 2011. The distribution of the survival time of couples as a function of the duration of the registered partnership or marriage (in years) is illustrated graphically in Figure 1. From this figure it is evident that a higher fraction of female couples (solid line) ended in a divorce compared with their male counterparts (dashed line). For instance, after seven years 26% of female partnerships were dissolved compared with 20% of male partnerships. At the end of the observation period (18 years) 45% of female and 40% of male partnerships contracted in 1993 were dissolved. In comparison, 31% of opposite-sex marriages contracted in 1993 were dissolved by 2011 (see Figure 1, upper line.)

[Figure 1 about here]

The results from the multivariate event-history analyses of the relative divorce risks along with their 95% confidence intervals are presented in Table 2. The model of the divorce risk of all opposite-sex and same-sex couples including available controls in Table 2 shows, in accordance with the descriptive results, that same-sex couples have a significantly higher divorce risk compared with opposite-sex couples. This was particularly true for female same-sex couples: Controlling for the presence of children, prior child(ren), couples' mean age, the age difference between partners, year of partnership formation, couples' educational attainment, marital history, nationality, and place of residence, the divorce risk of female couples was 2.28 times that of opposite-sex couples. The risk of divorce of same-sex male couples was, on the other hand, 1.38 times the divorce risk of opposite-sex married couples.

As shown in the model including only same-sex couples in Table 2, the divorce risk of female couples was 1.71 times that of male couples. This gender gap in the divorce risks was similar in an alternative model without controls for common children or prior children (not shown). These and all other models also include controls for year of partnership registration / marriage (not shown). There were, however, no statistically significant differences in divorce

risks between same-sex couples who entered their partnerships in 2008 (reference) and those who contracted their partnerships in the other years.

[Table 2 about here]

To investigate whether the differences in union dissolution between same-sex couples and opposite-sex couples have decreased over time, we ran a supplementary model of all couples including an interaction term between union type and year of marriage. Results from this interaction model confirmed that there have been no statistically significant changes in the relative divorce risks of these couples across the study period (not shown). Similarly, to assess whether there have been any changes in the divorce risks of male and female same-sex couples over the study period, we included an interaction term between year of partnership registration and couples' sex in an alternative model including only same-sex couples (not shown). This interaction effect failed to reach statistical significance at the chosen level ($p < .05$), implying that the gender gap in divorce risks remained stable over time.

The results regarding the other independent variables included in the models of Table 2 were in line with those found in prior research on divorce among opposite-sex (Lyngstad & Jalovaara 2010) and same-sex (Andersson et al., 2006) couples. Most importantly, same-sex as well as opposite-sex couples with common children were significantly less divorce prone than the childless. The divorce risk of couples in which one or both partners had children from a prior relationship was, on the other hand, significantly higher than that of couples without any prior children.

Separate models for same-sex male and female couples as well as opposite-sex couples are presented in Table 3 and show that the correlates of divorce were quite similar across the three union types. Having children, however, was positively related to divorce among male couples: Net of the other variables included, the risk of divorce of male couples with children was 76% higher than that of their childless counterparts. But, as parenthood was far less

common among male couples, this association barely reached statistical significance at the chosen level ($p = .04$). Among women, on the other hand, parenthood was associated with a statistically significant reduction in the divorce risk relative to childless couples. More precisely, the divorce risk of female couples with common children was 51% lower than that of their childless counterparts. A similar reduction in the divorce risk was found for opposite-sex married couples with common children. In contrast, having one or more children from a prior relationship (one or both partners) was positively related to divorce for male, female and opposite-sex couples alike.

[Table 3 about here]

The results presented in table 3 further confirm that for both male and female couples there was a strong negative association between their age upon partnership registration or marriage and the divorce risk, and couples whose mean age of partners was more than 30 years were significantly less divorce prone than those aged 30 or less. Further, male as well as female couples above 40 years had a significantly lower divorce risk than couples aged 31-40 years (i.e., non-overlapping confidence intervals). A similar negative age gradient was found for opposite-sex couples. Age difference between partners and their nationality seems to be more important for divorce among male than female couples. (See Table 3).

Among female same-sex couples, on the other hand, those in the lower education categories were significantly more divorce prone than couples in which both partners were tertiary educated. As among opposite-sex married couples, the divorce risks of same-sex female couples in which one or both partners' were primary educated was about twice that of couples in which both partners had completed a tertiary education. Similarly, the divorce risk of secondary educated couples was 1.66 (female couples) and 1.65 (opposite-sex couples) times the risk of divorce of tertiary educated couples. Further, we see from Table 3 that the divorce risk of same-sex male couples residing in the capital region was 0.81 times the risk of

male couples living in other parts of Norway. Among opposite-sex couples, on the other hand, living in the capital region was positively associated with divorce.

DISCUSSION

Using information on the total population of Norwegian same-sex couples who formalized their relationships in the period 1993 to 2010 ($N = 3,422$), the current paper set out to investigate the divorce risk pattern of male and female registered partnerships and marriages. All opposite-sex marriages contracted in the same period ($N = 407,495$ couples) were included as comparison group. An important contribution by the current study was the inclusion of data on same-sex parenting, which has been little studied in the literature on same-sex unions (Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007).

In line with studies on divorce among opposite-sex couples (Lyngstad & Jalovaara, 2010), our results did confirm that having one or more children significantly reduced the divorce risk of same-sex and opposite-sex couples alike. Separate models across union types showed, however, that male couples with common children were more divorce prone than their childless counterparts. This latter result was slightly unexpected, and should be treated as suggestive due to its marginal statistical significance. Keeping this caveat in mind, it could be due to the fact that the very few male couples with children (49 couples/ 2.7% of male couples) are selected on unknown characteristics associated with divorce. In line with such an assumption, additional analyses of the male parental couples revealed that they were slightly younger and more often involved one or two foreign partners than childless male couples. Also, the process of getting and raising a child could be especially troublesome for couples consisting of two men and this could be related to their subsequent excess divorce risk. For instance, attitudes toward gay parenting are less positive than toward lesbian parenting (Anderssen & Malterud, 2013; Biblarz & Savci, 2010). Male parental couples may thus to a larger degree than their female counterparts have to overcome negative stereotypes as well as

“challenge conventional definitions of masculinity and particularly paternity and even dominant gender and sexual norms of gay culture itself” (Stacey, 2006, p. 30). Further, the transition to parenthood tends to imply more paid work for fathers, whereas mothers decrease their paid work and increase their domestic work (Sayer, 2005). The role conflict between home and paid work may be particularly strong when two men become parents because gender and parental roles are less clear. Future research should investigate relations between parenthood, work-family conflict, and union stability among same-sex couples.

Perhaps more importantly, male couples have fewer options for having children in Norway than different-sex as well as female couples. Although we were unable to disaggregate the types of children using the current data, several male couples have probably become parents through step child adoption. Such adoptions may be arranged (i.e., unofficial surrogacy) or they could include children from a prior heterosexual union. In the latter case, bonds between the non-biological father and the child may be weaker than in planned families, and potentially more so the older the child was when adopted. Although such children were classified as common in the current paper, they may be more similar to prior children and thereby positively related to divorce. How different types of children in same-sex families might influence union dissolution is a matter for further research.

Our results further confirmed that same-sex couples still have a higher divorce risk relative to opposite-sex couples and that female couples are more divorce prone than their male counterparts. Alternative models confirmed that there have been no major changes in the divorce risks of male and female couples over the study period. To be sure, with the exception of same-sex marriages entered in 2009 and 2010 ($n = 552$, 16% of the same-sex couples included in the current study), we have compared same-sex registered partnership with opposite-sex marriages. Although registered partnerships and marriages are legally equal in Norway, married same-sex couples could receive higher levels of social support than

registered partners, as found in a study of Dutch same-sex couples (Badgett, 2009). It could, in other words, be the potential qualitative difference between the two union types that account for same-sex couples' higher divorce rates and not their sexual orientation *per se*. As same-sex couples were given the right to marry only recently, it is, however, too early to assess whether same-sex married couples are more similar to opposite-sex married couples than same-sex registered partners.

Unfortunately, the data we have used do not provide any clear answer to why there is a continuing gender gap in the divorce rates of Norwegian same-sex couples and why the protective effect of having children differs across couples' gender. Although we have information on the whole population of same-sex couples who formalized their relationships, and thereby avoid problems with non-response and other issues that often plague studies on same-sex couples, we lack information about norms, values, and partners' commitment to the relationship. Our data also lack information on whether these same-sex couples co-resided before marrying and the duration of any pre-marital cohabitation.

The results from the current paper are in line with prior studies using data from the Netherlands (Kalmijn et al., 2007) and UK (Lau, 2012) showing that same-sex cohabiting couples are significantly less stable than different-sex cohabiters. Contrary to our findings, however, these studies reported that among same-sex cohabiting couples, female couples were less likely to dissolve than male couples. It is, however, important to bear in mind that these prior studies included same-sex cohabiting couples and that the dissolution risk of same-sex couples who registered or married probably differ from those who cohabit. The gender gap in divorce risk found in the current study as well as in prior Scandinavian studies (Andersson et al., 2006; Andersson & Noack, 2010) could nonetheless reflect gendered patterns in the initiation of divorce, regardless of sexual orientation. For instance, prior studies on heterosexual married and cohabiting couples show that women are more sensitive

than men to relationship quality and initial problems within marriage (Amato & Rogers, 1997), and that they overall are less satisfied with their unions than men (e.g., Wiik et al., 2012). Consequently, women have also been found to be more likely than men to initiate divorce (Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006).

In line with Lau (2012) we believe, however, that the most important reason for the excess divorce risk among female couples lies in differences in the motives of lesbians and gays for marrying or entering a registered partnership in the first place. That is, male couples could have a higher threshold for formalizing their union than is the case for female couples, perhaps reflected by their higher mean age upon registration. Also, as male couples were somewhat older upon registration or marriage, they may have had time to test their union before formalizing it. This assumption has been confirmed in the United States, where Carpenter and Gates (2008) found that male couples who officially registered their partnership reported longer relationship and cohabitation lengths than their female counterparts. There could, in other words, be a stronger selection of the most committed male couples than what is the case for female couples. Given the unknown nature of the total Norwegian population of gays and lesbians it is, however, difficult to verify how selected the same-sex couples who have chosen to formalize their unions really are and whether there also are differences in the union stability of male and female dating and cohabiting couples.

Another important question remaining unaddressed is whether there are differences in the dissolution risks of married and cohabiting same-sex couples and whether this cohabitation gap differs across couples' sexual orientation. As the register data we have used only contain information on couples who have legally formalized their unions, we must leave explorations of such aspects to future research.

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FIGURE 1. SURVIVAL TIME OF SAME-SEX MALE ($N = 1,782$), FEMALE ($N = 1,640$), AND OPPOSITE-SEX ($N = 407, 492$) UNIONS.

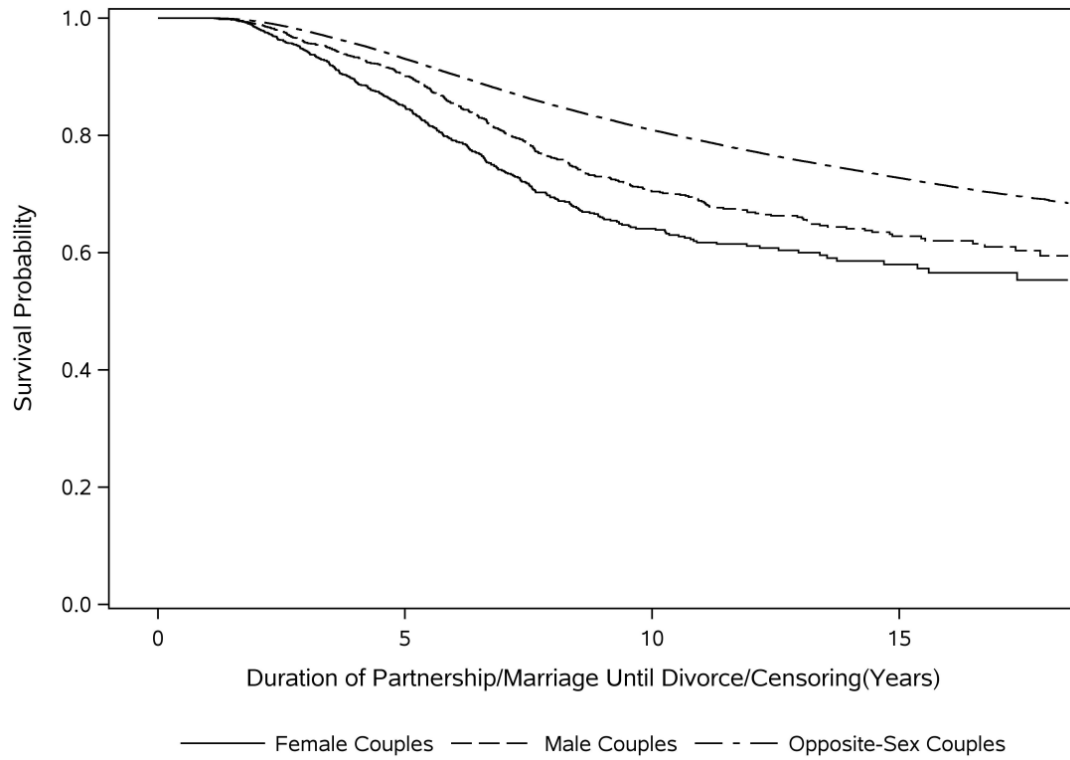


Table 1. *Sociodemographic Characteristics of Registered Partnerships and Marriages Formed 1993–2010: Same-Sex (N = 3,422) and Opposite-Sex (N = 407,495) Couples*

Variable	Same-sex couples			Opposite-sex couples % or <i>M (SD)</i>
	All % or <i>M (SD)</i>	Male ^a % or <i>M (SD)</i>	Female ^b % or <i>M (SD)</i>	
Year of registration/marriage	2003 (5.09)	2002 (5.11)	2004 (4.86)	2002 (4.89)
Couples has common children				
One or more	13.1	2.7	24.3	72.3
Prior children				
One or more	19.7	14.4	25.4	35.6
Mean age of couple				
< 31	26.7	22.4	31.3	47.1
31–35	22.0	20.5	23.7	21.5
36–40	21.0	21.7	20.2	13.3
> 40	30.3	35.4	24.8	18.2
Age difference				
< 4	39.0	30.3	48.4	52.9
4–8	32.4	29.9	35.2	31.5
> 8	28.6	39.8	16.4	15.6
Couple's education				
Both primary	8.2	9.4	6.9	12.3
One secondary	18.5	22.8	13.8	21.3
Both secondary	10.4	10.4	10.3	19.2
One tertiary	34.4	37.7	30.7	27.3
Both tertiary	28.6	19.7	38.3	20.0
Nationality				
Both Norwegian	67.8	53.8	83.0	76.7
Prior heterosexual marriage				
One or both partners	18.5	15.3	22.0	29.2
Region of residence				
Lives in capital region	55.3	59.9	50.2	25.9

^a*n* = 1,782. ^b*n* = 1,640. ^c*n* = 407,995

Table 2. *Divorce Risks in Registered Partnerships and Marriages, 1993–2011: Same-Sex**(N = 3,422) and Opposite-Sex (N = 407,492) Unions Formalized 1993–2010*

Variable	All couples ^a		Same-sex couples ^b	
	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI
Union type				
Opposite-sex couple	Ref.		Ref.	
Same-sex male couple	1.38***	[1.25, 1.53]		
Same-sex female couple	2.28***	[2.06, 2.53]	1.71***	[1.44, 2.02]
Couple has common child(ren)	0.58***	[0.57, 0.59]	0.65**	[0.48, 0.87]
Prior child(ren)	1.70***	[1.66, 1.73]	1.54***	[1.24, 1.93]
Mean age of couple (ref.: < 31)				
31–35	0.75***	[0.73, 0.77]	0.54***	[0.45, 0.66]
36–40	0.62***	[0.60, 0.63]	0.43***	[0.34, 0.52]
> 40	0.33***	[0.32, 0.34]	0.19***	[0.15, 0.24]
Age difference (ref.: < 4)				
4–8	1.08***	[1.06, 1.10]	1.07	[0.90, 1.28]
> 8	1.29***	[1.26, 1.32]	1.37**	[1.14, 1.66]
Education (ref.: both tertiary)				
Both primary	2.52***	[2.44, 2.60]	1.63**	[1.22, 2.18]
One secondary	2.24***	[2.18, 2.30]	1.69***	[1.34, 2.13]
Both secondary	1.65***	[1.60, 1.70]	1.47**	[1.11, 1.95]
One tertiary	1.50***	[1.46, 1.55]	1.25*	[1.01, 1.55]
Both Norwegian	0.89***	[0.87, 0.91]	0.66***	[0.56, 0.78]
Prior heterosexual marriage	1.05***	[1.02, 1.07]	1.06	[0.84, 1.34]
Lives in capital region	1.08***	[1.06, 1.10]	0.87	[0.75, 1.00]

Note: Models include controls for year of partnership registration/marriage. CI = confidence interval; ref. = reference category.

^aNumber of divorces: 65,930. ^bNumber of divorces: 746.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table 3. *Divorce Risks in Registered Partnerships and Marriages 1993–2011: Same-Sex Male (N = 1,782), Female (N = 1,640), and Opposite-sex (N = 407, 492) Unions Formalized 1993–2010*

Variable	Same-sex male couples ^a		Same-sex female couples ^b		Opposite-sex couples ^c	
	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI	Hazard ratio	95% CI
Couple has common child(ren) ^{d,e}	1.76*	[1.02, 3.04]	0.51***	[0.36, 0.72]	0.58***	[0.57, 0.60]
Prior child(ren)	1.49*	[1.03, 2.14]	1.48**	[1.10, 1.98]	1.70***	[1.66, 1.73]
Mean age of couple (ref.: < 31)						
31–35 ^d	0.51***	[0.39, 0.67]	0.60***	[0.45, 0.79]	0.75***	[0.74, 0.77]
36–40 ^{d,f}	0.44***	[0.33, 0.58]	0.42***	[0.31, 0.57]	0.62***	[0.60, 0.64]
> 40 ^{d,f}	0.20***	[0.14, 0.28]	0.19***	[0.13, 0.27]	0.33***	[0.32, 0.32]
Age difference (ref.: < 4)						
4–8	1.09	[0.82, 1.43]	1.05	[0.83, 1.33]	1.08***	[1.06, 1.10]
> 8	1.56**	[1.19, 2.04]	1.15	[0.85, 1.54]	1.29***	[1.26, 1.32]
Education (ref.: both tertiary)						
Both primary ^d	1.21	[0.80, 1.84]	2.11***	[1.37, 3.25]	2.53***	[2.45, 2.61]
One secondary ^d	1.35	[0.95, 1.90]	1.87***	[1.35, 2.59]	2.25***	[2.18, 2.31]
Both secondary ^d	1.24	[0.81, 1.91]	1.63*	[1.11, 2.39]	1.65***	[1.60, 1.70]
One tertiary ^d	1.07	[0.77, 1.49]	1.35*	[1.01, 1.80]	1.51***	[1.46, 1.55]
Both Norwegian ^d	0.58***	[0.46, 0.74]	0.82	[0.62, 1.07]	0.89***	[0.88, 0.91]
Prior heterosexual marriage	0.88	[0.61, 1.28]	1.23	[0.91, 1.66]	1.04***	[1.02, 1.07]
Lives in capital region ^d	0.81*	[0.66, 0.99]	0.89	[0.71, 1.10]	1.08***	[1.06, 1.10]

Note: Models include controls for year of partnership registration/marriage. CI = confidence interval; ref. = reference.

^aNumber of divorces: 387. ^bNumber of divorces: 359. ^cNumber of divorces: 65,184. ^dSame-sex male versus opposite-sex couples $p < .05$. ^eMale versus female couples $p < .05$. ^fSame-sex female versus opposite-sex couples $p < .05$.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.