

Divorce Risk in Norwegian Same-sex Marriages 1993 to 2010

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Abstract

In Norway, registered partnerships were introduced in 1993 and in 2009 a gender-neutral marriage legislation was adopted. 3,428 same-sex couples (52% male) formalized their unions between 1993 and 2010, which is less than 1% of all marriages contracted in the same period. Using Norwegian longitudinal register data, we first present updated descriptive statistics on the total population of registered same-sex partnerships entered 1993 – 2008 ($N = 2,877$). Second, we reconsider the divorce risk of these partnerships. We expected to find that the changing composition of same-sex partnerships have lowered the higher divorce risk previously found for female couples, partly because an increasing share of female couples have children. Results show that female couples still have a higher likelihood of divorce compared with male couples. We found no evidence that this gender gap in divorce has narrowed over time. Among female couples, however, common chil(ren) significantly reduced the divorce risk.

Introduction and background

The Scandinavian countries were among the first to grant legal recognition to partners of the same sex when they introduced a new civil status, registered partnership, which was different in name but otherwise quite similar to heterosexual marriage (e.g., same procedures for entering and dissolving a registered partnership as for opposite-sex marriage).¹ Registered partnerships were introduced in Denmark in 1989, followed by Norway in 1993 and Sweden in 1995. In 2009, Norway and Sweden adopted fully gender neutral marriage legislations and gave those already living in registered partnerships the opportunity to convert their civil status to marriage. Currently, same-sex marriage has been legalized in eight other countries as well as in Mexico City and seven U.S. states plus Washington DC (Chamie and Mirkin, 2011).

There has also been an increase in research on same-sex unions in recent years. Large-scale quantitative studies on same-sex relationships are, however, still rare, and many of the studies that do exist face problems related to sampling or representativeness. The lack of representative samples is the most fundamental problem in quantitative studies on gays and lesbians, which usually rely on self-recruited samples from an unknown population. Respondents are, for example, recruited by snowball methods, from members of organizations for gays and lesbians, or from persons who are willing to respond to Internet questionnaires. Population surveys have also been considered difficult because of the limited size of the target groups. Additionally, the sensitive character of same-sex relations has probably made it difficult to include it in questionnaires.

Access to longitudinal and all-encompassing population register data makes it easier to study legalized same-sex relationships in Scandinavia than elsewhere. Analyses covering the

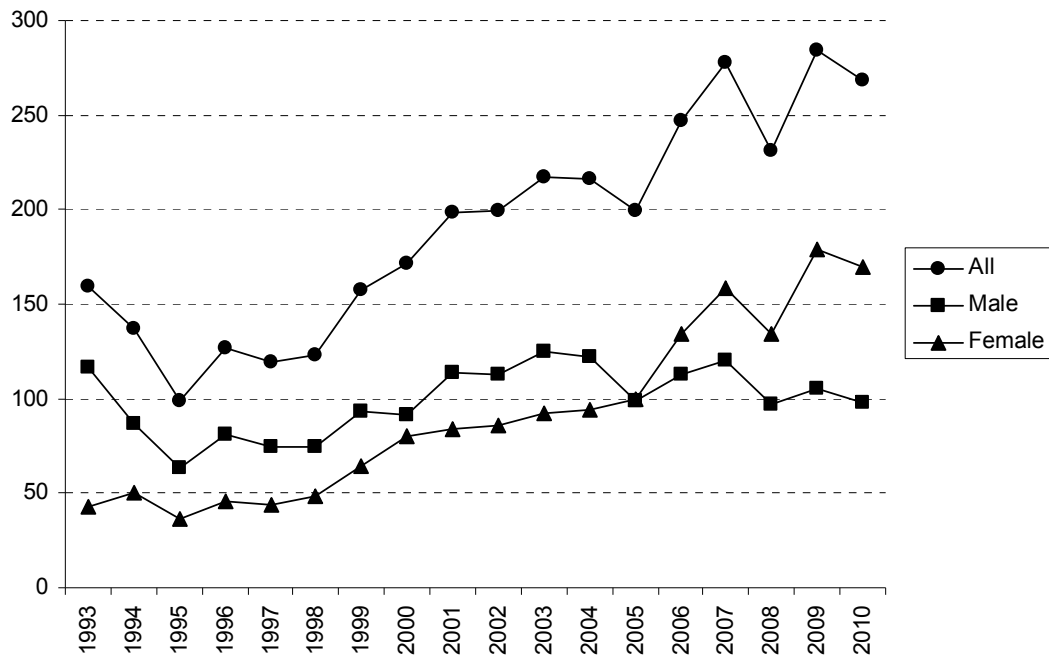
¹ Registered partners have the same rights and duties as married heterosexual couples in Norway. Exceptions apply to solemnization of the union and to rights to adopt children jointly and to receive medically assisted insemination. From 2009, faith communities are allowed, but not required, to wed same-sex couples. As of today, no churches will wed gay and lesbian couples. With the introduction of the gender neutral marriage law, same sex couples can also receive assisted pregnancies and adopt children jointly.

period 1993 to 2002 (1993 – 2001 (Norway) and 1995 – 2002 (Sweden)) showed that, overall, divorce risks were significantly higher in same-sex registered partnerships than opposite-sex marriages. The divorce risk in unions of two women was, however, much higher than in those of two men: In both Norway and Sweden the divorce risk for female partnerships was twice that for male partnerships (Andersson, Noack, Seierstad and Weedon-Fekjær, 2006). Danish data from a more extended calendar period (1989 to 2002) verify the higher divorce risk in female partnerships, but the difference between female and male partnerships was more moderate there (Andersson and Noack, 2011). In Denmark there is also a slight difference in the period trends of divorce risks for male and female registered partners: Divorce risk seems to have increased over calendar time for male unions whereas it decreased for female unions.

These initial divorce risk analyses were, however, from what can be described as the pioneering period of registered partnerships and same-sex couples who formalized their union in this period could differ in their behavior from those who registered in subsequent years. For instance, a substantial proportion of the pioneering cohorts of same-sex spouses may have lived together as cohabitators for several years waiting for the partnership law to become effective. Also, in these first years, the vast majority of the partners were men. In recent years there has been a turnaround in the gender composition and the majority of new partnerships in Scandinavia now consist of two women (Andersson and Noack, 2011).

As shown in Figure 1, 3,428 Norwegian same-sex couples (52% male) formalized their unions between 1993 and 2010, amounting to less than 1% of all marriages contracted in the same period. After a spike in partnership registration in the first two years the annual number of new partnerships leveled out followed by an increase from around 1999. Figure 1 confirms that from 2005 there have been more female than male couples. In 2009, there were 284 same-sex marriages in Norway of which 63% were female, the highest number so far.

Figure 1. Registered partnerships (1993 – 2008) and same-sex marriages (2009 – 2010). $N = 3,428$. Male couples ($n = 1,787$) and female couples ($n = 1,641$).

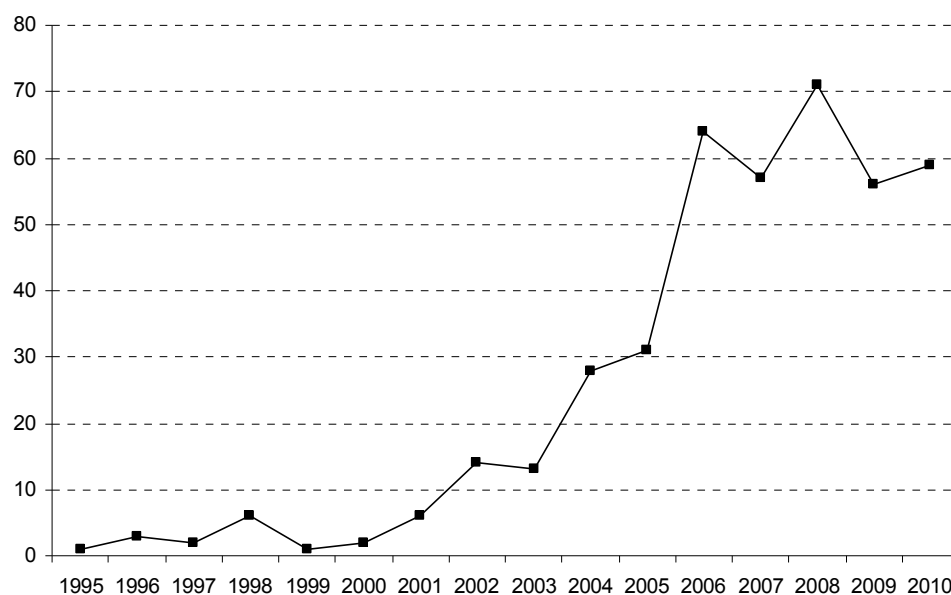


A second development that could be related to the divorce risk pattern is the increase in same-sex parenting. To many couples having a child together could be a confirmation of their relationship and it could deepen and develop their intimate relationship. At the same time parental stress can reduce relationship quality. Correspondingly, prior research on heterosexual men and women confirm that having children reduces relationship satisfaction but increases the commitment to the union (Wiik, Bernhardt, and Noack, 2009). Common children also reduce the divorce risk of heterosexual couples, at least when their number is limited to lower parities and children are relatively young (Lyngstad and Jalovaara 2010). Few studies have focused on the association between having children and relationship quality in gay and lesbian couples, but recent results from Sweden indicate that lesbian women with previous children reported lower levels of relationship quality than those without prior children (Borneskog, Svanberg, Lampic, and Sydsjö, 2012). Also, having children from a

previous heterosexual relationship was associated with an increase in the relative risk of divorce among same-sex couples in Norway and Sweden (Andersson et al., 2006).

Although nearly one in five partnerships contracted 1993 to 2001 involved partners who had a child from a previous heterosexual union (Andersson et al., 2006), child rearing and childbearing within same-sex partnerships were relatively uncommon during the 1990s. In this period registered partners were not given the opportunities to jointly adopt a child or to receive medically assisted insemination, although some may have travelled to Denmark where lesbian couples as well as single women could receive medically assisted insemination. These exceptions have been moderated during subsequent years, and in 2002 Norwegian same-sex registered partners were allowed to adopt their partner's prior child(ren). In 2009 same-sex couples who had formalized their unions were also given the right to jointly adopt children and to receive medically assisted insemination.

Figure 2. Common children in registered partnerships contracted 1993-2008 ($N = 424$).



With the increase in same-sex couples and perhaps more liberal attitudes to same-sex parenting, as well as liberalization of the laws concerning adoption of step children and insemination of women, it has become more common to become a parent while living in a

registered partnership. As illustrated in Figure 2, the number of children with parents who are living in a same-sex registered partnership in Norway has increased sharply, from only 5 in 2001 to more than 70 in 2008 (See Figure 2). Parenting, here defined as being registered as parents to a child while living in a registered partnership, is as expected, much more common among female than male couples. Only 43 children have so far been registered as children of gay couples compared with 381 to female couples.

Aims of the current paper

Using Norwegian population register data linked with information from other registers (e.g., education, prior heterosexual marriage, and children), we first present updated descriptive statistics on sociodemographic characteristics of all Norwegian same-sex registered partnerships contracted from August 1993 to the end of 2008.

Second, we reconsider the divorce risk for these couples in the period up to the end of 2010. A longer observation period implies that more same-sex partnerships have long duration (up to 17 years), and thereby possibly a lower risk of divorce compared with earlier findings. For instance, in the study by Andersson and colleagues (2006) the maximum duration of partnerships was eight years. Additionally, we study the influence of parenting on the divorce rates. We expect to find that the relative high divorce risk for female couples may have decreased with far more female couples having children.

Data and method

Sample and procedure

We used Norwegian register data on all registered partnerships and marriages in the period 1993 through 2010. To give all couples a minimum of two years exposure time, we restricted the current analyses to couples who formalized their unions between 1993 and 2008 ($N =$

2,877 couples, 55% male).²

In addition, we have linked information from various other registers. Such linking of data is facilitated through a system of universal ID numbers. These personal identity codes are nonidentifiable when used in research. (For more information on individual-level register data in Norway and access to such data, see Røed and Raaum (2003)). In this way, the population data on same-sex unions were supplemented with longitudinal register data on couples' education, income, children, geography, and marital history.

To analyze the relative risk of divorce, we used event-history analysis. Cox proportional hazards models were estimated using the PHREG procedure in SAS. In the event-history analysis, each couple was followed from the day of partnership formation to 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., 2010), whichever came first. The date of divorce corresponds to the date the divorce was legalized. In Norway there is normally a required separation period of minimum one year before a divorce can be granted.

Independent variables

First, we included a variable measuring whether couples were male or female, with values 0 for male couples and 1 for female couples. Next, the influence of having common children on the divorce risk was captured by a time varying dummy variable measuring whether couples got at least one child after their union was formalized (1 = *yes*, = *no*). We also included an indicator measuring whether (1) or not (0) one or both partners had any prior children. Year of partnership registration was included as a set of dummies, with 2008 serving as reference year in multivariate models.

² Of the 284 same-sex couples who married in 2009, 4 were divorced by 2010. These couples will be included in our sample when data for 2011 become available. Also, heterosexual marriages entered 1993 – 2009 ($N \approx 340,000$) will be included as comparison group in these analyses.

We controlled for several other variables frequently included in studies of heterosexual divorce (Lyngstad and Jalovaara, 2010). Prior studies confirm that these variables are similarly related to divorce in same-sex couples (e.g., Andersson et al., 2006; Noack et al., 2005). First, we included a variable measuring couples' education level at time of the partnership registration. 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 of schooling), and whether one of the partners (4) or both (5) had completed a tertiary education (13 years +). Next, the mean age of the couple at time of the registration was grouped into the following four categories: < 31 years (1); 31 – 35 years (2); 36 – 40 years (3), and > 40 years (4). Age difference between the partners was grouped into three categories (< 4 years (1); 4 – 8 years (2); and 9 years or more (3)).

Furthermore, we included a dummy indicating whether one or both partners had experienced a prior heterosexual marriage (1) or not (0). Note that we have no information about immigrants' possible previous marriages contracted abroad. 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 couples in which at least one of the partners was foreign (0). 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 Norwegian same-sex couples

Sociodemographic characteristics of couples are shown in Table 1. From this table we first note that 11% of Norwegian same-sex couples have one or more common children. Not

surprisingly, parenthood was far more common in female than male partnerships. 22% female couples have common children compared with 3% of male couples (joint adoption or adoption of one partner's prior child(ren)). Also, 25% of the registered partnerships contracted 1993 – 2008 involved partners who had child(ren) from a prior (heterosexual) union (34% of female couples / 18% of male couples).

Next, we see that same-sex spouses were relatively old. Nearly one third of couples were at ages above 40 years when they contracted their partnership. This could imply that some of these couples have been living together for a long period before formalizing their union. Regrettably, our data contain no information on eventual premarital cohabitation. Male couples were, however, substantially older than female couples: More than one third of male partnerships involved partners with a mean age above 40 compared with one in four female couples. From Table 1 it is also evident that there are quite large age gaps between same-sex partners. This was particularly the case among male couples. For instance, the age difference between partners was 9 years or more in 41% of the male couples. Among female couples, on the other hand, 47% were similar in age (age difference of three years or less).

[Table 1 about here]

Regarding education, Table 1 shows that same-sex couples often have a high level of education. In 60% of the couples one or both partners had completed a postsecondary education (13 years +). This was true for 66% of female couples and 55% of male couples, and a considerably higher fraction of female couples involved two tertiary educated partners. Generally, a higher share of Norwegian women has completed a tertiary education compared with men among those born in the cohorts after 1960 (Statistics Norway 2012). Further, we see that cross-national partnerships were common: 35% of all same-sex couples involve one or two foreign partners. This was particularly the case for partnerships between men: 48% of male partnership included at least one non-Norwegian partner compared with 19% of female

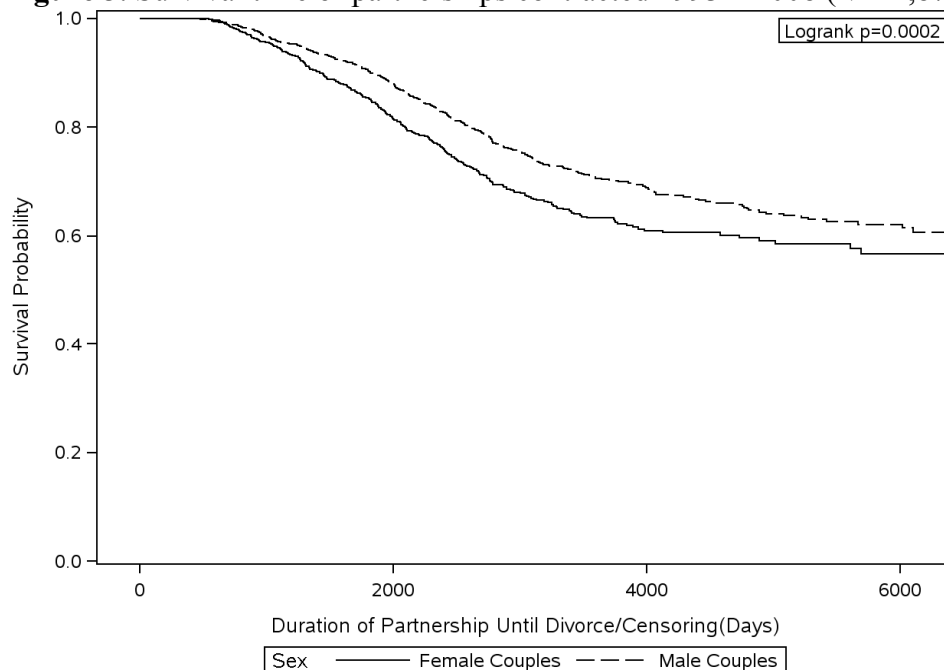
couples.

Also, it is not uncommon for partners in same-sex unions to have had a previously heterosexual family life. Table 1 shows that one in five lesbian partnerships included at least one partner who had been previously married to a man. The corresponding share among male couples was 13.5%. Additional analyses confirmed that there was no clear time trend in the share who had been married to a partner of the opposite sex, but none of the “pioneers” (partnerships formed 1993 – 1994) had been previously married (not shown in tables). Last, we note that same-sex couples were slightly over-represented in the capitol region (56%), and male couples (60%) slightly more so than female couples (52%).

Divorce in same sex-sex couples, 1993 – 2010

667 same-sex couples (23%) who entered partnerships in the period 1993 to 2008 were divorced by 2010. The distribution of the survival time of male and female couples as a function of the duration of the partnership (in days) is illustrated graphically in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Survival time of partnerships contracted 1993 – 2008 ($N = 2,877$).



From this figure it is evident that a higher fraction of female couples (solid line) ended in a divorce compared with their male counterparts (dotted line). For instance, after seven years (or 2,555 days), 27% of lesbian partnerships were divorced compared with 19% of gay partnerships. At the end of the observation period (17years) the sex difference in the divorce risk had decreased slightly and 57% of female and 61% of male partnerships contracted in 1993 were still intact.

The results from the event-history analyses of the relative divorce risks along with their 95% confidence intervals are presented in Table 2. The results from the first regression model of the relative divorce risk including only couples' sex in table 2 show, in accordance with the descriptive results, that female couples still have a significantly higher divorce risk than male couples. Without any other variables included, the divorce risk of female couples was 33% higher than among male couples (C.I. 1.14 – 1.55). This gender gap in the relative risk of divorce remained and even increased when we added the other independent variables into the equation. Controlling for the presence of common children, prior child(ren), couples' mean age, the age difference between partners, year of partnership formation, couples' educational attainment, nationality, and place of residence the divorce risk of lesbian couples was 70% higher than that of gay couples.

[Table 2 about here]

To assess whether there have been any changes in the divorce risks of male and female couples over the study period, we ran separate models for couples who contracted their partnerships 1993 – 1999 and 2000 – 2008 (results not shown in tables). These models revealed that the divorce risk was identical for couples who registered their partnerships in the two periods (hazard rate was 1.70 (C.I. 1.33 – 2.18) for female partnerships contracted in the 1990s compared with 1.67 (C.I. 1.29 – 2.16) in the most recent period). Results remained unchanged when alternative cut-off points were applied (e.g., 1993 – 2004 vs. 2005 – 2008).

In yet another alternative model we included interaction terms between year of partnership registration and couples' sex. This interaction effect failed to reach statistical significance, implying that the gender gap in divorce risks remained stable over time. Also, there were no differences in divorce risks between couples who entered their partnerships in 2008 and those who contracted their partnerships in the preceding years (not shown in tables).

Regarding the other independent variables included in the full model of Table 2, we first note that couples who had one or more common child(ren) were significantly less likely to divorce than childless couples ($p < .001$). This reduction in the relative risk of divorce of having common children amounted to 65%. Next, couples in which one or both partners had children from a prior (heterosexual) relationship were, on the other hand, significantly more likely to divorce than those without any prior children. These findings were as expected and are similar to findings from research on divorce in heterosexual couples (e.g., Lyngstad and Jalovaara 2010). The gender gap in the divorce risks was similar in an alternative model without controls for common children or prior children (not shown).

The data in Table 2 further show that older couples were significantly less likely to divorce than younger ones. For instance, the divorce risk of couples whose mean age of partners was more than 40 years was more than 80% lower as for couples who were 30 years old or less upon partnership formation. Further, when the age difference between partners was 9 years or more this was positively associated with the divorce risk relative to age homogenous couples (age difference of three years or less).

As among heterosexual couples, divorce risks of same-sex couples are negatively related to partners' level of education (Lyngstad and Jalovaara 2010). The full model in Table 2 confirms that the divorce risk was about 40% higher in couples in which one or both partners were primary educated (up to 9 years) compared with couples in which both partners had completed a tertiary education. When one partner had completed a secondary education (up to

12 years of schooling) they were 43% more likely to divorce than tertiary educated couples. There were no statistically significant differences in divorce risks between tertiary educated couples and secondary educated couples or couples including only one tertiary educated partner. Next, couples in which both partners were Norwegian were significantly less likely to divorce relative to couples in which one or both were foreign: When both partners were Norwegian this was associated with a 35% decrease in the relative divorce risk.

Separate models for male and female couples are presented in Table 3 and show that overall the divorce patterns of gay and lesbian couples were quite similar. However, as parenthood was far more common among female couples, we note that the association between having common child(ren) and divorce failed to reach statistical significance for the male sub sample. For both male and female couples, however, there was a strong negative association between couples' age and the divorce risk. Age difference between partners and nationality seems to be more important for divorce among male couples. Among women, on the other hand, couples in the two lower education categories were more divorce prone than couples in which both partners had completed a tertiary education.

Summary and discussion

Previous research from the Scandinavian countries have found that same sex registered partnerships have a significantly higher divorce risk compared with heterosexual marriages and that female couples have a significantly higher divorce risk than their male counterparts (Andersson et al., 2006; Noack et al. 2005). These initial divorce risk analyses were, however, from the pioneering period of registered same-sex partnerships (Norway: 1993 to 2001). In this paper we used updated information on the total population of Norwegian same-sex couples who formalized their relationships in the period 1993 to 2008 to investigate the divorce risk pattern of gay and lesbian partnerships. We hypothesized that a changing

composition of couples, most importantly a longer observation period (1993 to 2010) as well as the increase in same-sex parenting would lower divorce risks as compared with those found in earlier studies. Given that far more female couples have common children we also expected to find that the gender gap in divorce risks would narrow over time.

3,428 same-sex couples (52% male) formalized their unions between 1993 and 2010, which is less than 1% of all marriages contracted in the same period. From 2005 onwards there has been a turnaround in the gender composition, and the majority of new same-sex partnerships now consist of two women. Descriptive results further showed that female and male couples differ in demographic and socio-economic characteristics. First, lesbian couples more often involved a partner who had been previously heterosexually married: More than one in five lesbian couples included at least one partner who had been married to a man previously. The corresponding share for male partnerships was 13%. Female couples were also more homogamous with respect to age, education, and nationality than was the case for their male counterparts. More importantly, there has been a sharp increase in the number of couples with common children, particularly so among female couples. By 2010, nearly 400 children had been born to a couple consisting of two women and more than one in five female couples had children. Only 3% of the gay partnerships had common children (either jointly adopted or one partner had adopted the other partner's biological child(ren)).

Contrary to what we expected, the results from the current study showed that female couples still have a higher risk of divorce relative to male couples. In multivariate models where we controlled for several other characteristics of couples', like their age, education and the presence of common children, the relative risk of divorce was nearly 70% higher for female couples. Alternative models confirmed that there have been no changes in the divorce risks of male and female couples over the study period. Among female couples, however, common chil(ren) significantly reduced the divorce risk.

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. 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 commitment to the relationship and each other. Our data also lack information on whether these same-sex couples co-resided before marrying and the duration of any pre-marital cohabitation.

The gender gap in divorce risk could 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 and Rogers, 1997), and that they overall are less satisfied with their relationships than men (e.g., Wiik et al., 2009). Consequently, women have also been found to be more likely to initiate divorce than are men (Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006).

We believe, however, that the most important reason for the excess divorce risk among lesbian couples lies in differences in the motives of lesbians and gays for 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 of the partnership, they may have had time to test their relationship before formalizing it. There could, in other words, be a stronger selection of the most committed male couples into registered partnerships than what is the case for female couples. Given the unknown nature of the total population of gay and lesbian couples it is, however, difficult to verify how selected these couples who have chosen to formalize their unions really are and whether there are differences between male and female couples. Because of the type of data we used, we must

leave explorations of qualitative aspects of that kind to future research.

In 2009, Norway adopted a fully gender neutral marriage legislation and gave those already living in registered partnerships the opportunity to convert their civil status to marriage. Additional analyses of the data used in the current paper showed that 32% of the intact registered partnerships in Norway had been converted to marriage by the end of 2010, of which 26% were male and 41% female. As the registered partnerships amounted to a *de facto* same-sex marriage, this was mainly a symbolic act that probably does not influence the divorce rates found here.

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Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of same-sex partnerships formed 1993 to 2008 ($N = 2,877$)

	All Couples	Male Couples	Female Couples
Variable	% or M (SD)	% or M (SD)	% or M (SD)
Duration of partnership (years)	7.1 (4.27)	7.6 (4.4)	6.6 (4.0)
Year of registration	2002 (4.57)	2001 (4.60)	2002 (4.40)
Common children			
One or more	11.5	2.6	21.9
Prior children			
One or more	25.2	17.6	34.5
Mean age of couple			
< 31	25.5	22.5	29.2
31 – 35	22.2	21.0	23.7
36 – 40	21.5	22.0	20.8
> 40	30.8	34.5	26.4
Age difference between partners			
< 4	37.2	28.7	47.5
3 – 8	32.7	30.1	36.0
> 8	30.1	41.2	16.5
Couple's education			
Both primary	9.1	10.0	8.0
One secondary	20.4	24.4	15.6
Both secondary	10.3	10.3	10.3
One tertiary	34.9	38.0	31.1
Both tertiary	25.3	17.3	35.1

Nationality			
Both Norwegian	65.1	51.8	81.4
Prior heterosexual marriage			
One or both partners	16.8	13.5	20.9
Region of residence			
Lives in capital region	56.3	60.2	51.6
<i>N</i> couples (%)	2,877	1,584 (55.1%)	1,293 (44.9%)

Table 2. Divorce risk in same-sex partnerships formed 1993 to 2008 ($N = 2,877$)

Variable	Model 1		Model 2	
	Hazard Ratio	95% C.I.	Hazard Ratio	95% C.I.
Female couple	1.33	(1.14–1.55)	1.69	(1.42–2.02)
Common child(ren)			0.35	(0.25–0.48)
Prior child(ren)			2.45	(2.04–2.98)
Mean age of couple (< 31 = ref)				
31 – 35			0.53	(0.43–0.64)
36 – 40			0.39	(0.31–0.49)
> 40			0.17	(0.13–0.23)
Age difference (< 4= ref)				
3 – 8			1.03	(0.85–1.24)
> 8			1.34	(1.10–1.64)
Education (both tertiary = ref)				
Both primary			1.39	(1.03–1.89)
One secondary			1.43	(1.11–1.83)
Both secondary			1.30	(0.96–1.76)
One tertiary			1.09	(0.86–1.38)
Both Norwegian			0.65	(0.54–0.77)
Prior heterosexual marriage			0.84	(0.67–1.07)
Lives in capital region			0.93	(0.79–1.09)
N couples		2,877		
N Divorces		667		

Note: Models include controls for year of partnership registration.

Table 3. Divorce risks in male (n = 1,584) and female (1,293) same-sex partnerships formed 1993 to 2008

Variable	Male Couples		Female Couples	
	Hazard Ratio	95% C.I.	Hazard Ratio	95% C.I.
Common child(ren)	0.55	(0.29–1.04)	0.30	(0.20–0.45)
Prior child(ren)	2.05	(1.50–2.79)	2.72	(2.10–3.52)
Mean age of couple (< 31 = ref)				
31 – 35	0.50	(0.38–0.66)	0.57	(0.42–0.46)
36 – 40	0.44	(0.32–0.59)	0.36	(0.25–0.48)
> 40	0.19	(0.13–0.28)	0.16	(0.11–0.23)
Age difference (< 4 = ref)				
4 –8	1.11	(0.83–1.48)	0.95	(0.73–1.22)
> 8	1.53	(1.15–2.03)	1.10	(0.80–1.51)
Education (both tertiary = ref)				
Both primary	1.23	(0.79–1.92)	1.64	(1.06–2.53)
One secondary	1.35	(0.93–1.95)	1.45	(1.03–2.06)
Both secondary	1.27	(0.80–2.01)	1.30	(0.86–1.97)
One tertiary	1.08	(0.75–1.54)	1.07	(0.78– 1.47)
Both Norwegian	0.56	(0.44–0.72)	0.77	(0.57–1.03)
Prior heterosexual marriage	0.68	(0.46–1.01)	0.98	(0.72–1.34)
Lives in capital region	0.87	(0.70–1.09)	0.95	(0.75–1.20)
N couples	1,584		1,293	
N Divorces	352		315	

Note: Models include controls for year of partnership registration.