

**Who wants the Breakup?
Gender and Breakup in Heterosexual Couples**

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Abstract:

Most divorces in the US are wanted by the wife. Women's predominance in wanting divorce (among couples who divorce) seems to have been consistent over time. The author uses a new longitudinal study of relationships in the US, the How Couples Meet and Stay Together surveys, to examine the gender of who wanted the breakup for both marital and nonmarital relationships for the first time. The results show that only in marriages are the majority of breakups wanted by the female partner. Men and women in nonmarital heterosexual relationships in the US are equally likely to want to break up. Furthermore, wives report lower relationship quality than husbands, while men and women in nonmarital relationships report more similar relationship quality.

Who wants the Breakup? Gender and Breakup in Heterosexual Couples

Introduction

It is a well-established fact that most divorces in the US are wanted primarily by the wife. In Goode's (1956) sample of recently divorced women from the 1940s in Detroit, about two thirds of the recently divorced women described themselves as the initiators of their divorces.¹ More recent US data show a similar pattern, with roughly two thirds of divorces wanted by the wife (Brinig & Allen, 2000; England & Kilbourne, 1990; Pettit & Bloom, 1984; Sayer, England, Allison, & Kangas, 2011; Sweeney, 2002). Most divorces are wanted by the wife not only in the US, but in Europe (Charvoz, Bodenmann, Bertoni, Iafrate, & Giuliana, 2009; Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006) and Australia (Hewitt, 2009; Hewitt, Western, & Baxter, 2006) as well.

The fact that wives have been more likely to want divorce implies that wives were less satisfied with their marriages than their husbands, at least among couples who divorced. Gender inequality in who wants to break up is one way to measure gender differences in satisfaction within romantic relationships. Do nonmarital relationships experience breakup in a gendered way similar to marriages? The prior literature on the gender of breakup has explored breakup in heterosexual marriage exclusively. In this paper, I use a new longitudinal study of relationships and breakups in the US. I compare the data on who wanted the breakup for married couples, nonmarital cohabiting couples, and couples who are not married and who have not cohabited. I examine the gender of breakup for both marital and nonmarital relationships with quantitative data for the first time.

¹ Goode (1956) reported 105 divorces initiated by the husband, 264 initiated by the wife, and 56 mutually initiated divorces. Counting the mutual divorces as 50% female initiated yields 69% female initiation (see also Table 1 below).

Some of the prior explanations for women's predominance in wanting divorce (for instance, that women are more sensitive to relationship difficulties) apply equally well to marital and to nonmarital relationships. Other explanations for women's predominance in wanting divorce rely on the uniquely gendered institution of marriage. The central question addressed below is whether the gender of who wants breakups in nonmarital unions is consistent with, or inconsistent with hypotheses that have previously been offered to explain women's predominance in who wants marital divorces.

Explanations for Why Women are more likely to Want Divorce

1) Sensitivity to Relationship Issues

One plausible explanation offered for why women are more likely to want divorce is that women are more sensitive to relationship difficulties (Heaton & Blake, 1999; Sweeney, 2002). If women are more attuned to a relationship difficulty, they may be more likely to see the difficulty as requiring action, and eventually make the decision to exit from the relationship. The hypothesis that women are more sensitive to relationship problems leads to a corollary that women would be more likely to want breakups than men across all types of relationships and contexts. The corollary that women would have a leading role in breakup across all relationship contexts is consistent with research on the longevity of same-sex couples, which has usually shown that lesbian couples in committed relationships have a higher breakup rate than gay male couples in committed relationships (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983; Rosenfeld, 2014).

2) Marriage as a Gender Factory

Heterosexual marriage is an institution built on centuries of gendered law and common

law (Weitzman, 1981). Despite the institution of marriage changing and adapting (Cherlin, 2004) and becoming more flexible and open than it was once (Rosenfeld, 2007), feminist scholars view heterosexual marriage as a gender factory (Berk, 1985), which is a potential reason why wives might selectively want divorce. By gender factory, scholars mean that heterosexual marriage reproduces and reifies traditional gender roles for men and women (Berk, 1985; Shelton & John, 1993). In their description of the post-1960 gender revolution as a stalled revolution, Hochschild and Machung (1989) describe how wives' careers were constrained by their husbands' expectations that the afternoon and evening shift of housework and childcare was fundamentally women's work. Even husbands and wives who thought of themselves as holding gender egalitarian ideals were found by Hochschild and Machung to be living (and justifying to themselves) traditional gender expectations of childcare and housework as women's work.

More recent research on the transition from cohabitation to marriage continues to show that traditional gender expectations are re-enforced at the threshold of marriage for heterosexual couples. Brown (2000) found that heterosexual couples were especially likely to marry if the man had high earnings. Weisshaar (2014) found that among heterosexual couples, earnings between partners became more unequal as the couples transitioned from cohabitation to marriage. Sassler and Miller (2011) found that among young heterosexual couples, men had the privilege of asking their partner to marry, meaning men controlled the marriage decision. Bass (2015) found that among young heterosexual couples planning to marry, men pressured their fiancées to adopt the man's family surname. Most women in the US continue to take their husbands' surnames when they marry (Johnson & Scheuble, 1995), even though the laws that required wives to take their husband's surname were phased out in the 1970s (Scheuble &

Johnson, 1993). Wives' adoption of their husbands' surnames is an example of heterosexual marriage as a gender factory with current gender practice rooted in a gender inequalitarian past.

The gender factory literature includes the view that husbands would find more satisfaction than wives in heterosexual marriages, on average. Jessie Bernard (1982) famously wrote: "There are two marriages, then, in every marital union, his and hers. And his... is better than hers." The feminist critique of heterosexual marriage is consistent with wives being more likely than husbands to want to divorce. The feminist critique of heterosexual marriage, however, has less direct application to nonmarital heterosexual relationships. Nonmarital heterosexual relationships generally involve lower levels of commitment, fewer children, and nonmarital unions are less influenced by the legal and cultural history of marriage as a gendered institution (Cherlin, 2009; Poortman & Mills, 2012; Rosenfeld, 2014).

Time use studies (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006) suggest that between 1965 and 2000, married fathers had increased their share of unpaid family caregiving, but that married mothers still did about two thirds of the housework. Frisco and Williams (2003) showed that not only were men doing less housework than their wives in the US in the 1980s, but that marriages in which the wife felt they were doing more than their share of the housework were especially likely to end in divorce. The slow pace of gender role change within heterosexual marriage is one key reason why the feminist revolution is seen as an unfinished, or stalled revolution (England, 2010; Gerson, 2010; Hochschild & Machung, 1989; Ridgeway, 2011).

Research on housework has consistently found that the gender housework gap was larger in marriage than in nonmarital cohabiting relationships (Davis, Greenstein, & Marks, 2007; Gupta, 1999; Shelton & John, 1993; South & Spitze, 1994). Married men resist housework to an

extent that cannot be explained by practical considerations and constraints (such as the presence of children or men's higher earnings, see Brines, 1994; Shelton & John, 1993).

Even if heterosexual cohabiting couples practice more gender egalitarianism than heterosexual married couples, and even if cohabiting couples have a more gender neutral breakup pattern (as I show below) this does not imply that individuals in cohabiting unions are more satisfied with their unions. Heterosexual married couples have dramatically more couple stability than heterosexual cohabiting unions (Cherlin, 2009; Rosenfeld, 2014).

3) Power Differentials within Relationships

A third potential explanation for who wants divorce or breakup relates to the relative power of the partners or spouses within the relationship. The power differential theory of divorce assumes that the spouse with better prospects beyond the current relationship is more likely to want to break up (Sayer et al., 2011). By external measures, husbands' power has generally exceeded wives' power. Husbands tend to be older than wives (England & McClintock, 2009), though the power advantage of being older might dissipate or even reverse as individuals age into their later years. Husbands have always had higher earnings on average than wives (though the gender earnings gap has narrowed over time, see Vanneman, 2006). Research in online dating markets shows that single women's attractiveness to men declines more sharply over the adult life course than single men's attractiveness to women (Rudder, 2014). Wallerstein and Blakeslee's (1989) reported that older women were more likely to be "losers" in divorce. If women are most in romantic demand when they are young, and older men are more in demand as heterosexual partners as they age (Rudder, 2014), the power theory of relationships implies that divorce should become more male-initiated as couples age. The realities of gendered divorce fit

uneasily with power theory, however: despite men's various power advantages (being older than their wives, earning more, and ageing into greater demand as heterosexual partners), women have been the initiators of about two thirds of all divorces from the 1940s to the present.

An alternate version of the power theory of relationships suggests that women's *lack* of power within heterosexual marriages is the reason that women choose to exit marriages (England & Kilbourne, 1990). Lacking power within the relationship to give sufficient voice to their dissatisfactions, women may choose to exit (Hirschman, 1970). As Sayer et al. (2011) noted, the vast literature on determinants of divorce (with some notable exceptions cited above) has usually failed to distinguish between divorces wanted by the wife versus divorces wanted by the husband. Because heterosexual relationships are gendered, our analysis of breakup and its determinants must be gendered as well.

Hypotheses

Consistent with prior literature:

Hypothesis 1: Women want the clear majority of heterosexual divorces.

Corollary 1a: Women's tendency to want divorce is robust to multivariate controls from the individual or couple level.

If the reason that most divorces are wanted by the wife is that marriage is a gender factory, then nonmarital unions should have a more egalitarian breakup pattern.

Hypothesis 2: In nonmarital heterosexual couples, neither gender dominates in who wants breakups.

If women are more sensitive to relationship shortcomings, then:

Hypothesis 3: Self-reported relationship quality has a stronger effect on women wanting to break up than on men wanting to break up.

If Hypothesis 3 is supported by the data, we also expect that the divergent gender sensitivity to relationship quality would mediate the association between gender and who wants to break up.

Corollary 3a: Different gender responses to relationship quality explain (at least partly) the prevalence of women wanting breakups.

The simplest version of the power theory of relationships gives the initiative to the partner with more power or status. Therefore:

Hypothesis 4: Individuals with more power, more status, or more income are more likely to want to break up.

Data and Methods

The How Couples Meet and Stay Together surveys (HCMST; Rosenfeld, Thomas, & Falcon, 2015) started with a nationally representative survey of 2,538 adults who had partners of a different gender in 2009, and included follow-up with the same individuals covering wave 2 in 2010, wave 3 in 2011, wave 4 in 2013, and wave 5 which ended in early 2015. I supplement the individual-level and couple-level analysis of HCMST data with trend data on marital satisfaction from the General Social Survey (GSS; Smith, Hout, & Marsden, 2013).

Unlike most Internet surveys whose participants are composed of a self-selected sample of volunteers, the HCMST subjects were initially recruited into the study through a nationally representative random digit dialing (RDD) telephone survey, so the HCMST sample is nationally representative (Chang & Krosnick, 2009; Rosenfeld & Thomas, 2012). Subjects who did not

have Internet access at home were given Internet access by survey firm Knowledge Networks/GfK (hereafter KN/GfK). The response rate to HCMST wave 1 was 71%. Including the initial RDD phone contact and agreement to join the KN/GfK panel (recruitment rate 32.6%) which took place months or years before HCMST wave 1, and the respondents' completion of the initial KN/GfK demographic survey (profile rate 56.8%) which also predated HCMST wave 1 by months or years, the composite overall response rate for the wave 1 HCMST survey is $.71 * .326 * .568 = 13\%$ (Callegaro & DiSogra, 2008). Despite the low overall response rate of multistage KN/GfK surveys compared to single stage RDD surveys, the quality of data derived from the KN/GfK panel has been shown to equal or exceed the quality of data derived from industry standard RDD surveys (Chang & Krosnick, 2009; Fricker, Galesic, Tourangeau, & Yan, 2005), in part because KN/GfK gathers information from subjects at each survey stage.

Among subjects eligible for follow-up, the response rate was 85% at wave 2, 73% at wave 3, 60% at wave 4, and 46% at wave 5. The key determinant of response to the HCMST follow-up surveys was not any factor that predicts couple longevity (such as relationship duration or marriage), but whether the respondent was still in the KN/GfK panel at the time of the follow-up survey, which is why loss-to-follow-up does not bias estimates of breakup in HCMST. In separate analyses (available from the author) I replicate a key model from Table 2 with weights that are adjusted for attrition (McGuigan, Ellickson, Hays, & Bell, 1997), and I show that the attrition-adjusted weights and the standard weights yield the same results.

In the 6 years of exposure to the hazard of breakup from early 2009 to early 2015, HCMST recorded 385 breakups of heterosexual couples. Of the 385 subjects who reported breakup of a heterosexual union, all but 12 answered the question about which partner had

wanted the breakup more.² The number of subjects in heterosexual unions that broke up between waves 1 and 5 of HCMST was reduced by 2 when subjects were removed from analysis for inconsistent report of own gender, yielding the final count of 371 breakups reported in Table 1, below.

In waves 2-5 of HCMST, respondents who reported that their relationship with their spouse or partner from wave 1 was no longer intact were asked: “Between you and (partner name), who wanted the (divorce/separation/breakup) more?” Respondents were offered 3 alternatives: “I wanted the (divorce/separation/breakup) more;”(Partner name) wanted the (divorce/separation/breakup) more;” and “We both equally wanted the (divorce/separation/breakup).” Literature on women’s initiation of divorce shows that the average of female predominance in divorce initiation is similar whether one examines the records of who files for divorce, or who wanted the divorce more, or who initiated the divorce (Brinig & Allen, 2000; Pettit & Bloom, 1984; Sayer et al., 2011; Sweeney, 2002), though of course in individual couples the person who initiates the breakup need not be the same person as the person who most wanted the breakup.

HCMST data include only one subject from each couple. Sayer et al (2011) used data from the National Survey of Families and Households, which included both spouses’ report on who wanted the divorce. Sayer et al found consistency between husbands’ and wives’ reports (about who wanted the divorce more), net of the ego bias effect I discuss below.

The measure of relationship quality in HCMST is a 1-5 scale, treated as a continuous variable, measured at wave 1, with higher values meaning higher relationship quality (5 is

² Among the 12 subjects for whom the gender of who wanted the breakup was not reported, 6 subjects had their breakup status identified post-hoc from text answers in wave 5, so they did not see the ‘who wanted the breakup’ question.

“excellent,” 4 is “good”, 3 is “fair, 2 is “poor”, and 1 is “very poor”). Relationship duration is the time varying duration, in years, since the couple first became romantically involved. Control of relationship duration is necessary to preclude the potential bias of left censored observations (Yamaguchi, 1991). The income difference between partners was determined at wave 1 by the question “Between you and (partner name), who earned more income in 2008?” with the options “I earned more,” “we earned about the same amount,” and “(partner name) earned more.” Both female partner’s college degree status and the educational gap between female and male partners are based on educational attainment at wave 1. The number of minor children in respondent’s household and household income for the prior 12 months are both time varying variables drawn from the 5 KN/GfK background surveys. I deflated household income to 2009 dollars by the Consumer Price Index, and then took its natural logarithm.

Methodologically, I rely on discrete time multinomial logistic regression to distinguish between competing gendered breakup outcomes (Box-Steffensmeier & Jones, 2004; Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006). My multinomial logistic regressions are weighted using the weight variable “weight2.” An alternate set (available from the author) of event history multinomial logistic models which uses robust standard errors and clustering to account for the non-independence of repeated observations of the same couple yields the same substantive conclusions. I present the unclustered event history analysis in Table 2 below to preserve model fitting by likelihood maximization, and to preserve BIC goodness of fit tests based on likelihood maximization.

The univariate analysis in Table 1 compares three couple types: married couples, non-marital couples who have cohabited, and nonmarital couples who have never cohabited. For Table 2, the multinomial logistic regressions, I compare married couples to nonmarital

cohabiting couples, and exclude the couples who have never cohabited because some aspects of the power dynamics of couples apply less well to couples who have not cohabited.

The couple- month dataset used for the event history models in Table 2 begins with the month of wave 1 of HCMST, and ends with the month of breakup or the month of last contact. I randomly imputed the month of breakup for couples who broke up in the approximately 12 months between wave 1 and wave 2, as month of breakup was not asked in wave 2.³ The 3 models in Table 2 each include 1,904 heterosexual couples (reduced via listwise deletion from a maximum of 2,262 couples) and 95,006 couple-months of exposure to the risk of breakup.

[Table 1 here]

Results

Table 1 shows the percentage of heterosexual couple breakups in HCMST waves 2-5 whose breakup was wanted more by the woman. If the woman wanted the breakup more, that is scored as “1”; if the man wanted the breakup more, that is scored as “0”; and if both partners wanted the breakup equally, that is scored as “0.5.” Table 1 shows that women accounted for 69% of the breakups of heterosexual marriages, consistent with the approximately two thirds of divorces wanted by wives reported in other studies (England & Kilbourne, 1990; Heaton &

³ For married couples who broke up between wave 1 and wave 2, whose hazard rate of breakup was less than 2%, breakups were randomly distributed to months between wave 1 and wave 2. For unmarried couples, breakup rate was much higher in the early stages of the relationship; the hazard of breakup was more than 60% for unmarried couples who had been together for less than a year (Rosenfeld, 2014), meaning the breakups would have been distributed more in the beginning of the year than in the end of the year between wave 1 and wave 2. To accommodate the front-loading of breakups of nonmarital unions in the period between wave 1 and wave 2, I used

the following function: $M_b = (M_e)r^{\frac{2+rd}{1+rd}}$ Where M_b is the imputed month of breakup after wave 1, M_e is the number of months elapsed between wave 1 and wave 2, r is a random uniform number between zero and 1, and rd is relationship duration in years. For short relationship duration, the random factor is nearly squared, reducing the imputed months before breakup.

Blake, 1999; Sayer et al., 2011; Sweeney, 2002). Even though only 92 breakups of heterosexual marriages were recorded in the data, the 69% of marital breakups wanted by women is significantly different from 50%, with a 95% confidence interval ranging from 61% to 78%.⁴

For heterosexual cohabiters, Table 1 shows 76 breakups were recorded, and of these breakups 56% were wanted by the woman. The 95% confidence interval for the gender of who wanted breakup among nonmarital heterosexual unions was 47% to 65%, which includes 50%, meaning that the gender of breakup for nonmarital heterosexual couples was not significantly different from 50%. Cohabitation proved to have no effect on the gender of breakup for nonmarital couples. Among the noncohabiting nonmarital unions, 53.4% of the breakups were wanted by the woman, which was not significantly different from the 50% gender parity level and also not significantly different from the 56% rate of female wanted breakups recorded among the cohabiting couples.

Table 1 supports Hypothesis 1 (that most divorces would be wanted by the wife) and Hypothesis 2 (that breakup among nonmarital heterosexual couples would be gender neutral). Table 1's support for Hypotheses 1 and 2 is strengthened by the observation that coresidence (and the relationship commitment that coresidence implies) appears to have had no effect on the gender of relationship breakup, whereas heterosexual marriage was firmly associated with women wanting to break up. Table 1 shows that mutual breakup was substantially more common in nonmarital breakups (32% for cohabiters and 35% for non-cohabiters) than in marital breakups (19%).

Table 1 also demonstrates a pattern of ego bias in the reporting of who wanted the breakup, a bias which is evident in similar fashion in every prior study that has surveyed

⁴ Standard errors are defined by $SE = \frac{sd}{\sqrt{n}}$, where *sd* is the standard deviation, and *n* is the sample size in each category

divorced individuals and asked them (after the divorce) who wanted or who initiated the divorce (Charvoz et al., 2009; Hewitt et al., 2006; Kalmijn & Poortman, 2006; Sayer et al., 2011). By ego bias, I mean that individuals magnify their own agency in the breakup, so that the rate at which women are reported to want the breakup is lower for male survey respondents compared to female survey respondents.⁵

For the gender of nonmarital breakup, there are no published results to compare HCMST to. Is it possible that the person who wanted the breakup is recalled less accurately in nonmarital relationships? One reason that it might be easier to recall who wanted a marital breakup is that divorces require a court petition (which one spouse alone can file), while nonmarital breakups are generally accomplished without paperwork or formalities.

Despite the informality of nonmarital breakups, the nonmarital breakups in HCMST do not show signs of being subject to greater recall bias than the marital breakups. Most breakups in HCMST were reported within a year of occurrence. If the true recollection of who wanted the nonmarital breakup was subject to more recall bias, we would expect to see more ego bias (i.e. the subject giving themselves more agency over the breakup). Yet, as Table 1 shows, the ego bias appears to be strongest for the married couples, at 78-63=15%. Second, subjects' open-ended reports of why they broke up suggest clarity on the respondents' parts about who wanted the breakup. Explanations for breakup include: "I wasn't in love with him anymore, he was selfish, immature. I was ready to move on and find better love;" or "I'm not really sure. She just wanted it to end;" or "We had a mutual break up ..., we knew that we would never end up

⁵ Table 1 understates the difference in the percentage of breakups wanted by the woman between married couples (69%) and nonmarital cohabiting couples (56%) because of ego bias. The marital breakups in Table 1 were reported by a sample that was majority male, while the nonmarital breakups were reported by a sample that had a slight majority of female respondents. In model 1 of Table 2 below, controlling for only marital status and the gender of the subject, the marital gender gap in who wanted the breakup was highly significant.

getting married as we belong to different religion. However, we had a nice relationship till the time we were together and she is still my very good friend.”

[Table 2 here]

Multivariable tests

Table 2 shows coefficients from a series of three competing risk discrete time event history models, for couples who were married or who cohabited. Each model compares competing risk outcomes: male partner wanted the breakup, mutual breakup, or female partner wanted the breakup (compared to non-breakups). Model 1, the simplest model, includes only marriage and subject gender as predictors. Column D of each model tests the difference between predictors of breakups that women wanted compared to the breakups that were wanted either by men or by both partners.⁶ The gender difference coefficients (column D of each model) identify which factors explain gendered differences in who wanted to break up. I compare the women-wanted breakups to all other breakups because it is women’s unique role in wanting breakups that is of particular interest here.

Model 1 shows that marriage was negatively associated with breakup, regardless of who wanted the breakup. Being married reducing the log odds of breakups that men wanted by 2.56, and reduced the log odds of mutual breakups by 2.88. Being married also reduced the log odds of women wanting to breakup, but by a smaller amount, by 1.79. In Model 1, women had a higher log odds of wanting marital breakups by 0.92 (column D of Model 1) so the odds of women wanting breakup were $e^{0.92}=2.51$ times higher than other kinds of breakups for married couples,

⁶ The coefficient for the gender contrast is $D=C-((A+B)/2)$, where A is the coefficient for men wanting breakup, B, is the coefficient for both wanting breakup, and C is the coefficient for women wanting the breakup.

and the gender gap in wanting marital breakups was significant at the 0.01 level, supporting Hypothesis 1.

Model 2 adds a control for relationship quality (at wave 1) interacted with respondent gender. Note that control for relationship quality does not substantially diminish the gender difference coefficient for marriage (0.89 in Model 2, column D compared to 0.92 in Model 1, column D). In Model 2, being married increased the odds ratio that women wanted the breakup by $e^{0.89}=2.44$ compared to male initiated and mutual breakups. Relationship quality coefficients that are more negative indicate that better relationship quality (at wave 1) depressed the log odds of breakup. The more negative the relationship quality coefficient, the more sensitive respondents were to relationship quality (in terms of better relationship quality protecting couples more against breaking up). Models 2 and 3 show no significant gendered effects of perceived relationship quality on which partner wanted to break up, because the coefficients in column D of Models 2 and 3 show no significant gender differences in the effect of his or her relationship quality. Table 2 provides no support for Hypothesis 3 (that relationship quality has a stronger effect on women wanting to break up) and no evidence for Corollary 3a (that different gender responses to relationship quality would explain women's role in wanting divorce).

Model 3 adds controls for female partner's age, income gap, female partner's education, education gap, household income, number of minor children, subject's race, evangelical Christian identity for both partners (the Christian identity controls were all non-significant, and are not shown), and relationship duration, operationalized as $\frac{1}{r.d.}$ where r.d. is relationship duration (in years). The $\frac{1}{r.d.}$ term fit the data better than the untransformed r.d. term because of the sharp decline in breakup rate during the first two years of relationships (Rosenfeld, 2014). A

positive significant coefficient for $\frac{1}{r.d.}$ would indicate that longer relationship duration was associated with lower log odds of breakup. Model 3 includes several potential predictors of breakup that allow for tests of Hypothesis 4, specifically whether individuals with more power or more status within the relationship were more likely to want to break up. None of the power differential hypotheses are supported by Model 3. Model 3 shows that females having higher income had no significant effect on which gender partner wanted to break up. Model 3 shows that female partner's age did not have a gendered effect on who wanted to break up. The lack of significance of all of the power differential coefficients in column 3d, and the similarity of the key gender difference coefficient for marriage across models (0.92 in Model 1 column D, 0.89 in Model 2 column D, 1.04 in Model 3 column D) means that power differentials in education, or income between partners do not appear to explain the women's role in wanting divorce. Model 3 with its several additional terms to test power differential hypothesis fits the data dramatically worse by the BIC standard compared to Model 2.⁷

[Table 3 here]

Relationship Quality

Table 3 summarizes relationship quality in heterosexual couples in HCMST. The data on relationship quality show that in nonmarital cohabiting heterosexual couples, men reported relationship quality of 4.22 (with 5 meaning best, or "excellent" relationship quality) and women reported relationship quality of 4.29, not statistically different from the men. In married

⁷ Lower BIC scores correspond to better fit. The BIC for Table 2 Model 2 is -201.4, 256.4 points lower than the BIC for Model 3. A difference of 256.4 favoring Model 2 in the BIC is a substantial difference by the standards of the parsimony-favoring BIC, it corresponds to a probability of less than 10^{-54} that Model 3 is the better fitting model (Raftery, 1995). The N of couples, 1904, was used as the relevant sample size in calculating BIC. Model 3 fits somewhat better than Model 2 by the Likelihood Ratio Test standard: the chisquare difference of $375.4 - 291.99 = 83.4$ on $57 - 12 = 45$ degrees of freedom yields an upper tail P value of 0.0004.

heterosexual relationships, the men reported relationship quality of 4.61, significantly more than the female reported relationship quality of 4.46. Even excluding all respondents who later broke up from their spouse or partner, the results remain the same: married men in HCMST reported higher relationship quality than married women (Corra, Carter, Carter, & Knox, 2009), whereas men and women in nonmarital unions report more similar levels of relationship quality.

For respondents in heterosexual marriages at wave 1, 69.2% of the husbands and 60.1% of the wives reported that relationship quality was “excellent,” or 5 points out of 5 on the relationship quality scale, while 6.0% of husbands and 11.1% of wives reported that their relationship quality was “fair,” “poor,” or “very poor.” Note also that Table 2 above showed that neither differences in relationship quality between husbands and wives nor gender differences in the association between relationship quality and breakup explain why women seek most divorces. Table 3 provides an explanation: women’s relationship quality is slightly lower than men’s relationship quality in marriage regardless of whether the marriage later broke up.⁸ In additional analyses (available from the author), I show that the gender marital satisfaction gap in HCMST is not mediated by age, relationship duration, earnings gap, religious affiliation, education, income, race, prior marriages, or the presence of children.

[Figure 1 here]

Figure 1 shows a smoothed time trend of marital satisfaction for men and for women from the GSS, 1973-2014. In figure 1, marital satisfaction in the US declined in the 1970s and 1980s, a period when the divorce rate was rising. Despite a strong historical trend in marital

⁸ The relationship quality question in HCMST was re-asked in wave 4. Relationship quality did not change significantly between wave 1 and wave 4 for male respondents or female respondents who married their different gender partner between wave 1 and wave 4.

satisfaction, the gender marital satisfaction gap in the GSS has remained fairly stable over time. In the GSS data, the gender gap in marital satisfaction is highly significant, with no significant change in the marital satisfaction gender gap over time (significance determined by logistic regressions not shown).

Discussion:

Most divorces in the US are wanted by the wife. In this paper I suggest that the gender gap in relationship satisfaction and the gender gap in who wants the breakup are unique to heterosexual marriage. Nonmarital heterosexual unions have a gender neutral breakup pattern and a gender neutral pattern of relationship satisfaction. Neither women's supposedly greater sensitivity to relationship problems, nor income gaps, nor education gaps, nor conservative religious identity, nor woman's age, nor the presence of children explain why women are so much more likely than men to desire exit from heterosexual marriage, but no more likely than men to desire exit from nonmarital heterosexual unions. The uniquely gendered character of heterosexual marriage is consistent with the view that heterosexual marriage is a gender factory (Berk, 1985; Shelton & John, 1993).

While the analyses above show that women's predominant role in wanting divorce seems to be robust to power differentials between spouses and robust to perceived relationship quality, sample size limitations of HCMST should be kept in mind. Only 92 breakups of heterosexual marriages were recorded in HCMST. Furthermore, my analyses here do not provide a model for predicting which subset of women will be particularly likely to want divorce. A substantial proportion of married people who later divorced reported at wave 1 that their relationship quality was excellent, and described the relationship as idyllic or nearly perfect, which is consistent with Vaughan's (1990) description of divorce as often taking one spouse by surprise.

Most married women are happily married, and married couples are relatively stable. Across 6 years of HCMST data, the weighted marital breakup hazard rate was 1.2% per year for heterosexual married couples,⁹ compared to 9.4% per year breakup rate for unmarried heterosexual couples who ever cohabited, and a 30.3% per year breakup rate for unmarried heterosexual couples who never lived together. Even though most married women are happily married, a modest difference in husbands' and wives' marital satisfaction can result in most divorces being wanted by the wife.

Wives have predominated in wanting divorce since the earliest available data on who wanted divorce from the 1940s. Wives have consistently reported lower marital satisfaction than husbands since the earliest available data from the 1970s. The lack of apparent progress over time in two key marital gender gaps (breakup and satisfaction) is consistent with the stalled gender revolution theory. The stalled gender revolution theory implicates a lack of progress of gender roles within heterosexual marriage as one cause of the stalled progress of women in society in general (Hochschild & Machung, 1989).

⁹ The unweighted annual breakup rate of heterosexual married couples through wave 5 of HCMST was 1.44%, compare to the 1.5% reported unweighted annual breakup rate of heterosexual married couples reported in Rosenfeld (2014) using the first 4 waves of HCMST.

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Table 1: Women’s role in the breakup of married and nonmarital heterosexual relationships

	N of breakups	Pct reporting that both partners equally wanted to break up	weighted mean of women wanting the breakup, pct	SE of mean	95% Confidence Interval
Married	92	19	69	4.3	(61,78)
reported by women	43		78	5.8	(66, 89)
reported by men	49		63	6.4	(50, 75)
Nonmarital, have cohabited as a couple	76	32	56	5.3	(47, 65)
reported by women	40		59	6.6	(46,72)
reported by men	36		52	6.8	(39, 66)
Nonmarital, never cohabited	203	35	53.4	2.8	(47.9,58.9)
reported by women	104		60	4.1	(52, 68)
reported by men	99		47	3.9	(39, 55)

Source: How Couples Meet and Stay Together, breakups from waves 2-5, covering 2009-2015. Data weighted by weight variable “weight2.” Women’s role is scored as follows: 0 if the male partner wanted the breakup more, 0.5 if both partners equally wanted the breakup, and 1 if the female partner wanted the breakup more. Unweighted breakup outcomes are as follows: for married couples, 92 breakups: 18 wanted by the husband, 18 mutual breakups, 56 wanted by the wife. For 76 nonmarital cohabiter breakups: 24 wanted by the man, 24 mutual breakups, 28 wanted by the woman. For 203 breakups of non-cohabiting never married couples: 58 wanted by the man, 61 mutual breakups, 84 wanted by the woman.

Table 2: Coefficients (and standard errors) from Competing Risks Discrete Time Weighted Multinomial Logistic Models for Break-Up (compared to non-breakups) for Heterosexual Couples who were Married or who have Coresided

Predictors:	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
	1a) Male wanted Breakup	1b) Both wanted breakup	1c) Female wanted breakup	1d) female-other difference	2a) Male Breakup	2b) both wanted break up	2c) Female breakup	2d) female-other difference	3a) Male Breakup	3b) both wanted break up	3c) Female wanted breakup	3d) Female-other difference
Married	-2.56*** (0.32)	-2.88*** (0.34)	-1.79*** (0.23)	0.92** (0.33)	-2.40*** (0.32)	-2.71*** (0.33)	-1.66*** (0.23)	0.89** (0.33)	-2.06*** (0.39)	-2.43*** (0.40)	-1.21*** (0.28)	1.04** (0.39)
Subject Female	-0.32 (0.32)	-0.43 (0.32)	0.25 (0.23)	0.62+ (0.32)	0.38 (0.48)	-0.19 (0.48)	0.19 (0.34)	0.09 (0.48)	0.48 (0.49)	-0.27 (0.49)	0.19 (0.35)	0.09 (0.50)
Her Relationship Quality					-0.46+ (0.27)	-0.68** (0.25)	-0.89*** (0.13)	-0.33 (0.23)	-0.35 (0.27)	-0.90*** (0.26)	-0.88*** (0.14)	-0.24 (0.24)
His Relationship Quality					-1.16*** (0.21)	-0.94*** (0.22)	-0.94*** (0.17)	0.12 (0.23)	-1.22*** (0.23)	-1.00*** (0.24)	-0.94*** (0.18)	0.16 (0.25)
female's age									-0.0043	-0.056***	-0.027**	0.003
female has BA									-0.15	-0.26	-0.34	-0.13
female more ed									0.46	-0.23	0.35	0.23
1/(Rel Duration)									0.11	-1.23	0.04	0.60
Same income (ref his more)									0.27	1.70***	0.79*	-0.20
Female more income									-0.29	-0.65	-0.003	0.47
ln of HH income (2009 \$)									-0.40*	-0.07	-0.18	0.05
Num of minor children in HH									-0.007	-0.006	0.10	0.11
Subject is black									-0.28	1.32**	-0.17	-0.70
df	6				12				57			
LRT	186.3				291.99				375.4			
BIC	-141.0				-201.4				55.1			

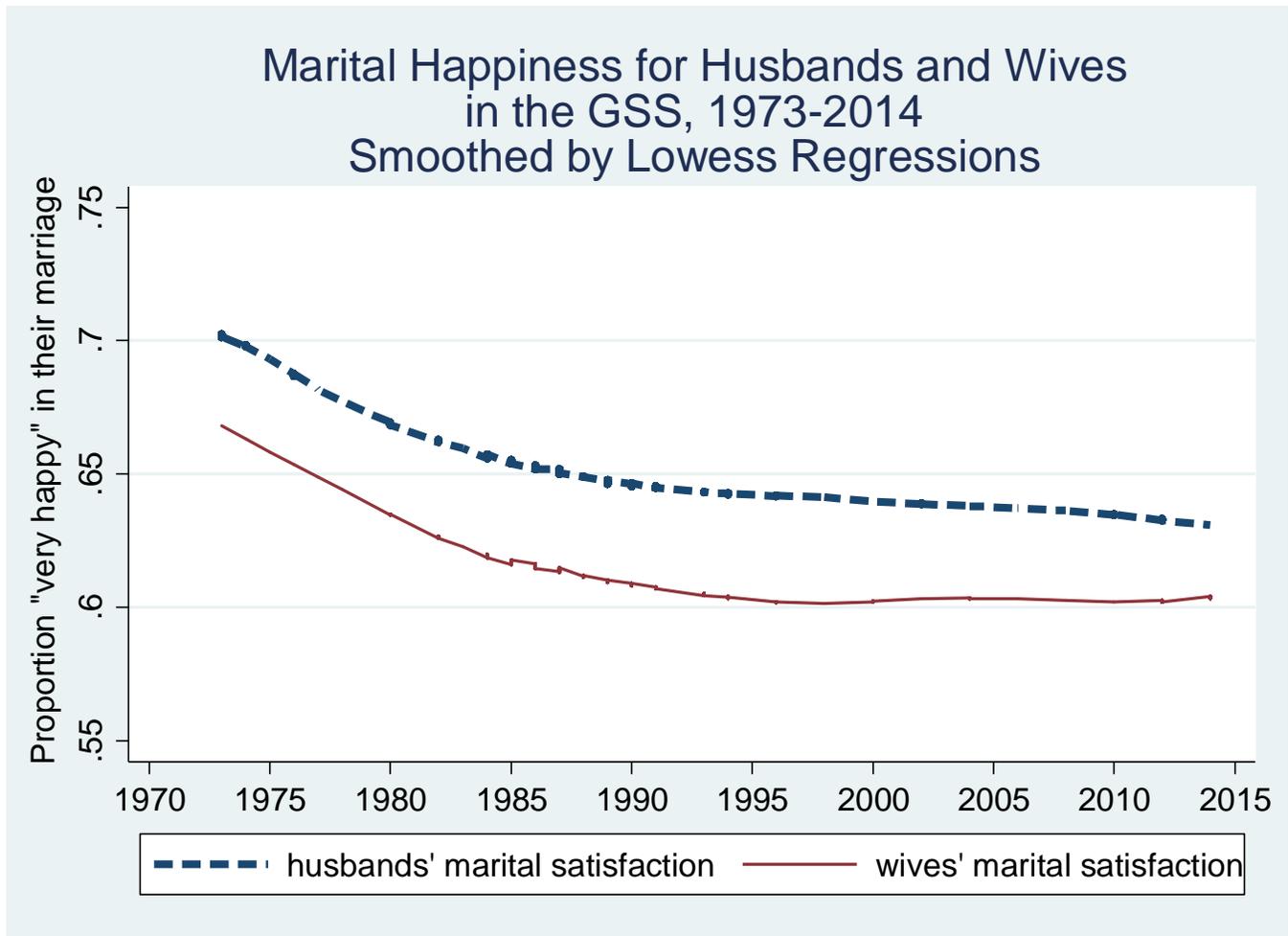
Source: HCMST, waves 1-5, for years 2009-2015. For each model, N of couples= 1904 (used as the basis for BIC), and N of couple-months= 95,006. Regressions analytically weighted by weight variable "weight2,". Models exclude 9 subjects whose self-reported gender changed across survey waves. Relationship quality (5 point scale, rescaled so that 0 is best and -5 is worst), female partner's educational attainment, race, evangelical Christianity (3 terms, all insignificant, included in Model 3 but not shown), and relative income of partners both measured at wave 1. Time varying variables are marital status, living with children, age, relationship duration, and household income (in 2009 dollars). Coefficients for four ethnic/racial groups other than black not shown above. The direct effect of gender (for women with relationship quality of zero, model 2 and 3), is not reported in the table. Female-Other Difference is (with letters indicating columns in the table above): $D=C-((B+A)/2)$. * $P<0.05$; ** $P<0.01$; *** $P<0.001$, two tailed tests.

Table 3: Relationship Quality at wave 1 for Married and Nonmarital Respondents in Heterosexual Unions, by Gender

	all wave 1 subjects				excluding subjects who later broke up		
	Married	Nonmarital, Cohabiting	Nonmarital, Non cohabiters		Married	Nonmarital Cohabitors	Nonmarital, Non cohabiters
Men	4.61	4.22	4.25	Men	4.65	4.35	4.42
Women	4.46	4.29	4.34	Women	4.50	4.37	4.49
N	1,826	251	446	N	1,733	189	219
Male-Female Difference	0.15***	-0.07	-0.09	Male-Female Difference	0.15***	-0.02	-0.07

Source: HCMST wave 1 data, relationship quality scores weighted by variable “weight2.” Relationship quality was scored on a 1-5 scale, 5 being the best relationship quality. Relationship quality, Marriage and Coresidence were measured at wave 1, excluding individuals with inconsistent gender reports in later waves of the background survey

Figure 1:



Source: weighted data from GSS, variable hapmar. Question text: "Taking all things together, how would you describe your marriage?", with answers 1 " Very Happy," 2 "Pretty Happy," and 3 "Not Too Happy." In this figure, marital happiness equals answer 1, "Very Happy." Lowess regressions used bandwidth 0.8.