Are Gay / Lesbian Relationships Really as Short as They Seem?

N. E. Whitehead

Summary

This review paper finds that the three best estimates (medians) of gay/lesbian (GL)(SSA) relationship lengths are 3.6y/4.95y (male/female) (Lau, 2012, UK); 4.7y/3.3y (m/f), (Carpenter & Gates, 2008, US); and 2.7y/3.9y (m/f) (Gebhard & Johnston, 1979, US). The two US studies have an overall median of 3.7y/3.6y (m/f), meaning male/female results are similar length. These are compatible with the UK study, and much less than the heterosexual (OSA) median length of 27y with a marriage in the 1970s, the period which had the highest subsequent divorce rate. OSA median relationships (UK) are 7.7 times/5.6 times (m/f) the length of SSA ones. US data give respectively and similarly, 7.4x/7.2x, and these are large ratios. Other supporting USA data, although consistent with the above medians, are potentially subject to more bias from "volunteer error," hence may be maxima. Similar or lower results are found cross-culturally. There is no trend with time for combined data for GL since WWII in spite of increased societal acceptance. For bisexuals and overall relationships with either sex, the median lengths are indistinguishable from GL: i.e., 3.5y/3.2y (m/f). The lack of clear gender difference in medians confirms earlier suggestions that factors reducing relationship length may be inherent to same-sex attraction rather than dependent on gender or experiences of homophobia, since bisexuals experience much less homophobia but have similar median relationship lengths. The possibility of a 25y SSA relationship length is about 5% compared with about 50% for a 25y OSA one (i.e., Silver wedding) and should not be presented to clients as a likely outcome of seeking same-sex relationships. Another implication is that there is high probability children involved will suffer the equivalent of a divorce. The probability of some degree of orientation change under therapy is at least ten times as great as reaching the 25y mark in a GL relationship.

Introduction

Although some authors are positive about length of gay and lesbian relationships (L.A. Kurdek, 2005, p. 253), saying, "It is clear that gay men and lesbians can and do form durable relationships," it is generally thought that gay relationships are shorter than those of heterosexuals (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983), (Green, Bettinger, & Zacks, 1996), (Kurdek, 1998), (Gebhard & Johnson, 1979). "There is a general fear in both gay and lesbian circles that relationships are unlikely to last. Long-lasting relationships are seen as quite special" (Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983, p. 322). Hard confirmatory data for length are unusually scarce. This may be because the results often seem short compared with heterosexual relationship lengths, and hence are politically embarrassingly.

In one of the standard and respected accounts on homosexuality, by West (himself gay, 1977), he concluded most lesbian relationships lasted less than 3 years, and about 40% of GL relationships lasted less than 2 years. He concluded breakups were due to internal factors rather than outside pressures. Another writer (Pollak, 1985) concluded that relationships were usually less than 2 years. More recently (Marco, 1996) estimated that 70% of lesbians had relationships less than 3 years. However these were rough assessments not based on careful survey data but only anecdotal evidence.

Even the gold-standard surveys may not be helpful. Researchers Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels (1994), in their landmark study of a large random US sample, published many high-quality statistics about sexuality, including homosexuality. They did not give length of relationships, concentrating rather on number of partners, which of course includes many one-time encounters, and so is not completely relevant. This present paper, however, to derive the best comparison with heterosexual marriage concentrates on self-defined relationships rather than very brief encounters. The best survey is from the UK, and the two best US studies and others of lesser quality are all shown to have similar relationship length medians.

Requirements for Good Representative Surveys

An ideal survey would be random, have some other primary purpose than sexual information, and ask about completed relationships. Only one survey has come close to this standard (Lau, 2012). Most used convenience samples, and many advertised the survey as being about sexual matters, and even sexual relationships. Surveys have usually allowed respondents to define a relationship in their own terms, which is another area of imprecision.

The study (Lau, 2012) took data from two birth cohorts in the UK, one established in 1958 and the other in 1970. Monitoring ceased in 2004. By sociological standards this longitudinal sample is high quality. In the course of the original research which Lau surveyed, among other factors they were interviewed about their relationships. A limitation is that this relies on accuracy of past memory, like other surveys.

For non-longitudinal ("snapshot") studies, there are always more deficiencies. Unfortunately, if a survey on any subject is announced, those who volunteer most readily are always those who strongly display the study trait, in this case those with the strongest relationships, and the greatest relationship lengths. This is known in sociology as "volunteer error" and can introduce into a survey bias greater than the originators imagined possible (Bailey, Dunne, & Martin, 2000). In the study by Lau, the volunteer error issue does not arise. Unfortunately, many of the other surveys on SSA relationship length may have this error in them, depending on how they have been advertised, the detailed wording for which is usually not given in the published papers. This is usually the most significant source of error, and in this review we therefore treat most published results from surveys as potentially maximal lengths. However, some useful conclusions are still possible.

Even for a good random survey, respondents may refuse to answer sensitive questions, which may decrease the accuracy of the results. This possibly introduces another source of error, but is not pursued in this paper.

A source of bias in the opposite direction is the tendency of academic researchers to use local undergraduate samples. The subjects are usually young and obviously cannot have had a decades-long

relationship, so are excluded from this paper. The same potential difficulty arises with the subset of the UK data starting in 1970. Ceasing recording in 2004 truncates observable relationship length in that fraction of the data to perhaps about 15 years. The difficulty is avoided by the statistical trick of noting the number of relationships which failed at 1, 2, 3, 4 years, etc., and deriving the exponential shape of the survival curve, which enables prediction of longer lengths, though with increased error. But in the present case, it turns out that the relationships are only about 4 years long, so 15 years observation is ample length.

Measures of Typical Length

A second important difficulty is how best to express a typical value for relationship length if there is a range of results. This is important if the distribution of values is not statistically normal (bell-curve), and this is certainly true for GL relationship length as shown in many surveys, but very clearly in Figure 1 (Campbell, 2000).

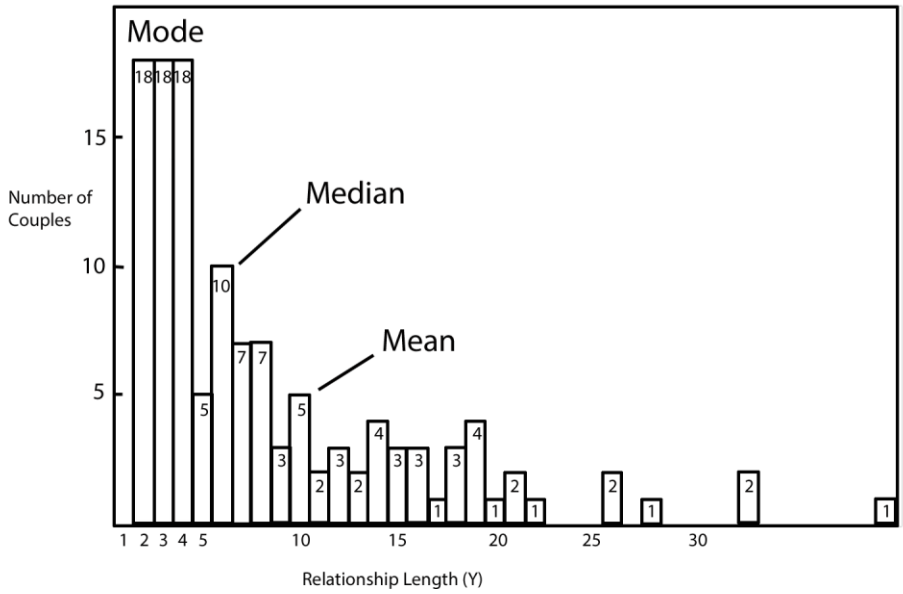

Figure 1. Male SSA relationship lengths from a typical survey. (Figure redrawn from (Campbell, 2000), interior labels added.)

Even though Figure 1 is not a rigorous random survey, respondents being from gay festivals, it shows the form of the data, which decreases exponentially, basically like a survival curve. That this basic form is correct is confirmed from some of the other surveys shown in Figures 2, 4, and 6. Figure 1 shows the value for the *mean*, the statistical name for the average. It also shows the *median*, which is the middle value (the 50% mark)—in this case much lower than the mean, and generally considered a better measure of typicality than the mean. However, some would say that the most typical values in Figure 1 are the three most common (lowest in this case), which would be called the *mode*. Most authors who have given relationship lengths (e.g., Appendix 1) have given the mean, only a few the median, and only one the mode. West and Pollak, cited previously, may have been thinking of a typicality measure that is likely to have been the mode. This paper will describe data in terms of the median because there is not enough detailed data presented in most studies to calculate the mode, though it may be the best estimate of all.

The median is also a much better typicality measure than the mean when the distribution is clearly skewed as in Figure 1.

We shall see later that the median value for OSA relationships, which half the couples reach, is 27y. The percentage of SSA relationships in Figure 1 reaching 27y is 3%, but the number of couples in that 3% is only 4 and the error range (66% confidence limits, derived from Poisson statistics) is about 1.5–4.5%. The possibility of reaching the lesser 25y mark (Silver Wedding for OSA marriages) is a slightly greater 5%.

SSA Data from the Literature

Lau (2012)

Lau (2012) presented data on UK couples in terms of the fraction of relationships surviving the first year, the second, and so on, up to 8 years, and was for SSA male, SSA female, combined results, OSA cohabiting, and OSA marrying. Neglecting the combined results, the other survival curves are shown in Figure 2.

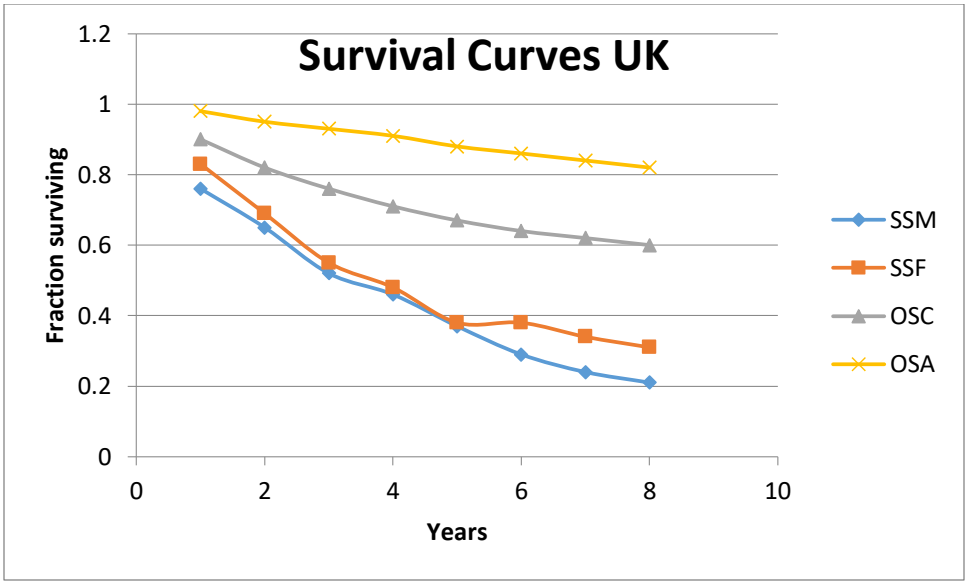

Figure 2. Fraction of group remaining with time (Lau, 2012). SSM = Male homosexual couples, (138 couples); SSF = Female homosexual couples, (125 couples); OSC = Opposite-sex cohabitor couples (17,219 couples); OSA = Heterosexual married couples (8,174 couples). OSC decrease is partly due to marriage.

The OSC and OSA couples are much larger groups than SSM and SSF, so their variability is less and the curves are smoother. In only 8 years there is limited decrease, but it is enough to define the shape of the curves, and the standard EXCEL exponential line-fit feature gives the equations of the lines with excellent fits accounting for 96–99% of the point variance (or, in more popular terms, the point scatter around the fitted line). The median for the exponential distribution, as found in any standard source about statistics, is $ln(2)/\lambda$, where λ is the absolute value of the exponent in the equation for the fitted line, and $ln(2)$ is the natural logarithm of 2.0, which is 0.693. The derived medians for SSM, SSF, OSC, and OSA are respectively 3.6y, 4.95y, 12.2y, and 27.7y. (The latter means slightly more than 50% of marriages will reach their silver wedding at 25y.) Lau comments that the SSF relationships endure slightly better than the SSM relationships, and that the ratios for the medians OSA/SSM, OSA/SSF are 7.7x and 5.6x, respectively. The contrast between OSA and SSA relationship lengths is large.

The equations for the curves predict only about 0.8% of SSM and 2.6% of SSF will reach the 25y OSA Silver Wedding point, but this is a large extrapolation from 8 years, and not very reliable because the number of remaining same-sex couples is only about 40 for each gender at 8 years. The percentage

predictions are to be compared with the 3% (US result) derived from Figure 1 results. The error on that 3% result is also so large that the SSM and SSF results are consistent with it. However, this is comparing a US result with UK results, and there could be cultural differences.

It is proverbial that OSA marriage in the US results in 50% divorce. However, this was a maximum which occurred during the '70s and early '80s, and the percentage has been decreasing ever since; hence the 50% figure is somewhat misleading. If present trends continue, about two-thirds of marriages will never end in divorce (Stevenson & Wolfers, 2007). An important caveat is that many are now choosing not to marry, but cohabit; hence, the ones marrying are rather sure of their intentions, and the marriages are strongly self-selected for stability.

Do these UK results apply elsewhere, particularly in the US from where most of the research is reported? We now consider the best two US studies (Gebhard & Johnson, 1979*)* and (Carpenter & Gates, 2008), which are broadly confirmatory, but of lower quality, because not longitudinal.

Best USA Studies

The results from the Kinsey surveys reported by Gebhard and Johnson (1979) may be a good approach to random, because the only criterion of selection was willingness to be interviewed about their sexuality, and only subsequently were they asked about relationship length. However, like the studies which follow, they are a temporal snapshot rather than being longitudinal. Kinsey's interview techniques were almost unique; he placed a high burden of proof on the interviewees. He would assert to his subjects that they had an embarrassing value for many parameters, and the subject had to convince him some lesser value was the truth. This should have led to reasonable length estimates, but apparently no later survey used the technique. A possible source of bias was that Kinsey et al. used surveys of particular classes of people, including some with unusually high percentages of homosexual subjects such as sex workers and prison inmates, which may introduce some distortion. They reported data which had medians of 2.7y and 3.9y for SSM and SSF respectively.

The Carpenter & Gates (2008) data were drawn from a large and carefully random GL study on tobacco use in California ending before 2005, and thus before gay "marriage" was first legalized in 2008. Tobacco was the prime focus, and only as an incidental question did the survey ask about other matters, so recruitment should not affect relationship length results, and these figures should be fairly high quality. The medians were 4.7y and 3.3y for SSM and SSF respectively.

The means of the two studies (Gebhard & Johnson, 1979) and (Carpenter & Gates, 2008) were 3.7y and 3.6y for SSM and SSF, respectively, and had between them about double the sample size of the UK study. The SSM result is close to the UK figure, but the SSF figure seems somewhat lower. A reasonable summary in view of the spread of results might be that they are broadly consistent with the UK result, or alternatively that they are not conclusively different. Again they are much less than the 27y median for marriage. The variability is such that the overall US SSM and SSF medians should be taken as being the same, but only within about a ±30% error.

Other Supporting SSA Studies

A representative but not exhaustive chronological list of other surveys, with comments on deficiencies is found in Appendix 1. The italicized medians were selected to plot in Figure 3, usually because they were the minimum value for medians from published papers within a given year. Sometimes the medians were calculated for this paper from a mean in the original paper, and knowledge of the form of the distribution. Excluded from Figure 3 were special ethnic groups, bisexuals, longest relationships rather than current, small samples, those selected to be unusually committed in their relationships, or having a particular HIV status, and studies which only considered a narrow age range. Some of the excluded factors are considered late.

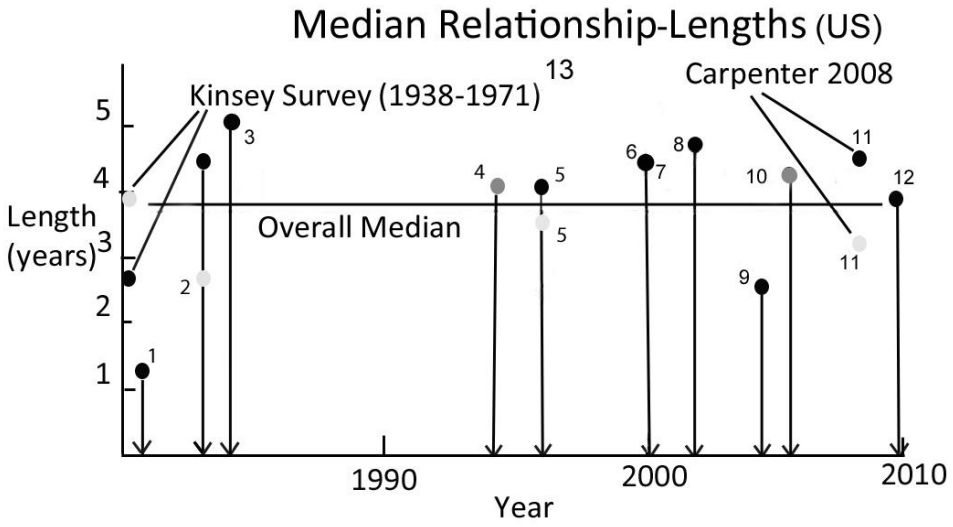

Figure 3. Median SSA relationship lengths (and numbers alongside dots) from italicized literature data in Appendix 1. Pale grey: lesbian; black dots: gay; grey dots: combined results. The downwards arrows indicate that the dot values are maxima. The horizontal line (3.8y) is the mean of maxima points, and the two superior US surveys.

The Figure 3 overall median is again rather similar to the UK data. The supposed maxima figures do not seem unduly high, so perhaps volunteer error was not excessive. The figure shows no statistically significant trend for the data from the Kinsey era (1938–1971) on ($p>0.05$). Nor are the results for (GL) statistically different from each other in a runs test, or a t-test ($p=0.10$) so gender of same-sex attraction makes insignificant difference. SSM couples have the same relationship lengths as SSF couples within error, but the conclusion from the two best studies, "same, but within significant error limits," is more reliable.

US Heterosexual Data

For the US and the worst case (i.e., those OSA marrying in 1970–1974):

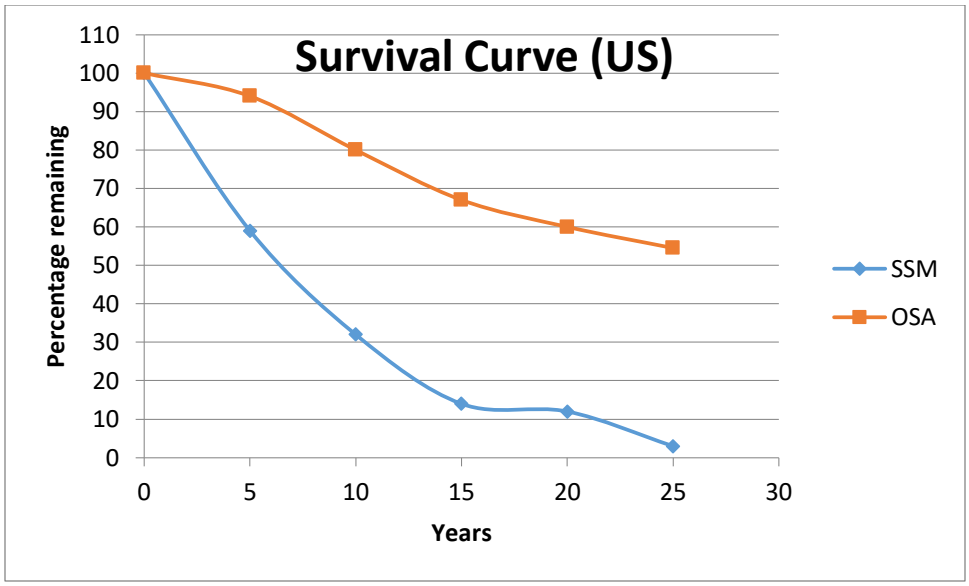

Figure 4. Relationship data for OSA (Cohn, 2010) (Bureau of the Census, US Department of Commerce, 2004) and for comparison, SSM (Campbell, 2000), drawn from nearly contemporaneous data.

Figure 4 shows that for the US, where the GL relationship papers were overwhelmingly researched, there is slightly better than a 50% chance of reaching the heterosexual Silver wedding anniversary at 25 years, and it may be calculated there is a median of 26.7y, very similar to the UK figure of 27.7y. Death and divorce, mainly divorce, produce the OSA marriage curve. The OSA data level off at rather more than 50%, and very few more divorce past that point. There is not enough data to reach a firm conclusion about a possible plateau for the GL relationships. We can merely say that in that particular survey, few have survived to 25 years.

Homosexual/Heterosexual Comparisons

The results above lead to the following summary diagram for US data, and a diagram produced from the UK data would be almost identical:

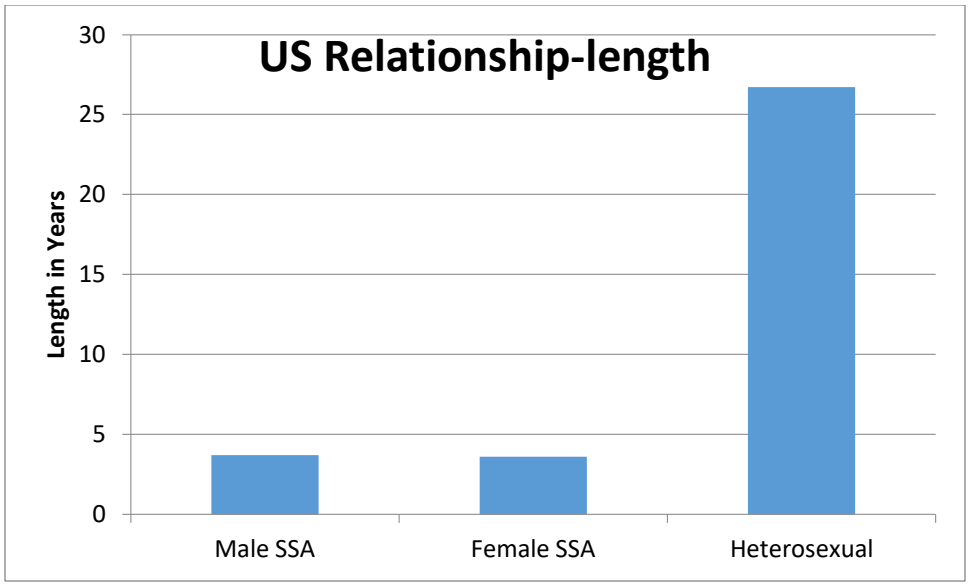

Figure 5. Visual comparison of median lengths of relationships (US data).

The OSA medians are 7.4x and 7.2x greater than the SSM/SSF medians, respectively.

Other Ethnic Groups

The unplotted results from Blacks (M<1.44y, F<1.6y (Peplau, Cochran, & Mays, 1997)); Chinese (M<1y (Pan & Aggleton, 1996)); and Australians (M<2y, (Kippax et al., 1997), M+F <2.5y (Sarantakos, 1996)) are reasonably consistent with Figure 3, but may be shorter in length. They are certainly quite different from OSA results.

Longest Relationships

Some studies recorded only the longest relationship. Studies of exclusively SSA women (Caldwell & Peplau, 1984; Peplau, Padesky, & Hamilton, 1982) gave respective medians of 3y and 2.5y. Cameron, Cameron, and Proctor (1989) found <1y but included the very restrictive criterion of complete faithfulness. (For SSA men and the same criterion, the median result was 3–4 years, which seems surprisingly long.) Weinberg, Williams, and Pryor (1994) found longest median relationships of 4y for both sexes. Even the median longest relationships are much shorter than the median OSA results.

Bisexual Data

There are few surveys on bisexual people. Gebhard and Johnson (1979) found median relationship lengths of 2y/3.1y (m/f). The most comprehensive study (book length) was Weinberg et al., (1994, p. 335) with median lengths of 3.5y/3.2y (m/f), which are similar. One might have expected that the bisexual relationships would have had median lengths intermediate between SSA and OSA cases. Instead they cannot be shown to be different from the SSA lengths (t test: $p>0.05$). Weinberg et al. (1994, p. 404) found the longest bisexual relationships had medians of 8y/6y (m/f), and it was interesting that these longest bisexual relationships were with opposite-sex partners, rather than same-sex partners.

Implications

Are Lesbians' Relationships Longer?

There is a persistent anecdotal impression that lesbians have far fewer partners and much longer relationships. This extreme view is not supported by the data in this paper, and may have arisen because of impressions caused by the extreme promiscuity among a minority of male gays. But it does seem, if we follow Lau (2012), that at least in some cultures, lesbians' relationships may be slightly longer than male gays', and the error on even the best US data cannot exclude that conclusion for the US.

Possible Explanations for SSA Relationship Lengths

Could the difference between OSA and SSA be a lack of children, which might be thought to be a stabilizing factor for OSA? However, many bisexuals have children (Herek, Norton, Allen, & Sims, 2010) (25%/49% m/f) yet have SSA-length relationships, so children do not seem the predominant reason. Also, although there are differing percentages of exclusive SSA people with children (4.8%/16.6% SSM/SSF) (Herek, Norton, Allen, & Sims, 2010), the lengths of relationships are the same for SSM and SSF. A concerning implication of the short medians is that if children are found associated with such relationships, they are very likely to suffer through a relationship breakdown of their caregivers very similar to a divorce.

Could the differences be that the SSA experience OSA hostility, which makes their relationships unstable? However, far fewer in the bisexual population experience hostility compared with SSA (Male:

50%/24% SSM/Bisexual; Female: 54%/17% SSF/Bisexual (Bostwick, Boyd, Hughes, West, & McCabe, 2014)), yet their median relationships lengths are indistinguishable from those of SSA couples. Also, the Figure 3 data show no change in median since WWII, so hostility itself does not seem the predominant reason.

Could the formal arrangement of marriage and the lack of it for many SSA people be the reason for instability? But many bisexual people are heterosexually married (Herek et al., 2010) (29%/45% m/f), so marriage, per se, does not seem to be the predominant reason.

If GL couples are "married," the data show the dissolution rate of their relationships is about 50% higher and 2.5 times (m/f), respectively, than for OSA couples; see also Kurdek, 1998), though the numerical strength of the factors needs confirmation. Therefore, again, factors other than the marital state are mostly responsible for the greater instability.

Could cohabitation rather than marriage be a strong negative factor? Figure 6 shows that OSA cohabitors have much less stable relationships than OSA married people, but by comparison are more stable than SSM and SSF (e.g., Figure 2). Cohabitation itself does not seem to be the predominant reason. (Figure 6 data from an older and more limited source than Figure 2.)

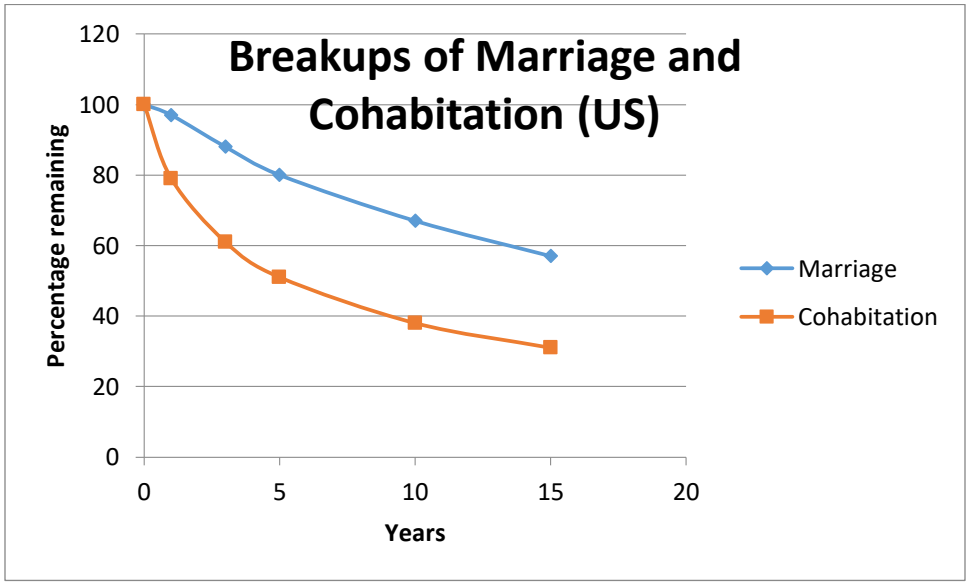

Figure 6. Breakups of relationships (CDC, 2002). Opposite-sex cohabitation figures consider only breakups of the relationships, not losses from the category due to marriage, and are therefore different from Figure 2.

One might expect a significant difference between median lengths for SSM and SSF because the reactions to living together could easily be quite different for each gender. However, there is a large difference between SSA and OSA, and remarkably, a strong similarity for SSM and SSF. Gender does not seem to be a significant factor.

There may be other factors or combinations to be considered which affect breakup, but a factor which remains explanatory is simply involvement in same-sex relationships, which might, more than opposite-sex relationships, suffer from over-familiarity with the same sex and/or be violent and/or have lesser commitment/exclusivity (Bem, 1996; Tjaden, Thoennes, & Allison, 1999; Kurdek, 1991). This supports the old suggestion of West (1977) that instability arises from within the particularities of SSA relationship.

OSA/SSA Contrasts

This study suggests that there is a factor of about seven difference in median length, which is large. This also neglects the qualitative difference seen between OSA and male gay relationships. OSA marriage is traditionally and cross-culturally, with some exceptions, sexually exclusive (though there are about 10% unfaithful spouses in the West per year (Paik, 2010)). In great contrast SSA (male) primary relationships are not sexually exclusive, but usually have a median of an additional two concurrent partnerships per person per year (Rosenberg, Sullivan, Dinenno, Salazar, & Sanchez, 2011).

The excluded data for different ethnicities do not directly contradict the short lengths for SSM SSF relationships found in Figure 2, so the conclusions may even hold cross-culturally.

Typical tentative statements such as, “There seems to be general agreement that, while there are undoubtedly examples of long-term, stable and sexually faithful relationships, gay, lesbian and bisexual relationships have tended to be less long-lasting than heterosexual ones” (House of Bishops, 2013, para.

209), wrongly suggest that the difference in lengths might be a few tens of percentage points. Far from being merely a tendency, a more accurate statement would be that "... gay, lesbian and bisexual relationships strongly contrast with heterosexual ones in being about seven times shorter."

Counseling Implications

Since only about 5% of GLB partnerships reach the 25y mark compared with about 50% for OSA partnerships, this means that a therapist or counselor cannot responsibly counsel SSA clients that a stable, long-term gay relationship is probable. The odds are well against it. These numerous breakups are one of the most important factors in the increased suicidality rate in SSA people even cross-culturally (Bell & Weinberg, 1978; Chen, Li, Wang, & Zhang, 2015), and clients should be warned of the risks.

Clients could be told that long-term SSA relationships are much less likely than some change in sexual orientation (SOCE) itself. The chance of varying degrees of change of sexual orientation for those coming to a support group for a few years is more than 50%. Hence, it is about ten times as likely that a person will alter sexual orientation to some degree, in such a group or in therapy, compared with finding outside it a same-sex partnership which lasts 25y (Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Jones & Yarhouse, 2011; Santero et al., submitted). For a 15–25% probability of profound change in therapy (derived again from the above papers) from near-exclusive SSA to near exclusive OSA, the probability is several times greater than of finding a long-term stable relationship if it is defined as reaching the 25y mark.

In Weinberg's study (1994), the lengths of longest relationships for bisexuals and exclusive SSA couples had medians of about 6–8 and 3–4 years, respectively. Respondents were also asked to estimate how long their current relationship would last. About 70% thought it would be significantly in excess more than 10 years, but the data are otherwise, showing a degree of self-deception reminiscent of, but more extreme than, the optimistic self-prognoses of newlywed OSA couples (Baker & Emery, 1993). Because of this, counseling by therapists about the dangers of relationships would be difficult for either group, and would be better received by those just considering entering the gay lifestyle.

The estimates of length in this paper would be improved if better data were available from truly random surveys and/or further longitudinal studies. However, although this might impact epidemiological research on the spread of HIV, the conclusions about relationships would probably not change very much.

Conclusion

There is general concordance between the Lau, Kinsey, and Carpenter results for relationship length and between them and others. Relationship lengths for gays and lesbians are about 3.5 years, whether from the 1950s or the 2000s. These results are all not "slightly less" but "much less" than the 27y mean estimate for median OSA marriage length from UK/US demographic data. It would be brave to predict that legalised "gay marriage" would make a dramatic difference to the short lengths, in view of the time span and social change already covered by these surveys. More importantly, therapists should not advise that the formation of a stable long-term same-sex relationship is likely, and could advise that some therapeutic shifting of sexual orientation is much more likely.

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Appendix 1.

If prefixed by "<" the median figure is a maximum, which is because of the possibility of volunteer error. Those medians with inferred minimum volunteer error are in a bold font. Numbers in parentheses refer to the data position in Figure 3. The Gebhard/Johnson data are from surveys in 1947–1971. The Carpenter data are weighted pooled medians, which have been calculated from the following means: M living apart/together 5.3y/9.6y; F living apart/together 1.4y/7.8y; and using the numbers from the paper, that 42% males live together and 56% of females.

Papers surveyed: (Peplau, Cochran, Rook, & Padesky, 1978)(University sample), *(Gebhard & Johnson, 1979)(13)(**M2.7/F3.9y**)* (Peplau & Cochran, 1981)*(1)(M+F <1.25y),* (Peplau et al., 1982)(Longest relationship), *(Blumstein & Schwartz, 1983)(2)(M<4.4,F<2.8),* (Caldwell & Peplau, 1984)(Longest), *(McWhirter & Mattison, 1984)(3)(M<5y),* (Schneider, 1986)(Small sample), (Eldridge & Gilbert, 1990)(Only 2+y), (Bryant, 1994), (*Weinberg et al., 1994*)*(4)(M<4, F<4y), (Green et al., 1996)(5)(M<4, F<3.5y),* (Pan & Aggleton, 1996)(Chinese), (Sarantakos, 1996)(Australian), (Alexander, 1997), (Buunk & Bakker, 1997), (Kippax et al., 1997)(Australian), (Peplau et al., 1997)(Black), (Kurdek, 1998)(Only 5+y), *(Campbell, 2000)(6)(M<4.5y), (LaSala, 2000)(7)(M<4.5y),* (D'Augelli & Grossman, 2001)(Only ages>60y), (Beals, Impett, & Peplau, 2002)(Only mode), (Bevan & Lannutti, 2002)(Longest), *(Gaines & Henderson, 2002)(8)(M+F 4.7)*, (Haas, 2002)(Small sample), *(King & Smith, 2004)(9)(M<2.6y),* (Henderson et al., 2002), (Blair & Pukall, 2005), *(Mohr & Fassinger, 2006)(10)(M+F <4.2y),* (Otis, Rostosky, & Riggle, 2006), (Smith, Grierson, Pitts, & Pattison, 2006), (Blair & Holmberg, 2008), *(Carpenter & Gates, 2008)(11)(**M 4.7y F 3.3y**),* (Roisman, Clausell, Holland, Fortuna, & Elieff, 2008), (Eaton, West, Kenny, & Kalichman, 2009)(Both HIV-), (Brown & Trevethan, 2010), (Hoff & Beougher, 2010)(Small sample), *(Neilands, Chakravarty, Darbes, Beougher, & Hoff, 2010)(12)(M<4y),* (Riggle, Rostosky, & Horne, 2010)(Committed couples), (Maisel & Fingerhut, 2011)(Probably activist sample), (Chakravarty, Hoff, Neilands, & Darbes, 2012)(Both HIV-), (Darbes, Chakravarty, Beougher,

Neilands, & Hoff, 2012)(Both HIV+), (Garst, 2012), (Leeker & Carlozzi, 2014), (Totenhagen, Butler, & Ridley, 2012), (Shukusky, Bowler, Markey, & Markey, 2013)(University sample).