

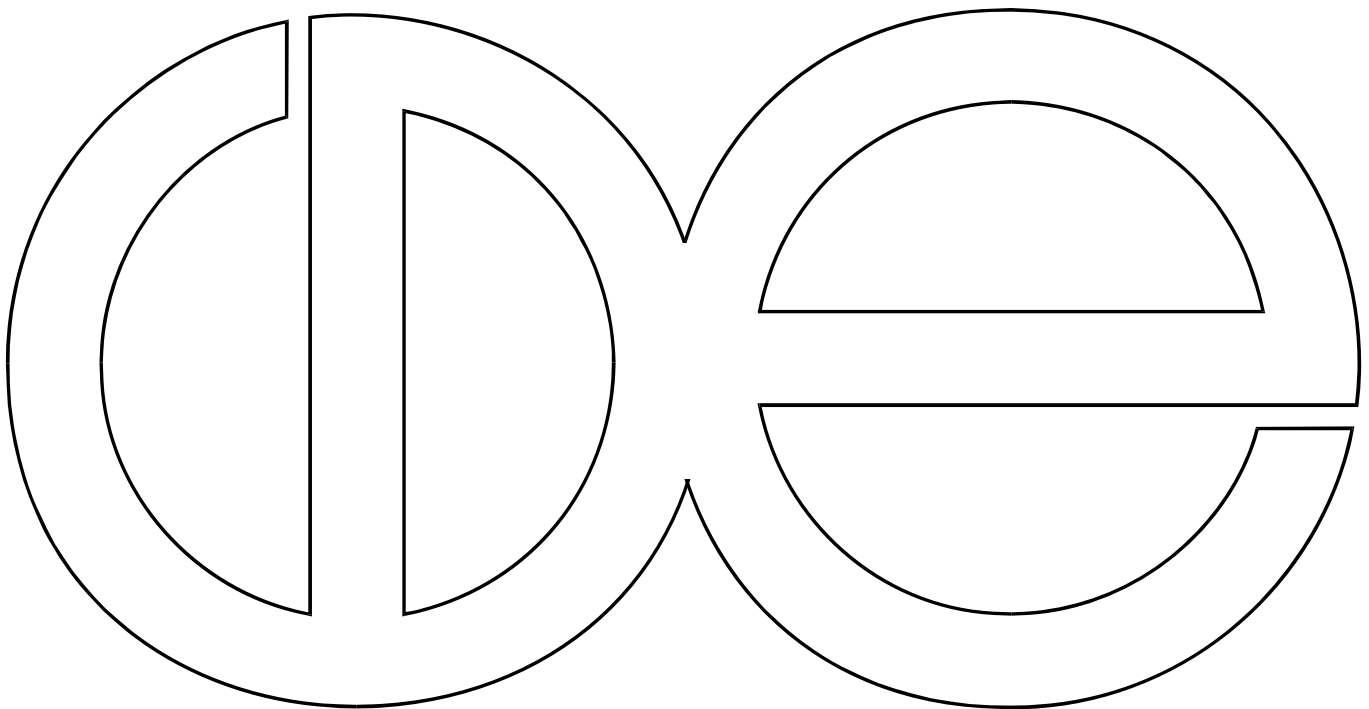
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**The Reversal of the Gender Gap in Education
and Trends in Marital Dissolution**

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ABSTRACT

The reversal of the gender gap in education has potentially far-reaching consequences for marriage markets, family formation, and relationship outcomes. One possible consequence of this is the growing number of marriages in which wives have more education than their husbands. Previous studies have found this type of union to be at higher risk of dissolution. Using data on marriages formed between 1950 and 2004 in the United States, we evaluate whether this association has persisted as the prevalence of this relationship type has increased. Our results show a large shift in the association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution. In particular, we confirm that marriages in which wives have the educational advantage were once more likely to dissolve, but we show that this association has disappeared in more recent marriage cohorts. Moreover, compared with marriages in which husbands have the educational advantage, marriages of educational equals have become less likely to dissolve. These results are consistent with a shift away from rigid gender specialization in marriage toward more flexible, egalitarian partnerships, providing an important counterpoint to claims that progress toward gender equality in heterosexual relationships has stalled.

INTRODUCTION

The decline and eventual reversal of the gender gap in educational attainment represents a dramatic reversal of a long-standing social gradient in the United States and other countries (OECD 2010). Both men and women complete more schooling than in the past, but beginning in the mid-1980s women's college completion rates began to surpass men's in the United States (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006). Much of the literature on the reversal has focused on its causes, pointing to the growing disadvantage of sons with less educated or absent fathers, girls' better academic performance in high school, and the growing returns to education for women (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006; Charles and Luoh 2003; DiPrete and Buchmann 2006; Goldin, Katz, and Kuziemko 2006). But the reversal of the gender gap in educational attainment also has potentially far-reaching consequences for marriage and labor markets, family formation, and relationship outcomes. We take the literature on the reversal of the gender gap in education in a new direction by investigating the potential consequences of the reversal for a key marriage outcome—marital dissolution.

Given past research, we might expect the reversal of the gender gap in educational attainment to have had negative effects on marital stability. Although the reference groups, control variables, and statistical significance of the results vary from study to study, previous research has typically shown that marriages in which wives have more education than their husbands are 27 to 38% more likely to dissolve (Bumpass, Castro Martin, and Sweet 1991; Goldstein and Harknett 2006; Heckert, Nowak, and Snyder 1998; Kalmijn 2003; Phillips and Sweeney 2006; Teachman 2002; Tzeng 1992). Importantly, the number of these couples has grown steadily. Shortly following the reversal of the gender gap in the population, wives became more likely to have more education than their husbands than vice versa (Schwartz and Mare

2005). Thus, if the negative association between wives' educational advantage and marital stability has persisted, the reversal of the gender gap in education may have increased the number of couples at heightened risk of divorce.

There are strong reasons to expect, however, that the association between wives' educational advantage and divorce has declined. Many demographic and social trends point to the declining significance of gender in family life. Among other shifts, husbands and wives have become less differentiated with respect to their earnings and labor force participation, their preferences for mates, and their division of childcare and housework (Bianchi, Robinson, and Milkie 2006; Buss et al. 2001; Schwartz 2010). Given these changes, we might also expect the importance of spouses' relative education for marriage outcomes to have diminished. In addition, economic, sociological, and demographic theories predict a decline in the negative relationship between wives' educational advantage and marital stability as the division of labor in marriage becomes less gendered and as these relationships become more common (e.g., Becker 1981; Casterline 2001; Oppenheimer 1994).

By contrast, a persistent negative association between wives' educational advantage and marital stability is consistent with a "stalled revolution" perspective, which argues that progress toward gender equality has been uneven and has progressed much more slowly in heterosexual romantic relationships than in other realms (e.g., England 2006, 2010; Hochschild 1989; Ridgeway 2011). In recent years, evidence has mounted that the gender revolution has stalled or slowed in many areas. For instance, the pace of change in mothers' labor force participation, gender role attitudes, occupational desegregation, and the gender pay gap all slowed or flattened in the 1990s (Blau and Kahn 2006; Cotter, Hermsen, and Vanneman 2011; Goldin 2006).

Consistent with the stalled revolution perspective, previous empirical studies suggest that the negative association between wives' educational advantage and marital stability has not declined (Heaton 2002; Teachman 2002). One reason that these studies may not have observed a decline is that they use data on marriages primarily formed prior to the mid-1980s, before the gender gap in education had clearly reversed. It is possible that it takes a "critical mass" of couples in which wives have the educational advantage for this arrangement to become less non-normative and for its negative association with marital stability to decline.

Our paper is the first to examine trends in the relationship between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution among recent marriage cohorts, for which women's education clearly exceeded men's. We use data from the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) to reexamine trends among marriages formed between 1950 and the mid-1980s, and to update the time series to include marriages formed through 2004. We corroborate our results using data from the June Current Population Survey (CPS) and the U.S. decennial census where possible. Our updated time series allows us to assess whether the reversal of the gender gap in education has been accompanied by a decline in the association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution, and more to the point, whether there is evidence that wives' educational advantage still matters for divorce.

In so doing, we provide a description of the changing characteristics of couples in which wives' education exceeds their husbands. Assortative mating studies have reported trends in the likelihood that wives have more education than their husbands (Qian 1998; Schwartz and Mare 2005), but no study has examined who these couples are and how their characteristics have changed. Given that wives are now more likely to have more education than their husbands than

the reverse, a more thorough investigation of these couples and their marital outcomes is warranted.

Our study also contributes to a broad literature on changing gender dynamics in heterosexual relationships. Has the salience of gender in marriage—measured here by the importance of spouses’ relative education for marital stability—declined and/or has change been slow and uneven? In addition, our paper speaks to public anxiety about the effects of women’s success on their chances of getting and staying married (Cherlin 1990), a concern that continues to be voiced by social commentators and the media in connection with the reversal of the gender gap in education (e.g., Banks 2010; Hymowitz 2011; Ludden 2010; Reibstein 2010; Roberts 2010; Tierney 2006). We show that there is no evidence that these concerns are warranted for recent marriage cohorts. Couples in which wives have the more education than their husbands were once more likely to divorce, but this association has declined markedly. In recent marriage cohorts, these couples are no more likely to divorce than other couples.

THEORY & PERSPECTIVES

The Stalled Revolution Perspective

There is wide agreement that the significance of gender in heterosexual relationships has declined in many ways in the United States over the past half century. At the same time, there is ample evidence of “bottlenecks” toward progress (England 2006). In particular, gender differences in work and education have decreased faster than changes in family life, and men’s family roles appear to be particularly resistant to change (Bianchi et al. 2006; England 2006, 2010; Goode 1982; Hochschild 1989). Feminist scholars have argued that women who marry lower status men are likely to have negative marital outcomes because of the non-normative

power relations this arrangement symbolizes (Kaukinen 2004; Tichenor 1999). From this perspective, we expect the relationship between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution to be resistant to change, given its connection to gender and power in the family. As shown in Table 1, the stalled revolution perspective predicts that wife-dominant marriages are more likely to dissolve, with slow to no change in the association since the 1950s. We might also expect to see especially little change in the 1990s, given that many other measures of progress toward gender equality slowed during this decade (Cotter et al. 2011).

Indeed, evidence from a variety of realms suggests that unions in which the woman has higher status remain non-normative. For example, speed dating experiments and internet dating studies indicate that men and women prefer equal-status partners, but that both men and women tend to avoid forming relationships in which the woman has higher status than the man (Fisman et al. 2006; Hitsch, Hortacısu, and Ariely 2010). Other studies have found that husbands who make less money than their wives are more likely engage in infidelity (Munsch 2010) and that domestic violence is more likely to occur in these relationships (Atkinson, Greenstein, and Lang 2005; Melzer 2002).

Some studies suggest that wife-dominant relationships may have become less non-normative in the last several decades. For example, when male college students were asked whether they would be bothered if their partners earned a higher salary, almost 60% said "it wouldn't bother me at all" in 1990, up from just 41% in 1980 (Willingers 1993). In addition, using data from the late 1980s, Atkinson et al. (2005) found that husbands were more likely to abuse their wives in relationships in which she outearned him, but only if he held traditional values. Given increasingly egalitarian ideas about gender, this finding suggests that the prevalence of domestic violence in relationships where wives outearn their husbands may be on

the decline. Despite scattered evidence that wife-dominant relationships may have become more accepted, we have little evidence about the pace of this change and know even less about trends in recent years.

Marriage as a Changing Institution: From Specialization to Collaboration

Economic theories of exchange predict greater marital stability among couples who employ a specialized division of labor (Becker 1981; Becker, Landes, and Michael 1977). If women have a comparative advantage in housework and men in market work, the gains to marriage are maximized when high-wage men match with low-wage women (Becker 1981:37-48). Because education is positively associated with wages, the gains to marriage for couples in which wives have more education than their husbands will be lower than the gains to other marriages, and therefore these marriages should be less stable. While women may once have had a clear comparative advantage in housework and men in market work, wives' increasing participation in the labor market and husbands' increasing participation in housework and childcare suggest that comparative advantage has become less gender specific (Bianchi et al. 2006; Sayer 2005). Thus, from an exchange perspective, wives' educational advantage should be associated with divorce, but this association should be declining.

Oppenheimer (1994, 1997) and others (e.g., Cherlin 2004; Gerson 2010; Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Nock 2001) have argued that while marriage may once have been well characterized by specialization, marriage is an increasingly flexible, egalitarian, and collaborative institution. Given the hypothesized shift from a model of marriage based on specialization to egalitarian marriage, like theories of exchange, this perspective implies a decline in the association between wives' educational advantage and divorce. By contrast with

exchange theory, however, the emphasis on the increasing resemblance of men's and women's preferences suggests that couples who share similar socioeconomic characteristics may be increasingly stable relative to those who specialize in either direction. Because predictions from the exchange model can be subsumed under those derived from Oppenheimer's and others' work, we refer to them under the single umbrella hypothesis shown in Table 1 as "institutional change." This hypothesis predicts that couples married in the 1950s in which wives had the same or more education as their husbands were more likely to divorce than other couples, but predicts a decline in this association over time and a protective effect of sharing the same education as one's spouse in more recent years.

It should be noted that the stalled revolution and institutional change perspectives are not mutually exclusive. The stalled revolution perspective often focuses on lack of change over relatively short time intervals (e.g., the 1990s) or the slowness of change. By contrast, scholars writing from an institutional change perspective generally consider longer time periods, often not considering the pace of change (e.g., Cherlin 2004; Oppenheimer 1994). It is plausible that there have been fits, starts, and reversals to change within long-run trends toward gender equality and/or that the pace of this change has been slow. Because we use detailed data on marriages formed between 1950 and 2004, we can assess the timing and nature of trends in the relationship between spouses' relative education and divorce.

The Diffusion of Innovation to Marriage Market Constraints

Demographic theories of the diffusion of innovation complement the stalled revolution and institutional change perspectives. Diffusion theory is best known for its application to the spread of ideas about fertility control in Europe during the demographic transition (Casterline 2001).

From this perspective, marriages in which wives have more education than their husbands can be seen as an innovation to marriage market constraints (a shortage of highly educated men) that, as these relationships becomes more common, are accepted by an increasing portion of the population and therefore become more stable. As summarized in Table 1, this perspective implies that the positive association between wives' educational advantage and divorce will decline slowly and speed up as these relationships become more common. Our paper offers insights into theories on marriage and divorce by assessing which ideas or combinations of ideas best help us understand observed trends.

CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

Relative Education versus Relative Earnings

There is a substantial body of literature on the effects of wives' earnings and employment and/or their relative earnings on divorce (for a review see Sayer and Bianchi 2000). We incorporate relative earnings into our analysis, but focus on spouses' relative education for several reasons. First, education is multifaceted, reflecting values, beliefs, and life styles as well as earnings potential. Thus, the relationship between relative education and divorce may differ in important ways from the relationship between relative earnings and divorce (Weiss and Willis 1997). Second, it remains relatively uncommon for wives to outearn their husbands, but more common for wives' education to exceed their husbands'. Whereas 55% of all educationally dissimilar marriages and about 25% of all marriages were those in which wives had more education than their husbands in 2003, only 12% of marriages were those in which the wife provided 60% or more of the couple's income in 2001, and these arrangements are often transitory (Raley, Mattingly, and Bianchi 2006; Schwartz and Mare 2005; Winkler, McBride, and Andrews 2005).

Thus, from a diffusion of innovation perspective, we may be more likely to observe change in the association between spouses' relative education and divorce than their relative earnings. Third, a persistent issue in the study of the effects of wives' earnings on divorce is the possibility that wives increase their earnings and labor force participation in anticipation of divorce (Johnson and Skinner 1986; Sayer and Bianchi 2000). Reverse causality is arguably less problematic in analyses of relative education because wives may be less likely to return to school in anticipation of divorce than to increase their labor force participation and earnings. Finally, from a practical standpoint, only the PSID contains information on both husbands' and wives' earnings making it impossible to control for earnings over the entire time series we consider. We include the results of sensitivity tests using the PSID below, but a complete analysis of the relationship between spouses' relative earnings and education awaits future research.

Relative versus Absolute Education

The perspectives that underpin our investigation focus on spouses' relative education holding constant their absolute education levels. For example, exchange theory predicts that specialization should increase the gains to marriage and lower the risk of divorce regardless of whether spouses have high or low absolute levels of education. Likewise, the shift from specialization to collaborative marriage is often portrayed as a general trend, occurring among those with high and low education alike (e.g., Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Oppenheimer 1997). In keeping with these perspectives, we focus on spouses' relative education, controlling for their education levels. It is possible that the association between spouses' relative attainments and divorce varies by their absolute attainments (if, for example, those with more education are less affected by educational differences than those with less education), but there is no evidence

of this in our data (see Appendix A). However, our study is limited by relatively small sample sizes in some marriage cohorts and, thus, future studies may uncover educational differences in the associations we present.

Selection into Marriage

Observed trends in the association between spouses' relative education and divorce may be due to changes in selection into marriage and well as changes in causal effects. Our paper does not attempt to distinguish between these factors (aside from controlling for a limited set of demographic and economic characteristics), but the theoretical perspectives that frame our analysis are consistent with both types of change. For instance, selection may account for a declining association if couples in which wives' have the educational advantage were once especially likely to have non-traditional attitudes or other unmeasured characteristics associated with a heightened risk of divorce but are now a less select group (South 2001). Although this is a selection argument, it is consistent with the notion of a decline in the significance of gender in marriage—that is, the selectivity of marriages in which wives have more education may have declined precisely because these relationships are less non-normative. Because the theories we draw on predict a decline in the significance of gender in both the selection of marriage partners and in marriage outcomes, our analysis does not rely on the identification of the causal effects. Indeed, determining whether causal effects are worth estimating requires careful descriptive analyses of trends and differences in associations (Duncan 2008). This is the first paper to our knowledge to conduct such an analysis.¹

DATA AND METHODS

Data

We use two primary data sources in our analyses: (1) the 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002 (Cycles 1-6), and the 2006-10 rounds of the National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG); and (2) the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID). We also corroborate our descriptive analyses with (3) the 1960, 1970, and 1980 decennial U.S. censuses from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS); and (4) the 1971-1995 June Current Population Surveys (CPS).

We rely on a number of data sources because each has different strengths and weaknesses. We use data from the NSFG and PSID for our analysis of trends in the relationship between relative education and marital dissolution. The NSFG data are cross-sectional, but contain retrospective marital histories and information on both spouses' educational attainment. The 1973 and 1976 rounds are representative of civilian non-institutionalized women aged 15-44 who were ever married or had children of their own in the household, and the 1982 through 2006-10 rounds are representative of all civilian non-institutionalized women aged 15-44. Our 1973 to 1995 NSFG samples were compiled by Teachman (2002) for his analysis of trends in divorce risk factors among women in their first marriages. Following Teachman, we use these data to examine trends in marital dissolution among marriages formed between 1950 and 1984.

The PSID is a longitudinal study that originated in 1968 with a nationally representative sample of households and an oversample of low-income households. One issue with the PSID is that, while the sample was representative of the population in 1968, the nature of the U.S. population has changed substantially since the late 1960s because of immigration. In 1990 and 1997/1999, new samples of Latino households and immigrant families, respectively, were included to ensure representativeness. While the non-representativeness of the PSID remains a

concern, previous studies have shown that when weights and/or controls are used, it produces estimates of marriage formation and dissolution that are consistent with other sources (Lillard and Panis 1998; Martin 2006). We use these data to examine trends in dissolution among marriages formed between 1970 and 2004, thus updating Teachman's time series.

We also include data from the 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG so that our estimates for the most recent marriage cohorts do not rely solely on the PSID, despite significant weaknesses of these data. Whereas previous waves of the NSFG obtained spouses' education in women's first marriages regardless of their marital status, the 2002 and 2006-10 surveys only collected spouses' education as of the survey date for women who were currently married or separated—not for those who were divorced. This means that estimates using these data could be biased to the extent that the association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution among women for whom we are more likely to observe as separated (those with longer separation periods) differ from those with shorter separation periods. Moreover, due to a problem with skip patterns in the 2002 NSFG, women who have information on their separated husbands' educational attainments are missing separation date information (National Center for Health Statistics 2004:22). The NSFG contains imputed separation dates for these couples, which we use to calculate marital duration here, but we also tested the sensitivity of our results to the concerns with both of NSFG waves using information on the same marriage cohorts from different NSFG waves. Because there was very little evidence that our point estimates within marriage cohorts varied by NSFG wave (Appendix A) and because of the value of comparing trends from the PSID with additional data sources, we chose to include these NSFG waves.

As a final consistency check, we compare our results from the NSFG and PSID with the census and June CPS where possible. Our census and June CPS samples were compiled by

Schwartz and Mare (2005) and include newly formed first marriages between 1960 and 1995.

Results from the census and June CPS primarily appear in Appendix A.

The NSFG and PSID samples used in this paper consist of wives married between the ages of 16 and 40. Teachman's (2002) 1973-1995 NSFG samples contain wives in their first marriages. Because sample size is an issue especially in more recent marriage cohorts, we retain remarriages in the PSID and in the 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG samples, but control for marriage number in our models. Our results are very similar, albeit less precise, when remarried wives are excluded (Appendix A). Furthermore, following most studies that utilize the longitudinal nature of the PSID, we drop the Latino oversample as these families were only interviewed from 1990 to 1995 (Gouskova et al. 2008).

Analysis Plan

Our analysis consists of two parts: (1) a descriptive analysis of the changing characteristics of marriages by spouses' relative education and (2) a hazard analysis of changes in the association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution. For our descriptive analysis, we examine marriages formed between 1950 and 2009 in the NSFG and PSID, and newlyweds in the census and June CPS between 1960 and 1995. For our hazard models, we follow marriages formed between 1950 and 2004 in the NSFG and between 1970 and 2004 in the PSID. (We cannot use the census or June CPS data in our hazard analysis because neither contains information on previous spouses' education for respondents who were divorced or separated at the time of the interview.) Although we take advantage of data on the 2005-09 cohort in our descriptive analysis, we do not use these data in our hazard analysis to avoid right censoring at very short marital durations. As an additional measure to avoid bias from left censoring, we drop

marriages that were formed more than 5 years prior to the first year a marriage was observed in the PSID (7% of marriages). Appendix Table 1 shows our sample sizes by marriage cohort and data source, and for the PSID and NSFG, the number of marital dissolutions for cohorts included in the hazard analysis.

Measures and Methods

We use Cox proportional hazard models to examine the changing association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution, which can be written as:

$$h_i(t) = \lambda_0(t) \exp\{\beta_1 x_{i1} + \dots + \beta_k x_{ik}\} \quad (1)$$

where $h_i(t)$ is the hazard of marital dissolution at time t for couple i , $\lambda_0(t)$ is the baseline hazard, which is unspecified, the x s are independent variables of interest, and the β s are the parameters to be estimated. Time (t) is measured as years from marriage to separation, divorce, or censoring, whichever occurred first.² Observations are censored if a marriage did not dissolve before a respondent dropped out of the survey or reached the final survey wave, or if a respondent became widowed.³

Our primary independent variable of interest is spouses' relative education. We measure relative education using a 3-category variable ($P=1,2,3$) in which

- wives have more education than their husbands (*hypogamy*),
- husbands and wives have equal education levels (*homogamy*), and
- wives have less education than their husbands (*hypergamy*).

These categories correspond to the relevant contrasts from theory and research on spouses' relative education. To capture non-linearities and credential effects, our measure is constructed

using a 4-category representation of husbands' and wives' years of schooling completed ($H, W = <12, 12, 13-15, \text{ and } \geq 16$ years). Previous studies have reported significant barriers to marriage across these categories (Schwartz and Mare 2005) and data constraints prevent us from using more detailed classifications across the time series. Some previous studies have used other measures of spouses' relative education, such as the difference between spouses' years of schooling, or have differentiated spouses separated by large educational divides (e.g., Heaton 2002; Kalmijn 2003; Teachman 2002). Our analysis focuses on the simple 3-category representation of spouses' relative education, but also includes controls for the size of the difference between spouses' educational attainments.

The relative education coefficients estimated in equation (1) summarize the higher (or lower) hazard of marital dissolution by couples' relative education across spouses' education levels. For example, the hypogamy coefficient measures the "average" difference in the log hazard of divorce for couples in which wives have more education than their husbands versus the omitted category (hypergamous couples) across hypogamous couples of all education levels. Because we are interested in the association between spouses' relative education and divorce over and above their educational levels, we include dummy variables for both spouses' education categories in all of our models. Thus, rather than estimating the full set of $(H - 1)(W - 1) = 9$ interaction terms for husbands' and wives' education, we estimate $(H - 1) + (W - 1) = 6$ terms for spouses' education levels and $(P - 1) = 2$ terms for their relative education.

Educational attainment is measured as closely as possible to the date of couples' marriages. In the 1973-1995 waves of the NSFG, this information is based on women's retrospective reports about their husbands' and their own schooling at the time of their first marriages (except for the 1995 wave, in which wives' education is measured at the time of the

interview). In the 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG waves, respondents' and spouses' attainment is measured at the time of the interview (as discussed above, retrospective information about first marriages was not gathered). Thus, throughout all waves of the NSFG, our measures of education are time-invariant. The PSID gathered husbands' and wives' education when new heads of households or wives entered the survey and for all heads and wives 1976 and 1985. Therefore, the PSID also lacks precise time-varying education measures. For consistency with the NSFG, we define spouses' education as their attainment in the first year the marriage is observed in the data. Because we measure husbands' and wives' education as closely as possible to the time of couples' marriages, they can be viewed as proxies for the conditions in place at the time of the marital bargain.

Our analyses also control for several factors that have been found to be associated with the risk of divorce: husband's and wife's age at marriage, wife's race, and wife's marriage number, defined as shown in Table 2 (results discussed below). We omit other factors that may be associated with divorce, such as fertility and home ownership, as these decisions may be endogenous to a couple's relative education at the time of marriage. For instance, couples in which wives have the educational advantage may choose to have fewer children or may be less likely to buy a home if they perceive their relationships to be less stable. However, because of strong interest in the links between education, earnings, and employment, we test the sensitivity of our results to controls for these variables, despite their likely endogeneity using data from the PSID. We include measures of husbands' and wives' annual wage and salary earnings (in 2008 dollars), relative earnings (the proportion of spouses' earnings that are earned by the wife), and wives' employment in the previous year (wives who had any wage or salary income in the previous year).

Descriptive analyses using the census, June CPS, and NSFG are weighted using the wife's person-level weight, and those using the PSID are weighted using family-level weights. We do not weight our hazard model analysis because our control variables adjust for the major factors used in constructing the weights. Sensitivity tests show that the trends are robust to the use of weights (Appendix A).

RESULTS

The Reversal of the Gender Gap in Educational Attainment among Married Couples

Figure 1 shows trends in the percentage of married couples that are hypogamous (wives have more education than their husbands), among heterogamous couples (those that have different levels of education). Although there are minor fluctuations across the data sources, a consistent trend emerges. Prior to the early 1980s, it was more common for husbands to have the educational advantage than wives. Since then the situation has reversed. For couples married in 2005-9, over 60% of couples with different levels of education were those in which wives had more education than their husbands, and there are no signs that this trend is slowing. These findings are consistent with past work (Qian 1998; Schwartz and Mare 2005), and the basic similarity of the trends across data sources bolsters our confidence in their comparability.

In addition, despite an increase in the proportion of couples with equal levels of attainment (Schwartz and Mare 2005), the proportion of *all* couples in which wives had more education than their husbands grew. In the most recent marriage cohort, over 30% of all marriages were those in which wives had more education than their husbands, up from about 20% in the early 1970s (not shown). These changes have resulted in a reversal of the average years of schooling attained by husbands and wives. Among couples married in 1950-54,

husbands had completed an average of 12.4 years of school compared with wives' 12.0, but in the 2005-9 cohort, husbands had completed 13.8 years compared with wives' 14.1 (authors' calculations from PSID data).

Changes in the Characteristics of Couples by their Relative Education

Table 2 shows descriptive statistics for the variables used in our analysis by couples' relative education. To summarize change across marriage cohorts, we show the characteristics of couples married in three periods: 1950-54, 1975-79, and 2000-04, which is the most recent cohort we examine in our analyses of marital dissolution. For the 1975-79 cohort, we present results from both the NSFG and the PSID to facilitate comparison between the surveys. The trends presented here are quite similar across all four data sources for the complete time series, which is reassuring given that the samples from these sources are not perfectly comparable (Appendix A).

Table 2 shows that educational attainment for each of the three types of couples has increased since the early 1950s, but this is especially notable for wives with more education than their husbands. In the 1950-54 cohort, only about 4% of hypogamous and homogamous wives were college graduates. By 2000-04, this percentage had risen to 44% for hypogamous wives but to only 38% for homogamous wives. Hypogamous wives also had the highest mean levels of schooling of any group in 2000-04, even slightly exceeding husbands with more education than their wives (14.7 versus 14.6 years).

Husbands with less education than their wives have lower educational attainment, on average, than other husbands, but their attainment also rose disproportionately quickly relative to the attainment of husbands with more education than their wives. The average years of schooling completed by husbands in hypogamous marriages increased from 10.3 to 12.2 years between

1950-54 and 2000-04, whereas the average only increased from 14.2 to 14.6 for hypergamous husbands. Thus, a key finding from these comparisons is that the educational attainment of *both* husbands and wives in hypogamous marriages rose more quickly than those in hypergamous marriages. This means that any decrease in the likelihood of divorce among hypogamous couples may be partially due to the disproportionate rise in their education.

Consistent with women's increasing educational advantage over men, the difference between husbands' and wives' education levels for couples in which wives had the educational advantage increased between 1950-54 and 2000-04 (increasing from an average difference of 1.10 to 1.24 education categories), but decreased among couples in which husbands had the educational advantage (from 1.31 to 1.20). If greater educational differences are associated with a higher risk of divorce, this could offset any observed decline in the likelihood that couples in which wives have the educational advantage divorce relative to other couples.

Table 2 also shows couples' earnings and employment characteristics measured as closely as possible to the time of their marriages using data from the PSID. Not surprisingly given their higher educational attainment, hypogamous wives have higher earnings than hypergamous wives, are more likely to work, and have higher earnings relative to their husbands. Wives with more education than their husbands also increased their earnings and employment more between 1975-79 and 2000-04 than did those with less education than their husbands. In 2008 dollars, hypogamous wives married in 2000-04 earned about \$11,500 more than those married in 1975-79 whereas hypergamous wives only earned \$7,800 more than those married in 1975-79. Likewise, hypogamous wives' employment increased by 5 percentage points, compared with about 1 percentage point for hypergamous wives. By contrast to the pattern for wives, hypergamous and hypogamous husbands increased their earnings by very similar

amounts. Interestingly, the earnings of homogamous husbands and wives increased faster than any other group. Depending on the relationship between couples' earnings and divorce, these trends could either contribute to or offset trends in the relationship between couples' relative education and divorce.

Finally, Table 2 shows that wives in hypogamous marriages tend to be slightly older than other wives when they marry and are somewhat more likely to be African American.

Results of Hazard Models

Figure 2 shows trends in the hazard of marital dissolution by spouses' relative education.

Because a key finding of our descriptive analysis was that husbands and wives in hypogamous marriages are increasingly well-educated relative to those in hypergamous marriages, all of our models include dummy variable controls for both spouses' education categories. All of the models also include a linear term for the difference between couples' education categories⁴ and basic demographic controls: linear and quadratic terms for husband's and wife's age at marriage, and dummy variables for wife's race and marriage parity (coded as shown in Table 2).

To evaluate how well trends from the NSFG and PSID correspond, Panel A of Figure 2 shows trends in the relative hazard of dissolution separately by data source (Model 1). While trends from the two sources do not correspond exactly, similar patterns emerge. Consistent with previous research (Teachman 2002), changes in the risk of marital dissolution for hypogamous relative to hypergamous couples appear relatively weak from the 1960s to the early 1980s, but are more pronounced when the entire time series is considered. Trends from both sources suggest that wives with more education than their husbands may have once been more likely to divorce than those with less education, but that this association has declined. There is some evidence of a

decline in the relative hazard of divorce for homogamous couples as well, although this trend is more pronounced in the PSID.

How concerned should we be about differences in the point estimates by data source? Statistically, there is little evidence of differences. None of the differences between the two sources within marriage cohorts are statistically significant, and a joint test of differences for hypogamous and homogamous couples relative to hypergamous couples is highly insignificant ($p = .879$). Given the consistency of the descriptive trends and lack of statistical evidence for differences, we pool the NSFG and PSID data to increase the statistical power of our analyses and to test whether trends are significant over the entire period we examine.

Panel B of Figure 2 shows trends in the relative hazard of marital dissolution using the pooled NSFG and PSID data. These trends are estimated from a model with the same covariates used to produce those shown in Panel A, but also contain dummy variable controls for data source (1=NSFG 1973-1995, 2=PSID, 3=NSFG 2002 and 2006-10). We present both (1) “smoothed” estimates using a linear and quadratic term for the interaction between marriage cohort and spouses’ relative education (Model 2), and (2) “observed” estimates using dummy variable representations of marriage cohort for these interactions. We plot the observed estimates to show the extent to which the quadratic function fits the unrestricted trends. Results from this model look much like those shown in Panel A.

To test the significance of the point estimates and trends, Table 3 shows the hazard ratios of marital dissolution in the oldest and youngest marriage cohorts estimated from Model 2. Results from this model indicate that hypogamous marriages formed in 1950-54 were more likely to dissolve than were hypergamous marriages (the hazard was 1.51 times higher). Hypogamous marriages were also more likely to dissolve than homogamous ones. The risk of

divorce among homogamous and hypergamous couples was virtually identical. By 2000-04, hypogamous couples were no longer significantly more likely to divorce and homogamous couples were *less* likely to divorce than hypergamous couples (the hazard was 0.78 that of hypergamous couples). Declines in the hazard ratios across marriage cohorts are large and statistically significant. The hazard of dissolution for hypogamous relative to hypergamous couples was 1.85 times higher in 1950-54 than in 2000-04, and was 1.40 times higher for homogamous couples.⁵

Several recent studies suggest that the association between women's education and marital dissolution has increased in the United States (Härkönen and Dronkers 2006; Martin 2006; Raley and Bumpass 2003; Sweeney and Phillips 2004). Our data confirm this. Figure 3 shows that, controlling for husbands' education, spouses' relative education, and other covariates included in Model 2, college graduates in particular have become far less likely to divorce than other women. These results are quite similar to those found by Martin (2006) using data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation, although Martin did not control for husbands' education or spouses' relative education. Although not the main focus of our paper, these results contribute to literature on the growing educational gradient in divorce by showing that these trends are not simply a byproduct of changes in husbands' education or to changes in assortative mating.

Given that hypogamous husbands and wives have increased their education substantially relative to other couples, it may be that the declining association between hypogamy and marital dissolution is due to the increasing stability of marriages in which wives have more education than their husbands. We test this idea by adding interaction terms between husbands' and wives' education category and marriage cohort (using linear and quadratic terms) to Model 2 (Model 3).

Panel C of Figure 2 shows trends in the hazard ratios from Model 3 and, again, Table 3 shows the point estimates. Table 3 shows that the hazard of dissolution for hypogamous couples is no longer significantly greater than for hypergamous couples in the 1950-54 marriage cohort. While this may suggest that, controlling for shifts in the association between spouses' education and divorce, hypogamy did not matter for divorce in the 1950s, this result is primarily due to a large decline in the precision of our estimates (as indicated by the substantially smaller z -statistic) and because of somewhat lower point estimates in the earliest cohort compared with those marrying in the 1960s and 70s. Significance tests from Model 3 indicate that, on average, the hazard of dissolution for hypogamous couples marrying between 1950 and 1979 was 34% higher than for hypergamous couples and that this is statistically significant ($p = .010$, not shown). These results imply that wives with more education than their husbands were indeed more likely to divorce at least through the late 1970s, even after controlling for shifts in the association between education and divorce.

One difference in the results between Models 2 and 3 that can be observed when comparing Panels B and C of Figure 2 is that the hazard ratios in Model 3 are shifted downward in more recent cohorts. The hazard of dissolution for hypogamous couples was 0.58 that of hypergamous couples in 2000-04 and 0.63 for homogamous couples (Table 3). Although the point estimates suggest that hypogamous marriages are substantially more stable than hypergamous marriages in the most recent cohort, this estimate does not attain statistical significance at $p < .05$ ($p = .091$). Thus, while we can be confident that couples in which wives had the educational advantage were *not more* likely to divorce than hypergamous wives in 2000-04, we are not confident that they were *less* likely to divorce. Overall, the conclusions we draw from Model 3 are the same as from Model 2: hypogamous couples were once more likely to

divorce than other couples but this is no longer the case, homogamous couples have become less likely to divorce than hypergamous couples whereas there was once no difference, and changes in these associations between 1950-54 and 2000-04 were large.⁶

Model 3 allows us to test whether the pace of change has increased as hypogamous couples have become more common. Panel C of Figure 2 shows that there is descriptive evidence of an increasingly negative slope in the hazard ratios, but the quadratic terms in this model, which indicate an increasing speed of change, are not statistically significant at the 5% level ($p = .098$ for hypogamous couples and $.071$ for homogamous couples).

Sensitivity to Spouses' Earnings, Relative Earnings, and Wife's Employment

Could trends in the association between spouses' relative education and divorce simply reflect changes in spouses' earnings, relative earnings, and employment? To assess the sensitivity of our results to controls for spouses' employment and earnings, we first estimate Model 1 using PSID data without these variables as a basis of comparison. Next, we add measures of husbands' and wives' annual earnings, spouses' relative earnings, relative earnings squared (to capture non-linearities in the association between relative earnings and dissolution), and wives' employment to Model 1. We also include a dummy variable for missing husbands' and/or wives' earnings values (0.94% of couple years). These measures were collected at each PSID interview, and thus, unlike the other variables in the model, they vary by marital duration. Panel D of Figure 2 shows that our estimates are very similar whether or not we control for these variables. Allowing the effects of the earnings and employment variables to vary by marriage cohort also has little effect on our estimates (not shown). These results suggest that the trends we observe cannot be

explained by changes in spouses' earnings and employment, and that relative earnings and education operate relatively independently when it comes to trends in the risk of divorce.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Our paper has shown that wives with more education than their husbands were once more likely to divorce than wives with less education than their husbands, but that this is no longer the case. By the early 1990s, couples in which wives had the educational advantage were no more likely to divorce than other couples. We find no evidence that this shift is an artifact of the increasing educational attainment of husbands and wives in marriages in which wives have more education, by changes in the size of the educational gaps separating couples with different levels of education, by the increasing tendency for highly educated wives to have stable marriages, or by shifts in spouses' earnings, relative earnings, and employment. Another key finding of our paper is that the relative stability of marriages between educational equals has increased. Couples married in the 1950s who shared the same level of education were no more likely to divorce than those in which husbands had more education. Among recent marriage cohorts, couples who share the same education are *less* likely to divorce than those in which husbands have more education.

These findings are consistent with perspectives emphasizing a shift in marriage away from rigid gender specialization toward more flexible, collaborative, and egalitarian partnerships (e.g., Gerson 2010; Goldscheider and Waite 1991; Nock 2001; Oppenheimer 1997). For the majority of the time period studied here, the importance of gender for marital outcomes—as measured by the association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution—declined, and the stability of relationships between educational equals increased. The slow

change in the association between wives' educational advantage and divorce between 1950 and the early 1980s is consistent with the stalled revolution perspective, but when the longer time series is considered, our findings may be better explained by diffusion theories. Soon after the reversal of the gender gap in education, changes in the association became more dramatic, a finding consistent with the notion that it takes a "critical mass" of couples in which wives have more education than their husbands for the association between wives' educational advantage and divorce to decline. This result must be regarded as tentative, however, as the increasing speed of the decline did not attain conventional levels of statistical significance. One way to test the diffusion hypothesis in future work would be to investigate whether female-dominant marriages are more stable in states, cities, or neighborhoods where these relationships are more common.

Despite the weak evidence for an increasing speed of change, the existence of any decline at all in this period provides an important counterpoint to claims that progress toward gender equality has stalled. As Cotter et al. (2011) note, one area that has not shown any signs of slowing in recent years is women's increasing educational advantage over men. Our study shows that the declining negative association between wives' educational advantage and marital stability is another such exception. It also highlights the importance of developing theories to explain why progress toward gender equality has occurred more quickly in some realms than others (e.g., England 2010; Ridgeway 2011).

We interpret our findings as one indicator of the declining significance of gender in heterosexual relationships, but there are other explanations that, if correct, would be inconsistent with this argument. For instance, it is possible that couples' discomfort with marriages in which wives have the educational advantage has remained stable, but that increases in the returns to

women's educational attainment (DiPrete and Buchmann 2006) have made it relatively more expensive for men to divorce women with the same or more education as themselves. We consider this explanation unlikely, however, given the insensitivity of our results to controls for husbands' and wives' earnings. Another competing explanation is that changing marriage market conditions drive our results. Men who prefer to marry women with less education than themselves have a diminishing pool of potential mates from which to choose, which may reduce the quality of the matches they form, thereby increasing their probability of divorce. Although this explanation is plausible, there is evidence (albeit limited) that men's and women's preferences for mates have become more similar and that attitudes toward female-advantaged marriages have become less negative (Buss et al. 2001; Willinger 1993). These changes in preferences for mates suggest that marriage market constraints are not likely the sole explanation for the shifts we observe.

Another interesting potential caveat to a "declining significance of gender" interpretation of our findings is that, while the importance of gender for divorce trended downward for the majority of the period we examine, there are intriguing hints of a reversal in the association such that couples in which wives have the educational advantage were once more likely to divorce but may now be *less* likely to divorce than couples in which husbands have more education. Again, our estimates are not precise enough to state this with confidence, but if it is the case that the association has reversed, then, like the larger literature on the reversal of the gender gap in education, our results suggest that gender still matters, but in a way that appears to favor women. Data on future marriage cohorts and/or from other sources (the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 is a promising source) are necessary to determine whether this is indeed the case.

The changes we observe may be causal but changes in selection into marriage may also explain the results. Couples who entered relationships in which wives had more education than their husbands in the 1950s may have been more likely to hold non-traditional beliefs associated with a greater risk of divorce, but may now be those in which both partners hold more flexible attitudes about gender in marriage. These relationships may be particularly selective of men with egalitarian values—values that have been found to be associated with marital stability (Kaufman 2000; Lye and Biblarz 1993). An interesting way of investigating this hypothesis in future work would be to examine whether gendered patterns of behavior (such as time spent on housework and child care) and egalitarian attitudes differ for couples in which wives have more education than their husbands compared with other couples. More broadly, how do differences in spouses' relative educational attainment play out in couples' family life?

Regardless of whether the changes we observe are causal or are due to changes in selection, they have implications for how we understand the impact of the reversal of the gender gap in education on marital stability. Given previous findings, we might have expected the growing numbers of wives who have more education than their husband to have increased the pool of couples at heightened risk of divorce. Our results are inconsistent with this claim. In addition, they speak against fears that women's educational success has had negative effects on their marital outcomes—at least with respect to wives' educational advantage and marital dissolution. While these couples were once more likely to divorce, this was no longer the case by the early 1990s.

ENDNOTES

¹ One way of testing the sensitivity of our results to changes in the selectivity of married couples is to include cohabitators in the analysis where possible. There is some evidence of a selection processes out of cohabitation, but pooled estimates of married couples and cohabitators differ little from those using married couples alone (see Appendix A for details).

² Marriage dates in the PSID are taken from the 1985-2009 marital history file. Respondents who were not present in 1985 or a later interview year do not have marriage date information in this file (Institute for Social Research 2009). When information on marriage dates is missing (6% of couple years), we use age at first marriage, which is available in 1968 and 1976, to calculate marriage dates (Lillard and Panis 1998). We impute the remaining missing marriage dates in the PSID using the June CPS data and a linear regression that predicts wife's age at marriage as a function of husband's and wife's education category, husband's and wife's age at interview, interview year, and interview year squared.

Very few couples who separate reconcile, but even those who do often go on to separate again permanently (Bumpass and Raley 2007:125). Because the large majority of couples who separate either divorce or separate permanently and are effectively "divorced" from a social perspective, for ease of discussion we refer to "marital dissolution" and "divorce" interchangeably in this paper.

³ Marriages in more recent cohorts are followed for less time than earlier cohorts. Our results are substantively similar when we follow all marriages for 10 years, excluding marriages that are censored before 10 years (Appendix A). In addition, there is no evidence that the hazards

of divorce vary non-proportionately across the duration of couples' marriages by their relative education.

⁴ This variable is defined slightly different for use in our hazard models than shown in Table 2. It is the absolute value of the difference between spouses' educational categories, except for homogamous couples, for which the variable equals 1 ($D = 1, \dots, 3$). Homogamous couples are differentiated from other couples by the inclusion of the dummy variables for couple type in the model, and thus D controls for shifts in the difference between spouses' education levels for those with different levels of education. While not the main focus of this paper, our results show that bigger educational differences are associated with a higher likelihood of divorce.

⁵ There is some evidence that these trends vary by race—that there has been less change for African American wives (see Appendix A)—but trends for African American wives are measured imprecisely and thus are not presented in the main text.

⁶ Another explanation for the changing association may be that we have not adequately controlled for spouses' education levels. Hypogamous and homogamous couples' educational attainment may have increased within the education categories we control for. To test this hypothesis, we estimated our models controlling for single years of spouses' attainments when possible. Our primary conclusions hold, but within-category education differences do explain some (but not all) of the elevated risk of divorce for hypogamous couples (see Appendix A).

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Table 1. Predictions about the Association Between Spouses' Relative Education and Marital Dissolution

Perspective	Couple Type	Predicted Association in 1950s	Predicted Change in Association
Stalled Revolution	W>H	Positive	Slow to no change
Institutional Change	W>H	Positive	Declining
	W=H	Positive	Declining, becomes negative
Diffusion of Innovation	W>H	Positive	Declining, pace accelerates

Notes: W=wife's education; H=husband's education.

Table 2. Characteristics of Hypogamous (W>H), Homogamous (W=H), and Hypergamous (W<H) Marriages by Marriage Cohort and Data Source

Characteristic	Marriage Cohort and Data Source											
	1950-54			1975-79						2000-04		
	NSFG			NSFG			PSID			PSID		
	W>H	W=H	W<H	W>H	W=H	W<H	W>H	W=H	W<H	W>H	W=H	W<H
Wife's Years of Schooling (%)												
<12	-- ^a	46.9	37.2	-- ^a	13.1	31.6	-- ^a	14.0	30.9	-- ^a	4.7	19.1
12	77.7	42.8	45.0	26.7	46.4	45.7	36.9	49.4	54.1	10.7	28.3	51.9
13-15	18.0	6.3	17.8	39.8	19.9	22.8	35.9	14.7	15.1	45.8	28.7	29.1
≥ 16	4.3	4.0	-- ^a	33.5	20.6	-- ^a	27.2	22.0	-- ^a	43.5	38.3	-- ^a
Mean ^b	12.5	11.3	11.6	14.1	13.0	11.8	13.8	12.9	11.7	14.7	14.0	12.2
	(1.1)	(1.6)	(1.3)	(1.7)	(1.9)	(1.4)	(1.7)	(1.9)	(1.3)	(1.4)	(1.8)	(1.4)
Husband's Years of Schooling (%)												
<12	85.2	46.9	-- ^a	34.1	13.1	-- ^a	44.8	14.0	-- ^a	17.2	4.7	-- ^a
12	12.5	42.8	26.8	46.2	46.4	24.7	38.9	49.4	23.3	57.0	28.3	14.1
13-15	2.3	6.3	34.6	19.8	19.9	37.1	16.3	14.7	49.7	25.9	28.7	41.9
≥ 16	-- ^a	4.0	38.6	-- ^a	20.6	38.2	-- ^a	22.0	27.0	-- ^a	38.3	44.0
Mean ^b	10.3	11.3	14.2	11.7	13.0	14.3	11.4	12.9	14.1	12.2	14.0	14.6
	(0.9)	(1.6)	(1.5)	(1.6)	(1.9)	(1.5)	(1.6)	(1.9)	(1.4)	(1.3)	(1.8)	(1.4)
Husband's-Wife's Years of Schooling Category	1.10	0.00	1.31	1.21	0.00	1.22	1.19	0.00	1.20	1.24	0.00	1.20
	(0.36)	(0.00)	(0.48)	(0.49)	(0.00)	(0.39)	(0.43)	(0.00)	(0.43)	(0.49)	(0.00)	(0.44)
Wife's Annual Earnings (2008 \$1,000s)	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	18.4	16.9	15.7	29.9	30.3	23.5
							(17.3)	(14.3)	(14.0)	(24.4)	(28.4)	(26.6)
Husband's Annual Earnings (2008 \$1,000s)	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	37.0	36.7	40.9	39.6	45.7	43.9
							(22.6)	(23.0)	(28.1)	(28.7)	(36.7)	(34.5)
Wife's Relative Earnings (Wife/[Husband+Wife])*100	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	30.7	30.4	28.0	42.1	37.7	32.6
							(1.6)	(1.1)	(1.7)	(1.8)	(1.6)	(2.5)
Wife Employed in Previous Year (%)	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	-- ^c	89.0	87.8	83.2	94.0	88.0	84.1
Wife's Age at Marriage	19.8	19.2	19.4	22.5	21.8	21.8	23.0	22.4	23.0	27.1	26.1	26.3
	(1.9)	(2.0)	(2.0)	(3.8)	(3.3)	(3.4)	(5.7)	(5.0)	(5.5)	(6.3)	(5.3)	(6.5)
Husband's Age at Marriage	23.5	22.3	22.7	24.8	24.1	25.2	25.2	24.9	26.2	29.6	28.2	29.2
	(4.2)	(4.0)	(3.1)	(6.3)	(4.4)	(4.7)	(7.2)	(6.6)	(6.7)	(8.0)	(6.4)	(7.5)
Wife African American (%)	10.5	9.9	5.7	10.8	9.3	5.9	10.0	10.0	8.2	10.9	7.0	7.8
Remarriage (Wife) (%) ^d	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	17.1	18.1	31.6	24.6	15.3	27.9
Sample size ^e	341	890	564	881	1697	763	290	604	265	233	375	145

Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Education categories are <12, 12, 13-15, ≥16. PSID data are weighted using family-level weights. NSFG data are weighted by the wife's person weight. Standard deviations are in parentheses.

^aNot applicable.

^bBecause the coding of years of schooling varies across years and data sources, mean years of schooling is estimated by assigning constant years of schooling values (10, 12, 14, and 16 years of schooling) to the 4-category education variable (<12, 12, 13-15, ≥16 years of schooling).

^cNot available.

^dNSFG data for the marriage cohorts shown here pertain to wives' first marriages.

^eSample sizes for husband's and wife's annual earnings and spouses' relative earnings are slightly lower than shown here due to missing values on these variables. A dummy variable for missing values is included in the hazard models.

Sources: National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID)

Table 3. Hazard Ratios of the Association Between Spouses' Relative Education and Marital Dissolution by Marriage Cohort

Marriage Cohort and Spouses' Relative Education	Pooled Estimates (Model 2)	Education Associations (Model 3)
1950-54 Marriage Cohort		
Hypergamous (W<H, omitted)	--	--
Hypogamous (W>H)	1.51 ** ^a (3.39)	1.18 (0.61)
Homogamous (W=H)	1.09 (0.99)	0.94 (0.37)
2000-04 Marriage Cohort		
Hypergamous (W<H, omitted)	--	--
Hypogamous (W>H)	0.82 (1.48)	0.58 (1.69)
Homogamous (W=H)	0.78 * (2.22)	0.63 * (2.53)
Ratio of 1950-54 to 2000-04 Marriage Cohorts		
Hypergamous (W<H, omitted)	--	--
Hypogamous (W>H)	1.85 ** (4.96)	2.04 * (1.98)
Homogamous (W=H)	1.40 ** (3.05)	1.50 * (2.00)
Likelihood Ratio	3615.38	3684.30
Model <i>df</i>	23	35
<i>N</i>	39,589	39,589

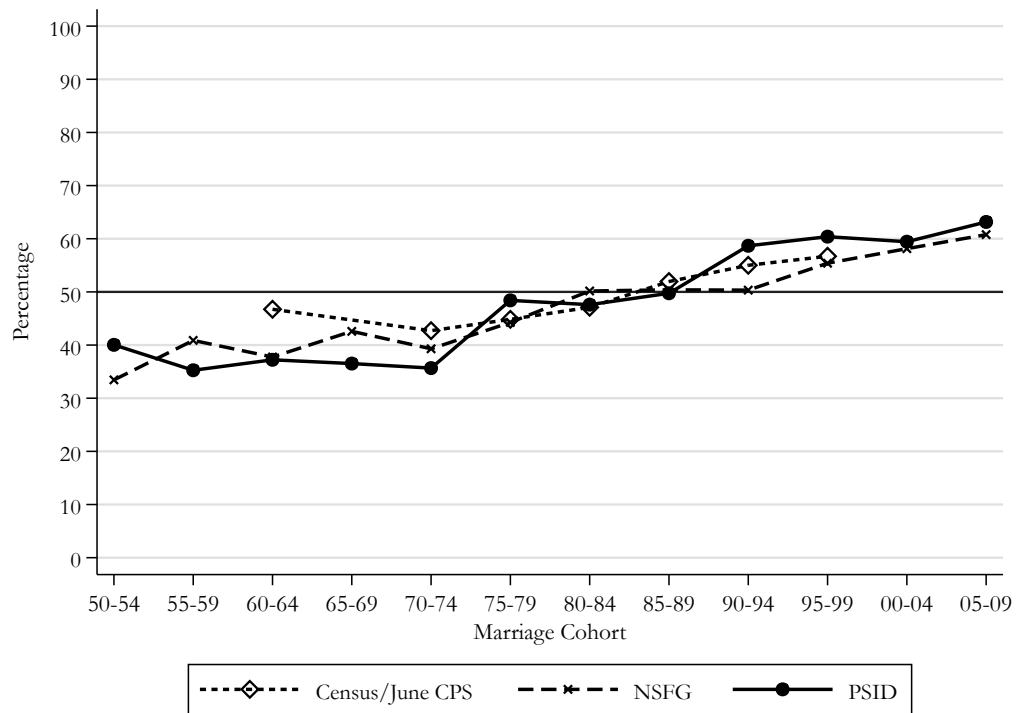
Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Hazard ratios are given with $|z|$ statistics in parentheses. Two-tailed z -tests where * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Model 2 contains linear and quadratic terms for marriage cohort, husband's age at marriage, and wife's age at marriage; dummy variables for wife's race (1=African American, 0=other), marriage number (1=remarriage, 0=first marriage), data source (1=NSFG 1973-1995, 2=PSID, 3=NSFG 2002 and 2006-10), husband's and wife's education category (<12, 13-15, ≥ 16), and spouses' relative education (1=hypogamous, 2=homogamous, 3=hypergamous); and a linear term for the absolute difference between spouses' education categories. Model 3 additionally contains interaction terms between linear and quadratic terms for marriage cohort and dummy variables for husband's and wife's education category.

^aHazard ratios for hypogamous versus homogamous couples are statistically significant (two tailed z -test, $p < .05$).

Sources: Pooled data from the 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure 1. Percentage Hypogamous (W>H) Given Heterogamy (W≠H) by Marriage Cohort and Data Source



Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Education categories are <12, 12, 13-15, ≥16.

Sources: Pooled data from the 1960, 1970, and 1980 decennial U.S. census (IPUMS) and the 1971-1995 June Current Population Survey (CPS); 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG); and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure 2. Hazard Ratios of Marital Dissolution for Hypogamous Couples (W>H) and Homogamous Couples (W=H) Relative to Hypergamous Couples (W<H) by Marriage Cohort

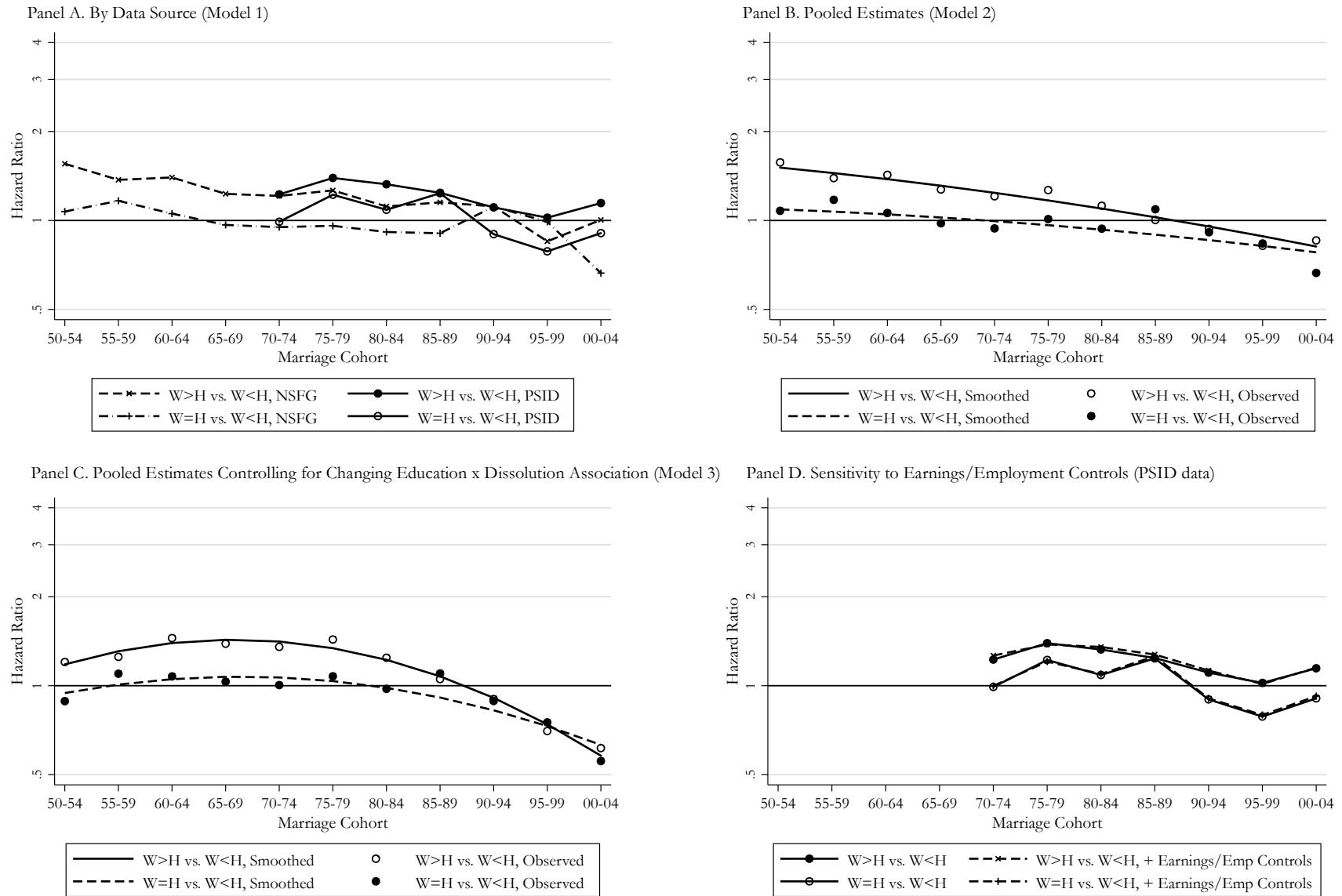
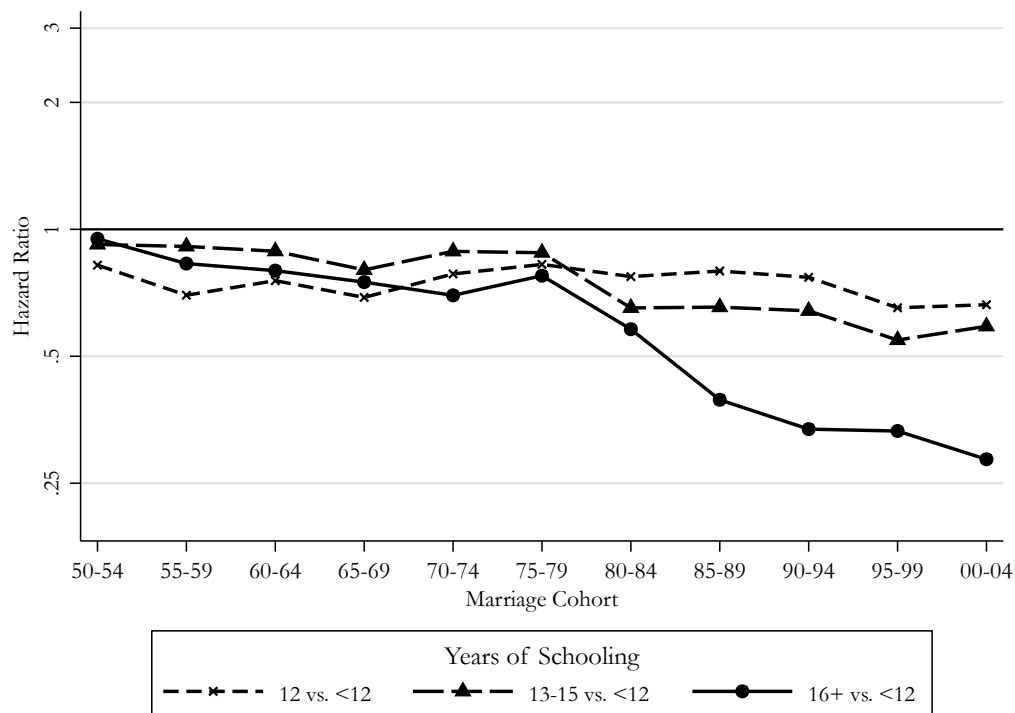


Figure 3. Trends in the Association Between Wives' Education and Marital Dissolution



Notes: Model includes controls for linear and quadratic terms for husband's age at marriage and wife's age at marriage; dummy variables for wife's race (1=African American, 0=other), marriage number (1=remarriage, 0=first marriage), data source (1=NSFG 1973-1995, 2=PSID, 3=NSFG 2002 and 2006-10), husband's and wife's education category (<12, 13-15, ≥16), and spouses' relative education (1=hypogamous, 2=homogamous, 3=hypergamous); a linear term for the absolute difference between spouses' education categories; and husband's and wife's education category x dummy variables for marriage cohort.

Sources: Pooled data from the 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Appendix Table 1. Sample Sizes of Marriages and Dissolutions by Data Source and Marriage Cohort

Marriage Cohort	NSFG				PSID		Census/ June CPS
	1973-1995		2002 & 2006-10		Marriages	Dissolutions	Marriages
	Marriages	Dissolutions	Marriages	Dissolutions			
1950-54	1,795	501	--	--	432	--	--
1955-59	2,730	740	--	--	406	--	--
1960-64	3,659	1,043	--	--	474	--	11,067
1965-69	5,407	1,508	--	--	689	--	--
1970-74	6,314	1,502	2	0	1,049	400	20,427
1975-79	3,279	1,045	62	8	1,159	456	4,798
1980-84	3,172	816	268	27	1,139	417	23,059
1985-89	--	--	727	58	1,000	310	4,903
1990-94	--	--	1,393	122	1,002	263	4,097
1995-99	--	--	1,963	188	710	169	1,287
2000-04	--	--	2,006	175	753	107	--
2005-09	--	--	1,060	--	658	--	--

Notes: Marriages are wives' first marriages in the Census/June CPS and 1973-1995 NSFG and all marriages in the PSID and the 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG. Dissolutions are classified by year of marriage. Dissolutions are shown only for cohorts in our hazard analysis sample.

Sources: 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. census (IPUMS); 1971-1995 June Current Population Survey (CPS); 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG); and 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Appendix A: Supplementary Analyses for “The Reversal of the Gender Gap in Education and Marital Dissolution”

DOES THE ASSOCIATION VARY BY EDUCATION LEVEL?

The association between spouses’ relative education and marital dissolution may vary across the education distribution, if for instance, hypogamy among couples with high levels of attainment does not matter as much for divorce as it does for those with low levels of attainment. If this is the case, then more complex measures than are used in the main paper are needed to fully capture the association.

Model A1 in Table S1 contains all the controls used in the main text but, for the sake of simplicity, assumes that the association between spouses’ relative education and dissolution does not vary by marriage cohort (see Table S1 for the complete model specification). To test whether the time-invariant association between spouses’ relative education varies by wife’s education level, we add interaction terms between our measures of relative education (hypogamy and homogamy) and wife’s education category (Model A2). By both the BIC and AIC, this model fits the data more poorly than the simpler representation of the association used in the paper (more negative BIC and AIC statistics indicate better fitting models). Model A3 increases the complexity of the association further by including the full set of interaction terms between husbands’ and wives’ education categories. This model also fits the data substantially worse than simpler models.

Models A1 to A3 contain time-invariant interactions between spouses’ education and divorce, but it is possible that more complex associations are obscured by time variation in the relationships of interest. To test this, we estimated Models A1 to A3 separately for cohorts married between 1950-79 and 1980-2004. As Table S1 shows, the simpler models outperform the more complex ones in both time periods. Thus, the data do not support the hypothesis that our measures of relative education are too simplistic and that the association varies by education level.

COHABITATION

A potential concern is that changes in the selection process into marriage may drive our results. This could occur if, for example, hypogamous and homogamous couples that once married and divorced are now cohabiting and breaking up before they marry—therefore forming more stable marriages. To investigate this possibility, we use data on cohabitators beginning in 1983 in the PSID (the NSFG do not contain partners’ education for cohabitators). An important limitation of these data is that only relatively long-term cohabitators are identified—those that have appeared in at least one prior PSID interview. These relationships may be systematically different than unions of shorter duration.

We define cohabitation start dates as the year in which respondents moved from singlehood to cohabitation. We define dissolution dates as the year in which respondents moved from cohabitation to singlehood. Couples who moved from cohabitation to marriage are censored.

To investigate whether selection into cohabitation may account for the trends we observe among married couples, we compare trends from three following PSID samples: (1) married couples ($n = 6,812$), (2) cohabitators ($n = 1,090$), (3) married couples and cohabitators pooled ($n = 7,902$). In each sample, women were between the ages of 16 and 40 when they began their unions.

Figure S1 shows trends in the association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution for Model 1 (as described in the main text) and for a model similar to Model 3 (but where the interaction between marriage cohort and relative educational attainment is modeled with a series of dummy variables). The trends estimated from both models for hypogamous couples are consistent with the selection hypothesis (Panels A and B). Results from these models show that trends in the hazard ratios for hypogamous cohabitators either increase (Panel A) or do not decline (Panel B). This is consistent with the idea that hypogamous couples are increasingly likely to cohabit, split up, and then form more stable marriages. Nevertheless, when cohabitators are pooled with married couples, the trends are very similar to those for married couples alone. Thus, whereas these results give some support to a selection argument, they suggest that the effect of any selection process that works through cohabitation is likely to be quite small.

CONSISTENCY OF ESTIMATES BY NSFG WAVE

To test whether our estimates from the NSFG 2002 and 2006-10 are consistent with one another and with earlier NSFG waves, we take advantage of information on overlapping marriage cohorts across NSFG waves. We use a hazard model similar to Model 1 (described in the main text) to test whether there are significant differences in the relationship between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution by NSFG wave. This model can be formalized as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 h(t) = \lambda_0(t) \exp \{ & \sum_k \beta_k^C d_k^C + \sum_l \beta_l^S d_l^S + \sum_m \beta_m^{WE} d_m^{WE} + \sum_n \beta_n^{HE} d_n^{HE} + \beta^P d^P + \beta^O d^O \\
 & + \sum_{kl} \beta_{kl}^{CS} d_{kl}^{CS} + \sum_k \beta_k^{CP} d_k^{CP} + \sum_k \beta_k^{CO} d_k^{CO} + \sum_l \beta_l^{SP} d_l^{SP} + \sum_l \beta_l^{SO} d_l^{SO} \\
 & + \sum_{kl} \beta_{kl}^{CSP} d_{kl}^{CSP} + \sum_{kl} \beta_{kl}^{CSO} d_{kl}^{CSO} \\
 & + \beta^W wagemar + \beta^{W^2} wagemar^2 + \beta^H hagemar + \beta^{H^2} hagemar^2 \\
 & + \beta^B d^B + \beta^R d^R \}
 \end{aligned} \tag{S1}$$

where d_k^C are dichotomous variables for marriage cohort ($k = 1950-54, \dots, 2000-04$), d_l^S are dichotomous variables for data source ($l = 1$:NSFG Waves 1-5, 2 :NSFG 2002, 3 :NSFG 2006-10, 4 :PSID), d_m^{WE} and d_n^{HE} are dichotomous variables for wife's and husband's education category, d^P is a dichotomous variable for hypogamous couples, d^O is a dichotomous variable for homogamous couples, $wagemar$ is wife's age at marriage, $hagemar$ is husband's age at marriage, d^B is a dichotomous variable identifying African American wives, d^R is a dichotomous variable indicating that the wife's current marriage is a remarriage, and the β s are the parameters to be estimated. Thus, β_l^{SP} , β_l^{SO} , β_{kl}^{CSP} , and β_{kl}^{CSO} allow us to test whether there are differences in the

association between spouses' relative education and marital dissolution by data source within marriage cohorts.

Table S2 shows the hazard ratios of dissolution in the NSFG 2002 relative to the earlier waves of the NSFG for overlapping marriage cohorts. The hazard ratios from the NSFG 2002 are higher than those estimated from earlier waves of the NSFG; that is, hypogamous and homogamous wives were more likely to divorce relative to hypergamous wives. None of these hazard ratios, however, come close to conventional levels statistical significance.

Next, we test whether estimates from the NSFG 2002 and NSFG 2006-10 differ. Although one of the hypogamy hazard ratios is large, none reach statistical significance at the .05 level, and there is no evidence of a systematic difference between the sources.

COMPARISON OF RESULTS FROM NSFG, PSID, JUNE CPS, AND CENSUS DATA

Figures S2 and S3 compare key descriptive statistics from the NSFG, PSID, June CPS, and U.S. census. Figure S2 shows mean years of schooling by couple type and data source. The results are quite consistent across sources. Each shows that hypogamous husbands and wives have increased their schooling disproportionately quickly relative to hypergamous husbands and wives. Figure S3 shows trends in the difference between spouses' education categories for hypogamous and hypergamous couples. Again, the data sources show similar trends: differences among hypogamous couples grew and differences among hypergamous couples declined.

CONTROLLING FOR SINGLE YEARS OF SCHOOLING

One potential issue with our results is that we control for husbands' and wives' education levels using education categories rather than single years of schooling. It is possible that the changes we observe are partially due to educational shifts within these categories. The PSID and the 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, and 1995 NSFG samples contain information on both husband's and wife's single years of schooling. The 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG only contain husband's education category. Therefore, our sample for this sensitivity test excludes the 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG.

To test the sensitivity of our results to controls for single years of schooling, we estimate two sets of models using the PSID and 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, and 1995 NSFG samples. In the first, we replicate Models 2 and 3 from the main text using our modified sample (Models 2a and 3a). In the second set of models, instead of controlling for education using dummy variables for the four education categories, we use dummy variables for single years of husband's and wife's schooling (Models 2b and 3b). Our coding of spouses' relative education and the difference between spouses' education remains unchanged in these new models, i.e., they are still based on education categories.

Panels A and B of Figure S4 show that the results omitting the 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG are very similar to those including these data (Figure 2, Panels B and C). Panels C and D in Figure S4 show that controlling for single years of husbands' and wives' schooling does not appreciably change the trends, but does shift the hypogamy hazard ratios downward somewhat. Additional analyses reveal that this shift is due to the inclusion of single years of schooling for husbands rather than for wives (not shown). This means that part of the higher likelihood of divorce among hypogamous couples in the past was due to hypogamous husbands' lower educational attainment within educational categories. Once this is taken into account, the higher likelihood of divorce among hypogamous couples is reduced somewhat. This is an interesting

result; nevertheless, there is still evidence that hypogamous couples were more likely to divorce in the past than hypergamous couples. Estimates from Model 2b indicate that the average hazard of divorce for hypogamous couples marrying between 1950-54 and 1974-79 was 1.22 times that of hypergamous couples ($p = .033$). Results from Model 3b indicate that the average hazard for hypogamous couples marrying between 1960-64 and 1974-79 was 1.19 times that of hypergamous couples, although this result is significant at the 10% rather than at the 5% level ($p = .080$).

OTHER SENSITIVITY TESTS

Censoring at 10 years of follow-up. Couples in our analyses are observed for varying lengths of time, depending on their marriage and interview dates. To determine whether this affects our results, we (1) excluded couples who were observed for less than 10 years and had not dissolved their unions, and (2) censored couples who were observed for more than 10 years and had not dissolved their unions by 10 years of marriage. We also excluded the 2000-04 marriage cohort from this analysis because only a small number of couples had been married for 10 years. Table S3 shows that the results from Models 2 and 3 are similar to those presented in the main text although the trends are somewhat less pronounced. This may partially be because we observe trends only through the 1995-99 marriage cohort, however.

Excluding remarried wives. Our PSID and 2002 and 2006-10 NSFG samples contain remarried wives whereas samples from earlier NSFG waves do not. Thus, the growing proportion of remarried couples may affect our results. Table S3 presents the results of Models 2 and 3 from the main text excluding remarriages. The results are very similar to those shown in Table 3, but are less precisely estimated.

Weights. We do not weight the data in our hazard analyses. Does our decision not to weight affect the results? Figure S5 shows the results of Models 2 and 3 when both data sets are weighted. In these models, each NSFG wave is given equal weight within marriage cohorts. These results are very similar to those shown in Panel B and C of Figure 2, indicating that weighting does not substantially affect our results.

Results by wife's race. We control wife's race in our main analysis, but it is possible that trends in the association between spouses' relative education and divorce differ by race. To investigate this, we estimate the results separately for African American and white wives. Figure S6 shows results for two models (Models 2 and 3 in the main text) for both samples. It shows descriptive evidence that relative education has changed less for African American women than for white women. Differences in the trend estimates by race are statistically significant at the 10% level in Model 2 ($p = .077$), but are not significant in Model 3. Trends for African American women are measured imprecisely, and a decline in the hazard ratios for both hypogamous and homogamous African American wives would be within the 95% confidence intervals for these trends (not shown).

Table S1. Estimates of Model Fit for Hazard Models of Marital Dissolution: More Complex Measures of Spouses' Relative Education

Model	Likelihood Ratio	Model <i>df</i>	BIC	AIC
1950-2004 Marriage Cohorts (<i>N</i> = 39,589)				
(A1) Baseline ^a	3590.9	19	-3390	194410
(A2) Model A1 + (Hypogamy x Wife's Educ) + (Homogamy x Wife's Educ)	2751.7	21	-2529	195253
(A3) Model A1 + (Husband's Education Category x Wife's Education Category)	2753.7	23	-2510	195255
1950-1979 Marriage Cohorts (<i>N</i> = 25,456)				
(B1) Baseline ^a	2030.5	19	-1838	136689
(B2) Model B1 + (Hypogamy x Wife's Educ) + (Homogamy x Wife's Educ)	1440.3	21	-1227	137283
(B3) Model B1 + (Husband's Education Category x Wife's Education Category)	1441.9	23	-1209	137285
1980-2004 Marriage Cohorts (<i>N</i> = 14,133)				
(C1) Baseline ^a	1533.1	19	-1351	46295
(C2) Model C1 + (Hypogamy x Wife's Educ) + (Homogamy x Wife's Educ)	1507.8	21	-1307	46324
(C3) Model C1 + (Husband's Education Category x Wife's Education Category)	1508.5	23	-1289	46328

Notes: ^aContains linear and quadratic terms for husband's age at marriage, wife's age at marriage, and marriage cohort; dummy variables for wife's race (1=African American, 0=other), marriage number (1=remarriage, 0=first marriage), data source (1=NSFG 1973-1995, 2=PSID, 3=NSFG 2002 and 2006-10), husband's and wife's education category (<12, 13-15, ≥16), and spouses' relative education (1=hypogamous, 2=homogamous, 3=hypergamous); and a linear term for the absolute difference between spouses' education categories. Educ = Education category.

Sources: Pooled data from the 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Table S2. Hazard Ratios of Marital Dissolution by Spouses' Relative Education, NSFG Wave, and Marriage Cohort

	(W>H vs. W<H)		(W=H vs W<H)	
	Hazard Ratio	z	Hazard Ratio	z
NSFG 2002 vs. NSFG 1973-95				
1975-79 cohort	1.15	0.60	1.16	0.70
1980-84 cohort	1.99	0.96	1.91	0.96
NSFG 2002 vs. NSFG 2006-10				
1980-84 cohort	0.99	0.01	0.57	0.47
1985-89 cohort	4.23	1.88	0.96	0.06
1990-94 cohort	0.84	0.33	0.50	1.39
1995-99 cohort	1.56	1.12	1.33	0.80
2000-04 cohort	0.95	0.12	1.15	0.31

Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Education categories are <12, 12, 13-15, ≥16. Two-tailed z-tests where *p < .05; **p < .01.

Sources: 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Table S3. Hazard Ratios of the Association Between Spouses' Relative Education and Marital Dissolution by Sample and Marriage Cohort

	10-Year Follow-Up		First Marriages	
	Pooled Estimates (Model 2)	Education Associations (Model 3)	Pooled Estimates (Model 2)	Education Associations (Model 3)
Marriage Cohort and Spouses' Relative Education				
1950-54 Marriage Cohort				
Hypergamous (W<H, omitted)	--	--	--	--
Hypogamous (W>H)	1.62 ** ^a (3.86)	1.24 (0.74)	1.50 ** ^a (3.23)	1.20 (0.66)
Homogamous (W=H)	1.17 (1.72)	1.00 (0.01)	1.11 (1.18)	0.98 (0.14)
1995-99/2000-04 ^b Marriage Cohort				
Hypergamous (W<H, omitted)	--	--	--	--
Hypogamous (W>H)	0.95 (0.35)	0.79 (0.72)	0.83 (1.21)	0.58 (1.49)
Homogamous (W=H)	0.93 (0.69)	0.81 (1.12)	0.83 (1.47)	0.67 (1.94)
Ratio of 1950-54 to 1995-99/2000-04 ^b Marriage Cohorts				
Hypergamous (W<H, omitted)	--	--	--	--
Hypogamous (W>H)	1.70 ** (4.27)	1.57 (1.23)	1.79 ** (4.32)	2.08 (1.86)
Homogamous (W=H)	1.26 * (2.12)	1.23 (1.00)	1.33 * (2.40)	1.46 (1.72)
N	24,935	24,935	37,255	37,255

Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Hazard ratios are given with $|z|$ statistics in parentheses. Two-tailed z -tests where * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Model 2 contains linear and quadratic terms for marriage cohort, husband's age at marriage, and wife's age at marriage; dummy variables for wife's race (1=African American, 0=other), marriage number (1=remarriage, 0=first marriage), data source (1=NSFG 1973-1995, 2=PSID, 3=NSFG 2002 and 2006-10), husband's and wife's education category (<12, 13-15, ≥ 16), and spouses' relative education (1=hypogamous, 2=homogamous, 3=hypergamous); and a linear term for the absolute difference between spouses' education categories. Model 3 additionally contains interaction terms between linear and quadratic terms for marriage cohort and dummy variables for husband's and wife's education category.

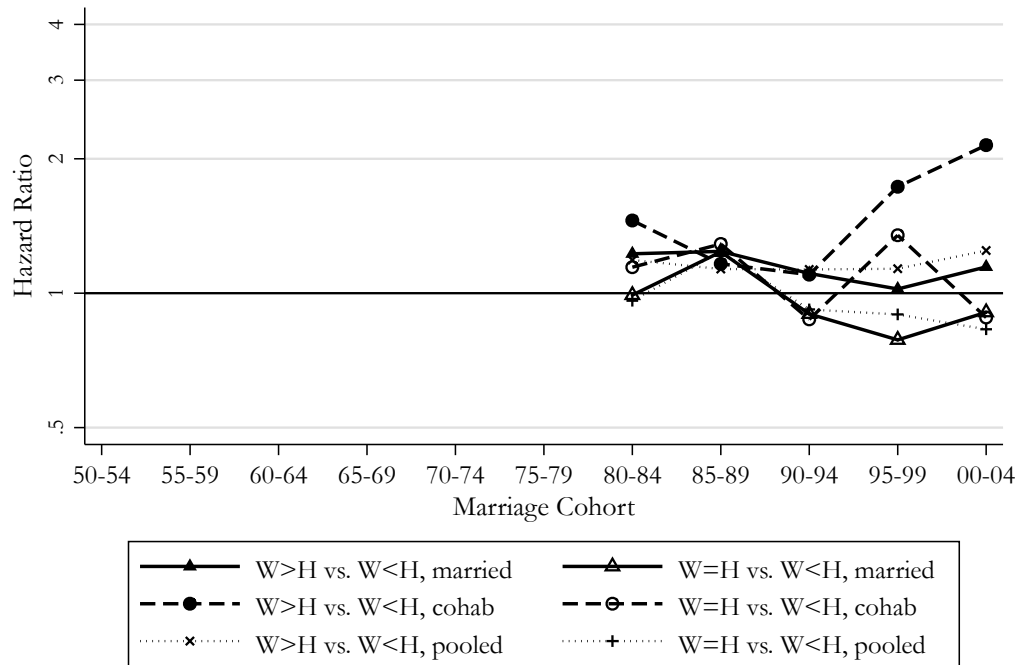
^aHazard ratios for hypogamous versus homogamous couples are statistically significant (two tailed z -test, $p < .05$).

^bThe youngest cohort was married in 1995-99 in the "10-Year Follow-Up" analysis and in 2000-04 in the "First Marriages" analysis.

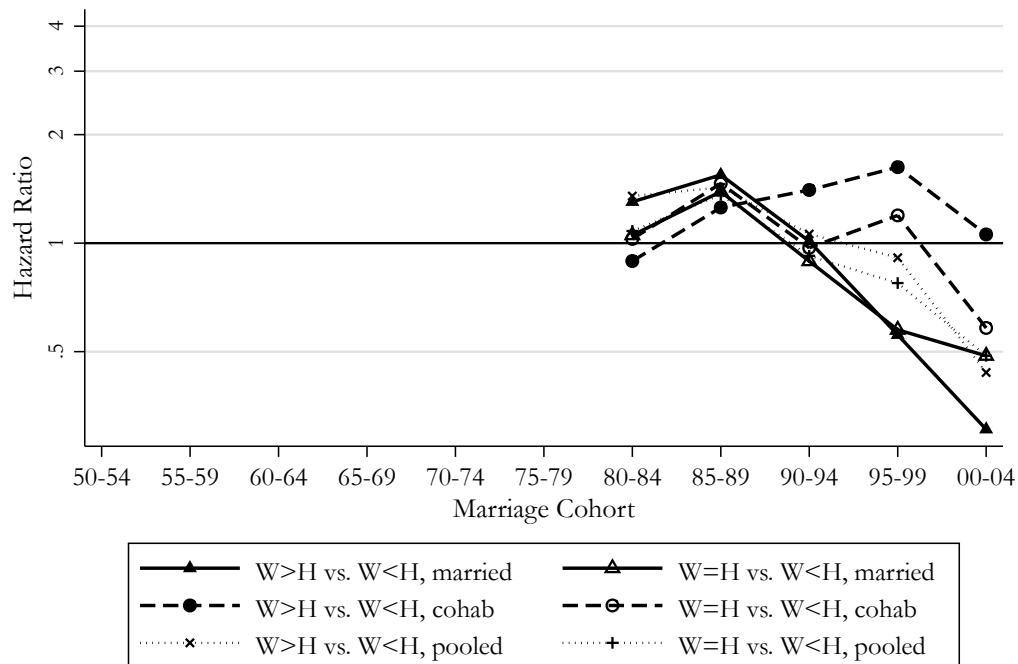
Sources: Pooled data from the 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure S1. Hazard Ratios of Union Dissolution by Union Cohort and Couple Type for Married Couples, Cohabitors, and Married and Cohabiting Couples Pooled

Panel A. Model 1



Panel B. Controlling for Changing Education x Dissolution Association

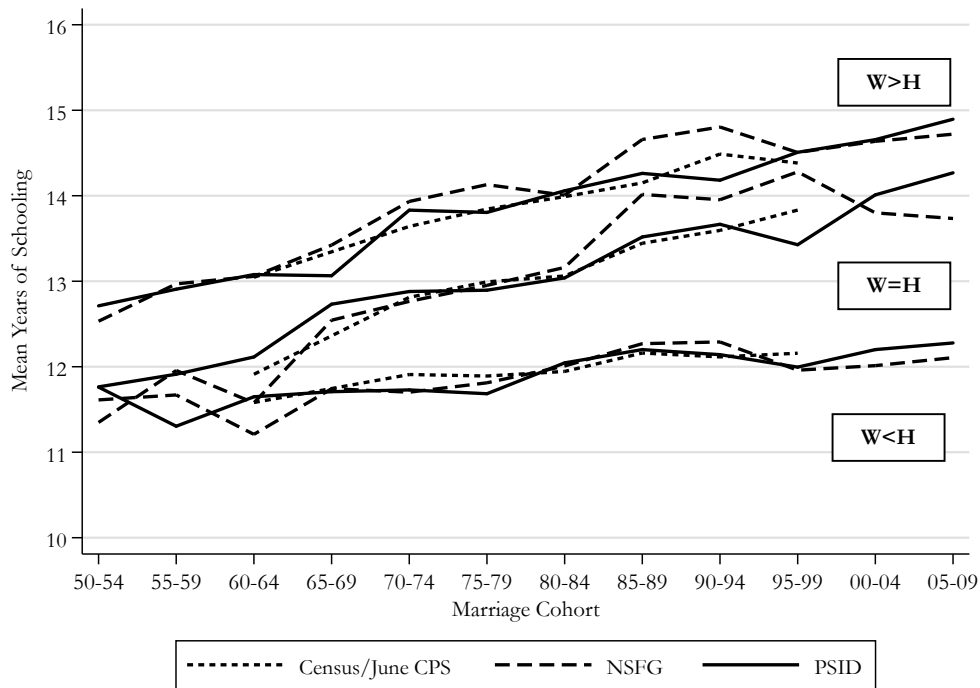


Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Education categories are <12, 12, 13-15, ≥16. Cohab = cohabitor.

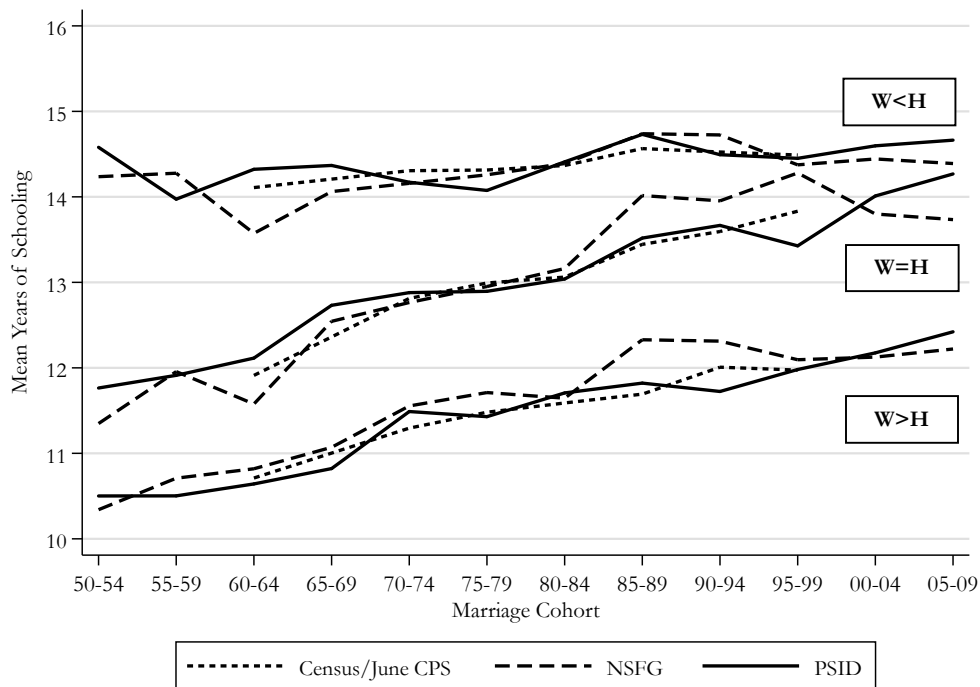
Source: 1983-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure S2. Mean Years of Schooling Among Husbands and Wives in Hypogamous ($W > H$), Homogamous ($W = H$), and Hypergamous ($W < H$) Marriages by Marriage Cohort and Data Source

Panel A. Wives' Mean Years of Schooling



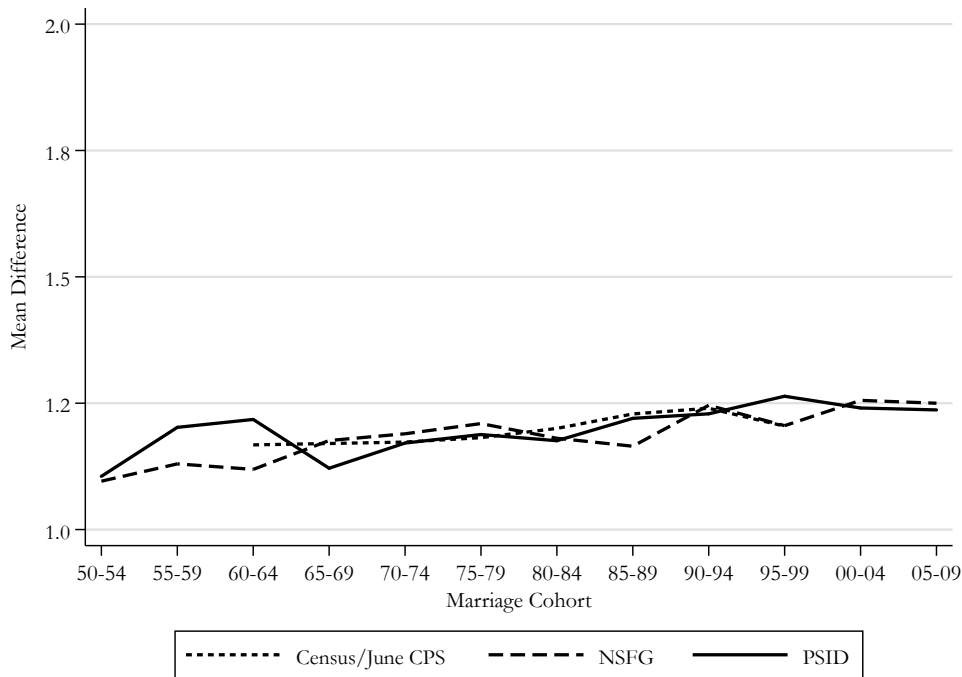
Panel B. Husbands' Mean Years of Schooling



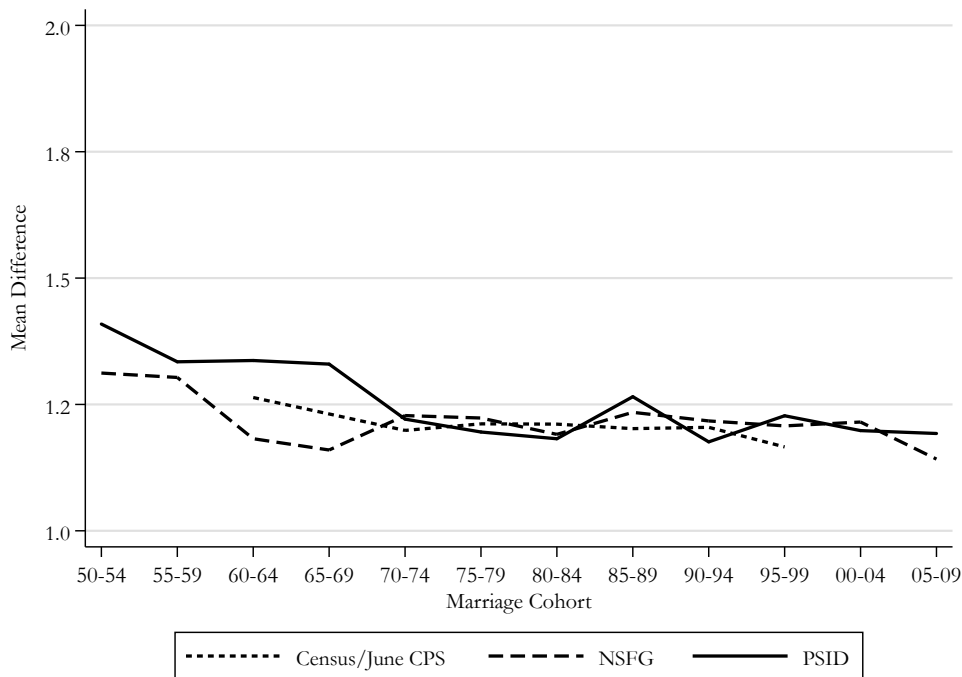
Notes: W =wife's education category; H =husband's education category. Education categories are <12 , 12, 13-15, ≥ 16 .
 Sources: 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. censuses (IPUMS); 1971-1995 June Current Population Survey (CPS); 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG); and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure S3. Mean Education Difference Between Heterogamous Spouses (Number of Categories) by Marriage Cohort and Data Source

Panel A. Hypogamous Marriages (W>H)



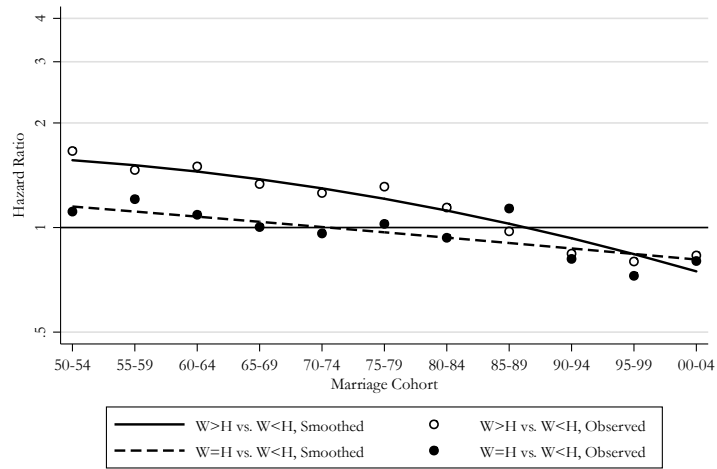
Panel B. Hypergamous Marriages (W<H)



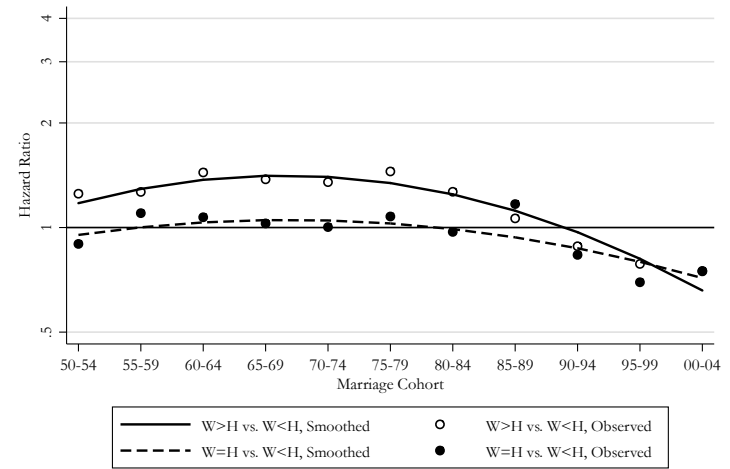
Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Education categories are <12, 12, 13-15, ≥ 16 .
Sources: 1960, 1970, and 1980 U.S. censuses (IPUMS); 1971-1995 June Current Population Survey (CPS); 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG); and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure S4. Hazard Ratios of Marital Dissolution by Marriage Cohort and Spouses' Relative Education: Sensitivity to Measurement of Education

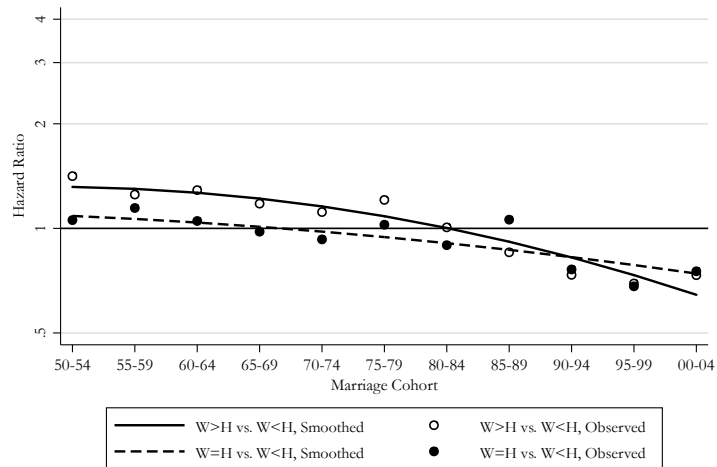
Panel A. Control for Education Categories (Model 2a)



Panel B. Control for Education Categories (Model 3a)



Panel C. Control for Single Years of Schooling (Model 2b)



Panel D. Control for Single Years of Schooling (Model 3b)

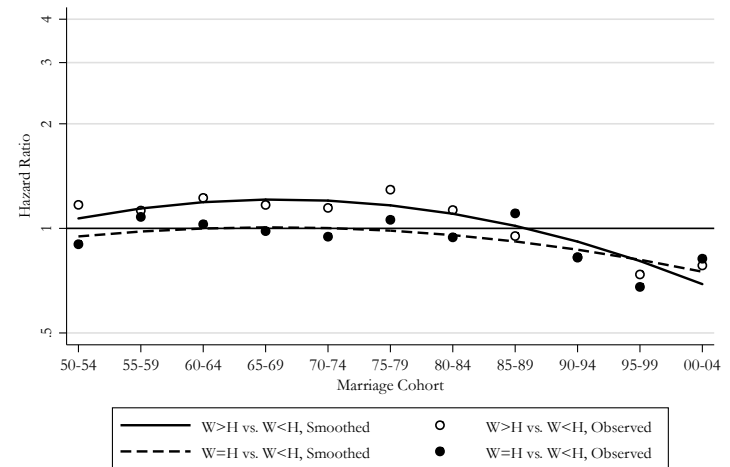
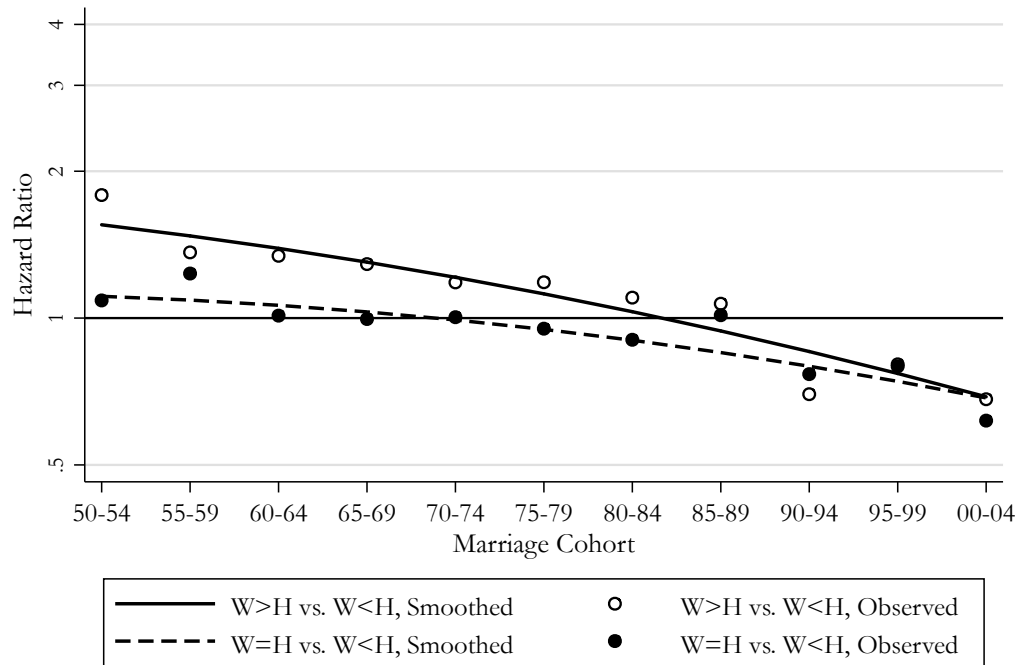
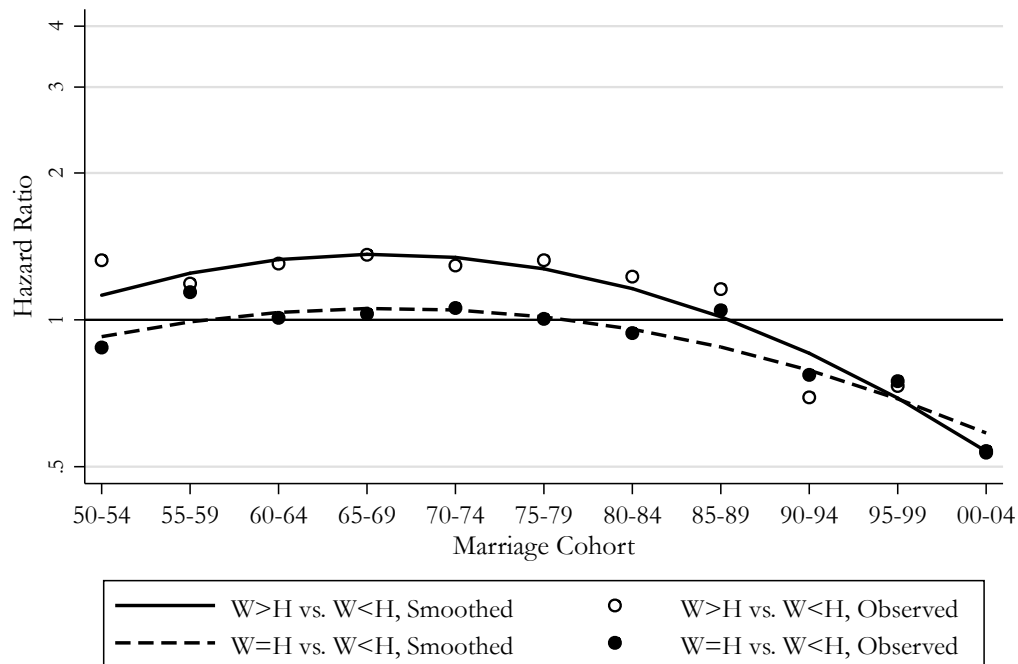


Figure S5. Hazard Ratios of Marital Dissolution for Hypogamous Couples ($W>H$) and Homogamous Couples ($W=H$) Relative to Hypergamous Couples ($W<H$) by Marriage Cohort (Results are Weighted)

Panel A. Pooled Estimates (Model 2)



Panel B. Pooled Estimates Controlling for Changing Education x Dissolution Association (Model 3)

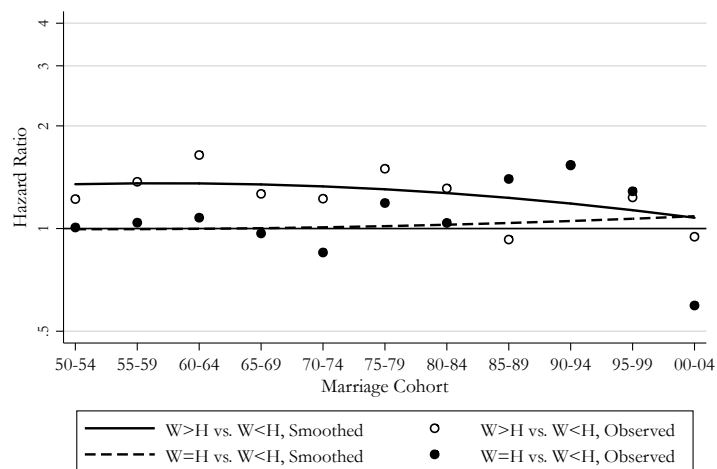


Notes: W=wife's education category; H=husband's education category. Education categories are <12, 12, 13-15, ≥ 16 .

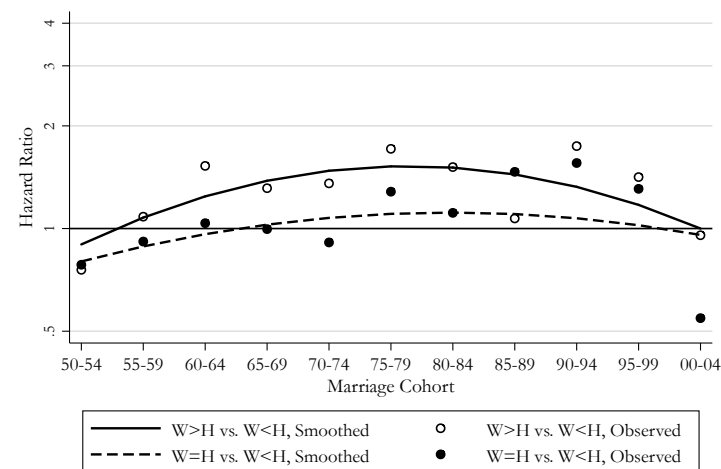
Sources: 1973, 1976, 1982, 1988, 1995, 2002, and 2006-10 National Survey of Family Growth (NSFG) and the 1968-2009 Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID).

Figure S6. Hazard Ratios of Marital Dissolution by Marriage Cohort, Spouses' Relative Educational Attainment, and Wife's Race

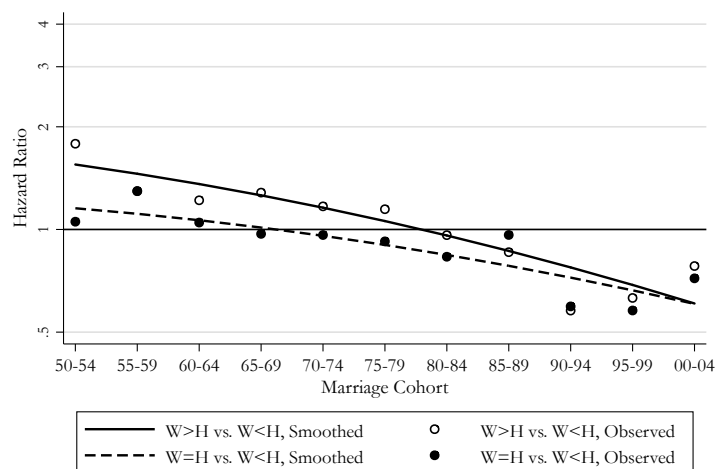
Panel A. African American Wives (Model 2)



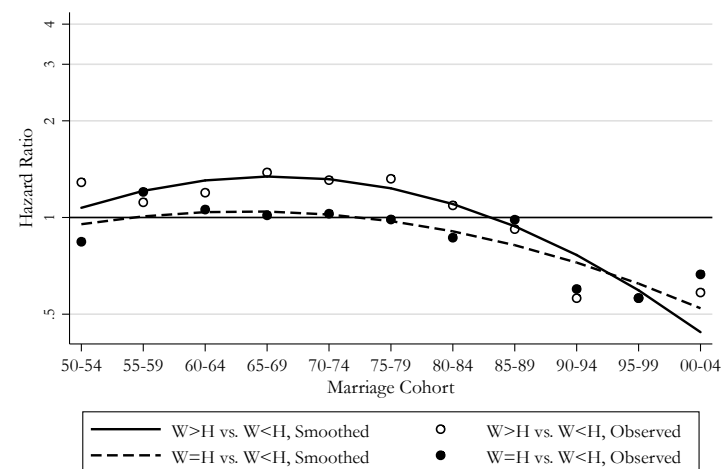
Panel B. African American Wives (Model 3)



Panel C. White Wives (Model 2)



Panel D. White Wives (Model 3)



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