

Leisure Inequality: Comparing Same-Sex and Different-Sex Couples in the United States
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ABSTRACT

Amounts and types of leisure are behavioral indicators of health and social integration that are linked with gender and social class disparities in health. Intersecting influences of sexuality and gender have been overlooked, despite evidence sexuality affects leisure preferences and constraints, and health outcomes. We use 2003-2017 American Time Use Survey data to examine leisure activity differences between cohabiting or married gay men, lesbian women, and heterosexual women and men. We find gay men report less sedentary and socially isolated leisure than heterosexual men, but more than lesbian women. Lesbian women also report more sedentary and socially isolated leisure compared with heterosexual women. However, sociodemographic differences account for associations of sexuality with leisure within gender, but do not explain leisure disparities comparing gay men and lesbian women. Our work contributes by using an intersectional lens to advance the evidence base about the complex connections between social disadvantage and leisure disparities.

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Introduction & Rationale:

Amounts and types of leisure are behavioral indicators of physical and mental health and social integration. Less time in social-oriented activities (e.g., socializing, cultural, entertainment, and celebratory events) and physically active leisure (e.g., exercising, outdoor recreation) is associated with negative health outcomes, including cardiovascular disease, obesity, chronic stress, social isolation and less satisfying intimate relationships (Bird & Reiker, 2008; Bittman, 2002; Grøntved & Hu, 2011; Passias, Sayer, & Pepin, 2017; Stern & Munn, 2010; Verghese, Wang, Katz, Sanders, & Lipton, 2009;). Studies have emphasized gender, racial-ethnic, and social class differences in links between leisure and health disparities but have overlooked the role of sexuality. Research that considers intersections of stratification systems, rather than additive dimensions of inequality, is necessary to advance understandings about the pathways between leisure activities and health (Gorman, Denney, Dowdy, & Medeiros, 2015).

There are three reasons to investigate the intertwined influence of sexuality and gender with leisure patterns. First, sexuality differentiates both health behaviors and health outcomes. Heterosexual men engage in less active leisure and are more likely to be overweight, but also less likely to smoke or drink heavily, compared with gay men; in contrast, heterosexual women are less likely to be overweight, smoke, or drink heavily compared with lesbian women (Conron, Mimiaga, & Landers, 2010; Roberts, Dibble, Nussey, & Casey, 2003; Tang *et al.*, 2004). Overweight individuals report more sedentary leisure compared with less heavy adults (Thorp, Owen, Neuhaus, & Dunstan, 2011). Hence, heterosexual men should report less active and social leisure, and more sedentary leisure compared with gay men. Predictions about how lesbian women's and gay men's heavier alcohol consumption and smoking might affect leisure are less clear, given the lack of research on how these health behaviors affect leisure patterns.

Second, the salience of leisure activities to gay and lesbian communities historically and sociodemographic differences between lesbian, gay, and heterosexual women and men motivate consideration of sexuality as an axis of leisure differentiation. Leisure activities and spaces have historically been essential elements in the development and expression of gay and lesbian identities and “gay culture” broadly (Stacey, 2011; Valocchi, 2017). The rise of rational organizations during industrialization, and related expansion of managerial occupations and women’s labor force and public presence generally, engendered spaces and avenues for gay and lesbian Americans to collectively express identity (D’Emilio, 1983; Katz, 2007; Kimmel, 1996; Valocchi, 2017; Valocchi, 1999). Since then, frequenting public spaces that welcome the collective expression of gay and lesbian identities is a central contemporary practice of managing stigma, disclosure, and personal safety (Kivel, 1994). This literature suggests that gay men and lesbian women should report higher levels of active and social leisure, and less sedentary leisure, compared with heterosexual men and women.

Third, sociodemographic characteristics that differentiate leisure time also vary by sexuality. Gay men and lesbian women are more likely to be racial-minorities, younger, and to have more education (Gates, 2015). Among couples, same sex couples are less likely than different sex couples to be parents (Gates, 2015). Employment rates are similar among gay and heterosexual men, but gay men earn lower wages compared with heterosexual men; in contrast, lesbian women are more likely to be employed and earn higher wages compared with heterosexual women (Black *et al.*, 2000; Hammarstedt, Ahmed, & Andersson, 2015; Waite & Denier, 2015). Active and social leisure is higher among younger, college-educated, and higher income women and men, whereas sedentary leisure is higher among older, less educated, lower income, and non-White women and men (Sayer, 2016). Parents report less overall leisure

compared with non-parents and they also report less socially isolated leisure because a major share of their leisure is done with children present (Sayer, 2018 in press).

This study contributes to the literature by being the first to analyze differences by sexuality in four types of leisure that have distinct implications for health and social integration (Bianchi, Robinson, & Milkie, 2006; Craig & Mullan, 2013; Passias *et al.*, 2017; Sevilla, Gimenez-Nadal, & Gershuny, 2012). We use pooled 2003-2017 data from the American Time Use Survey (ATUS) to compare patterns of leisure time between same-sex ($n = 628$) and different-sex ($n = 101,017$) women and men who are cohabiting or married. ATUS data do not ascertain sexual identity or behavior, so we are limited to comparing individuals who report a same-sex partner, rather than those who report same-sex sexual behavior, attraction or identity.

Exploring variation in the daily leisure of same-sex and different-sex couples is a useful addition to the literature on increased diversity and diverging destinies of families (Bianchi & Milkie, 2010). The prevalence of same-sex couples has increased and attitudes about same-sex couples and LGBT identity and behavior are more accepting (Brown, 2017; Fingerhut, 2016). However, the expansion of formal and informal rights and privileges has been uneven, particularly acceptance of public expressions of sexuality (Doan, Loehr, & Miller, 2014; Fingerhut, 2016). Related to this uneven expansion, existing and new health disparities by sexuality are evident. For example, lesbian women have repeatedly been shown to have higher alcohol intake (Case *et al.*, 2004; Hatzenbuehler, Mclaughlin, & Slopen, 2013) and higher BMIs (Hatzenbuehler *et al.*, 2013) than heterosexual women, while gay and bisexual men have been reported as having higher average markers of cardiovascular stress (Hatzenbuehler *et al.*, 2013) and higher incidence of illicit drug use (Kecojevic *et al.*, 2012) than their heterosexual counterparts. Additionally, social exclusion and estrangement has been shown to increase the

risk of depressive symptoms among sexual minority men in particular (Koh & Ross, 2006), and these findings have been extended to show that bisexual men and women are also more likely to express depressive symptomology than heterosexual individuals (Benson & Hergenroeder, 2010). Relatedly, McLaughlin, Hatzenbuehler, and Keyes (2010) find that discrimination against LGBT persons is associated with high rates of psychiatric disorders, and Remfadi, French, Story, Resnick, and Blum (1998) find that experiences with discrimination, violence, and victimization are associated with higher rates of suicide among sexual minorities.

This research suggests health behaviors that are expressed through leisure activities (e.g., exercise, cultivating social networks, learning new skills, getting involved with recreational, civic, and social groups, etc.) differ by sexuality, but research on how leisure itself varies is quite limited. Given this information, the uneven expansion of formal and informal rights and privileges, and the relevance of daily activity patterns to the reproduction of the aforementioned health disparities, it is important to examine the nature and quality of leisure activities. And while the literature to-date has examined the well-being of children in same-sex families, there is an absence of research surrounding the daily activity patterns of adults in same-sex couples. Understanding how leisure patterns vary by sexuality, and if differences are mediated by sociodemographic variation between women and men in same-sex and different-sex couples will advance understanding of how sexuality is associated with material, social, and health disparities (Augustine, Avelanes, & Pfeffer, 2017; Biblarz & Stacey, 2010; Gorman *et al.*, 2015; Risman & Schartz, 1988).

Data & Methodology:

We pool 2003-2017 data from the ATUS to maximize sample size of gay men and lesbian women and minimize random fluctuations of leisure time from year to year. Preliminary tests indicated no significant time trend in overall leisure or types of leisure. The ATUS is collected three to five months after the eighth rotation of the Current Population Survey (CPS). One person from each household in the CPS is randomly selected to complete a 24h time diary and update some sociodemographic respondent and household data (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018). Individuals completing the time diary report on the timing and sequencing of all activities, their location, and the co-presence of any other individuals, from 4 am on the day prior to the ATUS telephone interview to 4am of the interview date. Since the ATUS does not collect information regarding sexual orientation, we ascertain gay and lesbian status using data on respondent sex and the sex of the cohabiting or married partner in the household. The restricted comparison between same-sex and different-sex couples is a limitation of ATUS and this study, as patterns of leisure time likely also vary by gender and sexuality among single individuals. However, the ATUS is the only U.S. time diary data. The advantages of using valid and reliable measures of leisure activities with consistent coding of activities and greater accuracy in reporting duration and frequency of events we believe compensate for this limitation (Juster, Ono, & Stafford, 2003).

Our four leisure measures are constructed to consider leisure quality criteria, such as the physical and mental health benefits and potential for social integration, identified by feminist leisure and public health research (Henderson & Hickerson, 2007; Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz, & Stone, 2004; Passias *et al.*, 2017; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). Most studies define leisure as a residual category, composed of remaining time after subtracting time in obligatory

activities (paid work, housework, and care work) and biologically necessary activities (eating and sleeping). However, rather than measuring leisure as left-over “free time,” theoretically informed conceptualizations consider if leisure is enjoyable, refreshing, discretionary, and provide exposure to activities that facilitate physical, cognitive, and social development (Henderson & Hickerson, 2007; Kahneman *et al.*, 2004; Passias *et al.*, 2017; Robinson & Godbey, 1997). We adopt this perspective and create four summary leisure measures that aggregate time in more granular activities reported on the diary day: active, social, sedentary, and socially isolated. Active, social, and sedentary leisure consist of mutually exclusive activities. For example, active leisure is a combination of physically and mentally engaging activities, including exercising, participating in team and individual sports, outdoor recreation, hobbies, reading for pleasure, and playing musical instruments, or electronic and board games. Social leisure includes activities such as attending entertainment/arts events and socializing or visiting with others. Sedentary leisure consists of watching television (primarily), listening to music, and relaxing, etc. Socially isolated leisure is measured as time spent in any of the above three leisure activities when the respondent reports doing the activity alone at home. Active and social leisure represent higher quality leisure time, because of the greater potential for physical and mental health benefits and social integration. In contrast, sedentary and socially isolated leisure represent lower quality leisure time because these activities offer fewer physical and mental health benefits and also expose individuals to public and social engagement.

We combine gender and sexuality into four categories: gay men ($n = 254$), lesbian women ($n = 340$), heterosexual men ($n = 44,884$) and heterosexual women ($n = 49,077$). We also include controls for parental and employment status, education, household income, age, race-ethnicity, region, and whether the time diary was completed on a weekend day, all factors

documented to influence leisure time disparities (Sayer, 2016; Sevilla *et al.*, 2012). Parental status is coded as a binary variable denoting presence of household children under the age of 18. Employment status is categorized into three categories: employed, unemployed, and not in the labor force. Seeking employment reduces time available for leisure and unemployment/not working reduces money available for leisure consumption which should affect certain types of leisure more strongly than others (e.g. sedentary, in-home leisure is relatively low-cost). Level of education is divided into four mutually exclusive categories: less than a high school diploma/GED, high school diploma/GED, some college or an associate's degree, and a bachelor's degree or higher. Categorical measures of education are commonly used in studies of gender and class differences in leisure because of how they signal credentials associated with economic resources and class-differentiated lifestyles and habits (Passias *et al.*, 2017; Sayer, Bianchi, & Robinson, 2004; Sevilla *et al.* 2012). The 16 categorical incomes categories reported by the ATUS are recoded into four mutually exclusive income categories consistent with poverty thresholds provided by the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. income distribution: poor (less than \$20,000), low-income (\$20,001-\$50,000), middle-income (\$50,001-\$75,000), and high-income (greater than \$75,000). Age is a continuous variable, and we include all adults in the ATUS to maximize our sample size of same-sex couples (range is 18 to 85). Given sample size constraints, race/ethnicity is categorized into three mutually exclusive categories: White, Black, and other. Region is coded into four categories: Northeast, Midwest, West, and South.

Sociodemographic characteristics differ in the ATUS compared with more representative studies of the LGBT population. Results shown in Table 1 indicate gay men and lesbian women are more likely to be White and to be about the same age (mean of 45 for men; mean of 46 for women) as heterosexual men and women. More similar to population level estimates, ATUS data

indicate gay men and lesbian women are more likely to have a college degree, be employed, and be earning higher incomes relative to heterosexual men and women. Higher levels of employment may enhance leisure spending (greater employment may be associated with greater expendable income) or the structured work environment may take away from available time for leisure activities. Additionally, higher levels of education may be influential to leisure preferences and leisure activity selection. Also similar to population level estimates, ATUS data indicate gay men and lesbian women are disproportionately more likely to be non-parents compared to heterosexual men and women. The constraints of parenthood are thus less likely to influence and dictate the leisure activities of same-sex couples. Gay men are more likely to be living in the West region (32% v. 23%) compared with heterosexual men.

We model differences by gender and sexuality in active, social, sedentary, and socially isolated leisure using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression. We estimate three separate regressions, first comparing leisure patterns between gay and heterosexual men, then lesbian and heterosexual women, and last gay men and lesbian women. We present results in this abstract only for the gender-sexuality category, from models that include all control variables and interaction effects.

Results:

Figure 1 and Table 2 show the mean number of minutes per day that is spent in each type of leisure across relationship types. There are several notable differences that emerge. First, men in same-sex couples engage in less sedentary leisure daily (175.8 minutes) compared to men in different-sex couples (204.7 minutes) and more sedentary leisure daily than women in same-sex couples (149.6 minutes); and second, men in same-sex couples engage in less socially isolated

leisure daily (69.9 minutes) compared to men in different-sex couples (83.0 minutes) and more socially isolated leisure daily than women in same-sex couples (51.3 minutes). Relatedly, women in different-sex couples engage in more socially isolated leisure daily (59.8 minutes) than women in same-sex couples (46.3 minutes). In general, men (in both same-sex and different-sex couples) experience a greater total amount of leisure time across these four classifications than women in either relationship type. In combination, these descriptive statistics appear to suggest that gay men and lesbian women experience less lower quality leisure than their heterosexual counterparts, and lesbian women experience less lower quality leisure than gay men. Table 3 shows OLS coefficients of our gender and sexuality categorical measure. M1 includes no controls; M2 adds covariates for parental and employment status, education, and weekend diary day; M3 adds covariates for household income, race-ethnicity, age, and region. Table 4 extends table 3 by introducing interaction effects in two separate models: M4 additionally tests the association of education and interactions with sexuality; and M5 tests the association of income and interactions with sexuality – separately. The inclusion of these interaction effects is supported by both our preliminary findings and recent leisure time use research showing that social disadvantage exacerbates leisure deficits (Passias *et al.*, 2017).

Table 3 reveals three findings. First, sexuality does not significantly or substantively affect active and social leisure time, even without controls, contrary to our expectations and the literature. The lack of significance could be due to the small sample size of gay men and lesbian women, or to our restriction to couples. Investigations of how sexuality and gender influence active and social leisure with larger, more representative samples of LGBT population would be a useful next step. Second, sexuality differentiates men's leisure more so than women's leisure, but disparities are due to compositional differences. Heterosexual men report about 40 minutes

more sedentary, and 17 minutes more isolated leisure compared with same sex men in M1.

Adjusting for the lower proportion of gay men who are parents, unemployed or out of the labor force, and less educated, reduces the sexuality coefficient by about 17 minutes (23.1m) but does not change the magnitude for socially isolated leisure. In M3, however, the addition of controls that adjust for gay men's higher income, greater proportion who are White and living in the West accounts for remaining differences by sexuality in sedentary and social leisure. The only significant finding comparing women is in M2, that lesbian women report about 18 minutes more socially isolated leisure, but again the disparity is due to compositional differences in income and minority status.

Third, compositional differences between gay men and lesbian women appear to mask leisure disparities. There are no significant differences by gender in M1 or M2, but including covariates for household income and region reveal gay men report less sedentary and less socially isolated leisure compared with lesbian women. More specifically, women in same sex couples spend approximately 30.7 minutes less in sedentary leisure activities and 25.4 minutes less in socially isolated leisure activities per day compared to men in same-sex couples. This finding supports prior literature demonstrating that women have greater access to social networks than men (with women's leisure time being motivated by community networks), and extends those findings to include women in same-sex unions as well (Antonucci & Akiyama, 1987; Antonucci, Akiyama, & Lansford, 1998; Ross & Mirowsky, 1989; Turner & Marino, 1994). Sociodemographic differences between gay men and lesbian women's income and region appear to have suppressed the difference in M2. About 62% of gay men in the ATUS have high incomes, relative to only 44% of lesbian women.

Extending our analyses to include interaction effects in Table 4, several notable findings emerge. First, both the association of education and interactions with sexuality and the association of income and interactions with sexuality (separately) appear to explain away some of the significant differences observed in M3 of Table 3 between gay men and lesbian women in regard to the amount of time spent in sedentary and socially isolated leisure activities, but are not statistically significantly associated with time spent across these two leisure types. Relatedly, results not shown here demonstrate that the association of “middle-income” and interactions with sexuality are statistically significantly associated with the amount of time spent in active leisure (across relationship types). More specifically, relative to poor adults, in among comparisons of gay men and lesbian women, middle-income adults spend approximately 58.1 more minutes in active leisure per day; among comparisons of gay men and straight men, middle-income adults spend approximately 53.5 more minutes in active leisure per day; and among comparisons of lesbian and straight women, middle-income adults spend approximately 52.4 minutes less in active leisure per day. Additionally, the association of “some college” and interactions with sexuality is statistically significantly associated with the amount of time spent in sedentary leisure among comparisons of lesbian and straight women. More specifically, relative to women with less than a high school diploma/GED, women with some college spend approximately 81.5 minutes less in sedentary leisure per day. These interaction effects further highlight the complex connections between social disadvantage and leisure disparities.

Discussion:

In sum, we find some evidence that intersections of gender and sexuality differentiate leisure, but more so comparing gay men and lesbian women than comparisons within men and

women by sexuality. Sociodemographic differences account for differences by sexuality, confirming findings in the ample literature documenting gender as one of the key determinants of time use. Gender likely remains an axis of differentiation in same-sex couples, but may manifest in different ways compared with heterosexual couples. Theoretically, women in same-sex couples might be expected to have more lower quality leisure than men in same-sex couples, because of the intersecting marginalized identities (*i.e.* being a woman and a member of a same-sex union). Our findings do not support this idea. Instead we find women in same-sex couples have less sedentary and socially isolated leisure, despite findings in the broader sexuality literature indicating gay men have greater access to public leisure spaces and higher quality leisure activities from “freedom from the pressure to parent” (D’Emilio, 1983; Stacey, 2011, p. 55). Our findings indicate stigma on the basis of sexual orientation does not differentiate leisure activities at least vis-à-vis heterosexual couples (Meyer & Northridge, 2010). It is possible our results differ from the broader literature because of positive LGBT+ attitudes and public policy since the 1990s. The possibility the salience and benefit of “gay spaces” (e.g., gay and lesbian bars and clubs) is greater among single LGBT individuals may also play a role in minimizing differences by sexuality in comparisons of couples. Hence, our preliminary results underscore the importance of future efforts to collect and analyze time use data for non-heterosexual identified adult individuals.

Although we do not find strong evidence of the centrality of sexuality among couples in differentiating leisure patterns, our full models not presented here add additional evidence to the growing body of work finding leisure time disparities result from social disadvantage. Women and men who have less education, lower incomes, and are less likely to be employed and more likely to be Black or Hispanic report more time in lower quality leisure than those from more

advantaged backgrounds. A useful next step will be examining intersections of sexuality with SES. Our small sample size unfortunately precludes considering intersections with race-ethnicity however. Additionally, testing 3-way interactions (income \times sexuality \times gender; and education \times sexuality \times gender) and exploring the joint influences of income and education may be useful next steps for this line of research.

In brief, our findings suggest a difference in the experience and place of intersections of gender and sexuality in the United States, emphasize the influence of social disadvantage on leisure time quality, and provide the opportunity to reconsider early arguments about the influences and relative importance of sexuality and gender.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics by Relationship Type, 2003-2017

	Men Same-Sex (<i>N</i> = 254)	Women Same-Sex (<i>N</i> = 340)	Men Different-Sex (<i>N</i> = 44,884)	Women Different-Sex (<i>N</i> = 49,077)
Race/Ethnicity				
White	92.1%	90.0%	85.9%	86.0%
Black	4.7%	6.8%	8.2%	7.7%
Other	3.2%	3.2%	6.0%	6.4%
Parental Status				
Yes	13.4%	29.4%	54.4%	56.2%
No	86.6%	70.6%	45.7%	43.8%
Region				
Northeast	16.5%	19.7%	17.4%	16.8%
Midwest	17.7%	20.6%	24.7%	24.8%
South	33.5%	27.4%	35.1%	35.7%
West	32.2%	32.4%	22.7%	22.8%
Age	44.5	44.9	48.4	45.7
Employment Status				
Employed	85.4%	77.4%	77.9%	61.8%
Unemployed	2.4%	5.0%	3.1%	3.5%
Not Working	12.2%	17.7%	19.0%	34.8%
Education Level				
< High School Diploma	3.9%	4.4%	9.8%	8.5%
High School Diploma	11.8%	15.0%	25.6%	25.4%
Some College	24.4%	22.9%	25.4%	27.7%
Bachelor's Degree or >	59.8%	57.7%	39.3%	38.3%
Household Income				
Poor	7.5%	9.7%	8.3%	8.8%
Low-Income	15.6%	23.2%	27.8%	28.3%
Middle-Income	15.0%	22.7%	21.8%	21.9%
High-Income	61.8%	44.4%	42.0%	40.9%

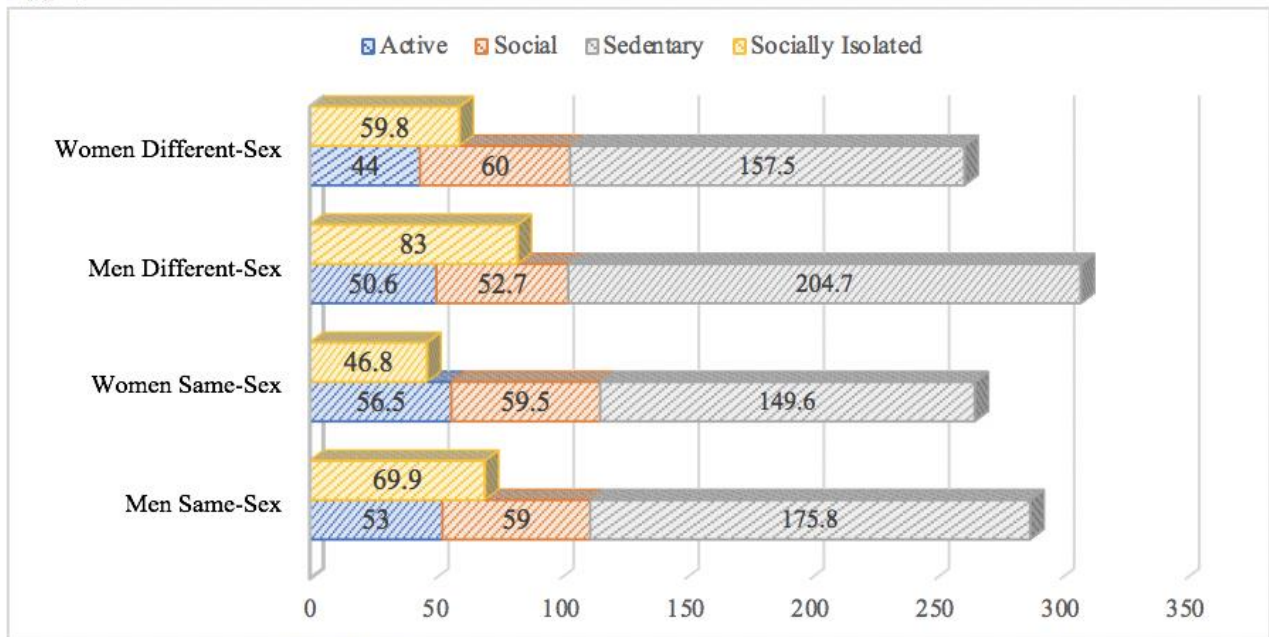
Source: American Time Use Survey

Table 2. Mean Amount of Time (and Standard Deviation) Spent in Types of Leisure by Relationship Type, 2003-2016

	<i>N</i>	Active	Passive	Social	Socially isolated
Men Same-Sex	254	53.0 (87.0)	175.8 (161.1)	59.0 (106.4)	69.9 (111.6)
Women Same-Sex	340	56.5 (90.3)	149.6 (153.4)	59.5 (93.9)	46.8 (95.9)
Men Different-Sex	44,884	50.6 (97.6)	204.7 (186.4)	52.7 (101.1)	83.0 (144.5)
Women Different-Sex	49,077	44.0 (81.4)	157.5 (150.1)	60.0 (103.4)	59.8 (109.1)

Source: American Time Use Survey

Figure 1. Mean Amount of Time (Minutes per Day) Spent in Types of Leisure by Relationship Type, 2003-2017



Source: American Time Use Survey

Table 3. OLS Regression Analyses for Amount of Time (Minutes per Day) Spent in Leisure Types Across Relationship Types, 2003-2017

	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Relationship Type	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated
(Men Same-Sex ref.)												
Men Different-Sex	1.8	-2.9	39.7***	16.9*	7.0	-4.7	23.1*	16.2*	7.0	-2.1	11.7	7.0
Constant	46.3***	47.5***	164.0***	68.9***	10.0	31.9***	193.0***	62.7***	2.7	45.8***	159.6***	12.4**
R ²	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.04	0.22	0.11	0.07	0.04	0.23	0.13
Observations	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Relationship Type	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated
(Women Same-Sex ref.)												
Women Different-Sex	-7.2	-3.8	16.6	14.2	-1.0	3.1	7.0	17.8*	-4.2	4.5	2.2	9.7
Constant	52.1***	46.9***	145.3***	52.4***	20.7***	26.3***	171.3***	46.5***	-10.9	36.1***	149.1***	-0.4
R ²	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.04	0.14	0.09	0.07	0.05	0.15	0.10
Observations	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417
	Model 1				Model 2				Model 3			
Relationship Type	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated
(Men Same-Sex ref.)												
Women Same-Sex	5.8	-0.6	-18.7	-16.5	3.5	-2.6	-26.3	-20.3	3.2	-2.6	-30.7*	-25.4*
Constant	46.3***	47.5***	164.0***	68.9***	33.0	52.9*	148.1***	51.2	25.8	87.4*	97.2**	16.7
R ²	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.08	0.13	0.11	0.08	0.11	0.16	0.15
Observations	594	594	594	594	594	594	594	594	594	594	594	594

* p < .05; ** p < .01; *** p < .001, two-tailed; ref. = reference; all values are weighted
 Source: American Time Use Survey

Table 4. OLS Regression Analyses with Interaction Effects for Amount of Time (Minutes per Day) Spent in Leisure Types Across Relationship Types, 2003-2017

Model 4					Model 5			
Relationship Type	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated
(Men Same-Sex ref.)								
Men Different-Sex	-7.3	-25.2	27.1	1.8	15.7	-37.0	28.2	-6.6
Constant	16.9	68.7*	144.3***	20.4	-6.0	80.5**	143.2***	28.6
R^2	0.07	0.04	0.23	0.13	0.07	0.04	0.23	0.13
Observations	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138	45,138
Model 4					Model 5			
Relationship Type	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated
(Women Same-Sex ref.)								
Women Different-Sex	-54.0	-17.2	54.7	8.2	-36.1	-0.2	-19.4	-38.8
Constant	38.6	57.8*	96.8**	1.0	20.6	40.8*	170.5***	47.6
R^2	0.07	0.05	0.15	0.11	0.07	0.05	0.15	0.11
Observations	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417	49,417
Model 4					Model 5			
Relationship Type	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated	Active	Social	Sedentary	Isolated
(Men Same-Sex ref.)								
Women Same-Sex	21.6	-16.9	-66.0	-38.2	49.7	-32.7	-2.5	6.5
Constant	14.6	89.9*	121.1**	22.4	-1.2	103.9**	80.9	-2.9
R^2	0.08	0.12	0.17	0.15	0.11	0.12	0.16	0.16
Observations	594	594	594	594	594	594	594	594

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$, two-tailed; ref. = reference; all values are weighted

Source: American Time Use Survey