# BLACK SAME-SEX COUPLES IN CALIFORNIA

Data from Census 2000

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

Using data from Census 2000, this report provides demographic and socio-economic information about black men and women in same-sex couples in California. The category "black couples" means couples where both members are black; "interracial couples" means couples where only one member is black; and "non-black couples" indicates couples where neither member is black.

### **BLACK SAME-SEX COUPLES IN CALIFORNIA**

- Census 2000 identified more than 9,500 black men and women living with a same-sex partner in California. Approximately five percent of the individuals in same-sex couples in California are black
- Almost seven percent of California's same-sex couples include at least one black individual (due to interracial couples). Forty-six percent of same-sex couples with at least one black partner are interracial couples.
- Among California counties, Alameda has the highest rate of black same-sex couples (1.4 per 1,000 households), while Los Angeles County has the largest number of black same-sex couples (2,108).
- In California, interracial and black same-sex couples are more likely to live in counties with high percentages of black people than in counties with high percentages of same-sex couples.
- In terms of their demographics and socio-economic status, race is more important than sexual orientation. Black partners within same-sex couples are more similar to black partners in different-sex couples than they are to non-black partners in same-sex couples. Black members of same and different-sex couples differ little in terms of citizenship, income, education, disability, rates of public assistance, and rates of employment.
- Black partners in same- and different-sex couples have similar and higher rates of military service (21% and 22% respectively than individuals of other races in same-sex (13%) and different-sex( 15%) couples
- When compared with individuals of other races in same-sex couples, black partners in same-sex couples are more likely to be U.S. citizens (95% v. 85%), but they are less likely to be employed (66% v. 71%) and have significantly lower annual individual incomes --more than \$11,000 less.
- When black same-sex couples (those where both partners are black) are analyzed separately, their socio-economic situation is worse than both non-black and interracial samesex couples.
- The average household income of black same-sex couples is much less than that of other same-sex couples (\$61,434 v. \$90,365). Their average household incomes are closer to those of black different-sex couples (\$61,434 v. \$65,845).

### BLACK SAME-SEX PARENTS IN CALIFORNIA, AGED 25-55

In analyzing black same-sex parents in California, we considered the population aged 25-55, since this is the group most likely to be raising children.

- Fifty-two percent (52%) of black same-sex couples aged 25-55 are raising their own children in California. Black same-sex couples are much more likely to be raising their own children than non-black same-sex couples (32%).
- California same-sex couples that include a black partner are raising almost 3,900 of their own children and more than 5,100 children under 18 (related and unrelated children).
- There are more than 4,000 black children being raised by same-sex couples in California.
   Seventy-five percent are being raised by two black parents and 91% have at least one black parent.
- In California, black same-sex parents are raising their children with fewer resources than nonblack same-sex parents and black different-sex parents. For example, the average household income for black same-sex parents is approximately \$10,000 less than both that of non-black same-sex parents and black different-sex parents.
- Both race and sexual orientation appear to contribute to making black same-sex parents
  poorer than other parents: the average household income of black same-sex parents is over
  \$21,000 less than that of non-black different-sex parents.

Data from Census 2000 demonstrate that there are many black same-sex couples and families with children in California. Without the support and protections provided by marriage, they are more vulnerable than other California families.

# I. Data and Methodology

Data for this report come from several Census 2000 public data releases. Geographic data are drawn from Summary File-2, a set of tables describing characteristics of households based on the race/ethnicity of the "householder," the person who filled out the census form.

Estimates of other demographic characteristics are made using the Census 2000 Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS). The 5% PUMS represents a one in four sample of the approximately 26% of American households that filled out a census long-form. The 1% PUMS represents a one in sixteen sample of the same households. The census long-form contains detailed information about all members of the household, including citizenship, country of origin, and a variety of demographic and economic characteristics.

Black individuals are defined as those who identified their race as "black, African Am., or Negro" when filling out the census forms. All persons who identified as such are designated as black in this report.

Estimates of characteristics of same-sex couples and their families are made from a sample of those families drawn from both the 5% and 1% PUMS files for the State of California. The California sample includes 6,037 same-sex couples. Of these couples, 388 include at least one black partner. In total, there are 606 black individuals among these couples. Characteristics of different-sex couples and their families are estimated using the 1% PUMS sample only. This sample includes 65,669 couples in California. Of these couples, 3,344 include at least one black partner. These samples are weighted throughout this report to reflect the actual population distributions.

Same-sex couples are identified from the roster that the householder uses to describe how every person in the house is related to him or her. These same-sex couples are commonly understood to be primarily gay and lesbian couples even though the Census does not ask any questions about sexual orientation, sexual behavior, or sexual attraction (three common ways used to identify gay men and lesbians in surveys). Rather, census forms include a number of relationship categories to define how individuals in a household are related to the householder. These fall into two broad categories: related persons (including husband/wife, son/daughter, brother/sister, etc.), and unrelated persons (including unmarried partner, housemate/roommate, roomer/border, other non-relative, etc.).

Since 1990, the Census Bureau has included an "unmarried partner" category to describe an unrelated household member's relationship to the householder. If the householder describes another adult of the same sex as his or her "unmarried partner" or "husband/wife," the household counts as a same-sex unmarried partner household (see Gates and Ost 2004 for a detailed explanation of counting same-sex couples).

The Census data regarding same-sex couples do not capture all gay men and lesbians in the United States for at least two important reasons. First, the Census only captures data about same-sex couples of which one person in the couple is the partner of the householder. The Census does not identify single gay men and lesbians. Limited data make it difficult to assess exactly how coupled gay men and lesbians might differ from their single counterparts, but in the general population, single people tend to be younger, less educated, and have lower incomes than their coupled counterparts.

In addition, the Census most likely undercounts even the population of same-sex couples. There are several potential reasons for suspecting an undercount. Concerns about revealing their sexual orientation (even indirectly) to the federal government may have led many gay and lesbian couples to indicate a status that would not describe the true nature of their relationship. Other couples may have felt that "unmarried partner" or "husband/wife" does not accurately describe their relationship. A study of the undercount of same-sex unmarried partners in Census 2000 indicates that these were the two most common reasons that gay and lesbian couples chose not to designate themselves as unmarried partners (Badgett and Rogers 2003). Census tabulations also would not capture couples living in a household with someone else who filled out the census form. While determining the size of this undercount is challenging, estimates suggest that the true counts are 10 to 50 percent higher than the Census figures (Gates and Ost 2004).

In addition to undercounting the number of same-sex couples in the population, the Census may also erroneously include some different-sex couples in the same-sex couple population. Gates and Ost (2004) describe a measurement error resulting from different-sex married couples inadvertently checking the incorrect sex of one of the partners. This error, although thought to be small, may impact some of the characteristics of same-sex couples. For example, estimates of child-rearing among same-sex couples could be overstated due to this sample error because different-sex couples are more likely to have children. The magnitude of this error is not easily ascertained, but Gates and Ost suggest that while national unadjusted figures show that 28.2% of same-sex couples are raising children, a more accurate estimate that attempts to adjust for the presence of different-sex couples is 27.5%. The estimates of child-rearing in this report do not adjust for this form of error and thus may somewhat overstate this characteristic.

# II. Black same-sex couples in California

The Census identified more than 9,500 black individuals in same-sex couples in California. Overall, nearly seven percent of same-sex couples in California (6,158 couples) include at least one black partner. Of the same-sex couples that include at least one black partner, 46% of are interracial and 54% are intra-racial.

In California, black same-sex couples are more likely to be female couples, while non-black same-sex couples are more likely to be male couples. Fifty-two percent of black same-sex couples in California are female couples.

California ranks third, after New York and Georgia, in the number of blacks in same-sex couples identified by the Census; over seven percent of the 133,700 blacks in same-sex couples identified in the United States live in California (see Table 1).

Table 1: Prevalence of black same-sex unmarried partners among adults (age 18+), top twenty-five states.

Rank	State	Black same-sex unmarried partners	Black same-sex unmarried partners per 10,000 adults
1	New York	13,091	9.2
2	Georgia	9,980	16.6
3	California	9,590	3.9
4	Texas	9,553	6.4
5	Florida	8,725	6.6
6	Illinois	6,894	7.5
7	North Carolina	5,838	9.6
8	Virginia	5,172	9.7
9	Maryland	5,077	12.9
10	Michigan	4,837	6.6
11	Louisiana	4,793	14.8
12	Alabama	4,647	14.0
13	Pennsylvania	4,560	4.9
14	New Jersey	4,500	7.1
15	Mississippi	4,245	20.5
16	South Carolina	4,065	13.5
17	Ohio	3,986	4.7
18	Tennessee	3,033	7.1
19	DC	2,408	52.7
20	Missouri	2,144	5.1
21	Indiana	1,871	4.2
22	Massachusetts	1,690	3.5
23	Washington	1,431	3.3
24	Connecticut	1,360	5.3
25	Arkansas	1,352	6.8

Sources: Census 2000 SF-1, PUMS (5% and 1% combined)

In California, the vast majority of same-sex couples including at least one black partner reside in Los Angeles County (2,108 couples) (see Appendix 1). Alameda County has the highest rate of black same-sex couples at 1.4 per 1,000 households (see Table 2).

Table 2. Per capita households with a black householder<sup>a</sup>, by California county.

	Black same-sex couples			Black	household	s	Same-sex couple households		
Rank	County	Per 1,000 House- holds	House- holds	County	Per 1,000 House- holds	House- holds	County	Per 1,000 House- holds	House- holds
1	Alameda	1.4	745	Alameda	168.6	88,253	San Francisco	27.0	8,902
2	Solano	1.0	132	Solano	154.9	20,205	Sonoma	12.3	2,125
3	San Francisco	1.0	333	Los Angeles	116.3	364,506	Alameda	11.2	5,884
4	Los Angeles	0.7	2,108	Sacramento	100.8	45,714	Santa Cruz	10.7	979
5	Contra Costa	0.7	231	Contra Costa	96.1	33,052	Marin	10.5	1,052
6	Sacramento	0.6	263	San Bernardino	95.6	50,538	Mendocino	8.5	284
7	San Bernardino	0.5	271	San Francisco	79.8	26,297	Riverside	8.4	4,242
8	Lake	0.4	10	San Joaquin	68.2	12,388	Lake	8.2	196
9	Madera	0.4	15	Riverside	62.4	31,561	San Mateo	8.1	2,058
10	Fresno	0.4	103	San Diego	59.4	59,112	Los Angeles	8.0	25,173

Source: Census 2000, SF-2

In California, black same-sex couples tend to live where different-sex black couples live, as opposed to where other same-sex couples live. Rankings of the rates of black same-sex couples and all black couples share seven of the top ten counties in common (although not in the exact same order). Notably, the seven counties they share are the top seven counties for each group. There are only four counties (San Francisco, Alameda, Lake, and Los Angeles) common to the black same-sex couple list and the list for all same-sex couples. In Table 2, the blue shading indicates the counties that overlap with the top ten counties for black same-sex couples.

A correlation analyses provides some empirical verification for this pattern. Using data from all counties in California, the correlation between the proportion of black same-sex couples among all households in any county and the proportion of black households is 0.93 (1.00 would mean they are exactly the same). The correlation between the proportion of black same-sex households among households and all same-sex couples among households is only 0.57.

# III. Individual Characteristics

In this section, we make two types of comparisons. First, we compare all black individuals in same-sex couples with non-black individuals in same-sex couples. Second, we compare both of these groups to their different-sex counterparts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup>A householder is the person who filled out the census form for the entire household. Households included in black households had a householder who identified as black. Seventy-eight percent of California same-sex couples that include a black partner had a black partner as the householder.

The blue shading in Table 3 indicates characteristics where there is more similarity between black members of same-sex couples and their different-sex counterparts. The yellow shading indicates the one characteristic—age—where there is more similarity between black and non-black individuals in same-sex couples. A pattern emerges: black individuals in same-sex couples in California have individual characteristics that differ significantly from the population of non-black individuals in same-sex couples but are fairly similar to their different-sex counterparts.

Thus, the first set of comparisons poses a question—why do black individuals in same-sex couples look different, among a number of individual characteristics, from non-black individuals in same-sex couples? The second set of comparisons may provide much of the explanation: for these characteristics black members of same-sex couples have more in common with the black community than the GLBT community generally. These comparisons suggest that black heritage plays a stronger role in shaping the individual characteristics of this population than does sexual orientation.

Table 3. Demographic characteristics of individuals within couples, California.

	Same	e-Sex	Different-Sex		
	Non-black	Black	Black	Non-black	
Age (mean)	42.4	42.4	44.6	46.1	
Disabled	21%	26%	25%	20%	
Citizen	85%	95%	95%	81%	
Military service	13%	21%	22%	15%	
Income (mean)	\$42,553	\$31,538	\$31,482	\$38,219	
College degree	38%	26%	20%	28%	
Public Assistance	2%	5%	4%	2%	
Employed	71%	66%	64%	63%	

Note: Due to rounding, employment percentages may not add to 100.

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

### Age and Disability

Individuals in same-sex couples, in general, tend to be younger than individuals in different-sex couples. Age is the one characteristic where black members of same-sex couples more closely resemble their non-black counterparts – individuals in both groups are the same average age (42.4). Black members of same-sex couples are younger than black members of different-sex couples (44.6).

Black members of same-sex couples report significantly higher rates of disability than individuals of other races in same-sex couples (26% v. 21%) and rates similar to their different-sex counterparts (25%).

### **Citizenship and Military Service**

Black individuals in both same- and different-sex couples are more likely to be citizens (95%) than non-black individuals in both same-sex (85%) and different-sex (81%) couples.

Black individuals in same-sex couples show little difference in their rates of military service from black individuals in different-sex couples (21% v. 22%). Both serve in the military at significantly higher rates than non-black individuals in same-sex (13%) and different-sex couples (15%).

### Income and Education

Black individuals in same and different-sex couples have essentially the same mean incomes (\$31,538 v. \$31,482). Individuals in both groups have significantly lower incomes than individuals of other races in same-sex (\$42,553) and different-sex couples (\$38,219).

Black partners in same-sex couples are much less likely to have a college degree than individuals of other races in same-sex couples (26% v. 38%). While black members of same-sex couples have education levels more similar to their different-sex counterparts (26% v. 20%), they still have a significantly greater likelihood of having a college degree than their different-sex counterparts, perhaps indicating the influence of a more general sexual orientation impact on education levels.

Many studies show higher education levels among the gay and lesbian population when compared to the population in general (see black, et al. 2000; Badgett 1995; black et al. 2003; and Allegretto and Arthur 2001). This could be because gay men and lesbians with higher education levels are more likely to be "out" and report themselves as such on surveys. It could also be that gay men and lesbians seek education as a way to avoid future discrimination in the workplace.

These studies also consistently find that despite higher levels of education, gay men tend to have lower incomes than other men. Consistent with their education levels, lesbian incomes are often higher than those of other women. This is true for black members of same-sex couples in California. Black men in same-sex couples have lower average incomes than do black men in different-sex couples (\$32,915 v. \$37,738). Conversely, black women in same-sex couples have higher average incomes than do their counterparts in different-sex couples (\$30,266 v. \$24,150).

### **Employment**

The employment rate of black partners in same-sex couples closely resembles that of their different-sex counterparts (66% v. 64%), and is lower than that of individuals of other races in same-sex couples (71%). In contrast, non-black members of same-sex couples have significantly higher rates of employment when compared to their different-sex counterparts (71% v. 63%).

Rates of receiving public assistance for black individuals in same-sex couples are significantly higher than for non-black individuals in same-sex couples in California (5% v. 2%) and are more similar to those of black partners in different-sex couples (4%).

# IV. Interracial Same-Sex Couples in California

The census data also allow us to make two types of comparisons regarding interracial same-sex couples: 1) comparisons between black individuals in inter- and intra-racial couples and 2) comparisons between black and non-black individuals in interracial couples.

Black members of interracial couples v. black members of intra-racial couples

Black partners in intra-racial same-sex couples (those where both partners are black) differ in significant ways from blacks in interracial same-sex couples. They are much more likely to be women (55% v. 44%), on public assistance (6% v. 2%) and disabled (28% v. 20%). They are much less likely to have a college degree (19% v. 42%) and to be employed (59% v. 82%). Not surprisingly then, they also have average individual incomes that are over \$12,000 less than those of black members of interracial same-sex couples and household incomes that are over \$33,000 less than that of interracial same-sex couples.

Table 4. Demographic characteristics of blacks in interracial couples and intra-racial couples, California.

	Same	e-sex	Different-sex			
	Interracial	Intra- racial	Interracial	Intra- racial		
Female	44%	55%	27%	50%		
Age (mean)	38.9	43.9	40.4	45.5		
Citizen	95%	95%	93%	96%		
Military service	24%	20%	28%	21%		
Public Assistance	2%	6%	2%	4%		
Disabled Individual Income	20%	28%	21%	26%		
(mean) Household income	\$40,213	\$27,813	\$37,587	\$30,204		
(mean) Household income	\$94,559	\$61,434	\$74,808	\$65,845		
(median)	\$69,000	\$53,020	\$55,000	\$55,000		
College degree	42%	19%	24%	19%		
Employed	82%	59%	72%	63%		

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

The mean household income of black same-sex couples in California is more than \$28,000 less than that of non-black same-sex couples and over \$33,000 less than that of interracial same-sex couples.

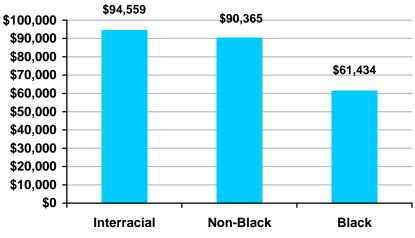


Chart 1: Mean household income of same-sex couples, California.

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

### Blacks v. Non-blacks in Interracial Couples

In general, black partners in interracial same-sex couples in California are more similar to their non-black partners than they are to black partners in intra-racial couples. Blacks in interracial same-sex couples and their partners tend to be close in age (38.9 v. 39.4) and have similar rates of employment (82% v. 81%), receiving public assistance (2%), and disability (20% v. 19%).

However, there are some noticeable differences between black and non-black partners in interracial same-sex couples. Black members of these couples earn less than their non-black partners (\$40,213 v. \$50,736) and are less likely to have a college degree (42% v. 50%), although in these respects they are still much closer to their partners than to black members of intra-racial same-sex couples (\$27,813 and 19%).

Black partners in interracial same-sex couples are more likely to be citizens than their non-black partners (95% v. 87%) and are more likely to have served in the military (24% v. 9%). For these characteristics, they look more like individuals in black same-sex couples.

Table 5: Demographic characteristics of blacks and non-blacks in interracial samesex couples, California.

	Interr		
	Non-black	Black	Both black
Age (mean)	39.4	38.9	43.9
Citizen	87%	95%	95%
Military service	9%	24%	20%
Public Assistance	2%	2%	6%
Disabled	19%	20%	28%
Income (mean)	\$50,736	\$40,213	\$27,813
College degree	50%	42%	19%
Employed	81%	82%	59%

Note: Due to rounding, employment percentages may not add to 100.

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

The non-black partners in these interracial same-sex couples are predominantly white (69%) and Latino (17%). The same is true for their different-sex counterparts (55% and 26%).

Table 6: Race/ethnicity of non-black partner in interracial couples in California.

	Same-Sex	Different-Sex
White	69%	55%
Latino	17%	26%
API	7%	13%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	0%	2%
Other/Multiracial	7%	5%

Note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100.

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

# V. Household demographic characteristics

In this section, we turn from looking at individual characteristics to household characteristics. We focus our analysis of household characteristics on two issues that have come up in recent debates about extending marriage to same-sex couples in California:

- 1) Do same-sex couples raise children and therefore need the same type of support and protections that California provides to married couples?; and
- 2) Do members of same-sex couples depend upon each other in ways similar to members of different-sex couples?

Our previous studies have shown that same-sex couples in California are raising children and depending upon each other at levels that show that they would benefit from the protections that marriage provides (Sears and Badgett 2004). Our analyses here show that these patterns are even more pronounced for black same-sex couples in California.

### Black same-sex couples raising children<sup>1</sup>

Black same-sex couples in California are much more likely to be raising their own children than non-black same-sex couples (52% v. 32%) and interracial same-sex couples (15%).

Non-black same-sex parents in California tend to have fewer resources than their different-sex counterparts. Their average household incomes are \$11,000 less than non-black different-sex parents and they are less likely to own a home (54% v. 63%). In addition, the education advantage that individuals in same-sex couples as a whole have (those with and without their own children) disappears. Non-black same-sex parents are less likely to have a college degree than their different-sex counterparts (23% v. 27%).

The same patterns hold for black same-sex parents in California. Their average household incomes are more than \$9,000 less than those of black different-sex parents in California and they have lower rates of homeownership (38% v. 47%). Black same-sex parents are also slightly less likely to have a college degree than their different-sex counterparts (19% v. 21%).

Table 7. Demographic characteristics of couples with children, both partners aged 25-55, California.

		Same-sex		Different-sex			
	Interracial	Both black	Non- black	Interracial	Both black	Non- black	
Raising own children	15%	52%	32%	60%	67%	66%	
Average number of own children	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	
Age	36.1	38.5	37.7	36.9	38.0	38.6	
College degree	29%	19%	23%	22%	21%	27%	
Mean household income	\$77,089	\$57,640	\$68,608	\$71,593	\$67,072	\$79,557	
Median household income	\$58,000	\$57,000	\$52,000	\$55,000	\$56,200	\$60,000	
Own home	30%	38%	54%	46%	47%	63%	

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

The poorer economic situation of black same-sex parents in California is most dramatically demonstrated when black same-sex parents are compared with non-black different-sex parents. Black same-sex parents have average household incomes that are over \$21,000 less than that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In this section, we control for age and only look at the population of couples with members between the ages of 25-55. We do this because people in this age range are more likely to be raising their own children and doing so excludes a large number of older, different-sex couples who are no longer raising their own children. If these older couples were included, the difference between the percentage of same-sex and different-sex couples raising their own children would be significantly smaller.

of non-black different-sex parents and much lower rates of home ownership (38% v. 63%) (Charts 2 and 3).

Interestingly, same-sex interracial couples with children have higher average incomes than their black and non-black counterparts. This could be explained, in part, by the fact that such a high percentage of these interracial couples are black-white couples (white individuals in same-sex couples have significantly higher average individual incomes). However, same-sex interracial couples with children have lower homeownership rates than either their black or non-black counterparts (Chart 3).

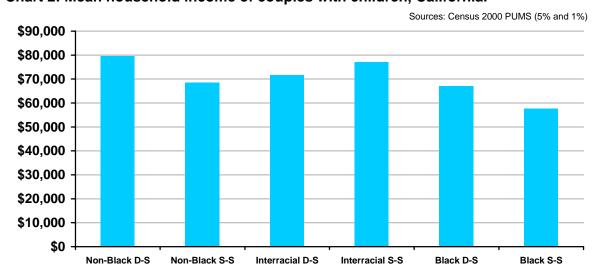
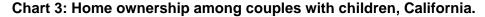
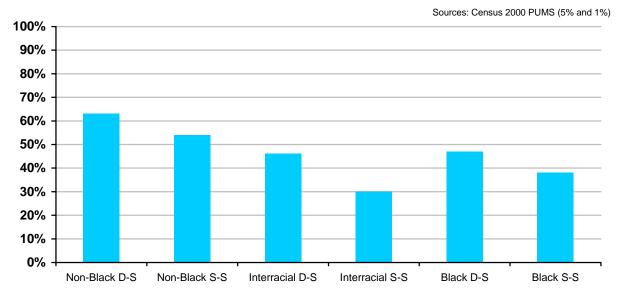


Chart 2: Mean household income of couples with children, California.





An estimated 5,140 children under age 18 are living in the households of same-sex couples with at least one black partner, of which 3,888 are the "own child" of the person who filled out the census form.

The children being raised by black same-sex couples are slightly less likely to be adopted than the children of non-black same-sex couples in California (4% v. 5%) (Table 8). Given the low percentage of children identified as adopted, it appears that black same-sex couples have a higher proportion of biological children than non-black same-sex couples. The racial/ethnic composition of children provides further evidence of a biological connection: 90% of the children of same-sex black couples are also black. Twenty-five percent of the children of interracial same-sex couples are black, while 7% are white, 30% are Latino, and 36% are multiracial or are identified as of another race. Fewer than one percent of the children of non-black same-sex parents are black.

Stated differently, 91% of black children being raised by same-sex couples are in a household where at least one parent is black and 75% percent are being raised in a household where both parents are black.

Table 8. Demographic characteristics of the own children of couples, California.

		Same-sex		Different-sex			
	Interracial Black black			Interracial	Non- black		
Under 5 years old	38%*	24%	29%	32%	27%	27%	
Adopted	14%*	4%	5%	3%	2%	2%	
Disabled (Age 5+)	9%*	3%	5%	6%	6%	5%	
Race/ethnicity:							
black	25%	90%	<1%	22%	90%	<1%	
white	7%	2%	31%	7%	<1%	40%	
Latino	30%	6%	57%	30%	5%	44%	
API	2%	0%	8%	2%	<1%	11%	
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	0%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	
Other/Multiracial	36%	1%	3%	39%	4%	4%	

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

\*These differences are not statistically significant when compared to the black and non-black same-sex columns. The apparent differences may be the result of a small sample (n) for this column.

### Interdependence<sup>2</sup>

Another issue that has come up in the debate about extending marriage to same-sex couples is whether same-sex partners rely upon each other economically in ways similar to married couples. Previous studies of California census data regarding same-sex couples have shown that such couples display a high level of interdependence, measured in terms of disparities in income and earnings potential, investing in real property, and making major life decisions together, such as raising children (Sears and Badgett 2004). Black same-sex couples also display many indicators of economic interdependence despite the fact that they are not protected by the rights or obligations of marriage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Here we no longer control for age as we did in our analysis of same-sex couples raising children.

### Income, employment, and college education

Partners in Black same-sex couples have an average difference in individual incomes of \$32,117 compared with \$26,993 for their different-sex counterparts. The proportion of couples with only one partner employed (30% v. 33%) and one partner with a college degree (19% v. 20%) is comparable among same-sex and different-sex black couples (Table 10).

Some of the factors that result in these income and employment disparities between partners may reflect decisions that couples are likely to make together: hours worked, degree of labor force participation, time in child-rearing, etc. However, same-sex couples are often making these decisions without the protections that marriage provides, such as community property and spousal support upon dissolution of the relationship.

### Disability and public assistance

The fact that one member of a couple is disabled or on public assistance may also indicate a level of economic interdependence within the couple. One partner is disabled and one is not among 26% of black same-sex couples, compared to 24% of black different-sex couples. Same-sex couples where both partners are black are the most likely to have one partner having received public assistance (12%). Only 3% of black different-sex couples have one partner receiving public assistance (Table 10).

## Homeownership, co-residential stability, and childrearing

Home ownership, living together for a period of time, or raising children may indicate that couples are pooling resources and making long-term decisions together. Although still substantial, homeownership rates of black same-sex couples are less than their different-sex counterparts (43% v. 55%), as well as their rates of having lived together for at least five years (46% v. 53%) (Table 10). While a substantial portion of black same-sex couples are raising their own children (43%) they are less likely to be doing so than black different-sex couples (51%). However, they are substantially more likely to be raising their own children than non-black same-sex couples (28%) (Table 10).

Table 9. Measurements of interdependence from household characteristics of couples, California.

		Same-sex		Different-sex			
	Interracial	Both black	Non- black	Interracial	Both black	Non- black	
Mean household income	\$94,559	\$61,434	\$90,365	\$74,808	\$65,845	\$82,255	
Difference in individual income	\$39,000	\$23,117	\$37,634	\$32,703	\$26,993	\$42,140	
One partner employed	23%	30%	29%	33%	33%	34%	
One partner with college degree	35%	19%	25%	23%	20%	20%	
One partner disabled	24%	26%	21%	21%	24%	19%	
One partner on public assistance	4%	12%	3%	4%	6%	3%	
Own Home	44%	43%	58%	46%	55%	68%	
Together at least 5 years	37%	46%	46%	37%	53%	55%	
Raising own children	16%	43%	28%	53%	51%	50%	

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

Appendix 1. Same-sex coupled households with a black householder<sup>a</sup> in California counties.

County Name	Same-sex black couples	All black households	All households	Same-sex black couples per 1,000 households
Los Angeles	2,108	364,506	3,133,774	0.67
Alameda	745	88,253	523,366	1.42
San Diego	339	59,112	994,677	0.34
San Francisco	333	26,297	329,700	1.01
San Bernardino	271	50,538	528,594	0.51
Sacramento	263	45,714	453,602	0.58
Contra Costa	231	33,052	344,129	0.67
Riverside	183	31,561	506,218	0.36
Solano	132	20,205	130,403	1.01
Santa Clara	117	18,211	565,863	0.21
Orange	114	18,633	935,287	0.12
Fresno	103	14,293	252,940	0.41
San Mateo	76	9,710	254,103	0.30
San Joaquin	71	12,388	181,629	0.39
Kern	67	11,712	208,652	0.32
Monterey	38	4,497	121,236	0.31
Sonoma	30	2,473	172,403	0.17
Stanislaus	29	3,883	145,146	0.20
Ventura	23	5,408	243,234	0.09
Marin	23	1,949	100,650	0.23
Santa Cruz	21	1,007	91,139	0.23
Santa Barbara	18	3,336	136,622	0.13
Merced	17	2,997	63,815	0.27
Madera	15	1,048	36,155	0.41
Kings	14	1,864	34,418	0.41
Tulare	10	1,886	110,385	0.09
Lake	10	616	23,974	0.42
Yolo	9	1,335	59,375	0.15
Butte	9	1,141	79,566	0.11
Humboldt	8	501	51,238	0.16
Sutter	4	601	27,033	0.15
Imperial	3	1,027	39,384	0.08
Placer	3	823	93,382	0.03
Napa	3	467	45,402	0.07
Shasta	3	448	63,426	0.05
Mendocino	3	198	33,266	0.09
San Luis Obispo	2	1,018	92,739	0.02
Yuba	2	741	20,535	0.10
El Dorado	2	324	58,939	0.03
Calaveras	2	116	16,469	0.12
Lassen	2	111	9,625	0.21
Nevada	2	106	36,894	0.05
Siskiyou	1	252	18,556	0.05
San Benito	1	217	15,885	0.06

Tehama	1	102	21,013	0.05
Tuolumne	1	66	21,004	0.05
Plumas	0	67	9,000	0.00
Amador	0	46	12,759	0.00
Del Norte	0	43	9,170	0.00
Glenn	0	39	9,172	0.00
Colusa	0	34	6,097	0.00
Mariposa	0	31	6,613	0.00

Source: Census 2000, SF-2

Note: The following counties do not have a sufficient number of blacks to meet the census threshold for data

a A householder is the person who filled out the census form for the entire household. Households included in black households had a householder who identified as an black. Seventy-eight percent of California same-sex couples that include an black had an black as the householder.

Appendix 2. Per-capita households with a black householder<sup>a</sup>, by California counties.

	Black same-sex couples			Black ho	ouseholds		Same-sex couples		
Rank	County	Per 1,000 House- holds	House- holds	County	Per 1,000 House- holds	House- holds	County	Per 1,000 House- holds	House- holds
1	Alameda	1.4	745	Alameda	168.6	88,253	San Francisco	27.0	8,902
2	Solano	1.0	132	Solano	154.9	20,205	Sonoma	12.3	2,125
3	San Francisco	1.0	333	Los Angeles	116.3	364,506	Alameda	11.2	5,884
4	Los Angeles	0.7	2,108	Sacramento	100.8	45,714	Santa Cruz	10.7	979
5	Contra Costa	0.7	231	Contra Costa	96.1	33,052	Marin	10.5	1,052
6	Sacramento	0.6	263	San Bernardino	95.6	50,538	Mendocino	8.5	284
7	San Bernardino	0.5	271	San Francisco	79.8	26,297	Riverside	8.4	4,242
8	Lake	0.4	10	San Joaquin	68.2	12,388	Lake	8.2	196
9	Madera	0.4	15	Riverside	62.4	31,561	San Mateo	8.1	2,058
10	Fresno	0.4	103	San Diego	59.4	59,112	Los Angeles	8.0	25,173

Source: Census 2000, SF-2 <sup>a</sup>A householder is the person who filled out the census form for the entire household. Households included in black households had a householder who identified as an black. Seventy-eight percent of California same-sex couples that include an black had an black as the householder.

Appendix 3. Demographic characteristics of individuals within couples, California.

	Same-sex					Different-sex					
		Interracial		Intra- racial			Interracial		Intra- racial		
	All black	Non- black	Black	Black	All non- black	All black	Non- black	Black	Black	All non- black	
Female	52%	44%	44%	55%	47%	46%	73%	27%	50%	50%	
Age (mean)	42.4	39.4	38.9	43.9	42.4	44.6	39.6	40.4	45.5	46.1	
Citizen	95%	87%	95%	95%	85%	95%	87%	93%	96%	81%	
Military service	21%	9%	24%	20%	13%	22%	10%	28%	21%	15%	
Public Assistance	5%	2%	2%	6%	2%	4%	4%	2%	4%	2%	
Disabled	26%	19%	20%	28%	21%	25%	19%	21%	26%	20%	
Race/ethnicity											
Black	86%	0%	73%	91%	0%	90%	0%	77%	93%	0%	
White	0%	69%	0%	0%	65%	0%	55%	0%	0%	57%	
Latino	4%	17%	7%	3%	26%	4%	26%	9%	3%	28%	
API	0%	7%	0%	0%	6%	0%	13%	0%	0%	12%	
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	2%	0%	0%	1%	
Other/Multiracial	10%	7%	20%	5%	2%	6%	5%	14%	4%	2%	
Income (mean)	\$31,538	\$50,736	\$40,213	\$27,813	\$42,553	\$31,482	\$33,046	\$37,587	\$30,204	\$38,219	
College degree	26%	50%	42%	19%	38%	20%	25%	24%	19%	28%	
Employed	66%	81%	82%	59%	71%	64%	70%	72%	63%	63%	
Type of employment	_					_					
Private for-profit	56%	64%	52%	58%	64%	59%	64%	62%	58%	65%	
Non-profit	9%	15%	10%	8%	8%	7%	10%	7%	8%	6%	
Public	27%	15%	31%	25%	15%	26%	18%	23%	27%	15%	
Self-employed	8%	7%	7%	9%	13%	7%	9%	8%	7%	14%	

Note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100. Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

Appendix 4. Household demographic characteristics of couples, California.

		Same	Different-sex couples							
	Any couple with at least one black partner	Interracial	Intra- racial	Any couple w/o a black partner	All	Any couple with one black partner	Interracial	Intra- racial	Any couple w/o a black partner	All
Median household income	\$62,230	\$69,000	\$53,020	\$69,600	\$68,800	\$55,000	\$55,000	\$55,000	\$61,400	\$61,000
Mean household income	\$76,553	\$94,559	\$61,434	\$90,365	\$89,442	\$68,447	\$74,808	\$65,845	\$82,255	\$81,503
Difference in age	5.7	6.0	5.4	5.8	5.8	5.0	5.5	4.8	4.3	4.4
	1		Measures	of Interdep	endence				ı	l
Difference in individual income	\$30,366	\$39,000	\$23,117	\$37,634	\$37,148	\$28,650	\$32,703	\$26,993	\$42,140	\$41,406
One partner employed	27%	23%	30%	29%	29%	33%	33%	33%	34%	34%
One partner with college degree	26%	35%	19%	25%	25%	21%	23%	20%	20%	21%
One partner disabled	25%	24%	26%	21%	21%	23%	21%	24%	19%	20%
One partner on public assistance	8%	4%	12%	3%	4%	5%	4%	6%	3%	3%
Own Home	44%	44%	43%	58%	57%	53%	46%	55%	68%	67%
Together at least 5 years	42%	37%	46%	46%	45%	48%	37%	53%	55%	54%
Raising own children	31%	16%	43%	28%	28%	52%	53%	51%	50%	50%

Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

Appendix 5. Demographic characteristics of couples with children, both partners aged 25-55, California.

		Same		Different-sex couples						
	Any couple with at least one black partner	Interracial black	Intra- racial	Any couple w/o a black partner	All	Any couple with at least one black partner	Interracial	Intra- racial	Any couple w/o a black partner	All
Raising own children	34%	15%	52%	32%	32%	65%	60%	67%	66%	66%
Average number of own children	2.2	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
Age	38.0	36.1	38.5	37.7	37.7	37.7	36.9	38.0	38.6	38.6
College degree	21%	29%	19%	23%	23%	21%	22%	21%	27%	27%
Own home	36%	30%	38%	54%	53%	47%	46%	47%	63%	62%
Mean household income	\$62,171	\$77,089	\$57,640	\$68,608	\$68,160	\$68,431	\$71,593	\$67,072	\$79,557	\$78,939
Median household income	\$57,000	\$58,000	\$57,000	\$52,000	\$52,000	\$55,600	\$55,000	\$56,200	\$60,000	\$60,000
Race/ethnicity:										
Black	80%	39%	92%	0%	6%	76%	39%	91%	0%	4%
White	3%	14%	0%	41%	38%	7%	25%	0%	46%	44%
Latino	6%	25%	1%	48%	45%	8%	19%	3%	38%	36%
API	2%	8%	0%	9%	8%	2%	7%	0%	14%	13%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	0%	0%	0%	<1%	<1%	<1%	1%	0%	<1%	<1%
Other/Multiracial	9%	14%	7%	2%	3%	7%	10%	6%	2%	2%

Note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100. Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

Appendix 6. Demographic characteristics of the own children of couples, California.

	Same-sex couples						Different-sex couples					
	Any couple with at least one black partner	Interracial	Intra- racial	Any couple w/o a black partner	All	Any couple with at least one black partner	Interracial	Intra- racial	Any couple w/o a black partner	All		
Under 5 years old	27%	38%	24%	29%	29%	29%	32%	27%	27%	27%		
Adopted	6%	14%	4%	5%	5%	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%		
Disabled (Age 5+)	5%	9%	3%	5%	5%	6%	6%	6%	5%	5%		
Race/ethnicity:												
Black	75%	25%	90%	<1%	6%	69%	22%	90%	<1%	4%		
White	3%	7%	2%	31%	29%	2%	7%	<1%	40%	38%		
Latino	12%	30%	6%	57%	53%	13%	30%	5%	44%	43%		
API	<1%	2%	0%	8%	8%	1%	2%	<1%	11%	11%		
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	<1%	0%	1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%		
Other/Multiracial	10%	36%	1%	3%	4%	15%	39%	4%	4%	4%		

Note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100. Sources: Census 2000 PUMS (5% and 1%)

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