



ASIANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN SAME-SEX COUPLES IN CALIFORNIA

Data from Census 2000

September 2005

by Gary Gates, PhD and R. Bradley Sears, Esq.

The Williams Project
on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy
UCLA School of Law

ASIANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN SAME-SEX COUPLES IN CALIFORNIA

DATA FROM CENSUS 2000

September 2005

by Gary Gates, PhD and R. Bradley Sears, Esq.

The Williams Project
on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy
UCLA School of Law

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Using data from Census 2000, this report provides demographic and socio-economic information about Asians and Pacific Islanders in same-sex couples in California. In this report, the category "API couples" means couples where both members are Asian or Pacific Islander; "inter-ethnic couples" means couples where only one member is Asian or Pacific Islander; and "non-API couples" indicates couples where neither member is Asian or Pacific Islander.

ASIANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN SAME-SEX COUPLES IN CALIFORNIA

- In California, more than 13,000 Asian/Pacific Islanders identified themselves as living with a same-sex partner in Census 2000. They constitute over one-third of the 38,200 Asian/Pacific Islanders in same-sex couples identified in the U.S., more than in any other state.
- Over seven percent of the individuals in same-sex couples in California are Asian/Pacific Islander and nearly one out of ten of California's same-sex couples include at least one API individual (due to inter-ethnic couples).
- San Francisco County has the highest rate of API same-sex couples (API householder) (2.2 per 1,000 households), while Los Angeles County has the largest number of API same-sex couples (1,929).
- Twenty-eight percent of California API same-sex partners report Filipino heritage. Sizable proportions of API same-sex partners are also of Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, Asian Indian, Cambodian, and Taiwanese origin.
- In California, API same-sex couples are more likely to live in counties with high percentages of Asian/Pacific Islanders in the population than in counties with high percentages of same-sex couples in the population.
- The demographic and socio-economic profile of Asian/Pacific Islanders in same-sex couples is more similar to Asian/Pacific Islanders in different-sex couples than it is to non-APIs in same-sex couples. They differ little from Asian/Pacific Islanders in different-sex couples in terms of citizenship, military service, income, education, rates of public assistance, and rates of employment.
- Compared with non-APIs in same-sex couples in California, Asian/Pacific Islanders are less likely to be employed (67% v. 71%) and to be U.S. citizens (73% v. 86%). In addition, they have annual individual incomes that are more than \$7,500 less than non-APIs in same-sex couples.

- Thirty-seven percent of Asian/Pacific Islanders in same-sex couples in California are in inter-ethnic couples. When API same-sex couples (those where both partners are Asian/Pacific Islander) are analyzed separately, their socio-economic situation is worse than both non-API same-sex couples and inter-ethnic same-sex couples. For example, compared with non-API same-sex couples, partners in API same-sex couples have higher rates of disability (27% v. 21%) and lower rates of employment (60% v. 71%).
- In California, the average household income of API same-sex couples is \$16,000 less than that of non-API same-sex couples and almost \$9,000 less than that of API different-sex couples.

ASIAN/PACIFIC ISLANDER SAME-SEX PARENTS IN CALIFORNIA, AGED 22-55

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

- Fifty-five percent (55%) of API same-sex couples aged 25-55 are raising their own children in California. Although this percentage may be high due to measurement error in the Census, even when adjusting for such error it is still probable that over a third of these couples are raising their own children.
- API same-sex couples are much more likely to be raising their own children than both inter-ethnic same-sex couples (19%) and non-API same-sex couples (32%).
- Inter- and intra-ethnic API same-sex couples (i.e. same-sex couples with one or more Asian/Pacific Islander partner) in California are raising almost 5,000 of their own children and more than 5,600 children under 18 (related and unrelated children).
- There are more than 4,000 API children being raised by same-sex couples in California. Seventy-seven percent are being raised by two API parents and 94% have at least one API parent.
- Asian/Pacific Islander same-sex parents are raising their children with fewer resources than different-sex parents (both API and non-API) in California. Parents in API same-sex couples have annual household incomes that are, on average, more than \$10,000 less than non-API parents in different-sex couples.
- In addition, while 61% of non-API parents in different-sex couples in California own a home, only 55% of parents in API same-sex couples do.

Data from Census 2000 demonstrate that there are a large number of API same-sex couples and families with children in California, and that 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.

Asian/Pacific Islanders (APIs) are defined as those who identified their race as one of eleven categories when filling out the census forms.¹ APIs include all individuals who identified themselves within these categories alone or in combination with other race categories.

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, 588 include at least one API.

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, 9,605 include at least one API.

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/boarder, 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

¹ The census categories included Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Other Asian, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, and Other Pacific Islander, with blanks for specifying which “Other” ethnicity.

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. APIs in same-sex couples in California

The Census identified more than 13,000 APIs in same-sex couples in California. While APIs comprise 3% of individuals in same-sex couples in the United States, they are 7% of individuals in same-sex couples in California. Overall, nearly one in ten same-sex couples in California (8,854 couples) include an API. More than half (53%) of same-sex couples that include an API partner are inter-ethnic, meaning one partner is an API and one is not.

In other words, when discussing the extension of marriage to same-sex couples in California, almost one in ten of the couples that would be directly impacted include an API.

There are more APIs in same-sex couples in California than in any other state; over one-third of the 38,200 APIs in same-sex couples identified in the United States live in California. California ranks second, after Hawaii (see Table 1), as the state with the highest per capita rate of API same-sex partners within the adult population, with 5.4 API same-sex partners per 10,000 adults.

Table 1: Prevalence of API same-sex unmarried partners among adults (age 18+), Top ten states

Rank	State	API same-sex unmarried partners per 10,000 adults	API same-sex unmarried partners
1	Hawaii	23.9	2,186
2	California	5.4	13,288
3	New York	3.3	4,775
4	Nevada	3.3	492
5	Washington	3.2	1,419
6	District of Columbia	2.4	109
7	New Jersey	2.4	1,498
8	Connecticut	2.0	510
9	Massachusetts	1.9	925
10	Maryland	1.8	722

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

In California, Los Angeles County has the largest number of same-sex couples that include an API (1,929 couples) (see Appendix 1). San Francisco County has the highest rate of these couples at 2.2 per 1,000 households² (see Table 2).

Table 2. Per-capita households with an API householder, by California counties

Rank	API same-sex couples			API households			Same-sex couple households		
	County	Per 1,000 Households	Households	County	Per 1,000 Households	Households	County	Per 1,000 Households	Households
1	San Francisco	2.2	728	San Francisco	255.7	84,289	San Francisco	27.0	8,902
2	Alameda	1.1	587	Santa Clara	239.4	135,487	Sonoma	12.3	2,125
3	Santa Clara	1.1	599	Alameda	195.6	102,358	Alameda	11.2	5,884
4	San Mateo	1.0	264	San Mateo	193.8	49,238	Santa Cruz	10.7	979
5	Solano	0.8	104	Solano	129.3	16,855	Marin	10.5	1,052
6	San Joaquin	0.7	125	Orange	129.2	120,882	Mendocino	8.5	284
7	Sacramento	0.6	283	Los Angeles	127.8	400,357	Riverside	8.4	4,242
8	Los Angeles	0.6	1,929	San Joaquin	110.3	20,041	Lake	8.2	196
9	Orange	0.5	485	Contra Costa	107.3	39,940	San Mateo	8.1	2,058
10	Contra Costa	0.5	168	Sacramento	106.0	48,093	Los Angeles	8.0	25,173

Source: Census 2000, SF-2

In California, API same-sex couples tend to live where different-sex API couples live, as opposed to where other same-sex couples live. The top ten counties ranked by rates of API same-sex couples and all API couples share the same ten counties (although not in the exact

² A householder is the person who filled out the census form for the entire household. Households included in API households had a householder who identified as an Asian or Pacific Islander. Two-thirds of California same-sex couples that include an API had an API as the householder.

same order). There are only four counties (San Francisco, Alameda, San Mateo, and Los Angeles) common to the API 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 API same-sex couples.

III. Ethnic Heritage

APIs who are part of same-sex couples, similar to other API adults, are ethnically diverse. In California, Filipinos represent the largest group within API same-sex couples (28%). Sizable proportions of API same-sex partners also indicated that they are Chinese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, Asian Indian, Cambodian, and Tiawanese. (see Table 3).

Table 3. Detailed ethnic heritage for APIs within same-sex couples and among all adults, California.

Detailed ethnicity	API partners in a same-sex couple	API adults
Filipino alone	28.3%	22.4%
Two or more major races	13.3%	8.5%
Chinese, except Taiwanese	17.5%	22.4%
Vietnamese alone	10.7%	10.2%
Japanese alone	9.3%	8.0%
Korean alone	5.4%	8.6%
Asian Indian alone	4.0%	7.7%
Cambodian alone	2.2%	1.2%
Combination of Asian races	1.3%	1.9%
Taiwanese alone	1.1%	1.7%
Native Hawaiian alone	0.8%	0.5%
Pakistani alone	0.2%	0.4%
Asian (not specified) alone	0.9%	0.5%
Guamanian/Camorro alone	0.9%	0.5%
Laotian alone	0.9%	1.0%
Thai alone	0.7%	1.0%
Samoan alone	0.4%	0.8%
Hmong alone	0.6%	1.0%
Tongan alone	0.1%	0.4%
Other Micronesian or in combo	0.0%	0.1%
Malaysian alone	0.0%	0.1%
Indonesian alone	0.5%	0.4%
Other Polynesian alone or in combo	0.1%	0.1%
Other Asian alone	0.4%	0.2%
Other NH and other PI	0.1%	0.2%
Sri Lankan alone	0.1%	0.1%
Melanesian alone or in combo	0.1%	0.2%
Bangladeshi alone	0.0%	0.1%

IV. Individual Characteristics

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

The blue shading in Table 4 indicates characteristics where there is more similarity between APIs in same-sex couples and their different-sex counterparts. The yellow shading indicates the one characteristic, age, where there is more similarity between this group and non-API individuals in same-sex couples. A pattern emerges: APIs in same-sex couples in California have individual characteristics that differ significantly from the population of non-APIs in same-sex couples but that are fairly similar to their different-sex coupled counterparts.

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

Table 4. Demographic characteristics of individuals within couples, California.

	Same-Sex		Different-Sex	
	Non-APIs	APIs	APIs	Non-APIs
Age (mean)	42.5	41.6	44.9	46.1
Disabled	21%	22%	19%	20%
Citizen	86%	73%	70%	84%
Military service	13%	8%	7%	17%
Speak English well	69%	79%	76%	67%
Speak non-English language	27%	69%	81%	32%
Income (mean)	42,532	34,869	36,283	38,133
College degree	37%	41%	43%	26%
Public Assistance	2%	3%	3%	2%
Employed	71%	67%	65%	63%

Finally, the green shading indicates one characteristic – speaking a non-English language – where there is more similarity between APIs in same-sex couples and their different-sex counterparts than non-APIs in same-sex couples, but they differ significantly from both groups.

Sex, Age, and Disability

In California, both API and non-API same-sex couples are slightly more likely to be male couples. Forty-eight percent of API same-sex couples in California are female couples.

Individuals in same-sex couples are, in general, younger than individuals in different-sex couples. Asian/Pacific Islanders in couples, both same and different-sex, are younger than their

non-API counterparts. APIs in same-sex couples are the youngest of the four groups (41.6) and are closest in age to non-APIs in same-sex couples (42.5).

Asian/Pacific Islanders in same-sex couples report rates of disability (22%) similar to those of non-APIs in same-sex couples and their different-sex counterparts.

Citizenship and Military Service

Non-API individuals in same-sex couples are slightly more likely to be citizens than non-API members of different-sex couples in California (86% v. 84%), APIs in same-sex couples have lower rates of citizenship (73%) – rates comparable to their different-sex counterparts (70%).

The same is true for their rates of military service: 8% for APIs in same-sex couples and 7% for APIs in different-sex couples, compared with 13% for non-APIs in same-sex couples and 17% for non-APIs in different-sex couples.

Language Proficiency

Similar percentages of APIs in same- and different-sex couples in California report that they "speak English well" (79% v. 76%). However, APIs in same-sex couples are less likely than their different-sex counterparts to speak a non-English (second) language (69% v. 81%).

Income and Education

While APIs in same-sex couples have slightly higher rates of having a college degree than non-APIs in same-sex couples (41% v. 37%), their incomes are substantially lower (\$34,869 v. \$42,532).

Individuals in API same-sex couples (\$34,869) also have lower incomes than those in API (\$36,283) and non-API (\$38,133) different-sex couples. In contrast, non-APIs in same-sex couples have higher incomes than non-APIs in different sex couples (\$42,532 v. \$38,133).

Studies (see Black, et al. 2000; Badgett 1995; Black et al. 2003; and Allegretto and Arthur 2001) consistently find that despite higher levels of education, gay men tend to have lower incomes than other men. Lesbian incomes are often higher than those of other women. This is true for APIs in California. API men in same-sex couples have lower average incomes than API men in different-sex couples (\$38,039 v. \$49,752). Conversely, API women in same-sex couples have higher average incomes than their counterparts in different-sex couples (\$31,494 v. \$22,384).

Employment and Public Assistance

The employment rates of APIs in same-sex couples closely resemble those of their different-sex counterparts (67% v. 65%) In contrast, non-APIs in same-sex couples in California have higher rates of employment (71%) when compared to their different-sex counterparts (63%).

Rates of receiving public assistance do not vary much among those in the various couple types.

V. Inter-ethnic Same-Sex Couples in California

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

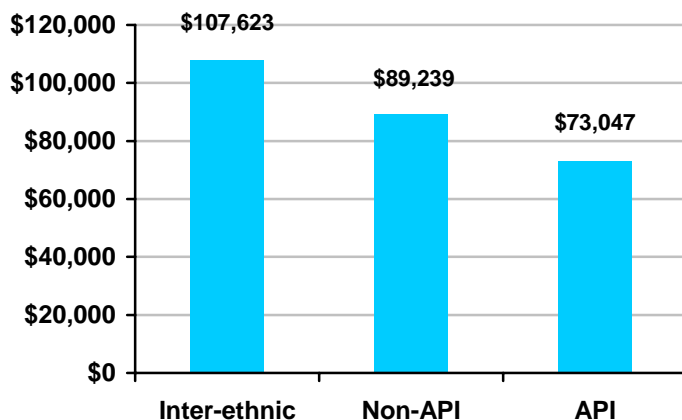
APIs in inter-ethnic couples v. APIs in intra-ethnic couples

APIs in intra-ethnic same-sex couples differ in significant ways from APIs in inter-ethnic same-sex couples. They are much more likely to be non-citizens (33% v. 18%), to be on public assistance (4% v. 1%), and to speak a non-English language (86% v. 39%). They are less likely to indicate that they speak English well (75% v. 95%), to have a college degree (35% v. 51%), and to be employed (60% v. 80%). Not surprisingly, they also have average individual incomes that are over \$12,000 less than APIs in inter-ethnic same-sex couples, and household incomes that are over \$34,000 less inter-ethnic couples.

The mean household income of API same-sex couples is more than \$16,000 less than that of non-API same-sex couples and over \$34,000 less than that of inter-ethnic same-sex couples with an API partner. The household incomes of interethnic API same-sex couples are higher than non-API couples because both the API and non-API partners in interethnic couples have higher individual incomes and education levels than their respective intraethnic counterparts (see Chart 1).

Table 5. Demographic characteristics of APIs in inter-ethnic couples and intra-ethnic couples, California.

	Same-sex		Different-sex	
	Inter-Ethnic	Both API	Inter-Ethnic	Both API
Female	37%	55%	67%	50%
Age (mean)	38.0	43.7	41.2	45.7
Citizen	82%	67%	84%	67%
Military service	10%	7%	8%	7%
Public Assistance	1%	4%	1%	3%
Disabled	13%	27%	14%	21%
Speak non-English language	39%	86%	44%	89%
Speak English well	95%	75%	96%	74%
Individual Income (mean)	\$42,567	\$30,413	\$38,278	\$35,860
Household income (mean)	\$107,623	\$73,047	\$94,506	\$81,969
Household income (median)	\$83,000	\$55,000	\$74,000	\$65,100
College degree	51%	35%	40%	43%
Employed	80%	60%	72%	64%

Chart 1: Mean household income of same-sex couples, California**APIs v. Non-APIs in Inter-ethnic Couples**

While there are differences between API and non-API members of inter-ethnic same-sex couples in California, generally the API members of these couples are more similar to their non-API partners than to APIs in intra-ethnic same-sex couples.

API partners in inter-ethnic relationships are slightly younger than their non-API partners and are less likely to be citizens and to have earned a college degree. Not surprisingly, APIs in inter-ethnic couples have much higher rates of speaking a non-English language than their partners (39% v. 16%), although they are less than half as likely to speak a non-English language as APIs in an intra-ethnic same-sex couple. They also differ noticeably from their non-API partners in terms of average income (\$42,567 v. \$62,167) and rates of military service (10% v. 19%). APIs partnered with a same-sex API report high rates of disability (27%) compared to both APIs and non-APIs in inter-ethnic couples (13% and 15%).

Table 6: Demographic characteristics of APIs and Non-APIs in inter-ethnic same-sex couples, California.

	Inter-ethnic		Both API
	Non-API	API	
Age (mean)	40.9	38.0	43.7
Citizen	97%	82%	67%
Military service	19%	10%	7%
Public Assistance	1%	1%	4%
Disabled	15%	13%	27%
Speak non-English language	16%	39%	86%
Speak English well	88%	95%	75%
Income (mean)	62,167	42,567	30,413
College degree	55%	51%	35%
Employed	81%	80%	60%

In terms of the race/ethnicity of their non-API partners, APIs in inter-ethnic same-sex couples predominantly partner with Whites (78%) and Latino/as (13%). This is similar to their different-sex counterparts.

Table 7: Race of Non-API Partner in Inter-Ethnic Couples in California

	Same-Sex	Different-Sex
White	78%	74%
Black	5%	6%
Latino/a	13%	17%
API	0%	0%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	1%	0%
Other/Multiracial	3%	3%

VI. 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 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 indicate 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 API same-sex couples.

API same-sex couples raising children³

Dual-API same-sex couples in California are much more likely to be raising their own children than non-API same-sex couples (55% v. 32%).

³In 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 these 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 different-sex couples were included, the difference between the percentage of same-sex and different-sex couples raising their own children would be significantly smaller.

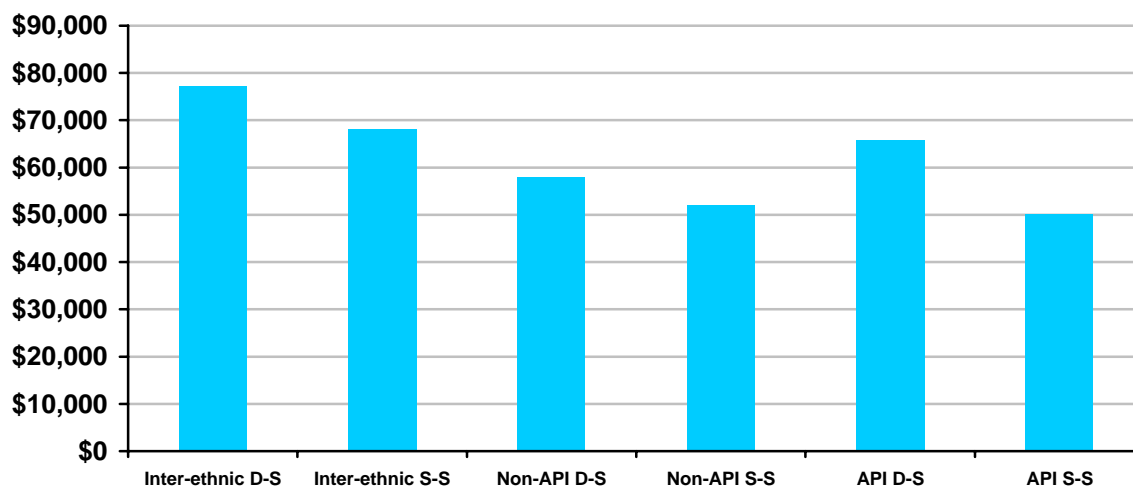
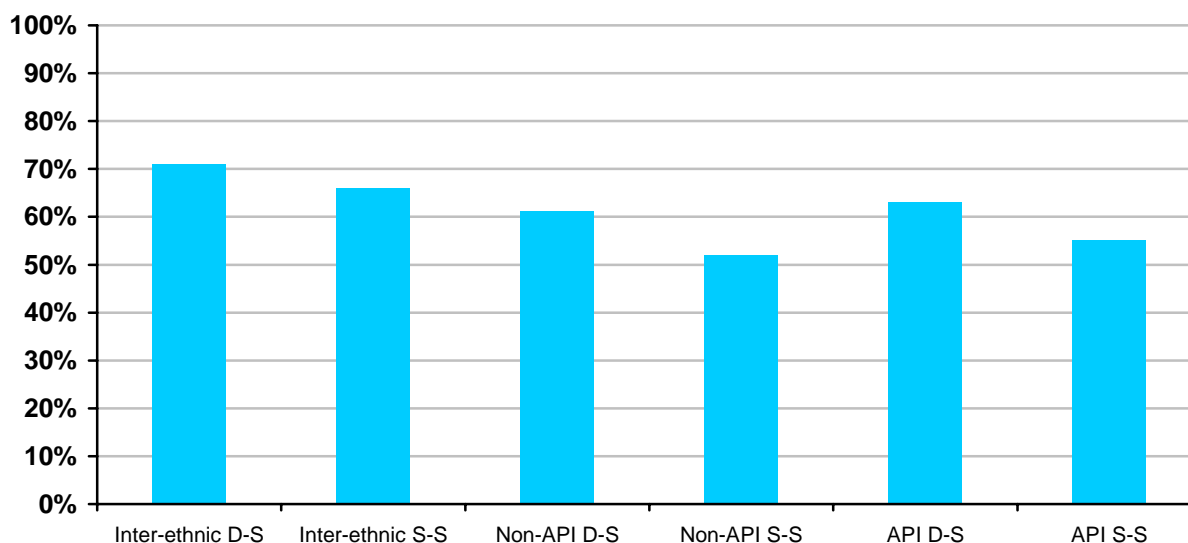
Table 8. Demographic characteristics of couples with children, both partners aged 25-55, California.

	Same-sex			Different-sex		
	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Non-API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Non-API
Raising own children	19%	55%	32%	58%	70%	66%
Average number of own children	1.8	2.2	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.1
Age	37.7	39.4	37.5	38.9	40.1	38.3
College degree	44%	36%	21%	40%	45%	23%
Mean household income	95,044	67,209	67,243	98,390	82,871	77,343
Median household income	68,000	50,000	52,000	77,250	65,800	58,000
Own home	66%	55%	52%	71%	63%	61%

Non-API same-sex parents in California tend to have fewer resources than their different-sex counterparts. Their average household incomes are \$10,000 lower than non-API different-sex parents and they are less likely to own a home (52% v. 61%). In addition, the education advantage that individuals in same-sex couples as a whole have (those with and without their own children) disappears. Non-API same-sex parents are not more likely to have a college degree than their different-sex counterparts (21% v. 23%).

The same patterns hold for API same-sex parents in California. Their average household incomes are \$15,000 less than API different-sex parents in California and they have much lower rates of home ownership (55% v. 63%). API same-sex parents are also less likely to have a college degree than their different-sex counterparts (36% v. 45%).

Interestingly, both same- and different-sex inter-ethnic couples have higher average incomes and homeownership rates than their API and non-API counterparts. This could be explained in part by the fact that such a high percentage of APIs in inter-ethnic couples are partnered with Whites, as well as by the fact that the non-API groups in California include a large number of Latino/as (26%), who typically have fewer resources (Gates and Sears 2005).

Chart 2: Mean household income of couples with children, California**Chart 3: Home ownership among couples, California**

An estimated 5,633 children under age 18 are living in households of same-sex couples with at least one API partner, of which 4,876 are the “own child” of the person who filled out the census form. Among dual-API same-sex couples, 55% have their own children in the household compared to only 19% of interethnic API same-sex couples.

The children being raised by API same-sex couples are less likely to be adopted than the children of non-API same-sex couples in California (3% v. 5%) (Table 9).

Unfortunately, census records do not allow us to identify the exact relationship between a child and both partners of same-sex couple or the circumstances that led to the children being raised by the couple. But given the low number of children identified as adopted, it does appear that

API same-sex couples have a higher proportion of biological children than non-API same-sex couples. The racial/ethnic composition of children provides further evidence of a biological connection -- 90% of the children of same-sex dual-API couples are also API. Seventeen percent of the children of inter-ethnic same-sex couples are API, while 20% are White, 20% are Latino/a, and 36% are multiracial or are identified as of another race. Fewer than one percent of the children of non-API same-sex parents are API.

Stated differently, 94% of API children being raised by same-sex couples are in a household where at least one parent is API and 77% percent are being raised in a household where both parents are API.

Table 9. Demographic characteristics of the own children of couples, California.

	Same-sex			Different-sex		
	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Non-API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Non-API
Under 5 years old	41%*	23%	29%	33%	25%	27%
Adopted	15%*	3%	5%	3%	1%	2%
Disabled	8%*	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%
Race/ethnicity:						
API	17%	90%	<1%	13%	93%	<1%
White	20%	0%	32%	18%	<1%	44%
Latino/a	20%	1%	59%	20%	2%	49%
Black	5%	<1%	6%	2%	<1%	5%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	1%	2%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Other/Multiracial	36%	7%	3%	47%	5%	2%

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

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

Interdependence

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). API 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.

Income, employment, and college education

Partners in API same-sex couples have an average difference in individual incomes of \$25,352 compared with \$36,831 for their different-sex counterparts. The proportion of couples with only one partner employed (37% v. 35%) and one partner with a college degree (23% v. 24%) is comparable among same-sex and different-sex API couples. (See 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 20% of API same-sex couples, compared to 15% of API different-sex couples. Same-sex couples where both partners are API are the most likely to have one partner having received public assistance (8%). Only 3% of API different-sex couples have one partner receiving public assistance. (See 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. There is a relatively small difference between homeownership rates of API same-sex couples and their different-sex counterparts (58% v. 63%). Consistent with their being slightly older, API same-sex couples are actually more likely to have lived together for at least five years (59%) than both API (52%) and non-API (55%) different-sex couples. (See Table 10)

While a substantial portion of API same-sex couples are raising their own children (45%) they are less likely to be doing so than API different-sex couples (56%). However, their rates approach that of non-API different-sex couples (50%) and they are substantially more likely to be raising children than non-API same-sex couples (28%). (See Table 10)

Table 10. Measurements of interdependence from household characteristics of couples, California.

	Same-sex			Different-sex		
	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Non-API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Non-API
Mean household income	107,623	73,047	89,239	94,506	81,969	80,775
Mean difference in individual income	46,481	25,352	37,217	45,727	36,841	41,750
One partner employed	25%	37%	29%	32%	35%	34%
One partner with college degree	32%	23%	25%	28%	24%	20%
One partner disabled	14%	20%	22%	16%	15%	20%
One partner on public assistance	2%	8%	3%	2%	4%	3%
Own Home	57%	58%	57%	66%	63%	68%
Together at least 5 years	36%	59%	45%	47%	52%	55%
Raising own children	18%	45%	28%	51%	56%	50%

Appendix 1. Same-sex coupled households with an API householder^a in California counties.

County Name	Same-sex API couples	All API households	All households	Same-sex API couples per 1,000 households
Los Angeles	1,929	400,357	3,133,774	0.62
San Francisco	728	84,289	329,700	2.21
Santa Clara	599	135,487	565,863	1.06
Alameda	587	102,358	523,366	1.12
Orange	485	120,882	935,287	0.52
San Diego	450	84,913	994,677	0.45
Sacramento	283	48,093	453,602	0.62
San Mateo	264	49,238	254,103	1.04
Contra Costa	168	36,940	344,129	0.49
San Bernardino	135	27,793	528,594	0.26
San Joaquin	125	20,041	181,629	0.69
Riverside	119	20,398	506,218	0.24
Solano	104	16,855	130,403	0.80
Fresno	102	17,788	252,940	0.40
Ventura	59	13,782	243,234	0.24
Sonoma	55	5,698	172,403	0.32
Monterey	53	9,800	121,236	0.44
Kern	48	7,575	208,652	0.23
Stanislaus	47	6,853	145,146	0.32
Marin	38	4,686	100,650	0.38
Santa Barbara	37	6,435	136,622	0.27
Tulare	28	3,785	110,385	0.25
Santa Cruz	26	3,663	91,139	0.29
Yolo	20	6,079	59,375	0.34
Merced	17	3,615	63,815	0.27
Butte	13	2,126	79,566	0.16
San Luis Obispo	12	2,769	92,739	0.13
Sutter	11	2,632	27,033	0.41
Placer	9	3,140	93,382	0.10
Napa	8	1,403	45,402	0.18
El Dorado	7	1,415	58,939	0.12
Yuba	7	1,063	20,535	0.34
Humboldt	6	954	51,238	0.12
Imperial	6	1,181	39,384	0.15
Shasta	6	1,005	63,426	0.09
Madera	4	631	36,155	0.11
San Benito	4	530	15,885	0.25
Kings	3	1,366	34,418	0.09
Lake	3	290	23,974	0.13
Tuolumne	2	236	21,004	0.10
Colusa	1	152	6,097	0.16
Mendocino	1	460	33,266	0.03
Nevada	1	384	36,894	0.03
Tehama	1	201	21,013	0.05

Alpine	0	0	483	0.00
Amador	0	0	12,759	0.00
Calaveras	0	178	16,469	0.00
Del Norte	0	0	9,170	0.00
Glenn	0	0	9,172	0.00
Inyo	0	0	7,703	0.00
Lassen	0	119	9,625	0.00
Mariposa	0	0	6,613	0.00
Modoc	0	0	3,784	0.00
Mono	0	0	5,137	0.00
Plumas	0	0	9,000	0.00
Sierra	0	0	1,520	0.00
Siskiyou	0	216	18,556	0.00
Trinity	0	0	5,587	0.00

Source: Census 2000, SF-2

^aA householder is the person who filled out the census form for the entire household. Households included in "API households" had a householder who identified as an Asian or Pacific Islander. Two-thirds of California same-sex couples that include an API had an API as the householder.

Appendix 2. Per-capita households with an API householder^a, by California counties.

Rank	API same-sex couples			API households			Same-sex couples		
	County	Per 1,000 Households	Households	County	Per 1,000 Households	Households	County	Per 1,000 Households	Households
1	San Francisco	2.2	728	San Francisco	255.7	84,289	San Francisco	27.0	8,902
2	Alameda	1.1	587	Santa Clara	239.4	135,487	Sonoma	12.3	2,125
3	Santa Clara	1.1	599	Alameda	195.6	102,358	Alameda	11.2	5,884
4	San Mateo	1.0	264	San Mateo	193.8	49,238	Santa Cruz	10.7	979
5	Solano	0.8	104	Solano	129.3	16,855	Marin	10.5	1,052
6	San Joaquin	0.7	125	Orange	129.2	120,882	Mendocino	8.5	284
7	Sacramento	0.6	283	Los Angeles	127.8	400,357	Riverside	8.4	4,242
8	Los Angeles	0.6	1,929	San Joaquin	110.3	20,041	Lake	8.2	196
9	Orange	0.5	485	Contra Costa	107.3	36,940	San Mateo	8.1	2,058
10	Contra Costa	0.5	168	Sacramento	106.0	48,093	Los Angeles	8.0	25,173

Source: Census 2000, SF-2

^aA householder is the person who filled out the census form for the entire household. Households included in "API households" had a householder who identified as an Asian or Pacific Islander. Two-thirds of California same-sex couples that include an API had an API as the householder.

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

	Same-sex				Different-sex					
	All APIs	Mixed		All non-APIs	All APIs	Mixed		All non-APIs		
		Non-API	API	Both API		Non-API	API	Both API	All non-APIs	
Female	48%	37%	37%	55%	47%	53%	33%	67%	50%	50%
Age (mean)	41.6	40.9	38.0	43.7	42.5	44.9	42.2	41.2	45.7	46.1
Citizen	73%	97%	82%	67%	86%	70%	93%	84%	67%	84%
Military service	8%	19%	10%	7%	13%	7%	26%	8%	7%	17%
Public Assistance	3%	1%	1%	4%	2%	3%	1%	1%	3%	2%
Disabled	22%	15%	13%	27%	21%	19%	16%	14%	21%	20%
Speak non-English language	69%	16%	39%	86%	27%	81%	20%	44%	89%	32%
Speak English well	79%	88%	95%	75%	69%	76%	90%	96%	74%	67%
Race/ethnicity										
API	85%	0%	71%	93%	0%	91%	0%	73%	95%	0%
White	0%	78%	0%	0%	66%	0%	74%	0%	0%	63%
Hispanic	4%	13%	7%	2%	26%	2%	17%	7%	1%	30%
Black	0%	5%	0%	0%	5%	0%	6%	0%	0%	5%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Other/Multiracial	12%	3%	22%	6%	2%	7%	3%	20%	4%	2%
Income (mean)	34,869	62,167	42,567	30,413	42,532	36,283	52,007	38,278	35,860	38,133
College degree	41%	55%	51%	35%	37%	43%	39%	40%	43%	26%
Employed	67%	81%	80%	60%	71%	65%	78%	72%	64%	63%
Type of employment										
Private for-profit	68%	60%	66%	70%	63%	69%	62%	68%	69%	65%
Non-profit	6%	11%	8%	5%	8%	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%
Public	15%	16%	18%	14%	16%	13%	20%	16%	13%	16%
Self-employed	10%	12%	8%	12%	13%	13%	13%	10%	14%	14%

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

Appendix 4. Household demographic characteristics of couples, California.

	Same-sex couples					Different-sex couples				
	Any couple with an API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Any couple without an API	All	Any couple with an API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Any couple without an API	All
Median household income	70,000	83,000	55,000	68,400	68,800	68,300	74,000	65,100	60,000	61,000
Mean household income	91,305	107,623	73,047	89,239	89,442	85,645	94,506	81,969	80,775	81,503
Difference in age	6.1	6.2	5.9	5.8	5.8	4.5	5.0	4.3	4.3	4.4
Measures of Interdependence										
Difference in individual income	36,509	46,481	25,352	37,217	37,148	39,447	45,727	36,841	41,750	41,406
One partner employed	31%	25%	37%	29%	29%	34%	32%	35%	34%	34%
One partner with college degree	28%	32%	23%	25%	25%	25%	28%	24%	20%	21%
One partner disabled	17%	14%	20%	22%	21%	15%	16%	15%	20%	20%
One partner on public assistance	5%	2%	8%	3%	4%	3%	2%	4%	3%	3%
Own Home	57%	57%	58%	57%	57%	64%	66%	63%	68%	67%
Together at least 5 years	47%	36%	59%	45%	45%	51%	47%	52%	55%	54%
Raising own children	31%	18%	45%	28%	28%	55%	51%	56%	50%	50%

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

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

	Same-sex couples					Different-sex couples				
	Any couple with an API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Any couple without an API	All	Any couple with an API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Any couple without an API	All
Raising own children	35%	19%	55%	32%	32%	67%	58%	70%	66%	66%
Average number of own children	2.0	1.8	2.2	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.1
Age	38.9	37.7	39.4	37.5	37.7	39.8	38.9	40.1	38.3	38.6
College degree	38%	44%	36%	21%	23%	44%	40%	45%	23%	27%
Own home	58%	66%	55%	52%	53%	65%	71%	63%	61%	62%
Mean household income	75,584	95,004	67,209	67,243	68,160	87,044	98,390	82,871	77,343	78,939
Median household income	59,000	68,000	50,000	52,000	52,000	69,900	77,250	65,800	58,000	60,000
Race/ethnicity:										
API	75%	33%	94%	0%	8%	79%	36%	95%	0%	13%
White	10%	32%	0%	42%	38%	10%	36%	0%	50%	44%
Latino/a	5%	15%	0%	50%	45%	4%	13%	1%	42%	36%
Black	1%	2%	0%	6%	6%	1%	3%	0%	5%	4%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Other/Multiracial	10%	18%	6%	2%	3%	6%	12%	4%	2%	2%

Source: 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 an API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Any couple without an API	All	Any couple with an API	Inter-ethnic	Both API	Any couple without an API	All
Under 5 years old	28%	41%	23%	29%	29%	27%	33%	25%	27%	27%
Adopted	6%	15%	3%	5%	5%	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%
Race/ethnicity:										
API	71%	17%	90%	<1%	8%	72%	13%	93%	<1%	11%
White	5%	20%	0%	32%	29%	5%	18%	<1%	44%	38%
Latino/a	6%	20%	1%	59%	53%	7%	20%	2%	49%	43%
Black	2%	5%	<1%	6%	6%	1%	2%	<1%	5%	4%
AK Nat./Am. Ind.	2%	1%	2%	<1%	0%	0%	<1%	<1%	<1%	<1%
Other/Multiracial	15%	36%	7%	3%	4%	16%	47%	5%	2%	4%

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

References

- Allegretto, Sylvia and Michelle Arthur (2001). "An Empirical Analysis of Homosexual/Heterosexual Male Earnings Differentials: Unmarried and Unequal?," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 54(3): 631-646.
- Badgett, M. V. (2001). *Money, Myths, and Change: The Economic Lives of Lesbians and Gay Men*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Badgett, M. V. (1995). "The Wage Effects of Sexual-Orientation Discrimination," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 48(4): 726-739.
- Badgett, M.V. Lee and Marc A. Rogers (2003). "Left Out of the Count: Missing Same-Sex Couples in Census 2000." Amherst, MA: Institute for Gay and Lesbian Strategic Studies.
- Black, Dan, Gary Gates, Seth Sanders, and Lowell Taylor (2000). "Demographics of the Gay and Lesbian Population in the United States: Evidence from Available Systematic Data Sources," *Demography*, 37(2): 139-154.
- Black, Dan, Gary Gates, Seth Sanders, and Lowell Taylor (2002). "Why do Gay Men Live in San Francisco?," *Journal of Urban Economics*, 51(1): 54-76.
- Black, Dan, Hoda Makar, Seth Sanders, and Lowell Taylor (2003). "The Earnings Effects of Sexual Orientation," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 56(3): 449-469.
- Gates, Gary J. and Jason Ost (2004). *The Gay and Lesbian Atlas*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.
- Gates, Gary J. and R. Bradley Sears (2005), "Latino/as in Same-Sex Couples in California: Data from Census 2000," Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Project on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy.
- Sears, R. Bradley and Badgett, M.V. Lee (2004). "Same-Sex Couples and Same-Sex Couples Raising Children in California," Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Project on Sexual Orientation Law and Public Policy.
- Simmons, Tavia and Martin O'Connell (2003). "Married-Couple and Unmarried-Partner Households: 2000." Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics.