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Race/Ethnicity, Gender and Socioeconomic Wellbeing of Individuals in Same-sex Couples

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Race/Ethnicity, Gender and Socioeconomic Wellbeing of Individuals in Same-sex Couples

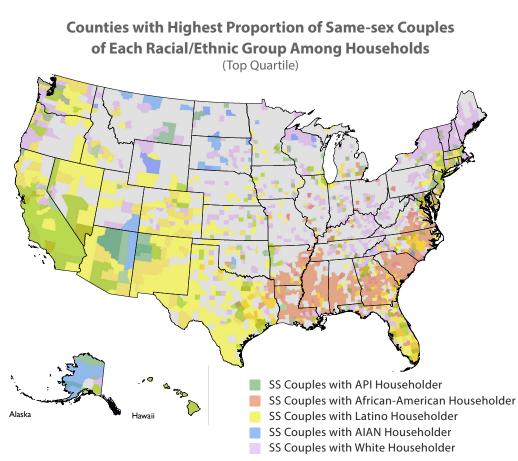
Overview

This report uses American Community Survey (ACS) data to compare demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of Asian and Pacific Islander (API), Latino and Latina (Latino/a), African-American, American Indian and Alaskan Native (AIAN), and non-Hispanic White (White) individuals in same-sex couples in the U.S. This report builds on previously released studies in which the Williams Institute provided a separate analysis of API, African-American, and Latino/a individuals in same-sex couples.

Geographic Distribution

Individuals of each racial and ethnic group who are in cohabiting samesex couples tend to live in areas where there are higher proportions of individuals of their own race or ethnicity.

This county-level map uses U.S. Census 2010 data measuring samesex couples. We highlight the top 25% of counties with the highest proportion of same-sex couples of each racial/ethnic group among all households. For example, the red shaded counties indicate the counties with the highest proportion of same-sex couples with an African-American householder. While there are counties that overlap, API individuals in same-sex couples are mainly situated on the west coast, Latinos/as in the Southwest, African-Americans in the South, AIAN in the Mountain states, and Whites in the Northeast.



Key Findings

• Racial/ethnic minority individuals in same-sex couples tend to live in areas where there are higher proportions of individuals of their own race or ethnicity. Thus, the geographic distribution of racial/ethnic minority same-sex couples tends to mirror the respective distribution of racial/ethnic minority populations generally.

Among same-sex couples, African-American, Latino, and AIAN respondents have lower incomes, lower college completion rates and higher unemployment rates than White and API respondents.

Regardless of race or ethnicity, individuals in same-sex couples have higher unemployment rates and higher rates of college completion compared to their counterparts in different-sex couples.

• About 1 out of every 3 individuals in same-sex couples raising children are people of color. Racial/ethnic minority individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to have kids compared to White individuals in same-sex couples.

• Among same-sex couples, AIAN and Latino/a individuals in same-sex couples are the least likely (70%, 71%) to be covered by health insurance. Health insurance rates are generally lower for individuals in same-sex couples compared to their counterparts in different-sex couples.

• 1 out of 5 Latino/a and API individuals in same-sex couples are non-citizens (20%, 19%). In general, individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to be U.S. citizens (by naturalization or birth) than those in different-sex couples.

• Women in same-sex couples are much more likely to report military service than those in different-sex couples, with AIAN and African-American women the most likely (15%, 9%).

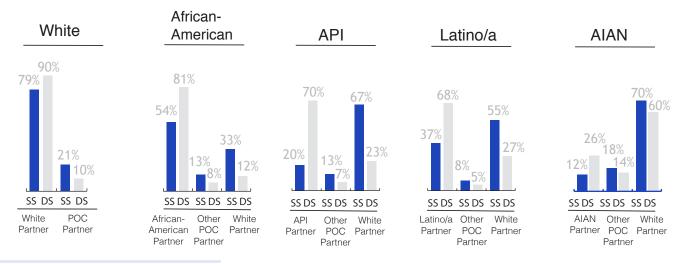
• Overall, individuals in same-sex couples are 2.2 times more likely to partner with individuals of another race/ethnicity compared to people in different-sex couples.

Household Composition

Partnership Patterns

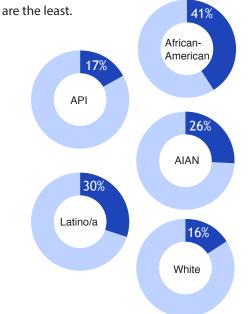
Individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to partner with individuals of another race/ethnicity compared to people in different-sex couples. This pattern is consistent across racial/ethnic groups. However, this pattern is most evident with API individuals, where only 20% of API individuals in same-sex couples partner with another API person, compared to almost 70% of API individuals in different-sex couples. In contrast, 79% of White individuals in same-sex couples are partnered with another White individual, compared to 90% of White individuals in different-sex couples. Below, we indicate the proportion of individuals that partner with someone of the same race/ ethnicity, someone who is a person of color (POC) outside their same race/ethnicity, or someone who is White.

Partnership Patterns for Individuals in Couples



Raising Children

Generally, racial/ethnic minorities in same-sex couples are more likely to be raising children than White respondents in same-sex couples. About 1 out of every 3 individuals in same-sex couples raising children are people of color. African-Americans in same-sex couples are most likely to be raising children, while White individuals



Note on Reporting Racial/Ethnic Data:

In our analyses, we found that intra-ethnic differences exist within various racial/ethnic groups, often times indicating a large disparity between subpopulations.^{1,2} For example, while API individuals in same-sex couples appear to be faring well socioeconomically, differences in college completion rates by ancestry or ethnicity paint a more complex picture. This may obscure the needs of subpopulations within each community.

For the sake of interpretation, it is also important to keep in mind that these data help to provide evidence that race and ethnicity matter when thinking about economic stability and health care access, including among individuals in same-sex couples. Because our analyses controlled for variables such as education, income, and age, when making statements about ethnic and racial differences, the data do suggest that race/ethnicity play a unique and significant role. However, they do not tell us how and why it matters or provide recommendations for how to resolve disparities. Numerous scholars remind us that race/ethnicity serve as a proxy for both systemic and psychological racism, as well as a host of structural and cultural factors (e.g., Helms, 2005).³

¹ Kastanis, A., & Gates, G. (2013). LGBT Asian and Pacific Islander Individuals and Same-sex Couples. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law.

² Kastanis, A., & Gates, G. (2013). LGBT Latino/a Individuals and Same-sex Couples. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law.

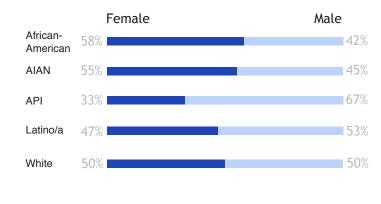
³ Helms, J., Jernigan, M., & Mascher, J. (2005). The Meaning of Race in Psychology and How to Change It: A Methodological Perspective. American Psychologist, 60, 27–36.

Characteristics of Individuals in Same-sex Couples

Gender and Age Distribution

There are significant differences in the gender of same-sex couples across racial/ethnic groups. The majority of African-American and AIAN individuals in same-sex couples are female, while the majority of Latino/a and API individuals in same-sex couples are male. Notably, 2/3 of all API individuals in same-sex couples are male. With regards to age, individuals in same-sex couples are younger than their counterparts in different-sex couples for every racial/ethnic group. There are also differences in age across respondents in each race/ethnic group, regardless of couple-type. For example, Latino/a individuals in same-sex couples are the youngest on average (38.7 yrs), while White individuals are the oldest (44.8 yrs). This pattern is also evident for individuals in different-sex couples (42.5 yrs, 50.4 yrs).





Age of Individuals in Couples (by Race/Ethnicity)

	Same-sex	Different-sex
African- American	39.4	47.3
AIAN	39.9	46.2
API	40.1	45.9
Latino/a	38.7	42.5
	44.8	50.4
White	Years	(mean)

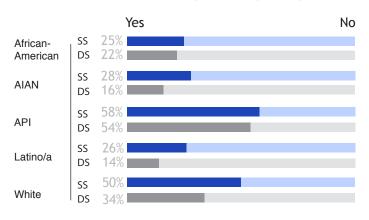
Completed a College Degree or More

Overall, individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to have completed a college degree than their counterparts in different-sex couples. However, White and API individuals are about twice as likely (50%,58%) than Latino/a (26%), African-American (25%) and AIAN individuals (28%) in samesex couples to have a 4-year degree. In addition, the gap in educational attainment between individuals in same-sex couples and different-sex couples is smallest for African-American and API individuals (3-4%), and largest for Whites (16%). It is important to note that there are differences in educational attainment by ancestry within racial/ethnic groups as well, specifically in Latino/a and API communities.

By Gender

The tendency for respondents in same-sex couples to have higher rates of college completion than those in different-sex couples generally held true regardless of the gender of the couple. One exception was in the case of African-American women in same-sex couples who report similar college completion rates to their counterparts in different-sex couples (~24%).

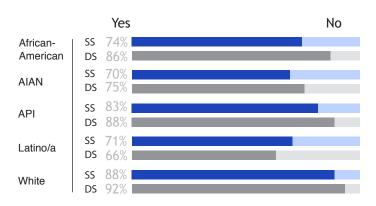
Individuals Completing a College Degree



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Covered by Health Insurance

Generally, individuals in same-sex couples are less likely to be covered by health insurance than their counterparts in different-sex couples. However, Latino/a individuals in samesex couples are more likely to report having health insurance than Latinos/as in different-sex couples (71% vs. 66%). Among respondents in same-sex couples, there are racial/ethnic differences in level of coverage. AIAN and Latino individuals in same-sex couples report the lowest proportion covered by health insurance, while White individuals report the highest.

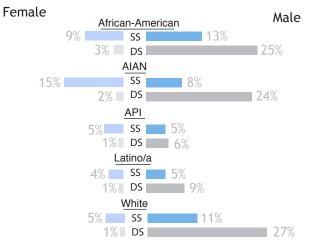


Individuals Reporting Health Insurance

Military Status

In general, men are much more likely than women to serve in the military. However, men in same-sex couples are less likely to report military service than those in different-sex couples. For some racial/ethnic groups, men in same-sex couples still report relatively high rates of inclusion in the military. Women in same-sex couples are much more likely to report military service than those in different-sex couples, with AIAN and African-American women the most likely (15%, 9%).

Individuals Reporting Military Service

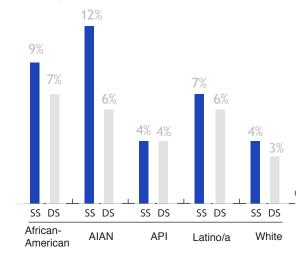




Employment Status

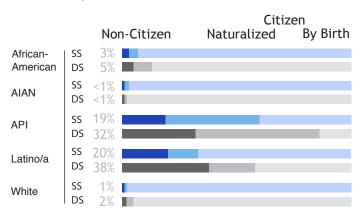
Unemployment rates are generally higher for individuals in same-sex couples compared to their counterparts in differentsex couples. Only API individuals in same-sex couples report similar unemployment rates to those in different-sex couples (4%). AIAN individuals are 3 times more likely to be unemployed (12%) than White and API individuals (4%).

Unemployment Rates



Citizenship Status

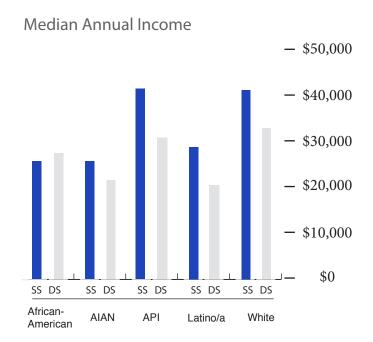
While individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to be U.S. citizens (by naturalization or birth) than those in differentsex couples, about 1 out of 5 Latino/a and API individuals in same-sex couples are non-citizens (20%, 19%). For Latino/a individuals raising children, about 1 in 3 individuals in samesex couples are non-citizens (33%).



Citizenship Status

Median Individual Income

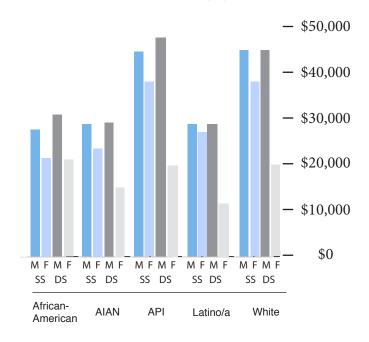
Individuals in same-sex couples generally report higher median incomes than their counterparts in different-sex couples. Only African-American individuals in same-sex couples report lower median incomes than African-Americans in different-sex couples. Among same-sex and different-sex couples, API and White individuals in same-sex couples report the highest median incomes (\$40,300; \$40,000). Notably, African-American and AIAN individuals in same-sex couples report making about 63% of what API and White individuals make annually (\$25,000).



By Gender

\$

Females in same-sex couples and different-sex couples report lower median incomes than males. African-American and API males in same-sex couples report lower median incomes than those in different-sex couples (\$27,000 vs. \$30,500; \$44,000^ vs. \$47,000^), while AIAN, Latino/a and White males report similar incomes to those in different-sex couples. Most females in same-sex couples make more than those in different-sex couples. Only African-American women in same-sex couples report similar annual incomes compared to their counterparts in different-sex couples (~\$22,000). Median Annual Income (by gender)



Characteristics of Individuals Raising Children

In this section of the report, we focus on individuals of each racial/ethnic group who are in couples raising children. Individuals in racial/ ethnic minority groups are more likely to be raising children, but only a third of all individuals in same-sex couples raising children are people of color (35%). Individuals in couples with children generally fare worse with regards to educational attainment, insurance coverage and median income. This is especially true for individuals in same-sex couples.

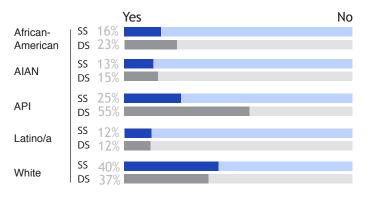
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Completed a College Degree or More

While individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to have completed a college degree than their counterparts in different-sex couples, people of color in same-sex couples with children are generally less likely to have a college degree compared to those in different-sex couples. AIAN and Latino/a individuals are least likely to have a college degree (13%, 12%). For API individuals in same-sex couples, educational attainment drops from 58% to 25% if they are raising children.

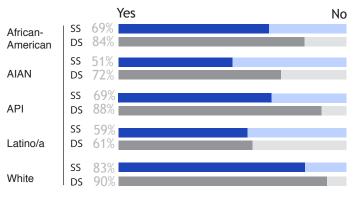
Individuals Completing a College Degree



As mentioned earlier, individuals in same-sex couples are less likely to be covered by health insurance than their counterparts in different-sex couples. This is especially true for couples raising children. AIAN and Latino/a individuals in same-sex couples are least likely to have insurance (51%, 59%), while White individuals are the most likely (83%). The largest gap between individuals in same-sex and different-sex couples, 21%, exists for AIAN individuals.

Covered by Health Insurance

Individuals Reporting Health Insurance

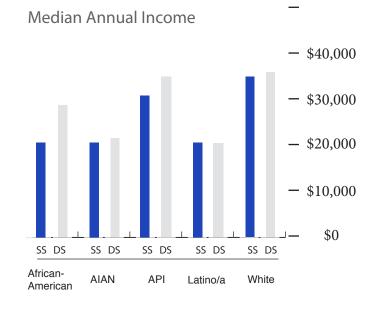


Median Individual Income

Individuals in same-sex couples raising children report similar or lower median incomes than their counterparts in differentsex couples. African-American individuals in same-sex couples raising children report much lower median incomes than those in different-sex couples (\$20,000 vs. \$29,000). For AIAN, Latino/a and White individuals, there is no statistical difference between the median income of those in same-sex couples compared to those in different-sex couples. African-American, Latino/a and AIAN individuals in same-sex couples raising children report similar low incomes (~\$20,000), while API and White individuals report higher incomes (\$30,000, \$34,000).

By Gender

Generally, females in same-sex couples raising children report higher median incomes than females in different-sex couples. Only African-American females in same-sex couples raising children report lower median incomes than those in differentsex couples (\$20,000 vs. \$24,000). White and API females in same-sex couples raising children report the highest incomes (\$36,000, \$33,150). Males in same-sex couples raising children report similar or lower median incomes than males in different-sex couples and females in same-sex couples.



Implications

Discussion

Overall, the findings indicate a generally consistent pattern in which individuals with marginalized social statuses, such as sexual minorities, racial/ethnic minorities, and women, experience exaggerated economic and health care access disparities. However, the ways the intersection of these social categories (i.e., race, sexuality, gender) matter differs by outcome of interest and highlights the need for research using frameworks that address the intersections of multiple forms of oppression and cultural systems.

Implications of Socioeconomic Disparities

For example, individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to have completed a college degree than their counterparts in different-sex couples. Yet, racial disparities remain among same-sex couples in that White and Asian/Pacific Islander individuals are about twice as likely as Latino/a, African-American, and American Indian/Alaskan Native individuals to have obtained a college degree.

Further, these differences in access to economic stability are observed in the areas of income and employment, where we see that racial disparities in income and employment among individuals in same-sex couples reflect the same pattern that is typically observed in different-sex couples. For example, African-American, Latino/a, and American Indian/Alaskan Native respondents in same-sex couples have lower incomes and higher unemployment rates than White and Asian/Pacific Islander respondents.

The similarity between these findings and previous studies on ethnic difference in socioeconomic outcomes among (presumably) majority heterosexual samples¹ highlight a need to make racial justice work a priority and target impacts of heterosexism, sexism, and racism to improve the lives of individuals in same-sex couples, and other sexual minorities. Specifically, the tendency for racial/ethnic minority individuals in same-sex couples to live in areas with high concentrations of their racial/ethnic group support the idea that policies centered on supporting neighborhood education and economic development make sense as a key part of LGBTQ advocacy work that aims to reduce racial/ethnic disparities in wellbeing. Additionally, the strong relationship between community unemployment rates and military service,² combined with the high representation of racial/ethnic minority women in same-sex couples in the military, highlight a potential subgroup in need of assistance with educational and economic development before and after entering the military.

Implications of Household Composition

The data also indicate other notable patterns regarding the composition of families with same-sex couplings. For example, individuals in same-sex couples are more likely than those in different-sex couples to be in interracial couplings. It could be reasonable to hypothesize that these differences in interracial dating patterns are in part a function of availability of same-sex people within a person's given racial/ ethnic group. However, there are also likely factors related to cultural views on interracial dating among sexual minorities (meaning, a higher acceptance or interest), as well as social access to partners outside of one's race that count for some of these differences.

Further, though people in same-sex couples appear to be more likely to be in interracial relationships, the patterns between racial/ ethnic groups are quite similar to that of different-sex couples found in previous research. Other studies have found that, out of people of color, Asian/Pacific Islander individuals are more likely to have interracial marriages/couplings, and that White people are least likely. ^{3,4} Therefore, the data indicate a combination of an adherence to racial/ethnic cultural norms regarding interracial dating patterns and a potential influence of an LGBTQ culture on openness to interracial relationships.

Another important area of family life found in this study was the relevance of raising children on the economic stability of couples. Individuals in couples with children generally fare worse with regards to educational attainment, insurance coverage and median income. Again indicating the significance of couple type, the data also showed that this effect was exaggerated for individuals in same-sex couples. Though people in same-sex couples were less likely overall to have children than individuals in different-sex couples, over a third were raising children in their home. Further, racial/ethnic minority individuals in same-sex couples are more likely to have children compared to White individuals in same-sex couples. The racial/ethnic difference in child rearing identified here seem to reflect trends in birth rates across the country where data have generally indicated lower likelihood of having children among Whites compared to ethnic minorities.⁵

However, trends among ethnic minorities in same-sex couples differ slightly from national trends in that African-Americans are more likely to have children compared to Latinos/as; actually, African-Americans in same-sex couples had a rate of raising children much closer to their different-sex counterparts than any other group. There is likely an interaction between structural and cultural factors affecting decisions to raise children that account for the sexual identity and racial/ethnic related differences observed here. These data further indicate the need for public policies that aim to support families with children in achieving educational and economic goals in ways that simultaneously support racial/ethnic and sexual orientation equity.

¹ U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 2012. Retrieved on February 18, 2014 at http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/cats/income_expenditures_poverty_wealth.html

² Enlistment Decisions in the 1990s: Evidence from Individual-Level Data, by M. Rebecca Kilburn and Jacob A. Klerman, MR-944-OSD/A, 2000, 108 pp., ISBN: 0-8330-2708-5 3 Fryer, R.G., Jr. (2007). Guess Who's Been Coming to Dinner? Trends in Interracial Marriage over the 20th Century Journal of Economic Perspectives, 21, 71-90.

⁴ Qian Z. (1997). "Breaking the Racial Barriers: Variations in Interracial Marriage between 1980 and 1990." Demography, 34, 478-500.

⁵ Pew (2012). Retrieved on February 18, 2014 at http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2012/05/17/explaining-why-minority-births-now-outnumber-white-births/).

Appendix A

Sample Size										
	Individuals in Same-sex Couples	Males in Same-sex Couples	Females in Same-sex Couples							
White (Non-Hispanic)	22,389	11,123	11,266							
Latino	2,849	1,475	1,374							
African-American	1,415	579	836							
AIAN	180	75	105							
API	662	441	221							
Other	465	197	268							
Total	27,960	13,890	14,070							

Race/Ethnic Distribution (weighted)									
	Individuals in Same-sex Couples	Individuals in Different-sex Couples							
White (Non-Hispanic)	76.8%	73.8%							
Latino	11.6%	7.3%							
African-American	6.5%	12.3%							
AIAN	0.6%	0.5%							
API	2.6%	5.0%							
Other	1.8%	1.2%							
Total	100%	100%							

All Individua	ls in Cou	uples										
	White (Non-Hispanic)		Latino		African-American		American Indian & Native Hawaiian		Asian & Pacific Islander		Other Rad or Ethnic	
	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS
Female	50%	-	47%	-	58%	-	55%	-	33%	-	60%	-
Average Age	44.8	50.4	38.7	42.5	39.4	47.3	39.9	46.2	40.1	45.9	39.4	44.0
Employed	79%	66%	79%	68%	71%	68%	69%	62%	81%	70%	79%	69%
Unemployed	4%	3%	7%	6%	9%	7%	12%	6%	4%	4%	5%^	6%^
Military	8%	14%	5%	5%	10%	14%	12%^	13%^	5%^	3%^	9%	12%
College Degree	50%	34%	26%	14%	25%	22%	28%	16%	58%	54%	40%	31%
Health Insurance	88%	92%	71%	66%	74%	86%	70%	75%	83%	88%	85%	85%
Median Income	\$40,000	\$32,000	\$28,000	\$20,000	\$25,000	\$26,700	\$25,000^^	\$21,000^^	\$40,300	\$30,000	\$30,000	\$28,000
Non-Citizen	1%	2%	20%	38%	3%	5%	<1%	<1%	19%	32%	4%	8%
Other Language	5%	6%	62%	81%	5%	9%	17%	20%	49%	82%	16%	19%
Raising Children	16%	39%	30%	67%	41%	51%	26%	51%	17%	55%	23%	52%

All Individuals in Couples Raising Children												
	White (Non-Hispanic)		Latino		African-American		American Indian & Native Hawaiian		Asian & Pacific Islander		Other Race or Ethnicity	
	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS
College Degree	40%	37%	12%	12%	16%	23%	13%	15%	25%	55%	23%	31%
Health Insurance	83%	90%	59%	61%	69%	84%	51%	72%	69%	88%	85%	85%
Median Income	34,000^	35,300^	20,000	20,000	20,000	29,000	20,000^^	22,000^^	30,000	34,000	25,000	30,000

Females in Couples												
	White (Non-Hispanic)		Latino		African-American		American Indian & Native Hawaiian		Asian & Pacific Islander		Other Rad or Ethnici	
	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS
Average Age	44.2	49.2	38.3	41.5	39.0	46.3	40.8	45.0	38.1	44.5	38.3	42.8
Employed	80%	60%	79%	55%	70%	66%	74%	58%	83%	61%	78%	62%
Unemployed	4%	3%	6%	6%	10%	6%	7%^^	5%^^	4%	4%	5%^^	6%^^
Military	5%	1%	4%	<1%	9%	3%	15%	<2%	5%	<1%	9%	2%
College Degree	50%	33%	24%	15%	23%^^	24%^^	24%	16%	56%^^	51%^^	38%	31%
Health Insurance	87%	92%	72%	67%	72%	86%	68%^^	76%^^	85%^^	88%^^	85%	86%
Median Income	\$38,000	\$20,000	\$27,000	\$11,000	\$21,740^^	\$22,000^^	\$23,500	\$15,000	\$37,000	\$19,600	\$27,500	\$18,000
Non-Citizen	1%	2%	14%	38%	1%	5%	2%	1%	14%	33%	4%	9%
Other Language	25%	39%	39%	66%	47%	50%	27%	52%	25%	54%	32%	52%
Raising Children	16%	39%	30%	67%	41%	51%	26%	51%	17%	55%	23%	52%

Males in Cou	ples											
	White (Non-Hispanic)		Latino		African-American		American Indian & Native Hawaiian		Asian & Pacific Islander		Other Race or Ethnicity	
	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS	SS	DS
Average Age	45.4	51.5	39.1	43.6	40.0	48.2	38.8	47.6	41.1	47.6	41.1	45.3
Employed	78%	72%	79%^^	81%^^	72%^^	69%^^	63%^^	65%^^	79%^^	81%^^	80%	76%
Unemployed	5%	4%	8%	6%	6%^^	8%^^	19%	8%	4%^^	4%^^	4%	6%
Military	11%	27%	5%	9%	13%	25%	8%	24%	5%	6%	10\$	22%
College Degree	50%	35%	28%	13%	27%	20%	33%	15%	59%^^	57%^^	41%	31%
Health Insurance	88%	92%	70%	65%	78%	85%	72%^^	74%^^	82%	88%	84%^^	85%^^
Median Income	\$44,500^^	\$45,000^^	\$29,000	\$28,000	\$27,000	\$30,500	\$28,000^^	\$29,000^^	\$44,000*		\$35,000	\$39,000
Non-Citizen	2%	2%	26%	39%	5%	5%	<1%	<1%	21%	31%	4%	8%
Other Language	8%	39%	22%	67%	31%	52%	24%	51%	13%	56%	9%	53%
Raising Children	16%	39%	30%	67%	41%	51%	26%	51%	17%	55%	23%	52%

Note: All comparisons mentioned in this report are statistically significant at p < 0.01 unless values are marked with o or o . Values marked a are statistically significant at p < 0.05. Values marked with o are not statistically significant.

Data and Methodology

2008-2010 American Community Survey (ACS): The analyses use the 3-year Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) from the American Community Survey, 2008-2010. We include individuals in racial/ethnic groups who identified as part of the racial/ethnic group when asked to describe their race.

Adjustments to Census 2010 same-sex couple data: Data are compiled using the US Census 2010 preferred estimates for same-sex couples by race and ethnicity and the presence of children. Same-sex couples are identified in households where Person 1 describes his or her relationship with another adult of the same sex as either a "husband/wife" or "unmarried partner." The Census Bureau preferred estimates adjust original same-sex couple tabulations reported in the Census 2010 SF-2 data (PCT19) to account for the likelihood that a small portion of different-sex couples miscode the sex of a spouse or partner and are incorrectly counted as a same-sex couple. Different-sex couple data presented in the report are all derived from the SF-2, PCT19 table.

The Census Bureau only released preferred estimates for same-sex couples by race and ethnicity at the national level. State and county data used in this report are adjusted by the authors and do not represent official Census Bureau tabulations. Like the Census Bureau preferred estimates, the adjustment procedure accounts for the likelihood that a small portion of different-sex couples miscode the sex of a spouse or partner and are incorrectly counted as a same-sex couple. Note that the adjusted figures do not take into account the possibility that some same-sex couples may not be counted in Census tabulations due to concerns about confidentiality or because neither partner was Person 1 in the household.

The county-level map use adjusted U.S. Census 2010 data measuring same-sex couples. The Census data describe both different-sex (DS) and same-sex (SS) couples by the race or ethnicity of the "householder," who was Person 1 on the Census form and is usually the person in whose name the home is either owned or rented. Thus, the couples included in the map are couples where the householder is of the racial/ethnic group mentioned. We include individuals in racial/ethnic groups who identified as part of the racial/ethnic group when asked to describe their race.

Controlling for Variables: All numbers reported are descriptive analyses from ACS 2008-2010 data. During our analysis, we decided to run a regression controlling for variables such as education, income, and age, in order to account for the possible effects of these variables when making statements about ethnic and racial differences with regards to couple type. We calculated the odds-ratios for three dependent variables: health insurance coverage, completion of a college degree and military status. Independent variables included age, gender, disability, education, citizenship, employment status, race/ethnicity, and interaction terms between race/ethnicity, couple type, and gender. The results indicate that the general patterns we present hold when controlling for said variables.

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