The weekly adventures of gay couple Mitchell and Cameron and their baby on the popular television program Modern Family highlight a common contemporary media image of gay parenting: wealthy, urban, and White gay men raising an adopted child. An analysis of broadcast media by the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (2007) found that this demographic dominates media images of the entire lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. Within scholarly research, Biblarz and Stacey (2010) observe that contemporary studies of parenting by same-sex couples have focused largely on lesbian couples who are raising adopted children or children that they conceived via artificial insemination or some form of reproductive technology. While predominantly female, these research subjects share many traits with Mitch and Cam. They tend to be disproportionately White with relatively high levels of income and education.

U.S. Census Bureau data suggest that the demographic characteristics of same-sex couples raising children are substantially more diverse than the predominant subjects of scholarly research and media images of lesbian and gay parenting. Most notably, analyses of these data show substantial racial/ethnic and socioeconomic diversity among lesbian and gay couples raising children, and suggest that offspring of lesbian and gay parents are more often the product of different-sex relationships that occur before individuals are open about their sexual orientation. This article will explore the demographic characteristics of lesbian and gay parents and consider some of the challenges these characteristics pose for policymakers and scholars.

Among self-identified lesbians and gay men in the 2002 National Survey of Family Growth, one third of lesbians and one in six gay men say they have had children. Analyses of the 2008 General Social Survey suggest that 19% of gay and bisexual men and 49% of lesbians and bisexual women say they have had a child. Analyses of the 2008 General Social Survey suggest that 19% of gay and bisexual men and 49% of lesbians and bisexual women say they have had a child. Analyses of the 2008 General Social Survey suggest that 19% of gay and bisexual men and 49% of lesbians and bisexual women say they have had a child. Analyses of the 2008 General Social Survey suggest that 19% of gay and bisexual men and 49% of lesbians and bisexual women say they have had a child.
in childrearing from 12% of couples in 1990 to nearly 19% of couples in 2006. Since then, the percentage of such couples raising children has declined to 16%. This pattern seems to contradict the prevailing view that increasing numbers of lesbians and gay men (and same-sex couples) are raising children. However, a closer look at these data suggests that there may be two different trends occurring with regard to parenting.

How Do Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual People Come to Be Parents?

In the 2000 U.S. Census, nearly 10% of the same-sex, unmarried-partner couples raising children were in households with an adopted child present. By 2009, American Community Survey (ACS) data suggest that the comparable figure had nearly doubled to 19%. Clearly, the decade saw a substantial rise in adoptive parenting by same-sex couples. Nevertheless, those increases may have been offset by decreases in parenting by lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) individuals who had children at a relatively young age (likely before they were open about or aware of their same-sex sexual orientation) in a relationship with a different-sex partner. Declines in social stigma toward LGB people mean that more are coming out earlier in life and are becoming less likely to have children with different-sex partners. These declines may be outpacing increases in adoptive parenting and parenting using reproductive technologies. This could explain the overall reduced number of same-sex couples who have children.

Several data sources offer evidence that a common path to parenthood for LGB men and women is a relationship with a different-sex partner when they are young. First, data from population-based surveys suggest that LGB individuals are younger than non–LGB individuals when they have their first child. In the 2008 General Social Survey, the average age of LGB respondents when they had or gave birth to their first child was 22.5 years. Among heterosexuals, the average age was older, at 24.1 years (although the difference was not statistically significant). A similar pattern is observed for women in the 2009 California Health Interview Survey. Among women who have had a child, 22.4% of heterosexual women said they were under age 20 when their first child was born. For lesbians and bisexual women, the figure was 37.9%; this difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$).

Second, the characteristics of same-sex couples raising children, as observed in the ACS, are consistent with patterns one might expect if many LGB people were bringing up children from prior different-sex relationships. In the 2009 data, 28% of individuals in same-sex couples who were previously married (presumably to a different-sex partner) had children under age 18 in the home, compared to just 16% of those who said they had never been married. Among those in same-sex couples who were previously married, 23.5% report a biological or stepchild in the home, compared to just 9.5% among those who never married. Conversely, among never-married individuals in same-sex couples who report children in the home, 22.6% say that at least one of the children is adopted. Among their previously married counterparts, the figure is half that at 11.5%. Notably, the average age of adopted children living with same-sex couples is nearly 4 years younger than that of biological or stepchildren (8.3 vs. 12.4 years old). This is evidence that individuals in same-sex couples who were previously married are much more likely to have biological or stepchildren (perhaps from a previous marriage), while...
those were never married are more likely to have adopted children (perhaps later in life).

**What are the Demographic Characteristics of Same-Sex Couples with Children?**

Geographically, same-sex couples are most likely to have children in many of the most socially conservative parts of the country. Analyses of ACS data from 2005–2009 (see Table 1) show that same-sex parenting is more common in the South, where more than 26% of same-sex couples are raising children, than in more socially liberal regions like New England (24%) or the Pacific states (21%).

Among individuals in same-sex couples, childrearing is substantially higher among African-American, Latino, and Native American/Alaskan natives (see Figure 2). This is also true for different-sex couples, but the relative differences between rates of White and African-American parenting, in particular, are greater among individuals in same-sex couples. African-Americans in same-sex couples are 2.4 times more likely than their White counterparts to be raising children (40% v. 16%, respectively). Latinos and Latinas (28%) in same-sex couples are 1.7 times more likely than Whites to be raising children, and American Indians/Alaska Natives (24%) are 1.5 times more likely. For different-sex couples, African-Americans are only 1.3 times more likely than Whites to be raising children, regardless of their educational attainment.

As with observed racial/ethnic differences in childrearing, the pattern is the opposite with regard to adoptive parenting. Among individuals in same-sex couples who are raising children, education is clearly correlated with the likelihood of having an adopted child in the home. Among those with a high school diploma or lower levels of educational attainment, less than 8% have an adopted child. For college graduates, the comparable figure is 18% and among those with a graduate degree, fully one third have an adopted child.

Given the connections between parenting and education, it is perhaps not surprising that same-sex couples with children show evidence of economic disadvantage relative to their different-sex counterparts. In analyses of data from the 2000 U.S. Census, Albelda and colleagues (2009) show that 20% of children being raised by same-sex couples are living in poverty compared to only 9.4% of children being raised by different-sex married couples.

**What Do These Patterns Regarding LGB Parenting Mean?**

The available data garnered from population-based sources demonstrate unique dynamics of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, geography, gender, and sexual orientation that intersect and interact to affect how LGB people come to be parents and what types of legal and economic resources they may have.
Legal trends in protecting lesbian and gay parents’ relationships with their children

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With an increasing number of states recognizing same-sex relationships and recent court victories striking down discriminatory adoption laws, the gay community is making critically needed progress in securing legal relationships between lesbian and gay parents and their children. Nevertheless, significant challenges remain, and far too many lesbians and gay men must live with laws that leave their parent–child relationships inadequately protected. As the legal landscape continues to evolve, some important trends are emerging in the areas of relationship recognition, adoption, and interstate recognition for same-sex couples who are parents. While not all of the law’s nuances can be captured in this overview, these trends help paint a picture of a community that is making progress in some areas, while facing significant challenges in others.

A legally recognized relationship status between a child’s parents can be an important way to solidify a legal parent–child relationship, and many families benefit significantly from resulting rights and presumptions. For example, historically, a child born into a marriage has been presumed to be the legal child of both spouses; also, married couples can access a streamlined joint or stepparent adoption process. With many same-sex couples unable to access even modest relationship protections in numerous states, lesbian and gay parents often cannot take such rights for granted. Yet, despite these vulnerabilities, the picture is improving.

With New York becoming the latest state to provide marriage equality to same-sex couples, the percentage of the U.S. population living in a state that allows same-sex couples to marry has more than doubled, from 5.1% to 11.4%. Five other states and the District of Columbia allow same-sex couples to marry, including Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Additionally, as of January 1, 2012, nine other states will afford same-sex couples all or almost all state-provided spousal rights through a status such as civil unions or domestic partnerships, including California, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington. These developments are crucial because same-sex couples have the same needs for parental rights as different-sex couples, including access to family legal trends continued on page F5

family formation continued from page F3

to bring up their children. Findings presented here reveal a portrait of LGB families who likely face a variety of legal and economic challenges.

The geographic data suggest that many same-sex couples raising children live in states with legal environments that at best are not supportive and at worst are openly hostile toward LGB individuals and their families. This could be particularly problematic for establishing legal parentage or guardianship rights. If a state does not allow second-parent adoptions, nonadoptive parents could be legal strangers to their children. Similarly, in the absence of legal relationship recognitions like marriage, civil unions, or registered domestic partnerships, stepparents may have no ability to establish any type of legal guardianship relationship with their stepchildren. The absence of these parenting and guardianship relationships could mean, for example, that a nonlegal parent would not have any right to make potentially life-altering emergency medical decisions for a child if a legal parent were for some reason not available.

The racial/ethnic and economic diversity that we observe among same-sex couples and their families counters prevailing media images of this population and challenges scholars to broaden the scope of the research on LGB families and parenting. Unfortunately, one important reason that scholars have not explored this diversity as fully as they might is a lack of data. Explicit LGBT inclusion within population-based data sources remains the exception rather than the rule.

A recent Institute of Medicine report on LGBT–related health disparities called on federal statistical agencies to collect more and better data that allow for the identification of LGBT individuals and their families. As data resources improve, scholars must consider how the interplay of racial and ethnic cultural norms, geographic location, and socioeconomic status intersect with sexual orientation to affect LGBT individuals and their families. Social scientists will, ideally, expand the conceptual and theoretical frameworks by which they frame their research and consider the rich demographic variation within the LGBT community.

REFERENCES