The Parenthood Premium for Married Lesbians in the US

by

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Abstract

Previous studies have found that lesbians earn more than straight women, and mothers earn less than non-mothers. Studies about lesbian women and mothers are often considered when explaining the gender wage gap but have rarely been studied at the same time. National surveys that include sexual orientation are not common, and data is often only available for people in same sex couples which can skew results with miscoded roommates. For this reason, this paper uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS) to study only married women. To ensure that all data was collected at least a year after same sex marriage was legalized in the US, our data ranges from 2017 to the most recent data from 2019. We estimate the difference in annual income between married lesbian mothers and married straight mothers. We find that married lesbian mothers experience a wage premium relative to married straight mothers in our Ordinary Least Squares regression accounting for demographic, educational, occupational, and work-related variables. A Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition was also done to see if the income differences between the straight and lesbian married mothers can be accounted for by cross-group differences. It showed that discrimination is a component of the difference, and gender stereotypes and expectations are part of the parenthood penalty/premium. Further research into differences between parents of opposite sexual orientation is an important next step to determining the cause and possible policy changes to lower the motherhood penalty in the US.

Literature Review

Background

Research about married homosexual couples on the United States is limited. Marriage between people of the same sex became legal nationwide in only 2015. Some studies looked at data from individual states who passed gay marriage, the first of which was Massachusetts in 2004 with 19 states allowing it in 2014. Additionally, the Census Bureau was subject to the federal ruling that "the word 'marriage' means only a legal union between one man and one woman as husband and wife, and the word 'spouse' refers only to a person of the opposite sex who is a husband or a wife" from the time Bill Clinton signed the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act into law until the Supreme Court's ruling that Section 3 was unconstitutional in 2013. The Census still recorded data from same-sex couples who reported themselves as married, but its system automatically changed those responses to unmarried partner as a result of the DOMA (O'Connell and Lofquist 2009).

Large scale research into sexual orientation has only been possible in the US for about 30 years, with decennial Census data first allowing for "unmarried partner" as an option for relationship to head of household in 1990. The General Social Survey (GSS) started

collecting data regarding sexual practices in its 1988-1991 dataset, though the sample size was much smaller than the American Community Survey's sample size is today. Issues arise with population size in studies of sexual orientation because of the small percentage of people who are part of the LGB community, and the still smaller number of studies that take this variable into account.

To understand the data, we first need to understand how these studies are establishing a person's sexual orientation. The Sexual Minority Assessment Research Team found three methods to acquire that information: "1) questions on the gender of past sex partners (sexual behavior), 2) questions on gender of married or unmarried partners (couple status), or 3) questions on sexual identity (self-identification as heterosexual, gay or lesbian, or bisexual)" (2009). The Team's research also finds that there is "significant but incomplete overlap" in the groups identified as sexual minorities for all question types. This problem is easier to address when looking at same sex couples that are married or live together.

The recent legalization of gay marriage and differing views towards homosexuality throughout the country contributes to a wide distribution of data on LGB people. Most studies look at national data of both homosexual and heterosexual respondents for comparison, but this often fails to account for differences in attitudes toward LGB people from place to place.

Attitudes toward gay marriage in the US have changed dramatically in recent years, Pew Research found that 61% of American adults surveyed support gay marriage in 2019, compared to only 31% in 2004. As such, studies from a period before the 2000s cannot be applied to the US today without being outdated. The review of previous literature will consist mostly with data from the 2000s onward, with the exception of some long-term studies that span back as far as 1979, when research into gays and lesbians was first conducted on a national scale.

Mothers earn less than non-mothers, this affect is known as the motherhood penalty (Budig and England 2001). Additionally, lesbians earn more than straight women (Black et al. 2007). Despite these important findings analyzed later in this section, there has only been minimal research into the interaction of these two effects for lesbian mothers compared to heterosexual mothers. This paper contributes to the literature by analyzing the impact of sexual orientation on the wages of mothers. In brief, we find that lesbian mothers experience a statistically significant premium relative to straight mothers, straight non-mothers, and lesbian non-mothers across models.

Lesbian Premium

Econometric research into income differences between gay and straight people started with Badgett's 1995 paper, which found that gay and bisexual men earn less than straight

men, though information about lesbian and bisexual women was not statistically significant. The first conclusive results about differences in women's income based on sexual orientation showed that lesbians made 26% more than straight women in 2000 (Black et al. 2007). Since then, researchers have asked more questions about the overlap between gender stereotypes, differences in occupational selection, level of education, and the wage differential.

Badgett (2009) revisited the topic and found that the studies since 1995 showed a wide range of pay differentials, which were mostly credited to the occupational selection of lesbians of male dominated fields and the lower likelihood that lesbians will take time off of work to bear and raise children. Another meta-analysis of the topic, this time with 31 papers from 1995 to 2012 across developed countries found that on average, there is a nine percent premium in lesbians' earnings (Klawitter 2015). The study had an even wider range than Badgett's, with cases where lesbians earned 25 percent less than heterosexual women and others where lesbians earned 43 percent more. As such, these averages aren't even close to telling the whole story.

Human capital, especially with regard to educational attainment, is one of the most cited reasons for the lesbian premium. This is often attributed to differing expectations about time out of the labor force for children, but assumptions about a woman's time out of the workforce is likely also a factor in their hiring. Young heterosexual women make less than lesbians, driven by a woman's age and fertility (Baert 2013).

One national study of income differences between young adults ages 26-34 found no significant difference between lesbian and heterosexual women's earnings when sexual orientation was accounted for based on responses of attraction type and when shared residence with a partner is used (Sabia 2014).

The division of labor to household and market work within couples typically results in women doing more household labor than their male counterparts, and this is exacerbated by the presence of children within the home. This obstacle is less likely to occur in lesbian households, as lesbians have been found to spend 45 minutes per day less than married women doing care work. This assumption is pervasive, and likely impacts earnings despite evidence that there is no difference in time use between married heterosexual women with children and lesbians with children (Martell and Roncolato 2016).

Motherhood Penalty

Expectations of motherhood responsibilities and employee dedication conflict and negatively affect the wages of mothers and women of childbearing age. The impact is greater for women in their early 20s-early 30s, and smaller for women who become mothers at younger and older ages (Chandler et al. 1994, Miller 2011, Staff and Mortimer

2012, Chung et al. 2017). The first year after birth often has the sharpest decrease in a mother's wage. The penalty is less apparent for mothers of children 5 years or older (Budig and England 2001), though time spent out of the workforce as a result of childcare still negatively impacts earnings. Second and third births result in additional penalties for mothers (Doren 2019).

On average, working mothers make 71% as much as working fathers—even though 70% of families depend on a mother's income (Williams-Baron, Anderson, and Hegewisch 2017).

While the motherhood penalty has decreased in the US since the 1960s (Pal and Waldfogel 2016), it is still prevalent to varying degrees and remains a factor in earnings for mothers at midlife (Gough 2017; Karimi 2014; Wilde, Batchelder, and Ellwood 2010).

Work conditions are one indicator of how great the penalty will be, in line with theories that incompatibilities between expectations for mothers and employees contribute to the penalty. Women with a college-education tend to have higher levels of workplace autonomy, resulting in a lower penalty because motherhood is more compatible with the work environment (Goldin 2014, Landivar 2020). Occupations with lower teamwork requirements and more schedule regularity also have smaller penalties (Yu and Kuo 2017). This is true for jobs with less pressure to compete. Work environments suitable to the needs of mothers attract more women, and occupations dominated by women pay less, because they are dominated by women according to "devaluation theory" (England and Li 2006).

While delaying fertility doesn't make a difference to less educated women, women with college educations may experience a premium when they wait to have their first child in their mid-30s (Doren 2019). Having more than one child lessens the penalty relative to women with only one child, likely as a result of women who plan to have multiple children's higher investment in human capital (Jee et al 2019). Though a long-term study found that the penalty is over for most women by their early 50s, but not for those with three or more children (Kahn, García-Manglano, Bianchi 2014)

The long-term affect for mothers when they reach middle age shows that women who are more educated and work in higher paying jobs face a larger penalty (Budig and Hodges 2010; Kahn, García-Manglano, and Bianchi 2014). Other studies have found that the motherhood penalty for high earning women is essentially zero as of the early 2010s but persists for lower earning mothers (Glauber 2018). The claim that the highest earning women face the largest penalty has also been refuted by Killewald and Bearak (2014), who argued that the question cannot be answered with conditional quantiles like those used by Budig and Hodges.

Collecting data on parent-child relationships within same sex couple households can be difficult, as these families don't fit demographic defaults. Filling out a survey can prove difficult when a mother must decide if her relationship with her child is best categorized as adopted, biological, or unrelated. In cases like this—where she and her partner chose to have the child together but are not married so she cannot legally adopt the child in their state—legally the child is unrelated, but the nuance of the relationship is lost in the details.

Explaining the relationship of a child to only the head of household (one parent) and not the other also misses out on key information. Baumle and Compton (2014) found that some respondents took this into consideration when filling out the survey, specifically choosing the head of household so the parent-child relationship marked on the survey best fits their view of their family structure. But this is not the case for all respondents, and it is difficult to say how accurately an option fits the actual situation.

A meta-analysis of twenty years of data starting in 1990 found that couple status influences the wage gap, with the average lesbian couple earning less than the average straight couple (Klawitter 2015). This is in line with findings that the median income for same-sex couples with children under 18 in their household is $63,900 compared to $74,000 for their straight counterparts (Gates 2013). They also make less on average than couples with two men, so the lower earnings are likely a result of gender discrimination.

Education level and racial and ethnic minority status are also key components of this wage gap between same sex couples. While most studies show that same-sex couples are more likely to have a college degree than heterosexual couples, lesbian mothers are less likely to have a college degree (Gates 2013, Brewster et al. 2014). More than a third of all same-sex couples raising children are racial or ethnic minorities, and the poverty rate is 10% higher for children of same-sex couples, 24% compared to 14% for heterosexual couples (Brewster et al. 2014).

With the legalization of same sex marriage though, lesbian couples may also have the benefit of the marriage premium, minimizing this disparity. Like heterosexual married couples, married lesbians experience a marriage premium of 6% relative to their unmarried counterparts (Martell and Nash 2020).

Other protections for LGBT couples are less consistent across states. While the 2020 Supreme Court case *Bostock v. Clayton County*, *Georgia* ruled in favor of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act applying to employment discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, 29 states still lack those explicit protections. Protections for LGBT people who want to adopt are non-existent in 21 states, with an additional three states that

have protections but allow child welfare agencies to deny service based on religious beliefs (Movement Advancement Projects).

The proportion of same-sex couples with children is higher in areas like the South, Midwest, and Mountain West that have fewer protections. This is attributed to the increased rate of lesbian and gay men having children from a previous heterosexual marriage, and only entering a same sex relationship in more recent years as attitudes toward open LGBT expression have changed (Gates 2013, Gates 2015).

In 2017, there were 547,000 same sex married couples in the US. An estimated 200,000 children under the age of 18 live with same-sex couples (married and unmarried) as of 2014. Of those, most are the result of previous heterosexual relationships, though artificial reproductive technology and surrogacy are rising in popularity (MAP).

The ACS found that 66.3% of same sex couples reported that both were the parent in 2019, which is also partially a result of some states not having laws that protect same sex couples' right to adopt. Same sex couples are still three times as likely to adopt children, and 1.5 times as likely to foster children than straight couples. In 2019, approximately 43.3% of children of same-sex couples were adopted or stepchildren of at least one parent (Taylor 2020).

Lesbian Motherhood Penalty

Research into the motherhood penalty for lesbians in the US is minimal, with only a couple studies. The data available to do such research is limited by the only recent changes in policy about same sex marriage, parenthood, and methods of data collection. Schneebaum (2013) used OLS wage regressions, an Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition, and a DiNardo-Fortin-Lemieux decomposition on 2010 data from the American Community Survey to look at the wage of lesbian mothers. This study found that there is a motherhood premium for lesbian mothers as a whole, though this no longer holds for secondary earners in lesbian households when earner status is accounted for. Secondary earners in lesbian households face motherhood penalties similar to those of straight women.

A second study from 2017 looks at a 1% sample of 2013-2015 ACS data from IPUMS to compare mothers' earnings based on sexual orientation and mothers with children five years or younger (Mai 2017). The findings from this study show that there is a motherhood premium for mothers of young children, which contradicts most previous studies of the motherhood penalty, possibly as a result of the small sample size used.

Importance

Clearly, more research is needed to assess the combined effects of women's sexual orientation and motherhood status. This study aims to use more recent data to look at legally married mothers in the US.

Other countries have had more progressive and family friendly policies to combat the motherhood penalty that have had differing results based on the cultural attitudes toward gender roles. Budig and Boeckmann (2012) found that mothers have higher earnings in countries where parental leaves and public childcare are available and there is high cultural support for maternal employment. In the same vein, the study also found that countries where cultural attitudes are more supportive of a male breadwinner/female caregiver model have smaller positive, and even negative relationships with earnings when similar policies are in place. Another study specific to Norway, which has been classified as a culture accepting of maternal employment, found that availability of childcare led to a 25% reduction of the motherhood penalty per year for working mothers (Nix and Andresen 2019).

Our research into the motherhood penalties for lesbian mothers in the US provides a unique window through which to view Americans' attitude toward less traditional family structures. Using this information to consider cultural views for changing family structures and employment choices, can be used to help predict the outcomes of more progressive policy changes as it provides a more dynamic picture of current attitudes toward changes in employment of mothers.

Data

Data from the 2017-2019 American Community Survey (ACS), accessed via IPUMS USA (formerly the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series), was used for this study. The ACS has a sample of more than a million households each year. Household and individual data are collected, but data for specific respondents over multiple years is not collected. It still works well for this study though, as there is information about labor force participation and earnings, household types, demographics, and starting in 2013 reports when the relationship between the householder and their spouse is a same sex marriage. This is also the year that respondents in this category were first included in the general family household and married-couple family categories.

This paper uses only female respondents who are currently married. As data is collected throughout the year, we chose to start using data in 2017 when same sex marriage had been legal for at least a year across the US when all responses were collected.

For the sake of simplicity and comparability, we chose to look at data with women in married households age 21-45 which are the most likely women to have children in the home. From there we split the women into four subgroups: lesbian mothers, straight mothers, lesbian non-mothers, and straight non-mothers. We use the ACS's definition of

motherhood, which is a woman whose household has at least one of her own children in it (NCHILD>=1).

Outliers were excluded from the sample in line with Mishel and Shierholz (2011) and Pal and Waldfogel (2016). Women who did not work full time, defined as working fewer than 39 weeks a year or less than 30 hours a week on average, were kept out. Additionally, women with an annual income less than $20,000 dollars a year, or an annual income above $250,000 were also excluded because they are not representative of the average woman who is working full time.

Table 1 contains the summary statistics for the data. The mean and standard deviation for all demographic and occupational variables are included, based on the four subsections of women: lesbian mothers, straight mothers, lesbian non-mothers, and straight non-mothers. Variable descriptions can be found in the Appendix section. Note that the mean for variables that have a yes or no answer (e.g. individual races or occupations) is the proportion of the population that falls under that category.

The most notable differences in the means show that mothers are older on average than non-mothers, lesbians are older on average than straight women, and straight mothers have more children on average than lesbian mothers. Mothers also have higher average incomes than their non-mother counterparts of the same sexual orientation.

Methods

The analysis was conducted with R statistical software. Standard ordinary least squares regressions and Oaxaca-Blinder decompositions were used. The dependent variable used is the natural logarithm of the INCWAGE variable from the ACS, which is the person surveyed's answer to "wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, or tips from all jobs. Report amount before deductions for taxes, bonds, dues, or other items" for their total annual income. Because the data were collected throughout the three years studied, and responses for wage/salaries were reported for "the past twelve months," adjusting for monthly and yearly inflation differences is particularly complex. To mitigate confusion or man-made errors in calculations, data have not been adjusted for inflation in accordance with the IPUMS recommendation to not use the average monthly inflation factor that can be applied to the whole year. The regressions used in this paper all include dummy variables for year to account for these differences.

The key independent variable for this research is the interaction term for being a lesbian and being a mother. This is calculated by multiplying the variables MOTHERyes and SSMCyes, so only women who are married to another woman and have children are included. This variable is used in tandem with the MOTHERyes and SSMCyes variables, so the effects from motherhood and sexual orientation are accounted for under those variables. Thus, the interaction term accounts for the difference in income that occurs only for women who are married to another woman and have children.

Variables for the number of weeks a person worked in the last twelve months (WKSWORK2) and the usual hours a person works a week (UHRSWORK) are also used to account for differences in times spent in the workforce within fulltime work status. The third regression also accounts for the group of occupations each person falls under. Standard dummy variables for demographic differences—race, ethnicity, education level, and region—are also included in the regressions (see Appendix for a full list of variables by type). Age and age squared are also used to account for the impact being young (AGE) and being older (AGEsq) have on income. The year the survey data was collected is used to capture income differences resulting from inflation, with the base year being 2019, the latest year used. The following is the equation for the OLS, where Race, Region, Occupation, and Year represent the group of dummy variables used to account for the different races and ethnicities, region of residence, occupation category, and the years the surveys were conducted:

$$\text{Log(INCWAGE)} = \beta_0 + \beta_1\text{SSMCyes} + \beta_2\text{MOTHERyes} + \beta_3(\text{SSMCyes} * \text{MOTHERyes}) + \beta_4\text{Age} + \beta_5\text{Race} + \beta_6\text{Region} + \beta_7\text{WKSWORK39} + \beta_8\text{UHRSWORK} + \beta_9\text{Occupation} + \beta_{11}\text{Year}$$

Table 2 shows the results of the OLS estimates.

The Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition model for linear regressions (Blinder 1973; Oaxaca 1973) was used to study the difference in labor market discrimination for lesbian mothers relative to straight mothers. We used the third regression model for the decomposition, and it was done with the oaxaca package in R. The model breaks regression coefficients into explained and unexplained results based on how much can be explained by the cross-group difference. First, the standard coefficients must be established using weights. In this case, we used a weight of 0 making the straight mothers the base group for comparison. Since weighting the results relative to the population size would make minimal difference with the lesbian mother population being so much smaller than the straight mother population. From there we ran the Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition, to determine how the coefficients changed and how much of that change can be attributed to cross-group differences. We looked at the explained and unexplained parts of each individual variable.

<u>**Results**</u>

We found that when hour worked and weeks worked per year are accounted for there is a motherhood premium (see Table 2). These results support the previous study of lesbian mothers by Mai (2017). That study also used data from the ACS, but it was conducted with data collected prior to the federal legalization of same sex marriage, for the years 2013-2015. Our findings go against most papers on the topic (Anderson, Binder and Krause 2003; Budig and England 2001; Chung et al. 2017; England et al. 2016; Gough and Noonan 2013; Jee et al. 2019), possibly as a result of not properly applying weights to the sample. It is also possible that there may be a newer trend in the data that did not exist when the other researchers' data was collected. It should also be noted that this

study looks only at married women, so the marriage premium (Budig and Hodges 2001; Glauber 2007; Killewald and Gough 2014) may be a factor as there are no single or cohabitating people in the sample.

The first and most robust regression accounts for motherhood status, sexual orientation, and age. It shows that there is a statistically significant decrease in income for married lesbian nonmothers and married straight mothers, and an increase in income for married lesbian mothers. The married lesbians experiencing a decrease in income for their sexual orientation was not expected, but the data conflict on the subject (Martell 2019; Badgett, Durso, and Schneebaum 2015). These results changed to statistically significant increases in income for married mothers and married lesbians in the other two regressions.

The second regression adds in variables that account for education level, race, age, usual hours worked, whether the woman works fewer than 47 weeks a year, and the year the sample was taken. It shows that married lesbian mothers still experience a premium, but the difference in income for all lesbians is no longer statistically significant.

The third regression includes all the variables used in the second regression, with the addition of variables that codify occupation. When these are accounted for, the same conclusion from the second regression holds.

Together the three regression models indicate that there is a statistically significant married lesbian motherhood premium even after age, race, region, occupation, usual hours worked, and weeks worked per year are taken into consideration.

The Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition showed possible levels of discrimination between lesbian mothers and straight mothers by variable. We segmented these results into three graphs, so all the unexplained differences for an aspect (race, and work factors/region) can be compared on the same scale. See Figures 1 and 2. Remember that all results are the difference in annual income between straight mothers and lesbian mothers, both explained and unexplained by cross-group differences.

The Blinder-Oaxaca decomposition for work factors and region shows little difference between the explained and unexplained amounts. There is however, a significant increase in income for lesbian mothers that work between 39 and 47 weeks per year that is unexplained. This is minimized in the OLS regressions because of the large portion of explained income loss for lesbian mothers who work fewer weeks a year. The data hides the extent of the premium that lesbian mothers see relative to their straight counterparts. This is an interesting detail to note, as lesbians working more than straight women is a common explanation of the lesbian wage premium. It is possible that this premium is the result of selection bias, where mothers who have higher earning potential may choose to work fewer weeks a year.

The decomposition for race shows the interaction between race and lesbian motherhood relative to straight mothers. We found that about half of all differences in annual income can be explained by cross-group differences. The other half remains unexplained,

pointing toward unmeasured variables or discrimination. Asian lesbian mothers were the only group to experience an unexplained loss in income. Asian lesbian mothers make $500 less than we expected them to make relative to white straight mothers.

Limitations

The issue of selection bias is present, as only women who have chosen to work are included in the study. Youderian (2014) found that without non-working women included in research of the motherhood penalty, measures of the motherhood penalty are overestimates due to the selection bias. Only women who work more than 30 hours a week and 39 weeks a year are included in this data.

This research was conducted without the use of survey weights, relying on the exclusion of outliers and the lesbian minority population being analyzed on its own. The same small lesbian population also impacts the validity of the data as the sample size of lesbian mothers is only 2,251 and the sample size for lesbian non-mothers is 3,360, compared to 254,438 and 105,296 for their straight counterparts.

There are three main limitations for research into LGB people. The first is that only a few datasets ask questions about sexual activity and/or orientation at all. This makes it more difficult to study LGB people in any way, but especially on a national scale or regarding other aspects of their lives. Questions asked also differ, so much of the available research only considers people to be LGB if they report to currently be in a same sex relationship. The recent legalization of same sex marriage and the LGBT population making up less than 10% of the total US population have also made research more challenging.

As previously mentioned, the problem of only having nationally representative data for married lesbians for a few years means more study is needed, and long-term study is not yet possible for US data. This paper has been a lovely learning opportunity, but it is a novice researcher's work and has room for improvement. The nature of this study only looking at married women also limits its comparability to other studies that include cohabitating and single women.

Conclusion

Both OLS and Blinder-Oaxaca regressions show a married motherhood premium for both lesbians and straight women. A motherhood premium for lesbian mothers is consistent with the findings of Schneebaum (2013). However, Mai's (2019) study which uses more recent data found no difference in earnings for lesbian mothers. More research is needed.

This paper studies a small part of the overall gender, sexual orientation, and parental wage gaps. But the statistical significance of lesbian mothers earning a premium compared to lesbians who aren't mothers and straight mothers helps us better understand the whole picture. This research suggests that the motherhood penalty is not merely the result of gender discrimination towards all mothers or an unaccounted for variable that

affects only mothers. Rather, stereotypes and expectations of mothers in traditional family structures may be to blame.

It is important that this research be continued as more data becomes available and societal attitudes toward same sex married couples with children improve. The impact of biological children versus adopted or foster children should also be considered. It is also important to study the income of gay fathers relative to their straight counterparts as we consider gender roles and expectations as a cause for the gay parent premium. Gay and lesbian parents also deal with selection bias, as the decision to have children is more complicated than it is for many straight couples. Selection bias into parenthood is likely one cause of the lesbian motherhood premium, as lower earning lesbians can easily opt out of parenthood.

Tables and Graphs

Table 1

	Lesbian Mother mean	Lesbian Mother SD	Lesbian Non-Mother mean	Lesbian Non-Mother SD	Straight Mother mean	Straight Mother SD	Straight Non-Mother mean	Straight Non-Mother SD
INCWAGE	62648.87	39102.93	57415.71	34962.37	59282.85	36793.61	56318.79	33786.29
NCHILD	1.66	0.90	0.00	0.00	1.95	0.90	0.00	0.00
EDUCHSyes	0.21	0.40	0.18	0.38	0.18	0.38	0.15	0.35
EDUCColyes	0.25	0.43	0.30	0.46	0.31	0.46	0.38	0.48
EDUCColplus	0.27	0.44	0.27	0.44	0.26	0.44	0.26	0.44
WKSWORK39	0.04	0.20	0.04	0.19	0.05	0.22	0.04	0.20
UHRSWORK	42.93	7.94	43.41	8.00	41.50	6.64	42.48	7.29
AGE	36.41	5.42	34.35	6.14	36.99	5.33	32.89	6.33
AGEsq	1354.88	384.0	1217.72	423.46	1397.05	384.58	1121.52	431.95
RACEblack	0.09	0.29	0.07	0.26	0.06	0.24	0.05	0.22
RACEasian	0.03	0.16	0.05	0.21	0.08	0.28	0.09	0.29
RACEother	0.08	0.27	0.09	0.29	0.06	0.24	0.06	0.25
REGION_MW	0.18	0.38	0.17	0.37	0.24	0.43	0.20	0.40
REGION_S	0.38	0.49	0.35	0.48	0.37	0.48	0.37	0.48
REGION_W	0.24	0.43	0.29	0.46	0.22	0.41	0.25	0.43
OCC_ops	0.05	0.21	0.05	0.21	0.05	0.21	0.06	0.23
OCC_fins	0.02	0.14	0.02	0.14	0.04	0.19	0.04	0.19
OCC_comp	0.03	0.17	0.04	0.20	0.03	0.16	0.03	0.18
OCC_engi	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.10	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.12
OCC_techn	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03
OCC_lf_ss	0.02	0.12	0.02	0.14	0.01	0.12	0.02	0.14
OCC_sserv	0.04	0.20	0.04	0.20	0.03	0.18	0.03	0.18
OCC_leg	0.02	0.15	0.02	0.12	0.02	0.13	0.02	0.14
OCC_edu_lib	0.10	0.30	0.10	0.30	0.14	0.35	0.12	0.32
OCC_ent	0.02	0.14	0.03	0.18	0.02	0.12	0.03	0.17
OCC_hpr_t	0.11	0.31	0.10	0.30	0.16	0.36	0.15	0.35

OCC_prtct	0.04	0.19	0.03	0.17	0.01	0.09	0.01	0.09
OCC_fd_serv	0.02	0.14	0.03	0.17	0.02	0.13	0.02	0.14
OCC_cln_mn	0.01	0.10	0.01	0.10	0.01	0.10	0.01	0.08
OCC_sales	0.02	0.14	0.02	0.15	0.02	0.15	0.03	0.16
OCC_adm_sup	0.13	0.34	0.14	0.34	0.16	0.37	0.16	0.36
OCC_farm	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.04
OCC_constr	0.02	0.14	0.01	0.10	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.05
OCC_extrc	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
OCC_instl_rep	0.01	0.10	0.01	0.10	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.05
OCC_prdctn	0.03	0.17	0.04	0.20	0.02	0.16	0.02	0.14
OCC_mltry	0.00	0.07	0.01	0.08	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.05

Table 2

	OLS 1	OLS 2	OLS 3
(Intercept)	7.777***	8.106***	8.433***
	(0.030)	(0.026)	(0.025)
SSMCyes	-0.027***	0.005	0.008
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.007)
MOTHERyes	-0.064***	0.007***	0.014***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
AGE	0.161***	0.084***	0.074***
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
AGEsq	-0.002***	-0.001***	-0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
SSMCyes × MOTHERyes	0.089***	0.067***	0.049***
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.011)
RACEblack		-0.072***	-0.072***
		(0.003)	(0.003)
RACEasian		0.135***	0.077***
		(0.003)	(0.003)
RACEother		-0.007**	-0.006**
		(0.003)	(0.003)
HISPANyes		-0.042***	-0.024***
		(0.002)	(0.002)
EDUCHSyes		0.146***	0.101***
		(0.006)	(0.005)
EDUCColless		0.279***	0.185***
		(0.006)	(0.005)
EDUCColyes		0.590***	0.495***

	(0.006)	(0.005)
EDUCColplus	0.785***	0.712***
	(0.006)	(0.005)
UHRSWORK	0.013***	0.013***
	(0.000)	(0.000)
WKSWORK39	-0.178***	-0.106***
	(0.003)	(0.003)
YEAR2017	-0.046***	-0.042***
	(0.002)	(0.002)
YEAR2018	-0.028***	-0.025***
	(0.002)	(0.002)
OCC_ops		0.066***
		(0.003)
OCC_fins		0.042***
		(0.004)
OCC_comp		0.187***
		(0.004)
OCC_engi		0.222***
		(0.007)
OCC_techn		-0.006
		(0.020)
OCC_lf_ss		-0.042***
		(0.006)
OCC_sserv		-0.301***
		(0.004)
OCC_leg		0.114***
		(0.005)
OCC_edu_lib		-0.314***

			(0.002)
OCC_ent			-0.049***
			(0.005)
OCC_hpr_t			0.072***
			(0.002)
OCC_prtct			-0.001
			(0.007)
OCC_fd_serv			-0.341***
			(0.005)
OCC_cln_mn			-0.334***
			(0.008)
OCC_sales			-0.299***
			(0.005)
OCC_adm_sup			-0.197***
			(0.002)
OCC_farm			-0.350***
			(0.017)
OCC_constr			-0.072***
			(0.014)
OCC_extrc			0.057
			(0.061)
OCC_instl_rep			-0.027**
			(0.014)
OCC_prdctn			-0.215***
			(0.005)
OCC_mltry			-0.007
			(0.016)
Num.Obs.	354688	354688	354688

|			
R2	0.057	0.330	0.414
R2 Adj.	0.057	0.330	0.414
AIC	539043.1	417822.6	370172.0
BIC	539118.5	418027.4	370613.9
Log.Lik.	-269514.547	-208892.294	-185044.979
F	4302.793	10283.415	6436.190

* p < 0.1, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

Figure 1

Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition of Lesbian Mothers Relative to Straight Mothers:

Work Differences, Region, and Year
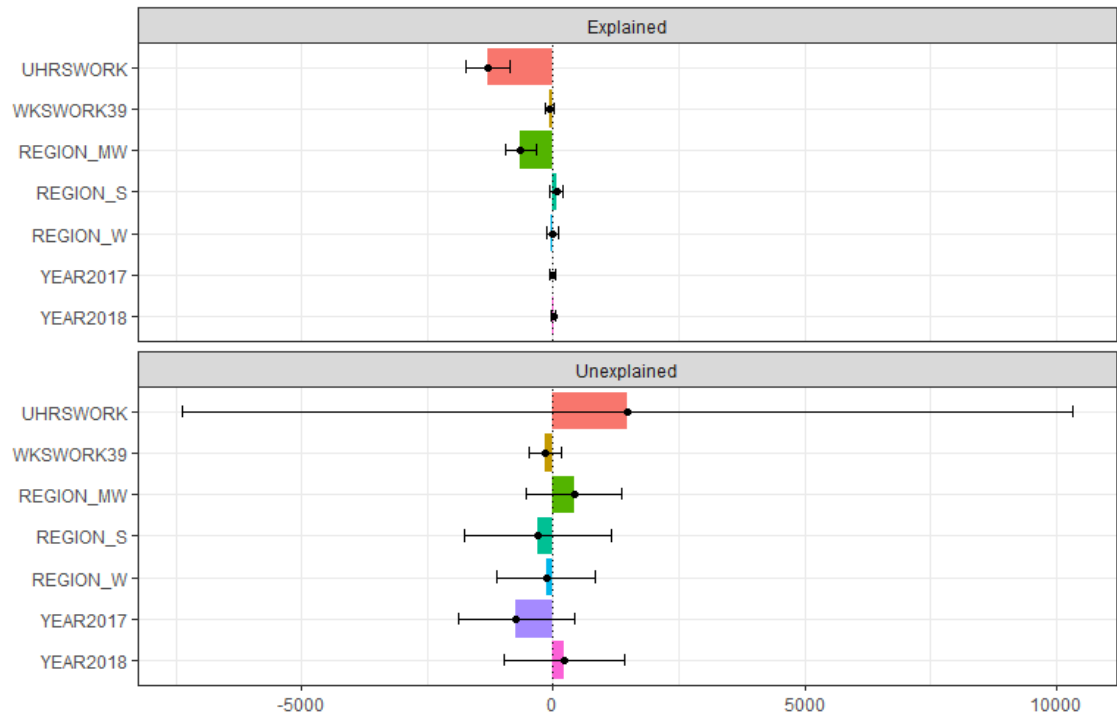
<u>Figure 2</u>

Blinder-Oaxaca Decomposition of Lesbian Mothers Relative to Straight Mothers:

Race and Ethnicity
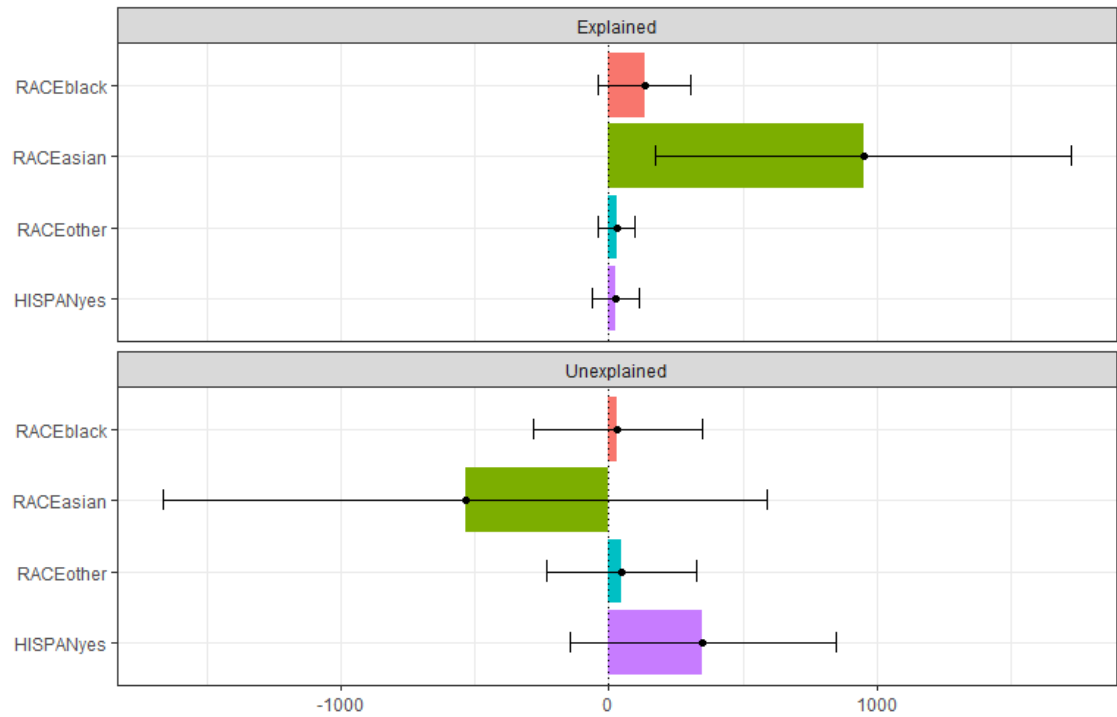
<u>Appendix</u>

Variable Name	Description
INCWAGE	Annual wage of the person surveyed
SSMCyes	Whether a person is in a same sex married couple
MOTHERyes	Whether a woman has one or more of her own children in the home
SSMCyes * MOTHERyes	Whether a person is in a same sex marriage and also a mother
Age variables	
AGE	Age of person surveyed at time of survey
AGEsq	Age times age of person surveyed at time of survey
Races	
RACEasian	Whether a person is Asian
RACEblack	Whether a person is black
RACEother	Whether a person is another non-white race
HISPANyes	Whether a person is Hispanic
Education levels	
EDUCHSyes	Whether a person has a high school education

EDUCColless	Whether a person has some college education but not a degree
EDUCColyes	Whether a person has completed four years of college
EDUCColplus	Whether a person has completed more than four years of college
WKSWORK39	Whether a person has worked between 39 and 47 weeks a year
UHRSWORK	Usual number of hours a person worked in the last twelve months
Regions	
REGION_MW	Whether a person lives in the Midwest census region
REGION_W	Whether a person lives in the West census region
REGION_S	Whether a person lives in the South census region
YEAR2017	Whether the survey data is from 2017
YEAR2018	Whether the survey data is from 2018
Occupations	Based on the 2010 Census occupational codes
OCC_ops	Management, Business, Science, and Arts = 10-430
OCC_fins	Business Operations Specialists and Financial Specialists = 500-950
OCC_comp	Computer and Mathematical = 1000-1240
OCC_engi	Architecture and Engineering = 1300-1540
OCC_techn	Technicians = 1550-1560
OCC_lf_ss	Life, Physical, and Social Science = 1600-1980
OCC_sserv	Community and Social Services = 2000-2060
OCC_leg	Legal = 2100-2150
OCC_edu_lib	Education, Training, and Library = 2200-2550
OCC_ent	Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media = 2600-2920
OCC_hpr_t	Healthcare Practitioners, Technicians, and Support = 3000-3650
OCC_prtct	Protective Service = 3700-3950
OCC_fd_serv	Food Preparation and Serving = 4000-4150
OCC_cln_mn	Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance = 4200-4250
OCC_sales	Sales and Related = 4700-4965
OCC_adm_sup	Office and Administrative Support = 5000-5940
OCC_farm	Farming, Fishing, and Forestry = 6005-6130
OCC_constr	Construction = 6200-6765
OCC_extrc	Extraction = 6800-6940
OCC_instl_rep	Installation, Maintenance, and Repair = 7000-7630
OCC_prdctn	Production and Transportation = 7700-9750
OCC_mltry	Military Specific = 9800-9830

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