Normalizing the Alternative:
The U.S. Census and Societal Views of Alternative Families

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Abstract:

This paper explores how the U.S. Census participates in social understandings of unmarried partners by including this category on the questionnaire and therefore allowing statisticians, policy-makers, and journalists to "see" a once hidden group. The paper asks why the "unmarried partner" box was included on the 1990 Census and what the results are of this inclusion. The paper explores how the census is involved in shaping what is known of the family by exploring how it has coded family historically and how this has changed. Finally, the paper demonstrates how inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box allows us to see a demographic group that was previously veiled because of exclusion from the questionnaire. It is this viewing that allows people to make conclusions about and to normalize this group.

"Alternative lifestyles common, census finds," declared a 1993 newspaper headline after the release of results on "unmarried partners" from the 1990 United States Census (Gilmore, 1993). It is a curious statement, in that "alternatives" are usually called so precisely because they are uncommon. If the lifestyles are common, to what are they the alternative? This headline is also curious in that it supposes that the census itself can offer commentary on lifestyles and household formation. The census doesn't make conclusions, however. Journalists make inferences based on the Census Bureau statisticians' findings. Backing up even further, the Census Bureau statisticians cannot make any conclusions on a topic if they do not ask pertinent questions directed to that topic. What thought goes into the questions included on the census? Who decides these questions and what are their motivations?

This paper explores how the U.S. Census participates in social understandings of unmarried partners by including this category on the questionnaire and therefore allowing statisticians, policy-makers, and journalists to "see" a once hidden group. The 1990 census was the first to include a question for "unmarried partner" status. Prior to this, statistics regarding unmarried cohabiting couples (of the same or different sex) came from small-scale surveys or estimates. Hence the first question that this project asks is what led to the decision to include the unmarried partner box on 1990 Census. Many groups lobby for space on the census questionnaire; the choosing of questions is hardly an arbitrary process. Who were the actors and groups who participated in this change?

The second question this paper asks is what are the results of including the unmarried partner box on the census. What demographic groups does the census enable us to see by including this group? By comparing censuses before and after definitions of family changed, we can see how the census itself acts to veil or reveal demographic groups. Thus the paper examines censuses

from 1960 to 1990 in order to see what group the census exposes, but also what trends may have led up to the findings from 1990.

In pursuing the above two goals, the paper first looks at critical analyses of categorization and censuses to demonstrate the power of population counting. The paper then turns to past contests surrounding the U.S. Census, revealing that the census is not an objective oracle of fact, but a subjective text modified through the actions of many.

After providing some history of the census, the paper explores how it shapes what is known (by policy-makers, journalists, academics, and others) of the family. To do this, the paper first reviews critical analyses of the family in other contexts. Applying this to the census, the paper next explores how the census has coded family historically and how this has changed. The paper looks specifically at "unmarried partner" to understand how this question came to appear on the 1990 census. Finally, the paper demonstrates how inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box allows us to see a demographic group that was previously veiled because of exclusion from the questionnaire. It is this viewing that allows people to make conclusions about this group. It also plays a part in normalizing this group, and this can play a part in removing societal stigma.

The Power of the Census

The United States Census serves many purposes, from the mundane to the ideological. Researchers have offered numerous reasons why national censuses are so powerful and why they are the source of much focus. In the most straightforward sense, the census is one of the main methods this country uses to count and represent its population. Policy makers, political pundits, grant givers, and academic researchers all use statistics garnered from this tally. The amount of information gathered from and the conclusions drawn on the basis of the census are numerous

and extensive. The census' progeny inform discussions on race, income, urbanization, and family life. Statistics drawn from it trickle through newspapers and into dinner-table discussions, finding their way into characterizations of what is normal and what problems plague the nation.

Beyond providing information on demographic and economic trends, the census also dictates the number of representatives to congress from each state. Census numbers are tied to tax revenues, revenue-sharing, and grants-in-aid. Since legislative and funding allocations pivot on the results of the census, it has been the source of much controversy.

Being counted in the census allows groups to attain political notice. Many lobbying groups believe in "strength in numbers"; without being counted, a group cannot lay claim to political status. For example, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 requires local governments to have minority representatives proportional to the number of minorities in the community. The census counts the number of minorities in communities. Thus census numbers can affect government, and government can affect political outcomes.

On a deeper level, the census also plays a part in creating social reality, both for those checking the boxes and those viewing the results. On multi-racial individuals encountering the limited census categories of race, a commentator writes, "the question of which box to check is not so much a bureaucratic detail as it is a crucial statement of self-identity and an essential measure of the nation's racial character" (Walker, 1993). Not seeing oneself accounted for in the census boxes suggests a denial of that person's existence (or at least of some part of that person's character) by census officials. By not accounting for certain groups, it becomes difficult to counter stereotypes about those groups. On the British Census, Reynolds (2001) writes, "The official statistical 'silence' on sexuality in the Census allows the perpetuation of the idea that

sexual diversity, and prejudice and discrimination on the basis of sexuality, is a private trouble with no public issues or consequences" (p. 2).

Due to wide reliance on the census for federal funds and official recognition, the content of the questionnaire has been a matter of contention since its beginning. Groups wishing to claim sizable representation in the U.S. population strive to be represented in the census; groups left out find difficulty achieving political notice. As ideologies and pertinent issues shift over the decades, so does the content of the long and short census questionnaire forms. Lawsuits and lobbying efforts persuade census writers to modify what is asked, of whom it is asked, and how it is asked. The census not only bolsters certain institutions by providing information on them, it is also shaped by institutions acting upon it. As Diana Magnuson (1995) writes,

> The census is more than simply a mirror of society in a 'snapshot' sense. The census as a document is an image of the ideas and issues that were most important to American society at the time of each enumeration and, more important, a reflection of the people and groups who influenced reform of each decennial census (11).

Magnuson points out that the census does not merely reflect societal trends; it also provides insight into the views and intentions of those who shaped the questionnaire. It is a dynamic text, characterizing the pertinent issues of the day and helping to form those of the upcoming decade. Thus characterizations of what the census shows should be informed by an understanding of the factors originally shaping the questionnaire. The conclusions based on census statistics must be tempered by an understanding of what the assumptions used to create the tally preclude or allow. The next section provides a review of some contests surrounding the U.S. Census in the past.

The United States Census: A Historically Contested Text

The demographics tallied by the census have been disputed since its beginnings. Arguments have ranged from who gets counted to how they are counted to what is counted about them. Political beliefs and differing ideologies have been pivotal in shaping what is included and excluded from the census. Investigation of when, why, and how the census began, and when, why, and how it has changed are therefore pivotal to understanding the power of census coding and enumeration.

The founding fathers of the United States formed the census in order to tabulate taxation and representation. In 1787, more than a decade after the country gained independence from England, several dozen men met in Philadelphia to hammer out effective methods of governing the individual colonies. Needing ways to foster national unification while recognizing individual states' rights, the men debated methods of allocating political power and tax responsibility. The result was the U.S. Census, and key to this system was the question of who would be counted as having the right to political participation and who would be held accountable for taxes. At the time, a key issue was the counting of slaves, and the infamous solution was the three-fifths rule, in which a slave was counted as three-fifths of a white person (Anderson and Feinberg, 1999).

Slavery was a continued source of contention in the census. For instance, in 1850 a debate occurred over the extent of information gathered on slaves. Southern legislators concerned with states' rights wished to limit the federal government's powers of inquiry, and so opposed certain questions concerning slave names and origins. Northern senators lost this battle, thus limiting the available data on African Americans in the mid-nineteenth century (Magnuson, 1995).

Racial categories have shifted numerous times throughout the census' history. Census schedules between 1890 and 1930 included more and more boxes for various racial backgrounds, reflecting

the government's increasing interest in immigration. However, passage of restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s and the Great Depression of the 1930s shifted focus in the census from race to economic issues. Thus, the complexity and number of questions concerning immigration, nationality, and ethnicity were reduced. The 1960s saw renewed interest in racial identities; racial data became necessary to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Outcry over undercounts of minorities accompanied this renewed interest.

During the seventies, disgruntled taxpayers sued the Census Bureau numerous times over the undercount; thus preparation for the 1980 census witnessed a major overhaul of the population tally. Again, racial categories took center stage. By the early 1970s census-based quotas, appropriations, and grants had become the norm in national politics. The Census Bureau was therefore called upon to produce more statistics on the population, specifically surrounding racial and ethnic groups. Lobbying groups worked for over a decade to get the racial categories included in the census expanded. Thus, the 1980 census saw an expanded list of possible responses to the race question, as well as a separate question on Hispanic origin (Anderson, 1988).[1]

After 1990, numerous criticisms emerged on the inadequacies of census categories to capture multiracial individuals and new immigrants. Between 1990 and 2000, the Office of Management and Budget held hearings and invited public comment on methods to revise the census questions on race (Nobles, 2002). This resulted in a new feature in the 2000 Census allowing people to check as many boxes as they wanted to in terms of race. This has statisticians, economists, and historians in an uproar because it ends comparability to previous population schedules.

[1]The 1980 census viewed "race" and "ethnicity" in two separate categories. Hispanics were considered an ethnic group, not a race. Hence, a Hispanic person filling out the 1980 census form could be a combination of a racial group and Hispanic ethnicity, such as "white Hispanic" or "black Hispanic".

This brief overview of arguments over who and what get counted in the census reflects the political nature of the document. The census deliberately reveals and conceals groups, causing political actors to invest extensive resources in shaping the questionnaire. It is, and has historically been, a document of immense importance.

The "Family": A Contested Definition

While conflicts over whom and what gets counted in the census have been numerous, no one has yet looked at the implications of defining "family" in the way that the census has and does. Few challenges have been made for the census to refine its notions of interpersonal relationships. Given the dearth of literature specifically pertaining to questioning the definition of family in the census, one must turn to other sources to inform this type of analysis.

While no previous literature discusses normative notions of the family existing in census coding, research and theory concerning the creation and maintenance of the "normal family" is useful in analyzing this topic. Several sociologists have already performed a significant amount of research pointing out how the "normal family" is an ideological construct that embodies a minority of the population (see, for example, Collier, Rosaldo, and Yanagisako, 1993; Minow, 1991; Coontz, 1992; Gillis, 1996). The tools used in these critical analyses of the concept of family are useful in analyzing census definitions.

One such tool is Dorothy Smith's notion of "T-discourses" – written texts that crystallize ideological notions of the family by giving specific instructions concerning who is "in" and who is "out" (1993). Smith argues that the definition of the "normal family" is created and maintained through "text-mediated discourses," which Smith refers to as "T-discourses". These T-discourses embody ideological codes that create a false unity of the population across various time periods

and demographic groups. These T-discourses define people only in relation to whether they are inside or outside of the norm, thereby characterizing them as socially acceptable or socially deviant.

Smith suggests the "Standard North American Family" (SNAF) as one such T-discourse. She defines a SNAF as

> a conception of The Family as a legally married couple sharing a household. The adult male is in paid employment; his earnings provide the economic basis of the family-household. The adult female may also earn an income, but her primary responsibility is to the care of husband, household, and children. The adult male and female may be parents (in whatever legal sense) of children also resident in the household (159).[2]

SNAF is a vein that runs through government documents, including those on immigration, tax coding, and census tallies. It defines who is "standard" and who is not. It tells us who gets certain legal rights and who is responsible for children. It judges how appropriate we are as individuals of certain sexes, marital statuses, and sexual orientations.

The SNAF ideology divides, excluding some people from the "normal." While a household may contain two adult females and the children of one these females, the T-discourse of SNAF decides that this is a "single-parent" household, and moreover, that this household is outside of the norm. Defining "family" narrowly necessarily forces many people, who would certainly consider themselves part of a family, into societal disrepute.

The U. S. Census is a perfect example of a text that embodies and also enables SNAF. Even as a normative definition of the family is written into the census, this text is also used to define which

[2] Notice that in Dorothy Smith's definition of the SNAF, heterosexuality is so assumed as to be unmentioned. She begins with "legal marriage," already excluding the possibility of a same-sex couple. To make sure we have not misunderstood, she then goes on to define the roles of the male and the female in the SNAF. The absence of the word "heterosexual" belies just how overarching this sexual ideology is; an author endeavoring to point out the biases in the definition of the "family" does not seem to even be aware of her own assumption.

demographic groups have "normal" families and which do not. Indeed, the census definitions tell us not just who has a "normal" family, but who has a "family" at all. Individuals with relational ties not adhering to census definitions of family are described in census reports as "non-family." The 1990 census form, for example, the household head must name the other members of her household as being related to her or not. A "spouse" is someone who is related to the household head; an "unmarried partner" is someone who is not.

This normative definition of family is written into census, legal, and tax documents, forcing those with relational ties that fall outside of this definition to fight to claim family status. This occurs in realms as concrete as the court room to as discursive as a telephone call to the parents. Because certain relationships are not immediately assumed to be "family", individuals in those relationships must spend considerable effort in proving their ties to each other. For example, a 1987 court case in New York found that a mother and son who lived with an unrelated man for 20 years were "family" of the man and therefore entitled to his rent-controlled apartment when he died (Gutis, 1989). Such a couple might once have feared societal repercussion for "living in sin." Examples of cohabiting, unmarried heterosexual couples hiding this fact from their parents through the use of two phone numbers and separate addresses pepper the popular press.

Including alternative families under the rubric of "family" in state documents has myriad repercussions. Gary Bauer, president of the conservative research group Family Research Council, states that legally recognizing non-traditional relationships "says – particularly to the young – that this is a way of living that our society feels to be just as acceptable as married couples" (quoted in Gutis, 1989). Such actions also have more concrete ramifications, such as impacting public policy provision or creating target groups for advertising campaigns.

A particularly contentious type of "alternative" family is the same-sex couple. Because gays and lesbians hold an exceptionally ostracized place in society, redefining traditional notions of the family to include them is a particularly weighty prospect. Analysis that includes gay men and lesbians within standardized texts lends normalcy to the state of societal abnormality known as homosexuality. Including gay couples in the definition of "family" enables gay men and lesbians to take one step further away from societal shame and hatred. Exclusion from "normalcy" may cause a great deal of psychological distress to gays and lesbians.

The absence of discursive possibilities to encompass lived realities of gay men and lesbians speak as loudly as negative rhetoric. If one can call oneself even a "fag" or a "dyke", then at least one has a name; without a name, one's mere existence is questionable. The implication of this erasure is that the existence of homosexuality is so abhorrent that it needs to be hidden. It needs to be absent from language.

Naming gays and lesbians provides one step toward societal inclusion and psychological nourishment; including gays and lesbians under the rubric of "family" goes even further by creating comparability between heterosexuals and homosexuals. As Kath Weston (1991) writes, "Gay families not only dispute exclusively procreative interpretations of kinship, but introduce a new basis for rendering heterosexuality and lesbian and gay identity commensurable...The vocabulary of kinship links categories of beings hithero isolated by the species difference often attributed to homosexuality" (126-7). Creation of a bridge between two groups often viewed as polar opposites can facilitate communication and lessen tension. Thus, inclusion of gay people under the terminology of "family" may help decrease discrimination and sexuality-based violence.

Historical Analysis of Family Coding in the Census

How does the U.S. Census' definition of family shape what we know of it? How does what is asked on the questionnaire reflect changing family structures? Who does the census leave out of family, and on what grounds? By examining the shifting definitions of "family" and "household" in the census, we can begin to understand how various actors changed the questionnaire, therefore helping to change what could be considered family.

No previous literature provides an analysis of how the Census Bureau has historically defined family, so this paper now attempts to fill this gap. Two words are important to investigate when looking at coding of interpersonal relationships within the census: "household" and "family." Prior to the 1950 Census, no distinction was made between these two terms. Historically, the definition of family is given as "the head of a household and all other members of the household related to the head" (Research and Analysis Section, Arkansas Employment Security Division, 1981, 6). Under this rubric, everyone in the household was somehow related to the head, even servants, and so everyone under the same roof was in the same family. The only distinction made between family and household was in the case of boarding houses; households "of a public or semipublic character" were not considered synonymous with families, and group quarters and those dwellings housing inmates were excluded from the definition of family.

In 1947, the Census Bureau instituted a more refined coding scheme to distinguish different families living together in the same household. At that time, the family became more than just a group of people living together in the same dwelling; census definitions now included legal and genetic distinctions. The 1950 Census definition of the family therefore became "a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption and living together" (Brunsman, 1955, 2A-7). More than one family could live in a household. A household then included "the related family members and also the unrelated persons, if any, such as lodgers, foster children, wards, or

employees who share the dwelling unit" (Ibid., 2A-6). In contrast to the older definition, employees and other unrelated individuals were no longer considered family.

Under this new coding scheme, the census did not consider a person living alone or with unrelated individuals a family; such a person was instead a "primary" or "secondary individual." A "primary individual" was a "household head living alone or with nonrelatives only" (Brunsman, 2A-7). The Census Bureau's example of such a person is "a single woman who shares her apartment with a partner" (2A-7). The census defines a "secondary individual" as "a person (other than a primary individual or an inmate of an institution) who is not related to any other person in the household" (2A-7). Examples of such a person would be a lodger, roommate, or employee. Primary individuals could not live with other primary individuals; only one could exist per household.

The 1947 changes in the census definition of family followed in the footsteps of widespread shifts in household and relationship circumstances. The Great Depression and World War II caused families to alter form and living situations. Economic hardships meant that more adult children lived with their [aremts. War widows took in lodgers (Coontz, 1992). As different types of households came into existence, the census' lack of distinction between family and household became less useful for describing reality.

Census data users therefore became dissatisfied with the census definitions of household and family. Because the units of analysis were ill-defined, researchers had difficulty characterizing family income and household formation. Housing analysts wanted to compute how many married couples were "doubling up" with relatives or non-relatives in order to find indications of housing shortages. Recognizing these problems, the Census Bureau held several conferences after World War II in order to develop new family concepts (Glick, 1957). .

At this time, new notions of household, family, and subfamily came into being, but not without arguments. In arguments leading to the 1950 census, some persons wished to include in the definition of family only married couples (with or without children) living together and single parents with children under 18 living together. These people did not want to recognize as families brothers and sisters living together or grandparents raising grandchildren. In response, researchers wishing to analyze economic circumstances related to living arrangements argued that more than just the nuclear type needed to be included in family definitions (Glick, 1957). They presumably believed that if related individuals live together, they share resources; thus these links are important to analyzing the economic well-being of adults and children.

There have been virtually no changes in the definition of the family since the 1950 census. In fact, the census website currently gives the exact same definition of family as that described in the 1950 census. There are only two differences in census definitions of household and family. The first is the inclusion in census terminology of "family household" and "non-family household." A "family household" is "a household maintained by a householder who is in a family (as defined above), and includes any unrelated people (unrelated subfamily members and/or secondary individuals) who may be residing there" (http://www.census.gov). Through this definition, one can include more extended relational networks in notions of "family". A "non-family household" is the same as a "primary individual"; thus non-family households contain only unrelated individuals. "Unmarried partner" households, because they contain "unrelated" individuals, are defined as non-family households.

The second change concerning relationship definitions is a shift in the ability of married women to be characterized as "household heads." Prior to 1980, the census always characterized the man in a married couple as the "head," regardless of whether or not he was reported to be so

(http://www.census.gov). If a woman was listed as the household head, the census changed this by computer edit so that the husband was the household head (Sweet and Bumpass, 1987). According to Paul Glick, a family analyst at the Census Bureau between 1939 and 1989, "this situation eventually caused numerous feminists after the 1970 census to insist on getting rid of such a sexist practice" (Glick, 1988). In 1980, the Census Bureau stopped using the terms "head of household" and "head of family," and replaced these terms with "householder" and "family householder." This change in verbiage -- creating the possibility for married women to be "householders" instead of just appendages to the household head -- subtly changed which relationships data users could see in the household. Married women living with their spouses could be characterized as the "head of household" since everyone in the household is characterized in relation to the household head, this meant that some people were defined in relation to the wife, not the husband.

This review of census' definitions of relationships reveals the census' boundaries of the family. Obviously, there is a distinction for household members between "family" and "non-family." Family members are those who are linked via the legal institutions of marriage or adoption, or via a shared gene pool. "Unrelated" individuals are those that may share the same space, but who have no legal or genetic connection to each other.

In some ways, the census definition contests traditional notions of family because it restricts family to those people living in the same household. While the census may document that the woman who gave birth to me has had two children, it does not link she and I together because we do not at present live in the same household. The census definition thus embodies a locational specificity; people who do not share the same living quarters are not of the same family.

It is easy to see that the census definition of the family does not capture all of the bonds that individuals might characterize as familial. Consider this example: A woman has a 17-year-old son who lives with her. He has a girlfriend, who is also 17. The girlfriend already has an infant child from a previous relationship. The son, girlfriend, and infant live with the mother for a year. The girlfriend and the son break up, and the girlfriend moves out, for whatever reason leaving her child with her ex-boyfriend and his mother. While this example appears diluted, it is the type of story that happens daily in America. The census would not characterize the relationship between the infant and the woman as "family", but might instead characterize the child's relationship to the woman as that of "unrelated individual".

The census also does not consider two adults who live together but who are not legally married or related through adoption or "blood" as family. These couples have been referred to as cohabitors, POSSLQ's (persons of opposite sex sharing living quarters), and in common vernacular as those "living in sin." The two people may pool income, share rent, sleep in the same bed, have deep emotional bonds, and feel financially obligated toward one another, but a census-taker does not view them as a family. Only if two members of the same "family" lived with these unrelated individuals would they be considered a "family household".

Unmarried Partners: The Census Bureau's Step Towards Reflecting the Changing Times

The above discussion suggests that the census' characterization of the family masks the existence of relationships between people who might consider themselves "family". These include same-sex couples and different-sex unmarried households. The census only started to include a box for "unmarried partner" in 1990. Previously, there was no way of knowing whether two "unrelated" individuals living in the same dwelling were romantically or sexually involved; couples of the same sex who checked "married" on the census tally were deleted from the sample.

The inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box was not an arbitrary decision on the part of the Census Bureau to explore a new demographic group. Rather, it appears that census demographers wished to officially describe the household trends already documented via other statistical surveys. Large numbers of cohabiting (unmarried, different-sex) couples began to appear in Northern Europe and the United States in the 1960s. This rise in couples living together without being married accompanied a more widespread growth in "nontraditional household types" (Glick, 1984). A number of social, demographic, and economic factors contributed to this changing landscape. Household sizes fell as life expectancy and the financial ability of the elderly to maintain their own households increased.

By the early 1970s, researchers began closer inspection of the growing population of unmarried, different-sex cohabitors. These studies evolved from small (between 10 and 100 people) surveys until the Census Bureau provided nationally-representative numbers in the late 1970s based on indirect methods of estimation. Because large samples did not usually have direct information on cohabiting couples (there was no "unmarried partner" box to check), researchers had to infer rates based on household composition. The term "POSSLQ" – persons of the opposite sex sharing living quarters – arose to identify these couples. Later, large-scale surveys such as the National Survey of Families and Households, the National Survey of Family Growth, and the Current Population Survey provided more direct evidence of unmarried couples living together (Casper, Cohen, and Simmons, 1999).

Studies of the number of cohabiting couples led to concerns about how cohabitation affected other realms of society. Demographers investigated the effect of cohabitation on marriage formation and stability (Bumpass and Sweet, 1989). Economists questioned whether taking cohabitation into account affects poverty rates (Iceland, 2000; Bauman, 1997). Sociologists

questioned the effect of cohabitation on children of cohabitants, both socially (Coley, 2002) and economically (Primus and Beeson, 2002; Haskins, 2002).

These studies on cohabiting heterosexual households set the stage for inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box on the 1990 census. The exact process whereby this box was included is not well documented. In contrast to other internal census documents detailing every decision on questionnaire wording, little has been written on the inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box. Piecing together different sources suggests that the Census Bureau received input from demographers and others who expressed the need for more data on unmarried cohabiting couples.

One clue on why the census included the "unmarried partner" box in the 1990 census is a document entitled "The Content Development Process for the 1990 Census of Population and Housing." It details the lengths the Census Bureau went to in order to establish appropriate and useful questions. One thing the census did in order to receive input on the questionnaire was to conduct "local public meetings." From these meetings, the Census Bureau found that data users were looking for more detail on step and adoptive relationships and the "number and types of families within households" (1987, p. 8). There is nothing in the content development document specifically on the inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box, or even more generally about cohabiting relationships. However, the more general statement about the need for more information on less-traditional types of families perhaps alludes to the need for data on unmarried partnerships.

The content development document details another method used by the census to garner feedback on the 1990 census content. It asked the Population Association of America (PAA), a professional organization of demographers, statisticians, and economists, for help. In 1985 the PAA polled a group of approximately 300 members in order to tabulate recommendations for the future census.

The PAA's two main recommendations had nothing to do with household relationships; instead, they were interested in gaining more information on parental birthplace and in clarifying the race and ethnicity questions (p. 27).

Another piece of evidence on how the "unmarried partner" box was included in the 1990 census comes from the articles published in the official journal of the PAA, *Demography*. Despite the apparent lack of interest on household questions as reflected in the content development document, the PAA did show signs of increased concern with unrelated individuals in the household. Between 1988 and 1990 several articles on unmarried persons and unrelated individuals appeared in *Demography* (see Ruggles, 1988; Santi, 1988; Santi, 1990; Thornton, 1988). The articles all remark on the rise in the number of unmarried people and their choices of household formation. A number of these articles comment on the lack of direct data on cohabitation.

Beyond these two pieces of evidence, it is difficult to discern why the "unmarried partner" box came to be on the 1990 census. One that is certain, however, is that the census aimed to collect information on heterosexual cohabitors; the data they found on homosexual cohabitors was an unintended, though momentous, side effect.

Same-Sex Couples: The Unintended Byproduct

The ability to count gay and lesbian couples was not a deliberate step by the Census Bureau, but merely a side effect of counting unmarried heterosexual couples. As the chief of the Marriage and Family division at the Census Bureau stated, "The basic idea was to find out more about the unmarried partners of the opposite sex, since so many people live together without being married. The whole matter of people of the same sex in an unmarried relationship was just a byproduct of

that main focus" (quoted from McLeod, 1990). The inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box created the first time that same-sex couples could be counted on the census. This move has led to much more outcry than that associated with counting different-sex unmarried partners.

While the 1990 Census allowed same-gender couples to be seen in the population tally for the first time, it still relegated them to the domain of "non-family" or "unrelated" individuals. Same-sex couples who endeavored to claim "spousal" status on the census were recoded. The Census Bureau disqualified same-sex couples who marked "spouse" to describe their relationship, and these households were erased from census tallies through a process of statistical reallocation. A technical note issued by the Census Bureau stated that in 1990, "the edit and allocation procedures did not allow same-sex 'spouse' combinations to occur, thus resulting in the allocation of one of these two items in order to achieve editing consistency among the responses" (Yax, 2001). The "two items" in question were sex and marital status; reallocation of these relationships therefore occurred along one of these two lines. Some same-sex couples who marked "spouse" had one of their sexes changed, in order to make them a heterosexually married couple. Other same-sex couples who marked "spouse" had this relationship changed to unmarried partner, sibling, relative, roommate, or even parent/child.

Why didn't the Census Bureau allow same-sex couple to code themselves as spousal units? The reason that the Census Bureau gives is the 1996 Federal Defense of Marriage Act (or DoMA). This act specifies that for any

> ruling, regulating, or interpretation of the various administrative bureaus and agencies of the United States, 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 wife (quoted from Yax, 2001).

The DoMA was passed in response to conservatives' fears of national recognition of gay marriage and the subsequent "unmaking of civilization" (as one conservative editorialist put it)

(Feder, 2000). The Hawaiian Supreme Court had handed down a ruling which made possible the legalization of gay marriage in the state. Under the U.S. Constitution's "full faith and credit" clause, every state must recognize legal relationships made in other states. This opened the door to forcing other states to recognize the same-sex marriages occurring in Hawaii. Republicans in the House of Representatives therefore wrote the DoMA in order to avoid this happening, and then a Democratic president signed it into being (www.datalounge.com).

While the DoMA was intended to stop the spread of same-sex marriage, it also provided a convenient reason for the Census Bureau to retain traditional heteronormative notions of family and marriage. This isn't particularly surprising, given surveyors' traditional avoidance of the topic of sexual orientation. As Cornwall and Badgett (1999) write,

> because orientations other than straight (for example, lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender) have been at an extreme social boundary, a boundary connoting disgust and shame, it has been politically impossible to get federal funding for efforts to collect such data directly as well as being very difficult to get individuals to reliably describe their sexual orientations (675).

Researchers cannot get subsidies to perform counts of uncounted groups because these groups are deemed unimportant and unnoteworthy, but it is just these types of counts that could reveal these groups to be important and recognizable.

It is also worth noting that the 1990 Census occurred before the 1996 passage of the DoMA. While the DoMA could have affected the decisions regarding recoding of same-sex "spouses" after 1996, it could not have prior to that year. Thus the decision to eliminate same-sex "spouses" in the 1990 Census was the decision of the Census Bureau, and not one mandated by federal statute.

Gay rights groups had actively campaigned for gay and lesbian couples to fill out the unmarried partner box in the 1990 Census. However, only 150,000 same-sex cohabiting households were

counted in 1990, which the Human Rights Campaign, a gay rights non-profit, described as a "severe undercount" of the coupled gay and lesbian population (2000). Other gay and lesbian activists argued that the Census Bureau did little to account for the needs of homosexuals when filling out the questionnaire. They contended that unlike the Census Bureau's practices with regards to minorities and immigrants, the Bureau had not made public statements or conducted awareness campaigns to assure homosexual respondents of confidentiality (Vobejda, 1990).

The 2000 census marks the second time that a box for "unmarried partner" has been available. The Census Bureau reported that for the 2000 census, the reallocation of same-sex couples who checked "spouse" was different than that for the 1990 Census. In 2000, those same-sex households that checked "spouse" were almost universally re-coded as "unmarried partners." Same-sex couples checking "spouse" on the census questionnaire were for the most part no longer recoded as heterosexual pairs, siblings, or roommates. A paper published by the Census Bureau does note that about one percent of people self-identifying as same-gender spouses had "their gender changed based on their first name" (Fields and Clark, 1999). The difference in the reallocation algorithm makes the 1990 and the 2000 Censuses incomparable in terms of same-sex unmarried partners.

A paper published by the Census Bureau gives some insight into those same-sex couples that did identify themselves as "spouses" in 2000. Using data from the Census 2000 Dress Rehearsal, Fields and Clark (1999) were able to look at original data before reallocation took place. They noted that same-gender couples identifying as "unmarried partners" and those identifying as "spouses" were demographically distinct. Most notably, couples identifying themselves as having spousal relationships were more likely to have children than couples identifying as unmarried partners. Unfortunately, none of the data on same-sex couples identifying as spouses

is available to outside researchers; all such observations were recoded as unmarried partners before the release of the public-use data samples.

In anticipation of the 2000 Census, the Institute for Gay and Lesbian Strategic Studies and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute mounted "out the census!" and "make your family count!" campaigns to encourage same-sex couples to check the "unmarried partner" box (Bradford, Barrett, and Honnold, 2002). Despite this push, researchers still believed that the 2000 numbers constitute an undercount of the same-gender couples in the U.S. Badgett and Rogers looked at two surveys conducted after the 2000 Census asking same-sex co-resident couples whether they checked the "unmarried partner" box. They found that between 13 and 19 percent of these couples did not; of these, most identified themselves as "roommates" or "husband/wife" pairs (Badgett and Rogers, 2003).

While more accurate reporting of "unmarried partner" status may give a better tally of gay and lesbian households, there still may be undercounting due to severe societal pressure to remain "in the closet". While more people checking this box may give a more accurate representation of partnered gay and lesbian people, it does nothing for those who are single. The census does not include a question about sexual orientation, suggesting the depth of denial of homosexuality in our culture. If gays and lesbians were represented in the 2000 census in large numbers as "unmarried partners," this could potentially push the Census Bureau to more strongly consider creating a box for sexual orientation.

Data: Redefining the Family in the Integrated Public-Use Microdata Sample

The data portion of the paper endeavors to give an example of how the census acts to veil or expose different demographic groups. Specifically, it investigates how inclusion of the

"unmarried partner" category in the 1990 Census allows unmarried cohabitors to been seen instead of being denoted as roommates.

This paper uses subsamples of census data from the 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990 Censuses to study households with two adults (not more or less) who are not related by "blood," adoption, or marriage. In order to characterize these households, we investigate the census question characterizing relationships within the household. A primary individual in each household fills out the census form. This person fills in information for each of the other members of the household. The first question asked of the primary individual (the "householder") is what the relationship of each of the secondary individuals is to him or her. This question has changed between 1960 and 1990 in various ways that limit or widen the scope of possible answers. The exact questions for each of the years are shown below:

1960 Census[3]
Question: What is the relationship of each person to the head of this household?
(For example, wife, son, daughter, grandson, mother-in-law, lodger, lodger's wife)
Possible Answers:
[Fill-in]

1970 Census
Question: How is each person related to the head of this household?
Fill one circle.
If "Other relative of head," also give exact relationship, for example, mother-in-law, brother, niece, grandson, etc.
If "Other not related to head," also give exact relationship, for example, partner, maid, etc.
Possible Answers:
- ○ Head of household
- ○ Wife of head
- ○ Son or daughter of head
- ○ Other relative of head – Print exact relationship: _____
- ○ Roomer, boarder, lodger
- ○ Patient or inmate
- ○ Other not related to head – Print exact relationship: _____

1980 Census
[In the 1980 Census, the questionnaire instructed the householder or the census-taker to start filling in the form in column 1 "with the household member (or one of the members) in whose name the home is owned or rented. If there is no such person, start in this column with any adult household member". Thus subsequent questions regarding column 1 refer to the household head.]

[3] All information on census forms listed in this section comes from Bohme, 1989.

Question: How is this person related to the person in column 1?
Fill one circle.
If "Other relative" of person in column 1, give exact relationship, such as mother-in-law, niece, grandson, etc.

Possible answers:

If relative of person in column 1:
- ○ Husband/wife
- ○ Son/daughter
- ○ Brother/sister
- ○ Father/mother
- ○ Other relative: _____

If not related to person in column 1:
- ○ Roomer, boarder
- ○ Partner, roommate
- ○ Paid employee
- ○ Other nonrelative: _____

1990 Census

[The structure of the 1990 Census is similar to that of the 1980 Census in regards to column 1.]

Question: How is … related to (Person 1)?
Fill ONE circle for each person.
If Other relative of person in column 1, fill circle and print exact relationship, such as mother-in-law, grandparent, son-in-law, niece, cousin, and so on.

Possible answers:

If a RELATIVE of Person 1:
- ○ Husband/wife
- ○ Natural born or adopted son/daughter
- ○ Stepson/stepdaughter
- ○ Brother/sister
- ○ Father/mother
- ○ Other relative: _____

If NOT RELATED to Person 1:
- ○ Roomer, boarder, or foster child
- ○ Housemate, roommate
- ○ Unmarried partner
- ○ Other nonrelative

The above descriptions of the questions regarding relation to household head reveal how varied the answer to this question could be. The possibility of writing in the relationship leads to a nearly unlimited description.

The data used for this study are the 1960 General sample, the 1970 Form 2 Metro sample, and the 1980 and 1990 5% State samples from the Integrated Public-Use Microdata Sample (IPUMS) generated by the Social History Research Laboratory of the University of Minnesota. The

IPUMS provides a representative sample of the statistics recorded in the census, coordinates the samples across time, and makes this data available over the internet. It is a data set widely used by economists, sociologists, and policy-makers.

The IPUMS endeavors to create a sample of data that is comparable across time. Thus, while definitions of family and household changed over time, the IPUMS recodes these variables in order to make them compatible across years. In doing so, the IPUMS makes one interesting change to the definition of family. Steven Ruggles, one of the main creators of the IPUMS defines family as "any group of persons with identifiable relationships by blood or marriage. A single individual residing without any relatives is considered a separate family" (1995, p. 53). Thus, "a household consisting of an elderly widow residing with a servant would count as two families, and a large extended family with multiple generations but no boarders, lodgers or servants would count as a single family" (p. 53). In the IPUMS, then, a single person can constitute a "family," whereas in the census, this person cannot.

The IPUMS also does not conform to the definitions from the census form. Instead, all possible relationship codes are allowed for all available censuses (1880 to 1990), but only certain codes have positive cell counts. For example, the relationship code for "concubine" is possible for the 1990 census, but no one responds in the 1990 census that their relationship to the household head is that of "concubine".

This paper looks at two-adult households where the individuals are not related by blood, marriage, or adoption. I refer to all of these households as possible "family" households, and suggest that cohabitors in years prior to 1990 could have marked themselves as a variety of relationship types. Other studies have been much more narrow in allowing for the possibility that these two adults could be related in a familial way. Researchers looking at trends in different-sex

unmarried cohabitation have extrapolated backwards from current rates in order to create percentages of cohabitors in years prior to 1990. These extrapolations have utilized various algorithms, to varying degrees of success (see, for example, Casper, Cohen, and Simmons, 1999).

The creation of samples of households with two "unrelated" adults requires certain assumptions and eliminations. I make these explicit now. I am defining an "adult" as a person eighteen years or older, and thus eliminate any person under eighteen years of age. I next eliminate any household with more than two adults or only one adult.

After these first two cuts to the data, I have a sample of households containing just two adults (households may contain children). I now need to delete households where the two adults are "related" by any of the traditional links. Thus, I delete legally married couples, as well as parent-child pairings, and any other pair who are related by "blood," adoption, marriage, or fosterage. I next create two separate two-adult household subsamples of the data along relationship lines. In the first subsample, I additionally eliminate those pairs who are in employer/employee households and those who are not in direct relationship to the head or are in the "others" category. These include "other non-inmate", "relative of partner", and "wife of partner." Thus the first cut leaves out explicit employee/employer relationships and the miscellaneous relationships. The second subsample of the data does not exclude employer/employee relationships and the miscellaneous relationships.

The complete list of possible relationship types that are kept and those that are deleted are listed in Table 1. Column (l) lists all of the possible relationships to the head categorized as "related". Columns (2) through (4) list all of the possible relationships categorized as "unrelated". The persons with relationships listed in column (2) are not considered in this project. The households

with relationships described in column (4) are included in subsample one. The households with relationships described in columns (3) and (4) are included in subsample two.

Despite the wide variety of possible relationship types available, all of the households in my subsamples fell in to six categories. Thus, the first subsample ended up including only those households with relationship descriptions of (1) "Partner/friend", (2) "Partner/roommate", (3) "Unmarried partner, (4) "Housemate/roommate", and (5) "Other non-relatives." The second subsample meant to include employer/employee relationships and other non-relatives captured only the additional relationship type of "Employees". Furthermore, it appears as though the IPUMS codes are specific to year. Table 2 describes the relationships by year. Thus, there are only "Partner/friend" and "Employees" types of relationships in 1960 and 1970. In 1980, there are only "Partner/roommate", "Other non-relatives", and "Employees". The 1990 IPUMS includes "Unmarried partner", "Housemate/roommate", and "Employees".

In order to perform comparisons across the years, I group the IPUMS relationship types into three "coherent series" categories of "Roommate", "Unmarried partner", and "Employer/employee". Table 3 shows which IPUMS relationship categories were grouped together to form the three "coherent series" categories.

Results

The point of this data analysis is to see whether the inclusion of the "unmarried partner" box reveals a demographic group that was previously not seen. Through this data analysis, the paper endeavors to answer several questions. What would same-sex and different-sex cohabitors have coded themselves as in the census years prior to when the "unmarried partner" box was available? How many relationships did this mask? How big is this as a portion of the population? What

demographic trends does this miss? Is it possible that the people in the "unmarried partner" category could have come into being between 1980 and 1990?

What type of relationships did two-adult households code themselves as in the years before the "unmarried partner" option? Figures 1A through 1C show the percentages of two-adult households in roommate, employer/employee, and unmarried partner types of relationships between 1960 and 1990. It is apparent that the years prior to 1990 probably missed a large number of people who would have classified themselves as having a romantic "unmarried partner", rather than just a platonic "roommate", relationship. Figures 1B and 1C show that far more different-sex than same-sex couples classified themselves as "unmarried partners".

How many relationships did this mask? Between 1960 and 1990, the number of two-adult cohabiting households rose a great deal. Figure 2 provides counts of two-adult households for the four census years examined. Adding employer/employee relationships to the mix does not change the numbers a great deal. Figure 2 shows that the number of two-adult different sex households skyrockets from about 64,000 in 1960 to 3.3 million in 1990. The number of two-adult same-sex households, while increasing, does not keep pace with the growth in different-sex cohabitors. Although more common in 1960 and 1970, the number of two-adult same-sex households only climbs to 1.5 million in 1990.

How big is this as a portion of the population? In order to answer this question, we need to look at what percentage of households in the country had only two adults in them. In this manner we can begin to understand how large of a population we are talking about. Figure 3 shows the percentage of households with different numbers of adults between 1960 and 1990. From this we see that two-adult households are by far the most prevalent type of household in all four census

years. We also see that the percentages of households with a certain number of adults remains remarkably consistent over the four census years.

While a large portion of the population lives in two-adult households, most of these two adult households are married different-sex couples. Table 4 provides the percentages of households with various numbers of adults and breaks out the relationship types of the two-adult households. Here we see that at their maximum, the same-sex and different-sex cohabitors only make up 3.0 and 6.7 percent of all two-adult households, respectively. Same-sex couples constitute only 2.1 percent of all households in 1990, and different-sex unmarried cohabitors make up only 4.8 percent of households in 1990.

If we focused just on the small size of these percentages, we would miss the important demographic trend that they reveal. Figure 4 shows the growth rates of selected types households, by number of adults. Here we see the tremendous growth rate of different-sex cohabiting households, particularly between 1970 and 1980. The trend has been documented in previous studies (for example, Bumpass and Sweet, 1989; Casper, Cohen, and Simmons, 1999). Finally, we might ask whether it is conceivable that the rise in two-adult unmarried households could be just a cohort effect. Is it possible that those born in a certain time period just had much higher rates of cohabitation than those born in other decades? A cohort effect would mean that we would see that the large percentage of unmarried cohabitors witnessed in Figure 1A would all have been born in the same generation. Figures 5A through 5C reveal that the large percentage of unmarried partners in 1990 is most likely not a cohort effect. These figures show the percentage of the two-adult unrelated households that are of different age groups. The lines connecting the columns are to suggest how an age group moves through the year columns. Thus, those aged 28 to 37 in 1960 are aged 38 to 47 in 1970, and are aged 48 to 57 in 1980. If there was a cohort effect causing the large percentage of people characterizing themselves as unmarried partners in

1990, then we would see that one cohort dominates the others in every census year. However, we do not see this. Instead, we see more of a possible link between cohabitation and age. Younger people are more likely to live together but not be married.

The only possible cohort effect is shown in Figure 5C, which presents the different sex cohabiting couples by age. In 1980, 46.9 percent of these households had a mean age between 18 and 27; ten years later, 38.0 percent of the household had a mean age between 28 and 37. These two percentages are both larger than would be expected based on previous cohorts. However, this cohort effect is also witnessed among married couples (Figure 6). This same pattern of a large cohort in the 18 to 27 year age group in 1980 and in the 28 to 37 year age group in 1990 appears for married couple households. From this cursory analysis, it appears as though the large cohort effect is not specific to the unrelated households.

From these results we can make certain conclusions. We see that including the "unmarried partner" box acts to unveil a demographic group that was previously hidden through the lack of an appropriate question. The effect is more numerically salient for different-sex cohabitors than for same-sex unmarried partners. While this group of unmarried partners probably made up a large part of the "roommates" and some part of the "employee/employer" relationships in years prior to 1990, it is still a small (but growing) percent of all two-adult households.

Conclusions

Arguments over household relationship questions in the census will undoubtedly continue in the future. Researchers interested in the gay and lesbian population are eager for more information, and will most likely lobby the census for changes. The Institute for Gay and Lesbian Strategic Studies (IGLSS) recently published a brief on the 2000 Census, urging the Census Bureau to

establish a public education campaign to increase the response from same-sex couples to the "unmarried partner" category (Badgett and Rogers, 2003). IGLSS is also spearheading a national group of researchers and activists to acquire more data on gay and lesbian households.

Because a growing number of heterosexuals live in unmarried partnerships, new coalitions and lobbying groups will assert influence on census writers to include more information on these households. A 2001 national workshop by the National Institutes of Health on "Counting Couples: Improving Marriage, Divorce, Remarriage, and Cohabitation Data in the Federal Statistical System" stressed the need for better data on household relationships (National Institutes of Health, 2001).

This paper has attempted to demonstrate that the U.S. Census plays a part in creating social reality and affecting policy decisions by including or excluding different questions. The persons playing roles in the census content therefore influence societal perceptions and political outcomes. This paper has examined the trail leading to the inclusion of "unmarried partner" as a category on the 1990 Census. It has also looked at the outcome of including this category on the questionnaire. Through these two examinations, this paper has attempted to show that the content of the census is fueled by what certain individuals deem important, and the results of this content help to make issues significant. Including "unmarried partner" on the census reveals same-sex and different-sex cohabitors to exist in significant numbers, and therefore plays a role in normalizing these groups. This normalization may alleviate social stigma, thus making these groups count may have the concrete result of changing individuals' physical, emotional, and material well-being.

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Table 1: Types of possible relationships to household head, as listed in the IPUMS

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Related Individuals	**Unrelated individuals**		
			Included in subsample one
		Included in subsample two	
Related by Blood, Marriage, Adoption, or Fosterage	**Institutional relationships**	**Employment relationships, "others", and Miscellaneous***	**Unrelated adults cohabiting, presumably not for employment reasons**
Head/Householder Spouse 2nd/3rd Wife (Polygamous) Child Adopted Child Stepchild Adopted, not specified Child-in-law Step Child-in-law Parent Stepparent Parent-in-Law Stepparent-in-law Sibling Step/Half/Adopted Sibling Sibling-in-Law Step/Half Sibling-in-law Grandchild Adopted Grandchild Step Grandchild Grandchild-in-law Other Relatives Grandparent Step Grandparent Grandparent-in-law Aunt or Uncle Aunt,Uncle-in-law Nephew, Niece Nephew/Niece-in-law Step/Adopted Nephew/Niece Grand Niece/Nephew Cousin Cousin-in-law Great Grandchild Other relatives Foster child	Military Students Members of religious orders College dormitories Non-inmates in institutions	Servant Housekeeper Maid Cook Nurse Other probable domestic employee Other employee Relative of employee Employees Domestic employees Non-domestic employees Relative of employee Head of group quarters Employees of group quarters Relative of head, staff, or employee group quarters Other non-inmate 1940-1959 Other non-inmates 1960-1970 (includes employees) Other non-inmate 1980 Non-inmate 1990 Wife of Partner Relative of partner	Partner, Friend, Visitor Partner/friend Friend Partner Partner/roommate Unmarried Partner Housemate/Roomate Visitor Companion and companion's family Allocated partner/friend/visitor Other Partner, Friend, etc. Roomers/boarders/lodgers Boarders Lodgers Roomer Tenant Other non-relatives Allocated other non-relative Roomers/boarders/lodgers Other non-relatives (1990 includes employees) Residents of rooming houses Concubine/Mistress

*"Miscellaneous" refers to relationship types where the person in question is not related to the household head by blood or marriage, but is related to the household head's roommate or partner.

Table 2: Unrelated Relationship Types in IPUMS, by Year, 1960-1990

IPUMS Relationship description	Years for which relationship description exists			
	1960	1970	1980	1990
Partner/friend	X	X		
Partner/roommate			X	
Other non-relative (non-employee)			X	
Housemate/roommate				X
Unmarried partner				X
Employees	X	X	X	X

Table 3: Combinations of relationship types to create coherent series across years, 1960-1990

Coherent series relationship categories	IPUMS relationship descriptions included in coherent series relationship categories, by year			
	1960	1970	1980	1990
Roommate	Partner/friend	Partner/friend	Partner/roommate, Other nonrelative (non-employee)	Housemate/ roommate
Unmarried partner				Unmarried partner
Employer/Employee	Employee	Employee	Employee	Employee

Notes: The "coherent series" relationship categories are those used in the figures in this paper. The IPUMS relationship descriptions are those used in the IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

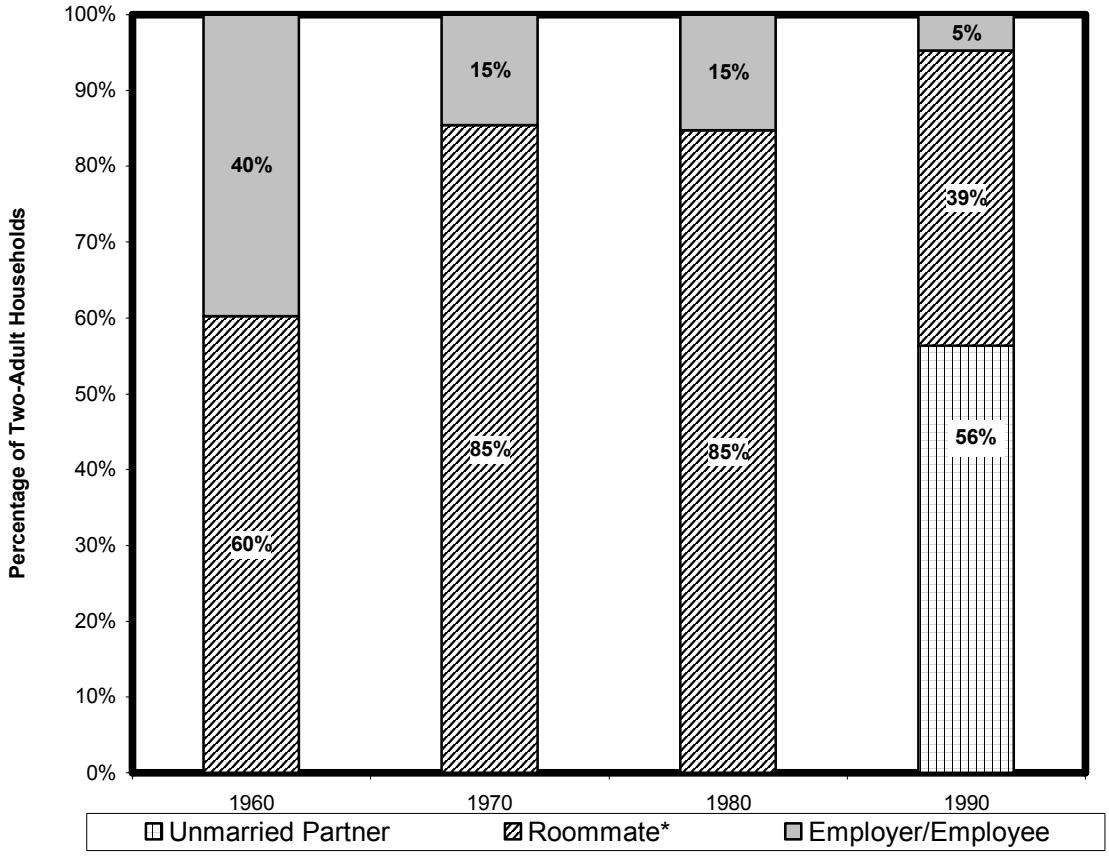
Table 4:
Distribution of households, in percent,
by number of adults and certain types of relationships,
U.S. 1960-1990

	Year			
Number of adults in household, certain types of relationships	**1960**	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**
1	3.7%	5.3%	6.5%	6.8%
2 Same-sex cohabitors	0.3	0.7	1.7	2.1
Different-sex unmarried cohabitors	0.1	0.4	2.6	4.8
Different-sex married couple	67.5	65.7	61.4	57.5
Two related adults, not married	6.7	7.2	6.9	7.5
3	16.0	15.6	14.7	15.0
4	4.3	4.1	4.7	4.7
5 or more	1.4	1.1	1.6	1.8
Total	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**	**100.0%**

Note: "Two related adults, not married" refers to households with two adults, where the adults are related in some manner other than marriage. For example, this could be two sisters, a sister and brother, or a mother and daughter.

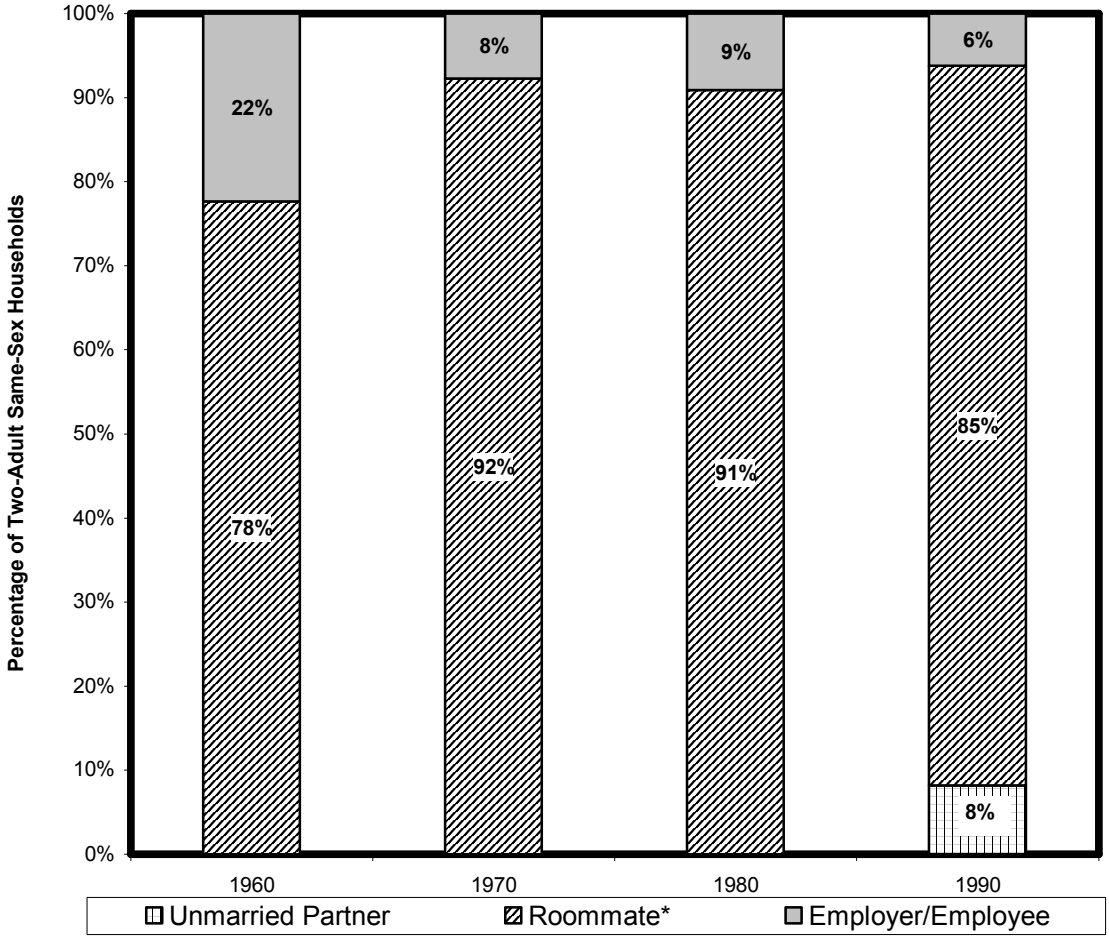
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 1A: Distribution of Two-Adult Unrelated Households, by Type of Relationship, U.S. 1960-1990: Both Same-Sex and Different-Sex Households



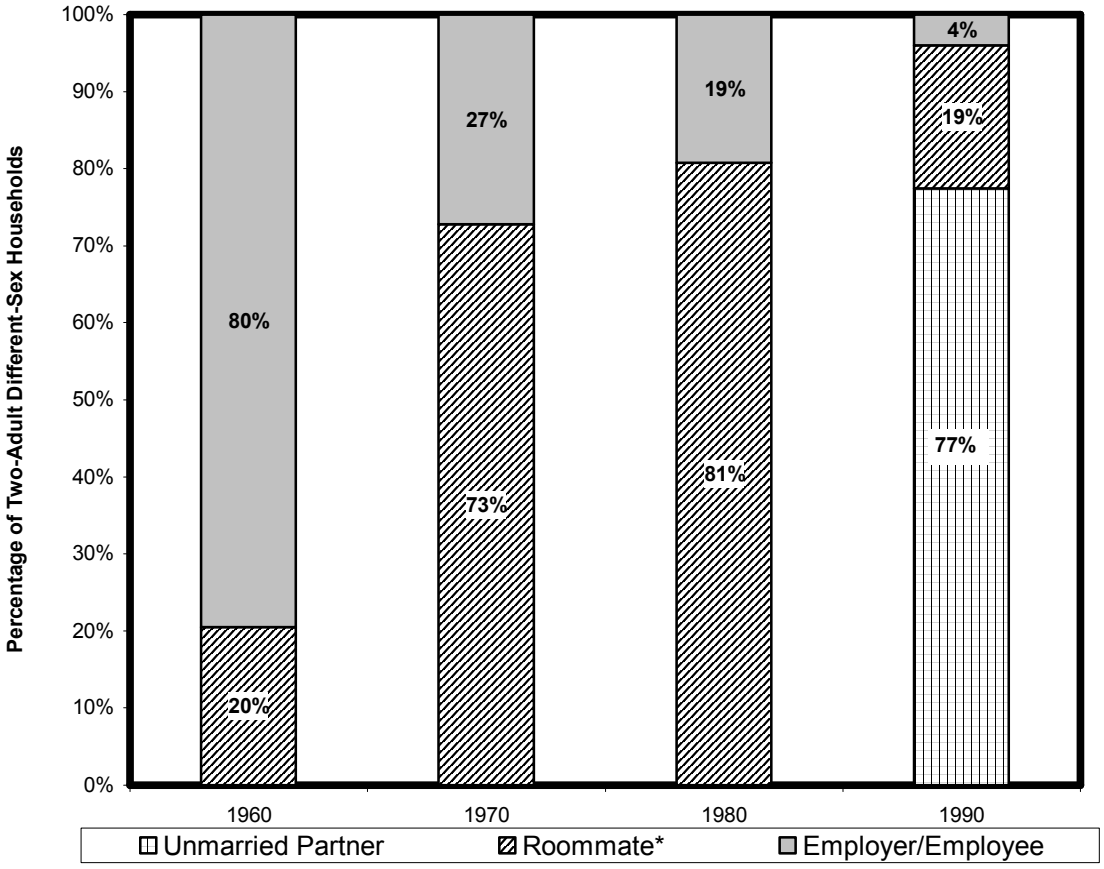
*Note: *"Roommate" includes "Partner/Friend", "Partner/Roommate", "Housemate/Roommate," and "Other non-relative (non-employee)". Observations are weighted.
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990

Figure 1B: Distribution of Two-Adult Unrelated Households, by Type of Relationship, U.S. 1960-1990: Same Sex



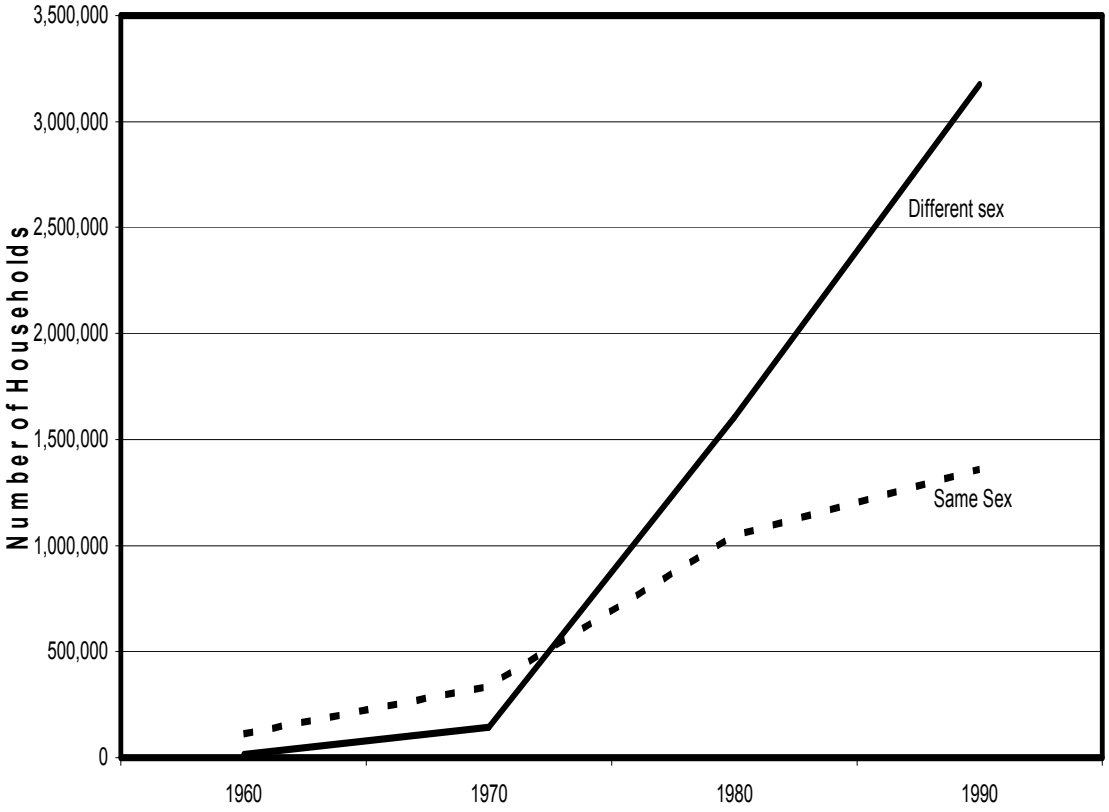
*Note: *"Roommate" includes "Partner/Friend", "Partner/Roommate", "Housemate/Roommate," and "Other non-relative (non-employee)". Observations are weighted.
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 1C: Types of Two-Adult Unrelated Households, by Type of Relationship, U.S. 1960-1990: Different-Sex



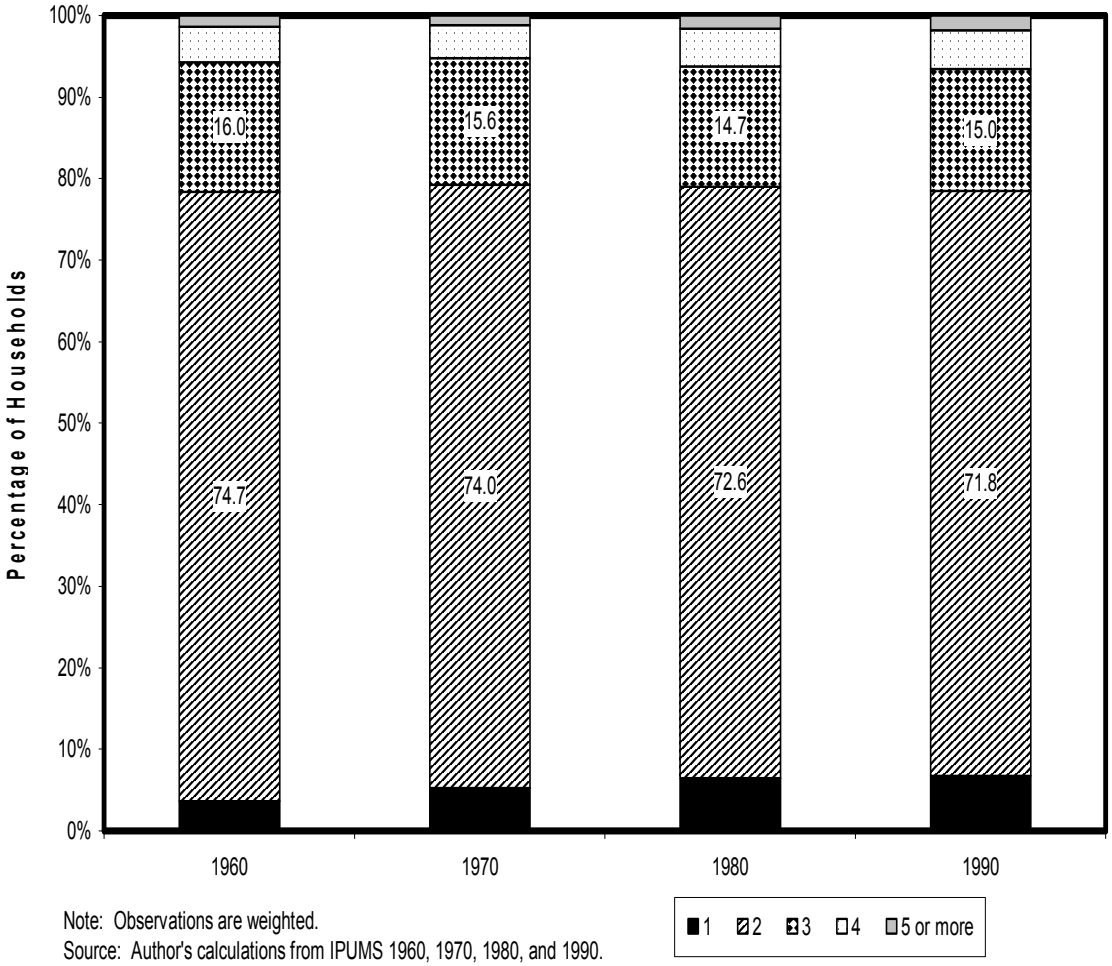
*Note: *"Roommate" includes "Partner/Friend", "Partner/Roommate", "Housemate/Roommate," and "Other non-relative (non-employee)". Observations are weighted.
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 2:
Number of Two-Adult "Unrelated" Households,
Same Sex and Different Sex,
U.S. 1960-1990



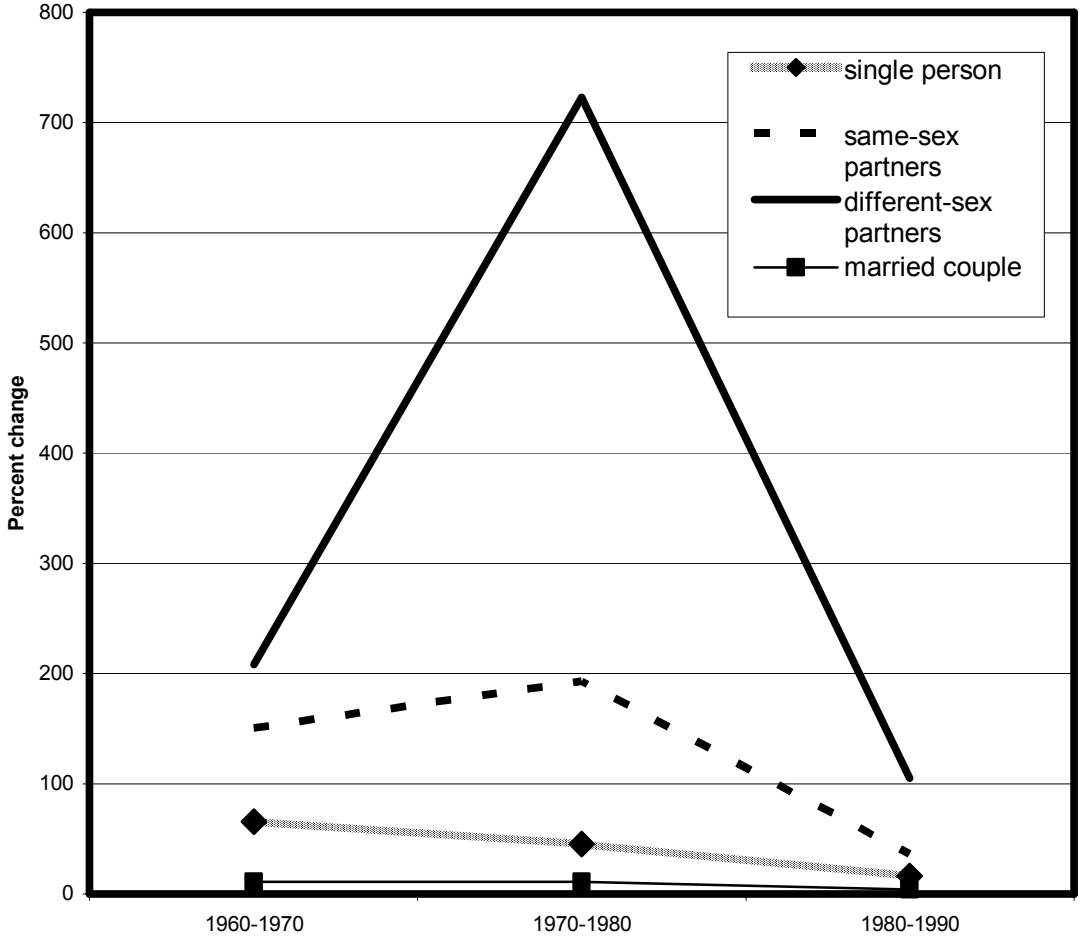
Note: Does not include employer/employee relationships. Observations weighted.
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 3: Distribution of Households, by Number of Adults, U.S. 1960-1990



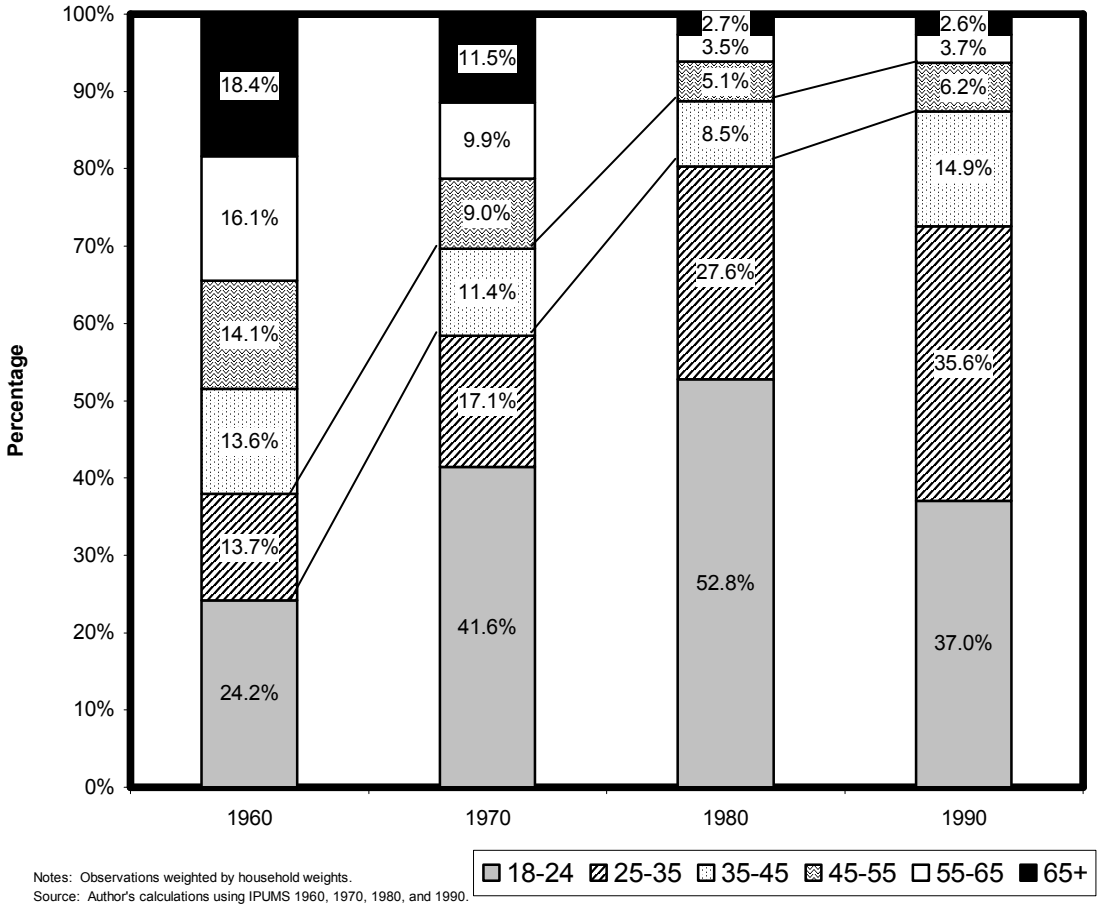
Note: Observations are weighted.
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 4: Growth Rates of Types of Households, U.S. 1960-1990



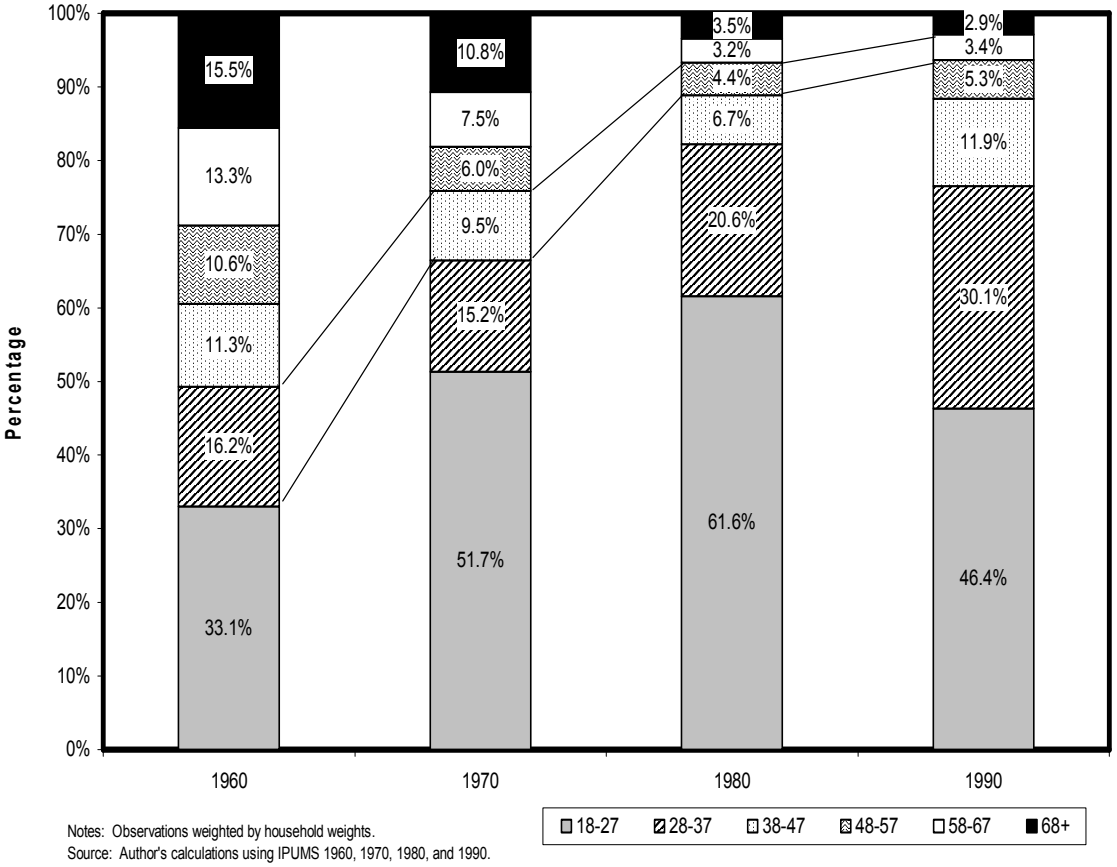
Note: Observations are weighted.
Source: Author's calculations from IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 5A: Distribution of Two-Adult Unrelated Households, by Mean Age of Household Members, U.S. 1960-1990
Same-Sex and Different-Sex



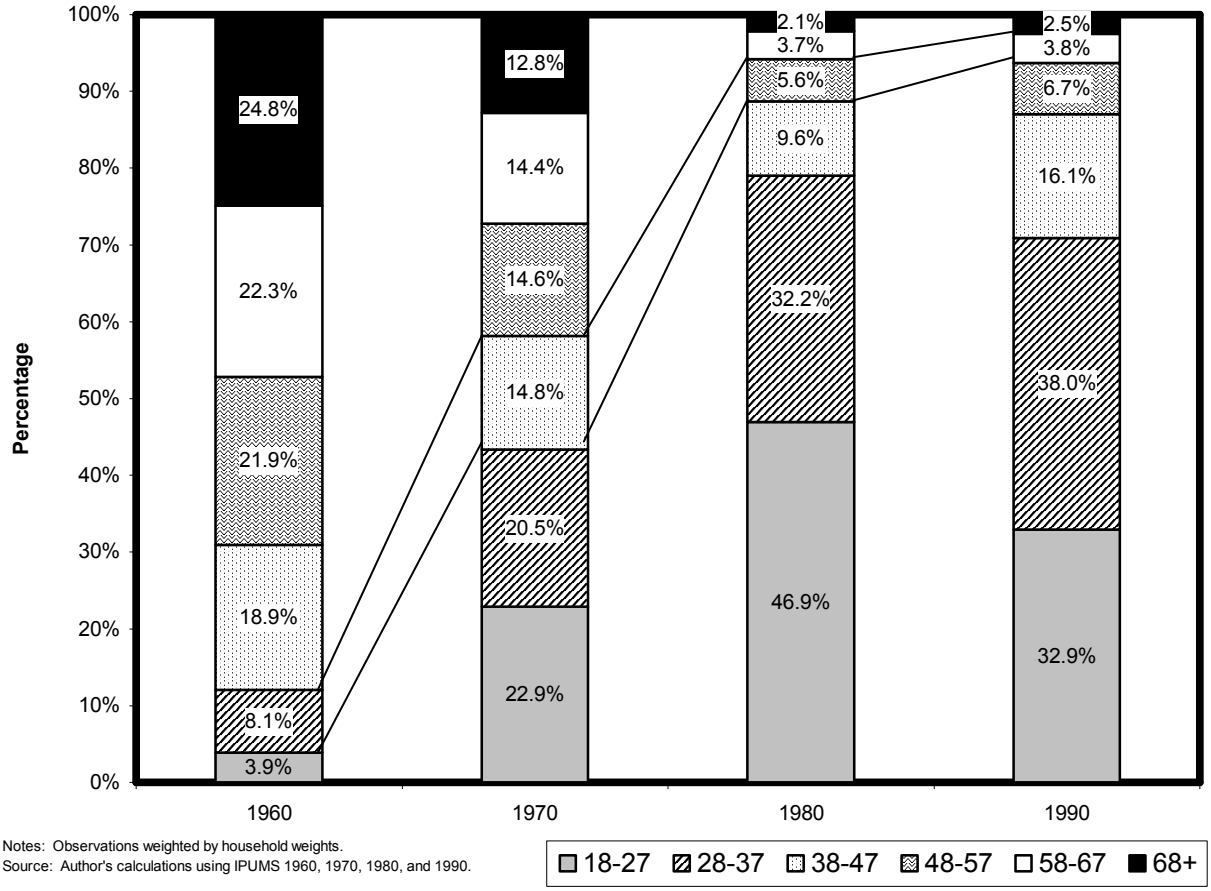
Notes: Observations weighted by household weights.
Source: Author's calculations using IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 5B: Distribution of Two-Adult Unrelated Households, by Mean Age of Household Members, U.S. 1960-1990
Same-Sex



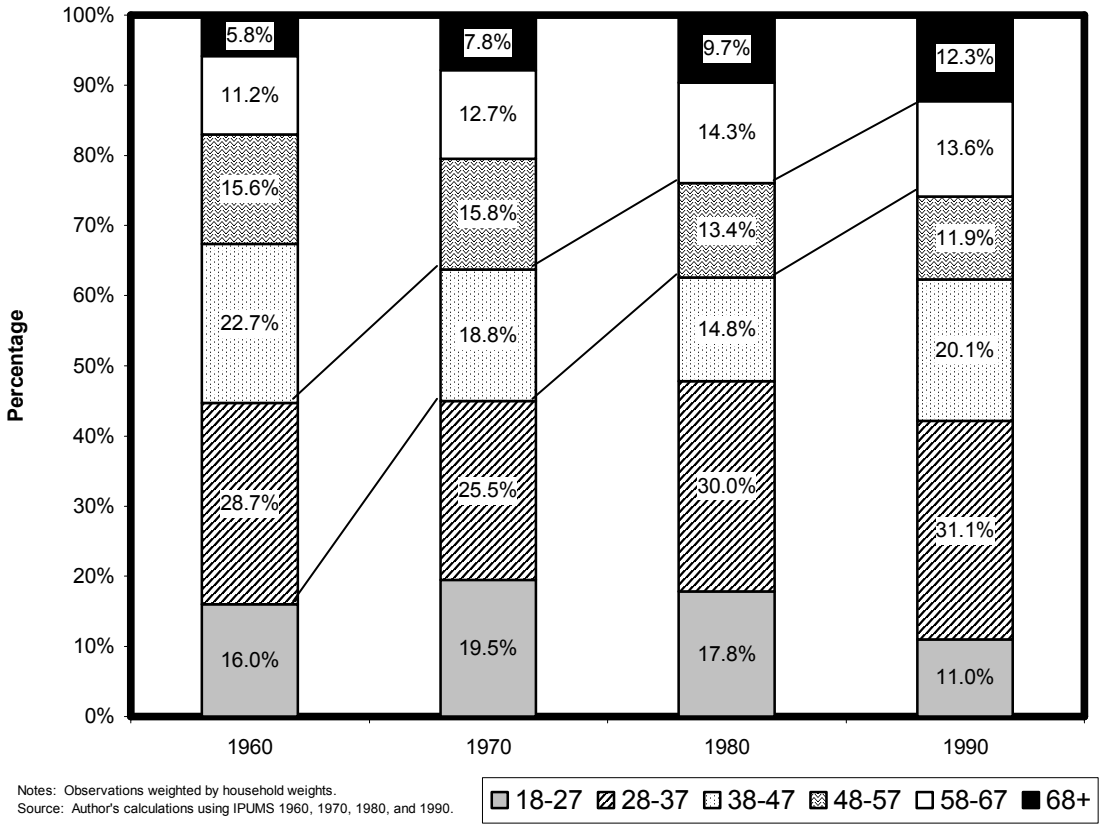
Notes: Observations weighted by household weights.
Source: Author's calculations using IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 5C: Distribution of Two-Adult Unrelated Households, by Mean Age of Household Members, U.S. 1960-1990
Different-Sex



Notes: Observations weighted by household weights.
Source: Author's calculations using IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.

Figure 6: Distribution of Married, Two-Adult Households, by Mean Age of Household Members, U.S. 1960-1990



Notes: Observations weighted by household weights.
Source: Author's calculations using IPUMS 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1990.