The Impact of Extending Marriage to Same-Sex Couples on the New Jersey Budget

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Extending marriage to same-sex couples will boost New Jersey’s economy by over $200 million creating 1,400 jobs and generating new $15.1 million in new revenues for state and local governments

This analysis estimates the impact of extending marriage to same-sex couples on state and local government revenues in New Jersey. Using the best data available, we estimate that allowing same-sex couples to marry will result in approximately $15.1 million in new revenue over the next three years.

Our analysis relies on the same methods that we used in previous studies of the fiscal impact of marriage for same-sex couples on Washington, New Mexico, New Hampshire, California, Connecticut, Colorado, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Vermont, Maryland, and Iowa. The full methodology for our analysis is set out in Supporting Families, Saving Funds: A Fiscal Analysis of New Jersey’s Family Equality Act. These studies have found that extending the rights and obligations of marriage to same-sex couples would have a positive impact on each state’s budget. Similar conclusions have been reached by legislative offices in Connecticut and Vermont and by the Comptroller General of New York. In addition, the Congressional Budget Office has concluded that if all fifty states and the federal government extended the rights and obligations of marriage to same-sex couples, the federal government would benefit by nearly $1 billion each year.

We base our conclusion on the following estimates:
Based on the experience of other states that have extended marriage and civil unions to same-sex couples, such as Massachusetts and Vermont, approximately half of the 19,494 same-sex couples living in New Jersey, 9,568 couples, will marry in the next three years.

In addition, approximately 35,500 same-sex couples from other states will come to New Jersey to marry. These couples will primarily come from states where they are likely to have their marriages recognized when they return home, such as New York; and states that are already New Jersey’s top domestic tourism markets: Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware.

In fact, we assume over 40% of out-of-state couples, 13,216, will come from New York, which is New Jersey’s top domestic tourism market and where New York state officials have stated that out-of-state same-sex marriages will be recognized.

The weddings of same-sex couples will generate new economic activity for the state’s businesses:

- Spending by resident same-sex couples on their weddings, and by other out-of-state couples on tourism and their weddings, will boost New Jersey’s economy by approximately $200 million in direct spending over the next three years.

- Over the next three years, this direct spending by resident and out-of-state same-sex couples will create and sustain over 1,400 new jobs in New Jersey.

Over the next three years, the direct spending from same-sex couples on weddings and tourism will generate approximately $15.1 million in revenues for state and local governments.

- Spending on weddings by couples living in New Jersey, and tourism and weddings by out-of-state couples, will generate over $12.7 million in state and local sales tax revenues and occupancy fee revenues. This estimate is conservative in that it does not include increased revenue from many other taxes that are harder to estimate, such as New Jersey’s motor fuels tax, earnings taxes, property taxes, excise tax on alcoholic beverages, or taxes on indirect spending or earnings.

- In addition, the weddings of in-state and out-of-state couples will generate approximately $1.3 million in marriage license fees.

**Table 1: Summary of Impact on State and Local Government Revenues From Same-Sex Marriage in New Jersey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenue Source</th>
<th>Fiscal Effect on New Jersey Budget (millions)¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State and Local Tax Revenues from Weddings of Resident Same-Sex Couples</td>
<td>$5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State and Local Tax Revenues from Weddings and Tourism of Out-of-State Same-Sex Couples</td>
<td>$6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State and Local Tax Revenues from Wedding Guests of Resident Same-Sex Couples</td>
<td>$1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage License Fees from Resident Same-Sex Couples</td>
<td>$0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage License Fees from Out-of-State Same-Sex Couples</td>
<td>$1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total First Three Years</td>
<td>$15.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

In this study, we engage in a series of analyses to examine the effect of same-sex marriage on New Jersey's state budget over the next three years. We take into the new legal landscape of same-sex marriage which now includes five states and that New Jersey already has a Civil Union statute that provides same-sex couples with almost all of the rights and obligations of marriage under state law.²

Our analyses are grounded in the methodology that we used in previous studies of the fiscal impact of marriage for same-sex couples on New Jersey,³ as well as Washington,⁴ New Mexico,⁵ New Hampshire,⁶ California,⁷ Connecticut,⁸ Colorado,⁹ Massachusetts,¹⁰ Vermont¹¹, Maryland,¹² and Iowa.¹³ The full methodology for our analysis is set out in Supporting Families, Saving Funds: A Fiscal Analysis of New Jersey's Family Equality Act, part of which we update in this report.¹⁴ Findings from all of these studies suggest that extending marriage rights to same-sex couples would result in a positive net impact on state budgets.

Similar conclusions have been reached by legislative offices in Connecticut¹⁵ and Vermont¹⁶ and by the Comptroller General of New York.¹⁷ In addition, the Congressional Budget Office has concluded that if all fifty states and the federal government extended the rights and obligations of marriage to same-sex couples, the federal government would benefit by nearly $1 billion each year.¹⁸

In Section I of this report, we estimate the number of same-sex couples currently living in New Jersey who will marry over the next three years. In Section II, we estimate the number of same-sex couples who are likely to travel from other states to marry in New Jersey during that time period. In Section III, we estimate the impact that expenditures on weddings by resident same-sex couples and their guests, as well as expenditures on travel and weddings by out-of-state couples, will have on New Jersey's economy and state and local tax revenues. In Section IV, we estimate the revenue from marriage license fees for resident and out-of-state same-sex couples who marry in New Jersey. In section V, we summarize the expected policy impact for each revenue category we address.

Throughout this report, we estimate the economic impact of weddings conservatively. In other words, we choose assumptions that are cautious from the State's perspective in that they tend to produce lower revenues given the range of possibilities. Even so, we find that the effect of allowing same-sex couples to marry in New Jersey is a gain of approximately $15.1 million in state and local government revenues over the next three years.
**NUMBER OF SAME-SEX COUPLES WHO WILL MARRY**

**New Jersey Couples**

In order to assess the economic impact of extending marriage to same-sex couples, we must first calculate the number of same-sex couples who will marry in New Jersey during the next three years. Not all couples choose to enter a legally binding relationship, even when the option is afforded to them. At the very least, the decision is likely to include a weighing of the symbolic value of public and legal recognition of the relationship with the particular rights and responsibilities implied by the legal status of marriage. We draw upon the experience of other states that have permitted same-sex marriage or non-marital legal statuses to estimate the number of same-sex couples who will marry in New Jersey.

Massachusetts is the only state in which same-sex marriage has been legally permitted for over three years. Approximately 9,695 same-sex couples married in Massachusetts during the first three years they were allowed to do so, constituting at least 44% of Massachusetts’s same-sex couples as counted in the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey.

We are also able to gain insight from states that have offered civil unions and domestic partnerships to same-sex couples for over three years—statuses that, though different from marriage, offer some, if not most, of the state-level rights, benefits, and obligations of marriage. In Vermont, there were 1,367 same-sex civil unions as of April 2007, meaning that about 56% of Vermont’s same-sex couples have entered into a civil union. In California, there were 48,157 domestic partnerships as of April 2008; thus, approximately 47% of California’s 102,639 same-sex couples have entered into a domestic partnership.

Based on the experiences of these states, and excluding an estimate of same-sex couples in New Jersey who have already married in other states, we predict just under 50%, or about 9,568, of New Jersey’s 19,494 same-sex couples will marry in the next three years.

**Couples From Other States**

When marriage becomes available for same-sex couples in New Jersey, we predict that a number of couples from other states will also choose to marry in New Jersey. When same-sex marriage was available in San Francisco, California for one month in 2004, couples came from 46 states and eight countries to marry.

In this analysis, we take in account that five other states currently, or will soon, allow same-sex couples to marry so that New Jersey will not be the only choice for out-of-state same-sex couples who wish to marry. Even so, we estimate that in the first three years that same-sex couples are allowed to marry in New Jersey, 35,500 couples from other states will travel to New Jersey to marry. We base our estimate on the following assumptions.

First, we assume that the incentives for same-sex couples from other states to come to New Jersey to marry will be the greatest in states where i) it seems most likely that their relationships will be recognized by their state when they return home and ii) an alternative to recognition of their relationships, such as civil unions or domestic partnerships, is not available in their home state. Based on these two criteria, we predict that same-sex couples living in New York will have the most incentive to travel to New Jersey to marry. According to data from the U.S. Census Bureau’s American Community Survey, 50,378 same-sex couples live in New York. We assume that 50% of these couples will want to marry in the short-term.
We also take into account that some of these New York couples have already married in Canada\textsuperscript{28} and in other states,\textsuperscript{29} After deducting these couples, we estimate that 19,725 couples from New York will travel outside of the state to marry. While New Jersey may be the closest state for many of these couples to travel to marry, they will also have other options such as Connecticut, Vermont, and Massachusetts. Thus, we estimate that only two-thirds of these, 13,216, will travel to New Jersey to marry.

For the rest of the country, we assume that the likelihood that their marriage in New Jersey will not be recognized by their home state, either at all, will deter more couples from traveling to New Jersey to marry. However, as the one month that marriage was offered in San Francisco demonstrates, a number of couples will travel to New Jersey to marry for symbolic and emotional reasons.

We assume that travel, will be less of a deterrent for individuals from states which already send a significant number of tourists to New Jersey and/or which border New Jersey: Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware. Along with New York, over half of New Jersey’s domestic tourism originates from these states.\textsuperscript{30} We estimate that 25% of these couples, or 14,795 couples, will travel to marry. After deductions for those couples that may have already wed, we estimate that 12,594 couples from these states will marry in New Jersey.

For the rest of the country, we conservatively estimate that 5% of the couples in the remaining states, or 11,415 couples, will marry.

However, we do not assume all of these couples will marry in New Jersey. We allocate these couples between Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, the District of Columbia, and New Jersey based estimated market-share of domestic tourism.\textsuperscript{31}

We exclude completely couples from the five aforementioned states where same-sex marriage is legal along with the District of Columbia given that the District seems poised to pass legislation allowing same-sex couples to marry. We also exclude Rhode Island based on its proximity to Massachusetts and the fact that courts in Massachusetts have determined that same-sex couples from Rhode Island can marry there.\textsuperscript{32}

We include states with domestic partner benefits and civil unions because some individuals with these benefits would still choose to marry in order to receive the added social and emotional benefits that might be associated with marriage.\textsuperscript{33}

Finally, we also exclude for these states an estimate of their resident couples that have already gotten married by traveling to marry to California during 2008, or to Connecticut, Massachusetts, Iowa, and Vermont by January 1, 2010.\textsuperscript{34}

In Table 2, we have set forth the estimated numbers of out-of-state same-sex couples who would travel to New Jersey to marry. This results in an estimate of 35,500 same-sex couples who will travel to New Jersey from other states to marry.

However, this estimate is conservative since we do not take into account couples who were not counted in the American Community Survey or any couples living in foreign countries who might travel to New Jersey to get married.
Table 2: Out-of-State Same-Sex Couples Who Will Marry in New Jersey (First Three Years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Same-Sex Couples</th>
<th>Number of Same-Sex Couples Traveling to New Jersey to Marry (46% for New York, 25% for other named states, .85% for other states and DC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>50,378</td>
<td>13,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism states</td>
<td>59,176</td>
<td>12,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other states (excluding CT, DC, IA, MA, NH, and RI)</td>
<td>627,065</td>
<td>9,716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>35,527</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Wedding and Tourism Spending**

The extension of marriage rights to same-sex couples will generate economic gains for New Jersey businesses, generating tax revenues for state and local governments. Weddings create economic activity as well as jobs, providing a boost to the economy. *Forbes* magazine projects that if same-sex marriage rights were granted nation-wide, same-sex weddings would generate $16.8 billion dollars in expenditures, adding significantly to America’s annual $70 billion wedding industry.36 Another recent estimate concludes that gay marriage will generate a billion dollars per year in spending in the United States.37

*From 2008-2010, spending on tourism and weddings by same-sex couples would boost New Jersey’s economy by $200 million and create almost 1,400 new jobs*

For over twenty years, analyses of other states’ consideration of opening marriage to same-sex couples have argued that the first state or states to do so would experience a wave of increased tourism from out-of-state couples that would bring millions of additional dollars in revenue to state businesses.38 In the spring of 2004, the issuance of gay marriage licenses in Portland, Oregon and San Francisco, California provided support for these predictions. The actual experience of businesses in Portland39 and San Francisco40 demonstrated that allowing same-sex couples to marry does in fact generate tourism and additional revenue for businesses. In fact, same-sex couples from forty-six states and eight countries traveled to San Francisco to get married during the one month that the city issued marriage licenses. Furthermore, in anticipation of the availability of same-sex marriage in Massachusetts, cities in that state experienced a spike in hotel reservations, catering requests, and other wedding-related orders.41

Estimates of Massachusetts’ potential gain from out-of-state couples coming to the state to marry have exceeded $100 million.42 In fact, a recent survey of same-sex couples in Massachusetts asking them how much they had actually spent on their weddings estimated that the spending by in-state couples alone had boost the state economy by over $111 million.43

In this section, we estimate the potential economic impact of weddings and tourism by same-sex couples. By allowing same-sex couples to marry—regardless of residency status—New Jersey’s businesses will experience a large increase in wedding and tourism revenue that will also result in an increase in state and local government revenues. Based on our analysis, we estimate that allowing same-sex couples to wed in New Jersey could result in approximately $200 million in additional spending on weddings and tourism in the State over the next three years, creating over 1,400 new jobs44 and resulting in additional state and local tax revenues of $12.7 million. To put these figures in context, $27 billion was spent on tourism in New Jersey in 2007, supporting 466,442 jobs and generating $7.3 billion in local and state tax revenues.45

**Couples From Other States**

In order to estimate tourism expenditures derived from the 35,500 out-of-state couples who we estimate will likely marry in New Jersey over the next three years, we draw on New Jersey tourism data that indicate the average per person per diem spending for New Jersey tourists to be $115.00 and the average length of stay as 3 days.46 We estimate, then, that these couples will spend an average of $690.00 on travel-related expenses during their stay in New Jersey.

For the same-sex couples from New York couples, given the close proximity of New York City to New Jersey, we make the conservative assumption that they will not spend money on tourism in New Jersey.
In addition to tourism expenses, spending will also be generated by the wedding preparations themselves, including items such as ceremonies, meals, parties, transportation, flowers, photographs, and other expenses. According to The Wedding Report, a wedding industry research group, the average cost of a wedding in the United States during the next three years will be $20,910 and slightly higher at $28,500 for New York state. We conservatively assume that out-of-state couples would spend less, on average, than in-state couples on weddings, given the challenges of planning a wedding from another state and the travel costs already considered.

Nonetheless, out-of-state same-sex couples would typically spend more than the average tourist, as they will likely purchase accommodations, meals, clothing, flowers, gifts, and other wedding-related items. We also expect additional spending by friends or family members who might accompany the couple, which is spending not included in the average wedding cost. Therefore, we conservatively assume that the additional wedding spending by out-of-state couples will be one-tenth of the typical wedding expense, or $2,850 for couples from New York and $2,091 for couples from the rest of the United States.

This conservative estimate also takes into account that some couples may have already had a commitment ceremony and that same-sex couples may be less able to rely on the resources of their parents and family for wedding expenditures. We also use this conservative estimate to account for the fact that couples will split their expenditures between New Jersey and their home state.

Thus, we estimate wedding spending in New Jersey at $2,850 for New York couples; and wedding and tourism spending at $2,781 per couple for all other out-of-state couples. Multiplying our estimate of out-of-state couples by these figures, we estimate that extending marriage to same-sex couples will boost the state economy by approximately $98 million over the next three years.

Next, we estimate state and local tax revenues from spending by out-of-state same-sex couples. We use New Jersey’s sale tax rate of 7%. For the state occupancy fee, which varies by location in New Jersey, we use a state-wide average weighted by the proportion of the New Jersey population that lives in each of location. Using 7% for sales tax and 4.7% for the weighted average state occupancy fee, we estimate that spending by out-of-state couples will generate more than $6.9 million in tax revenues for the state.

These taxes only capture the most direct tax impact of increased tourism; they do not include New Jersey’s motor fuels tax, excise tax on alcoholic beverages, any property tax revenues that may be generated, nor do they include increased taxes from earnings. Businesses and individuals will also pay taxes on the new earnings generated by wedding spending, providing a further boost to the state budget.

**New Jersey Couples**

We estimate that 9,568, or half, of New Jersey’s same-sex couples would choose to marry if permitted (See Section I above). The weddings of these in-state couples would most likely be larger than those of out-of-state couples, given that they will be better able to plan a large wedding, and their friends and families are more likely to be local. However, same-sex couples may receive less financial support from their parents and other family members to cover wedding costs. Additionally, only spending that comes from couples’ savings would truly be “new spending” for the State’s businesses, rather than money diverted from some other expenditure. Accordingly, we assume that same-sex couples will spend only 50% of the average amount that different-sex couples in New Jersey are projected to spend on their weddings during the next three years ($34,501), and of that amount only 50% will be new spending, or just over $8,600. The total for 9,568 couples would come to almost $83 million in additional wedding spending over three years.
Using the New Jersey sales tax rate and the weighted average for the state occupancy fees, this direct wedding spending by resident couples and their guests will generate an additional $5.8 million in sales tax revenues over the three years.

Next, based on data from a recent survey of Massachusetts same-sex couples who have married, we estimate that New Jersey same-sex couples will have, on average, 16 out of state guests. Since we do not know where these couples will travel from, and some may come from nearby or share accommodations with our guests, we conservatively estimate that each guest will spend the equivalent of the average per diem spending by a New Jersey Tourist. Even with this conservative assumption, travel spending by guests of same-sex weddings would boost the state economy by $17.6 million and bring in $1.2 million in local and sales tax revenue.

Table 3 adds the spending by in-state and out-of-state same-sex couples and guests to estimate a total of $200 million in wedding and tourism spending over the first three years, generating approximately $12.7 million in additional revenues for state and local governments.

Table 3: Expenditures on New Jersey Weddings and Tourism by Same-Sex Couples (First Three Years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Couples Marrying in New Jersey</th>
<th>Wedding and Tourism Spending per Couple</th>
<th>Total Spending per Group (millions)</th>
<th>State and Local Tax Revenues (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-State</td>
<td>22,310</td>
<td>$2,781</td>
<td>$62.0</td>
<td>$4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>13,216</td>
<td>$2,850</td>
<td>$37.7</td>
<td>$2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>9,568</td>
<td>$8,625</td>
<td>$825</td>
<td>$5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-State guests</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$17.6</td>
<td>$1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$199.8</td>
<td>$13.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The weddings of both in-state and out-of-state same-sex couples will also generate revenues for counties through marriage license fees. The fee for a marriage license in New Jersey is $28.00.\textsuperscript{52} Table 4 multiplies this fee by our estimates of the number of resident and non-resident same-sex couples who will marry in New Jersey during the first three years. The result is that same-sex marriages will generate over $1.3 million from these fees.

Of course, some of the revenues of these fees will be offset by the costs of processing the additional marriage licenses. However, other states that have extended marriage, civil unions, or domestic partnerships to same-sex couples have experienced very small increases in administrative costs.\textsuperscript{53} Currently, $25 of each marriage license fee is designated for domestic violence programs, mandated by New Jersey state statute.\textsuperscript{54}

In addition, we do not include in our estimate additional fees that will be generated by couples who request certified copies of their marriage license or have the ceremony performed by the local mayor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Couples Marrying in New Jersey</th>
<th>Marriage License Fee</th>
<th>Total Fees Generated (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-State</td>
<td>35,527</td>
<td>$28</td>
<td>$1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>9,568</td>
<td>$28</td>
<td>$.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Table V shows our estimate of the total revenues for New Jersey during each of the first three years that same-sex couples are allowed to marry. We use the experience of Massachusetts to model the number of same-sex couples who will marry in New Jersey in each of the next three years. In Massachusetts, 9,695 same-sex couples married in the first three years: 63% of those couples married in the first year, 21% married in the second year, and 15% married in the third year.\textsuperscript{55} For out-of-state couples, we assume that the need to travel and plan a trip will space out their weddings more evenly. Accordingly, we assume that one-third of those couples will come to the state in each of the first three years that New Jersey extends marriage to same-sex couples.

Table 5: Summary of Fiscal Effects (First Three Years)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Revenue</th>
<th>Year 1</th>
<th>Year 2</th>
<th>Year 3</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$7.2</td>
<td>$4.2</td>
<td>$3.7</td>
<td>$15.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using U.S. Census Bureau data about same-sex couples and drawing on the experience of Massachusetts and other states, we estimate that during the first three years that marriage is extended to same-sex couples in New Jersey:

- Approximately 9,568 couples residing in New Jersey will marry.
- In addition, approximately 35,500 same-sex couples from other states will come to New Jersey to marry.
- New Jersey’s wedding and tourism-related business sectors will see an increase of $200 million in direct spending over the next three years.
- This direct spending will support over 1,400 new jobs in travel-related business in New Jersey.
- The direct spending from same-sex couples and their guests on weddings and tourism will generate $13.9 million in state and local tax revenues.
- In addition, the weddings of in-state and out-of-state couples will generate $1.3 million in marriage license fees.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Christopher Ramos is a research associate at the Williams Institute, UCLA School of Law. His research focuses on the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation.
REFERENCES

1 May not sum due to rounding.
2 See Civil Union Statute N.J.S.A. 37:1-36
in November 2008, 3476 were from out of state or in the near future will begin to marry. No similar data is available from Ontario and Quebec. See British Columbia Ministry of Health, Vital Statistics Reports 2004, 2005, and 2006 at http://www.vitalstats.bcc.ca (last accessed on June 19, 2008).

23 American Community Survey 2006-2008 3 year estimate.

24 See infra note 33.


26 We use total travel and tourism expenditure dollars as a measure of market-share for the five state that currently or in the near future will begin to marry same-sex couples. Our model predicts that New Jersey would draw 36.4% of all same-sex couples travelling to wed.


28 See supra note 30.

29 Same-sex couples can not marry in New Hampshire until January 1, 2010. Although the Maine legislature extended marriage to same-sex couples in the state in 2010, that law was rejected by Maine voters in November 2010 and no same-sex couples were allowed to marry there in the interim. Prior Williams Institute analysis has estimated that of the 18,000 same-sex couples who married in California before marriage for same-sex couples was repealed by voters in November 2008, 3476 were from out-of-state. Using data provided by state agencies in Connecticut.
Massachusetts, and Iowa, on the number of out of same-sex couples who have married there, we estimate that an additional 4,415 out-of-state same-sex couples will have married in those states and Vermont by January 1, 2010. Thus, we estimate a total of 7,891 same-sex couples will have married by January 1, 2010, who do not reside in the state where they married. We then make the conservative assumption that none of these couples reside in a state that has extended marriage to same-sex couples (e.g. none of the same-sex out-of-state couples who married in Massachusetts in 2008 were from Vermont, Connecticut, or Iowa, which extended marriage to same-sex couples in 2009). Instead, we only apportion between states that have not extended marriage to same-sex couples, including New Jersey.

35 supra note 25


42 Singer, Thea, supra note 42 at 27.


48 N.J.S.A. 40:48E-1 et seq.

49 We apply the weighted average for the state occupancy fee to the percentage of each couples tourism spending that is likely to be used on accommodations, 32%. See supra note 46 at page 19.


51 See supra note 43

See e.g. supra notes 15-17.

See New Jersey Government C.26:8A-1 et seq.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Registry of Vital Records and Statistics, Table 1 of statistical report dated May 16, 2007. Because marriages began in the middle of the year 2004, the proportions listed here by year are approximate.