

# Policy Effects on Mixed-Citizenship, Same-Sex Unions: A Triple-Difference Analysis

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Nathan I. Hoffmann, Sociology, UCLA  
Kristopher Velasco, Sociology, Princeton

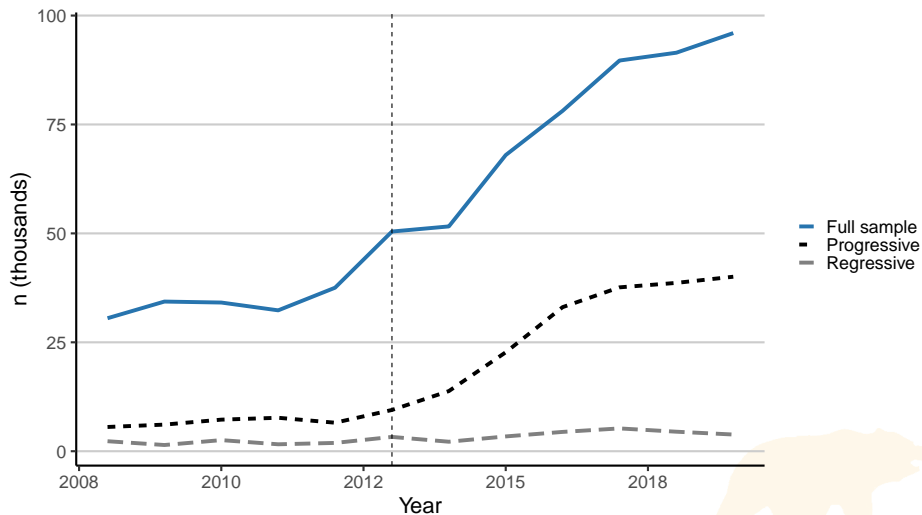


# Introduction

- In 2013, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Defense of Marriage Act
  - Allowing same-sex couples to apply for spousal/marriage visas
- From 2013 to 2019, 156% increase in mixed-citizenship same-sex couples, compared to 8% for different-sex
- But from where do these couples come?
  - Do LGB policy environments at country of origin contribute toward the migration of immigrants in same-sex couples into the U.S.?



# Introduction



# How Country-Origin LGB Policies Influence Migration

- Policies both influence and are constituted by cultural environments
- Progressive LGB policies (e.g., marriage equality), make desiring same-sex union possible
- Regressive policies may: limit aspirations for same-sex union, public disclosure of such unions, and, ultimately, undermine credibility in visa applications.
- Regressive policies may also limit access to requisite resources to migrate



# Our Contribution

- Migration theory typically emphasizes economic and network theories
- We aim to demonstrate how culture and identity interact with policy to shape migratory pathways
- Continue advancing research on queer migration; Recognizing populations besides refugees and asylum-seekers



# Data

- 2008 to 2019 American Community Survey (ACS)
  - immigrated at age 18 or older post-1990
  - 18 to 64 at time of survey
- Immigrants in same-sex couples are identified as foreign-born respondents who live with a same-sex married or unmarried partner
  - This necessarily excludes single and non-cohabiting LGB individuals



# Data

- Data structure: state-year-group counts ( $n = 2448$ )
  - groups: same sex  $\times$  mixed citizenship
  - e.g. number of same-sex mixed-citizenship couples living in Arizona in 2012
- Explanatory variable: country of origin LGBT policy index (sum of 14 policies) (Velasco 2020)
  - progressive policies such civil unions, marriage equality, and hate-crime protection
  - regressive policies such as anti-propaganda



# Sample sizes

Composition	Citizenship	n (unweighted)	n (weighted)
Different sex	Mixed citizenship	467,611	50,313,621
Different sex	Same citizenship	11,103,024	1,046,422,984
Same sex	Mixed citizenship	7,305	694,122
Same sex	Same citizenship	147,459	13,630,989



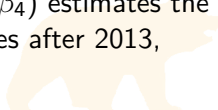


# Methods

- Difference-in-differences-in-differences (DDD)

$$y_{gst} = \exp[\beta_0 + \beta_1 post_t + \beta_2(M_g \times post_t) + \beta_3(S_g \times post_t) + \beta_4(M_g \times S_g \times post_t) + \alpha_{gs} + \gamma_t + \epsilon_{gst}]$$

- where  $y_{gst}$  is the count of individuals in group  $g$  in state  $s$  in survey year  $t$ ;  $post_t$  is an indicator variable for  $t > 2013$ ;  $M_g$  is an indicator variable for group  $g$  being mixed-citizenship;  $S_g$  is an indicator variable for group  $g$  being same-sex;  $\alpha_{gs}$  are group-state fixed effects;  $\gamma_t$  are survey year fixed effects; and  $\epsilon_{gst}$  is an error term such that  $\mathbb{E}(\epsilon_{gst}) = 0$ .
- Coefficient of interest is  $\beta_4$ : the incidence ratio  $\exp(\beta_4)$  estimates the relative increase in mixed-citizenship same-sex couples after 2013, relative to other couples.

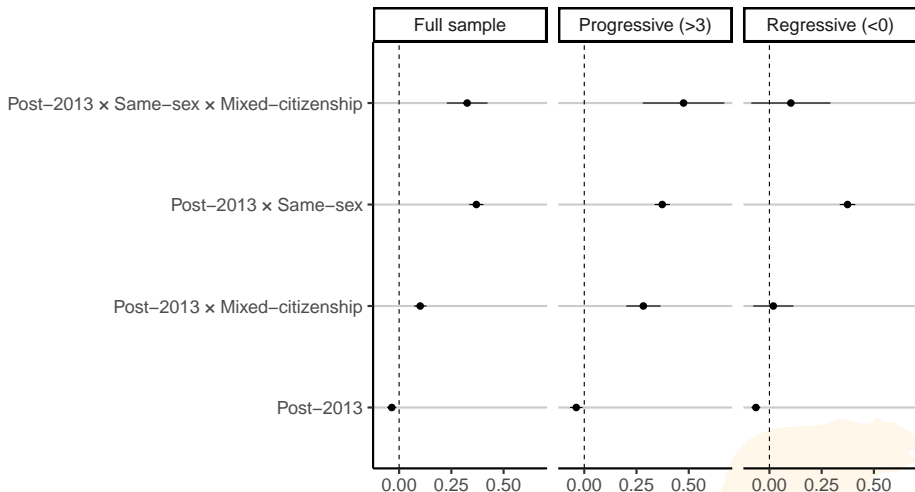


# Results

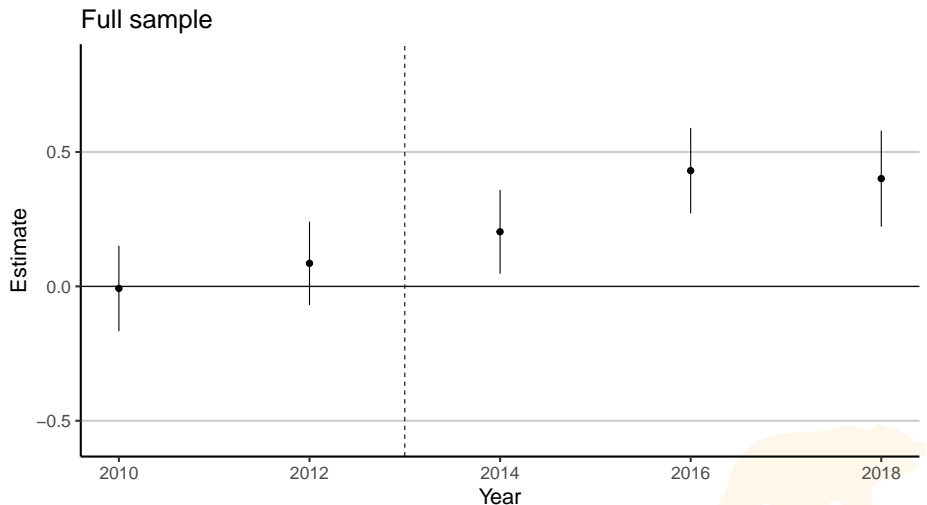
## Results



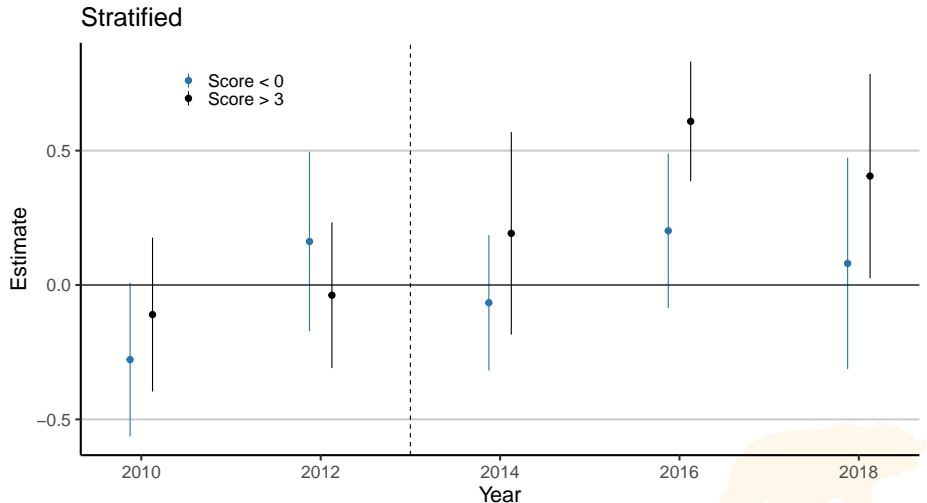
# Main Effects



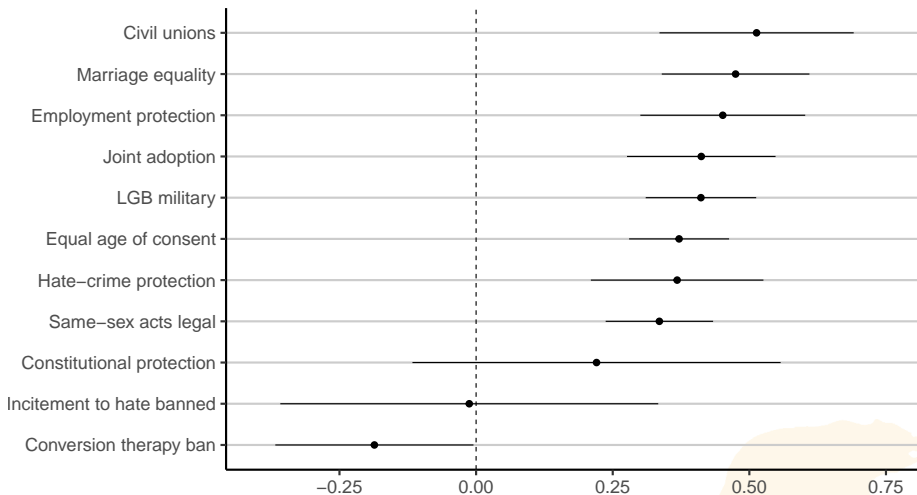
# Dynamic Models



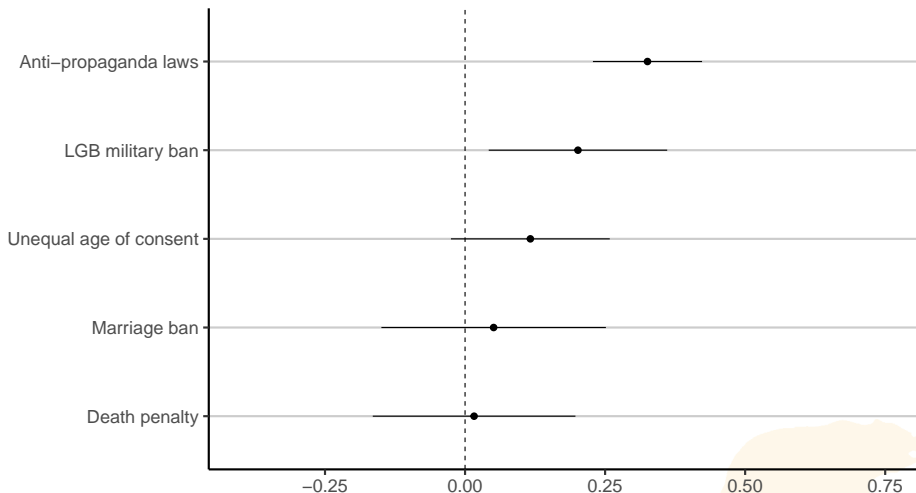
# Dynamic Models



# Specific Policies: Progressive



# Specific Policies: Regressive



# Discussion

- effect of 2013 only for immigrants from progressive countries
- stronger effects for marriage equality and civil unions
- culture, identity, and policy can affect migration and unions
- broadening focus of queer migration studies to immigrants from progressive countries





# Next steps

- Adjust for possible state- and group-level confounders
- Stratify by state LGB policy environment
- Incorporate 2020 data



# Thank You

- Nathan I. Hoffmann (nathanihoff@ucla.edu)
- Kristopher Velasco (kvelasco@princeton.edu)

