

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

ESS 2023

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

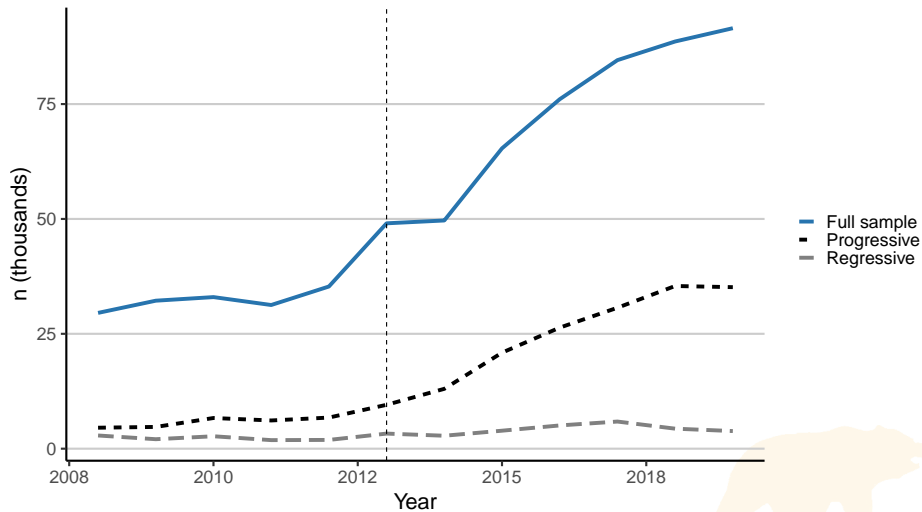


Introduction

- 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, 197% increase in mixed-citizenship same-sex couples, compared to 8% for different-sex (ACS)
- But from where do these couples come?
 - Do LGB policy environments at country of origin contribute toward the incidence of mixed-citizenship, same-sex unions within the U.S.?



Introduction



How Country-Origin LGB Policies Influence Mixed-Citizenship, Same-Sex Unions

- Policies both influence and are constituted by cultural environments
- Policy environments influence the desire to join a same-sex union
 - Progressive policies like marriage equality legitimize these social relationships and increase accessibility.
 - Regressive policies may limit aspirations for same-sex union and public disclosure of such unions
- Policy environments influence the capacity to migrate
 - Progressive policies may enhance human, economic, and political capitals that enable migration
 - Regressive policies may limit “outness” of one’s same-sex union – potentially undermining credibility in visa applications.



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
- Expand understandings of union formation by incorporating mixed-citizenship, same-sex couples



Data

- All couples in the 2008 to 2019 American Community Survey (ACS)
 - 18 to 64 at time of survey
 - For immigrants, only those who immigrated at age 18 or older
- Individuals in same-sex couples are identified as respondents who live with a same-sex married or unmarried partner
 - Necessarily excludes single and non-cohabiting LGB individuals



Data

- Data structure: state-year-group counts ($n = 2448$)
 - Groups: same- or different-sex \times same- or mixed-citizenship
 - e.g. number of people in same-sex mixed-citizenship couples in Arizona in 2012
- Explanatory variable: country of origin LGB policy index (sum of 16 policies) (Velasco 2020)
 - Ranges from -3 to 10, with a mean of 1.7
 - Progressive policies such civil unions, marriage equality, and hate-crime protection
 - Regressive policies such as anti-propaganda laws



Sample sizes

Composition	Citizenship	n (unweighted)	n (weighted)
Different sex	Mixed citizenship	449,634	48,291,282
Different sex	Same citizenship	11,006,816	1,036,071,322
Same sex	Mixed citizenship	6,987	666,130
Same sex	Same citizenship	145,447	13,448,425



Method

- Difference-in-differences-in-differences (DDD) using quasi-Poisson regression
 - Following Redpath (2022), model incidence of mixed-citizenship same-sex couples after 2013 relative to those before 2013 and same-citizenship or different-sex couples
- Stratify by policy environment
 - include only country-state-year mixed-citizenship groups with progressive (>3) or regressive (<0) policy scores
 - include only groups with specific policies



Method

$$y_{gst} = \exp[\beta_0 + \beta_1 post_t + \beta_2(M_g \times post_t) + \beta_3(S_g \times post_t) + \delta(M_g \times S_g \times post_t) + \alpha_{gs} + \gamma_t + \zeta' \mathbf{x}_{st} + \epsilon_{gst}]$$

- Where
 - y_{gst} : count of individuals in group g in state s in survey year t
 - $post_t$: indicator for $t > 2013$
 - M_g : indicator for group g being mixed-citizenship
 - S_g : indicator for group g being same-sex
 - α_{gs} and γ_t : group-state and year fixed effects
 - \mathbf{x}_{st} : state-level controls in year t (unemployment rate, per-capita income, and local LGB policy)
 - ϵ_{gst} is an error term such that $\mathbb{E}(\epsilon_{gst}) = 0$
- Coefficient of interest is β_4 . The incidence ratio $\exp(\beta_4)$ estimates the relative increase in mixed-citizenship same-sex couples after 2013 relative to other couples.

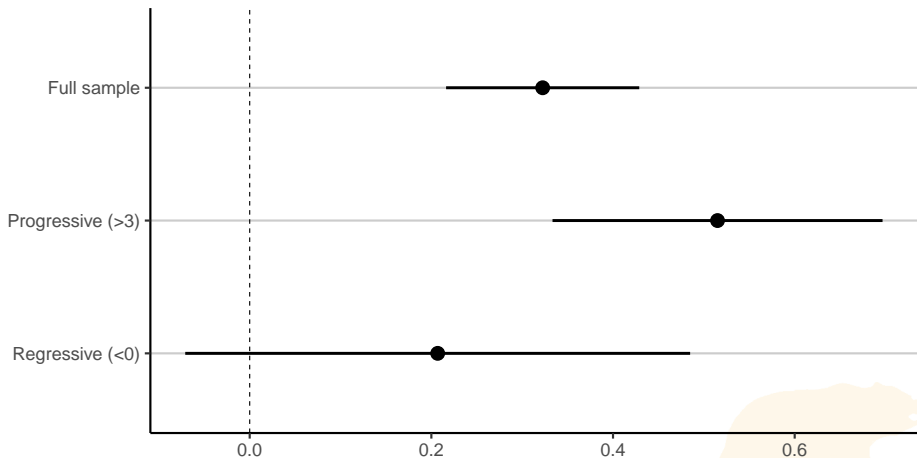
Results

Results

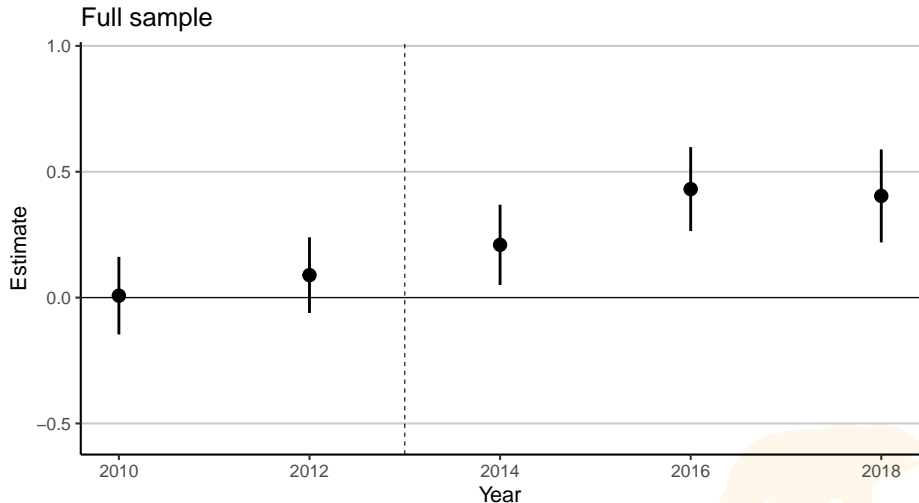


Main Effects

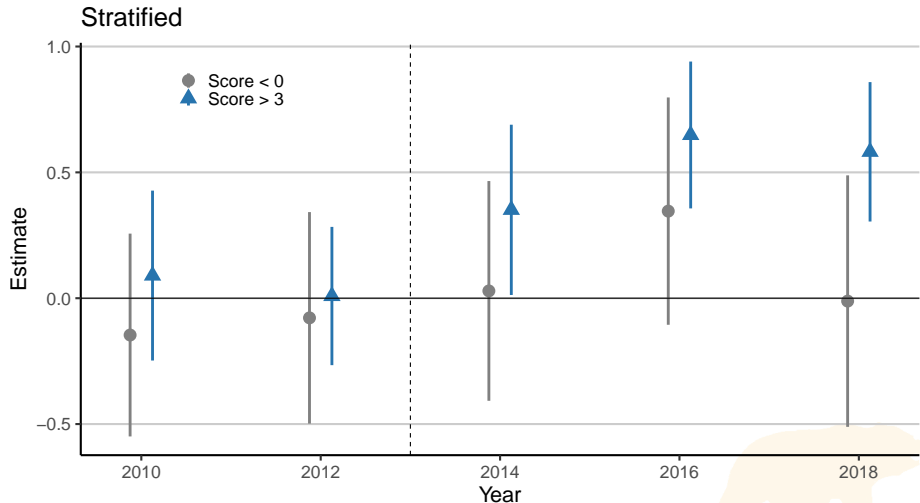
Post-2013 × Same-sex × Mixed-citizenship



Dynamic Models



Dynamic Models



Specific Policies

- What about the effects of specific policies?
- Stratify by every existing policy combination in the sample (148)
- Find the precision-weighted average effect size for the three-way interaction of interest for all regressions on samples that include the policy and all regressions that do not:

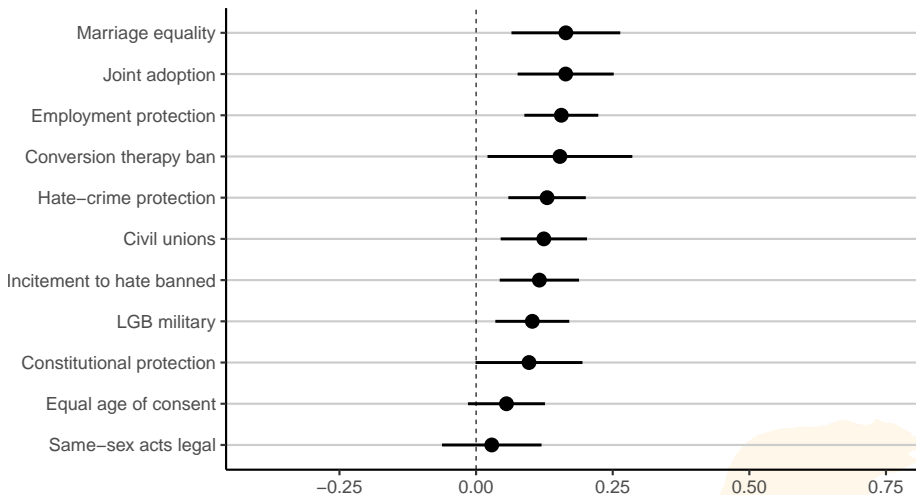
$$\bar{\delta} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^m \delta_i \text{se}_i^{-2}}{\sum_{i=1}^m \text{se}_i^{-2}}, \quad \overline{\text{se}} = \sqrt{\frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^m \text{se}_i^{-2}}}.$$

- quasi average partial effect (log scale):

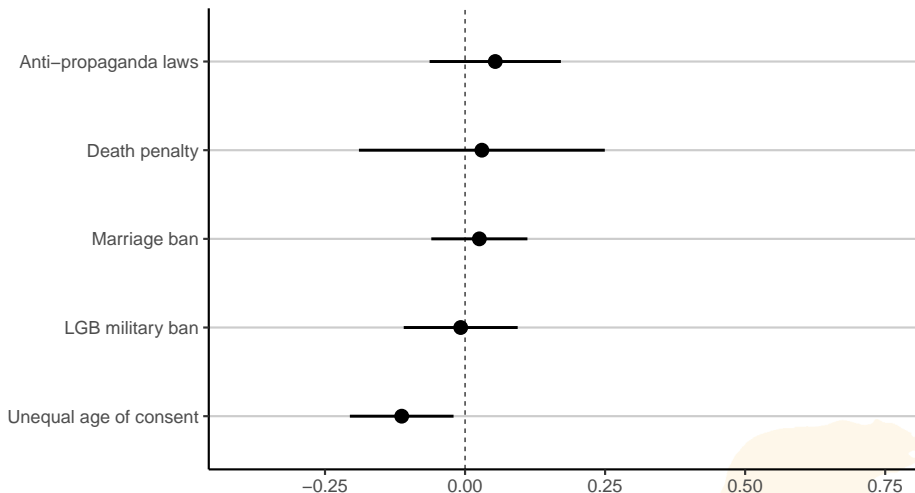
$$\bar{\delta}_{\text{policy}} - \bar{\delta}_{\text{no policy}}$$



Specific Policies: Progressive



Specific Policies: Regressive



Discussion

- Rise in mixed-citizenship, same sex couples after the 2013 end of DOMA, but only for immigrants from progressive countries
- Stronger effects for marriage equality and joint adoption
- Culture, identity, and policy can affect migration and union formation
- Broadening focus of queer migration studies to immigrants from progressive countries

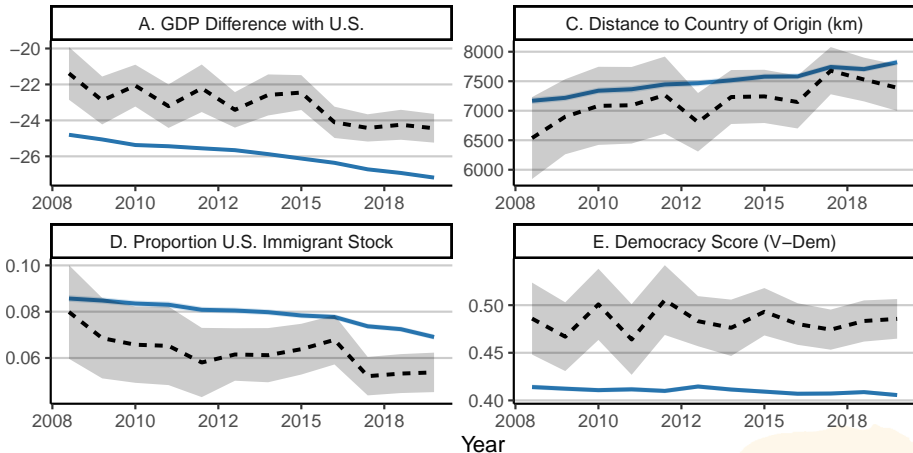


Thank You

- Nathan I. Hoffmann (nathanihoff@ucla.edu)
- Kristopher Velasco (kvelasco@princeton.edu)
- **Preprint: tinyurl.com/hv-ddd**



Country-Level Descriptives



— Different-Sex - - - Same-Sex

Individual Descriptives

