

# 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

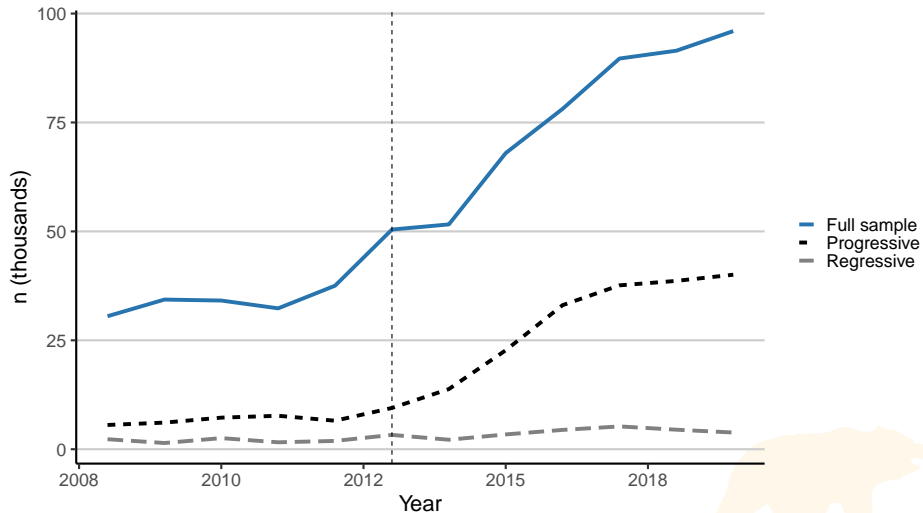


# Introduction

- 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 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
- These 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	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





# 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

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

- 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
  - $\alpha_{gs}$ : group-state fixed effects
  - $\gamma_t$ : survey year fixed effects
  - $\epsilon_{gst}$  is an error term such that  $\mathbb{E}(\epsilon_{gst}) = 0$
- Coefficient of interest is  $\beta_4$ : the three-way interaction between indicators for post-2013, same-sex, and mixed-citizenship. the incidence ratio  $\exp(\beta_4)$  estimates the relative increase in mixed-citizenship same-sex couples after 2013, relative to other couples

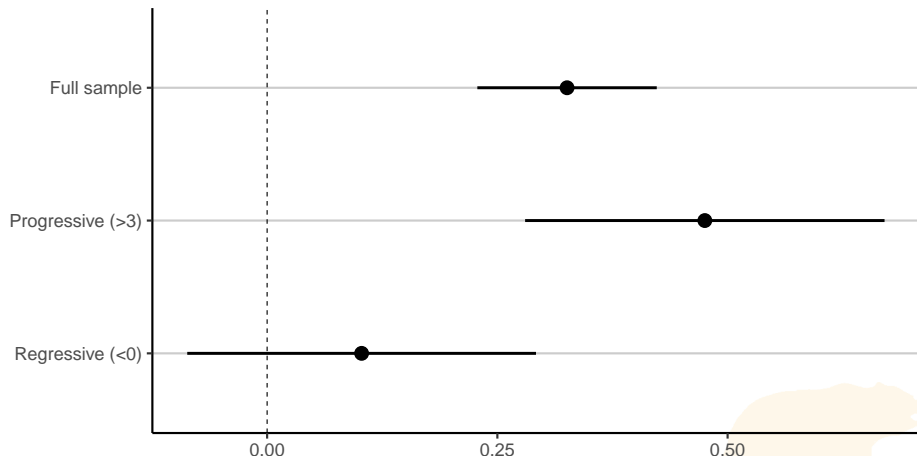
# Results

## Results

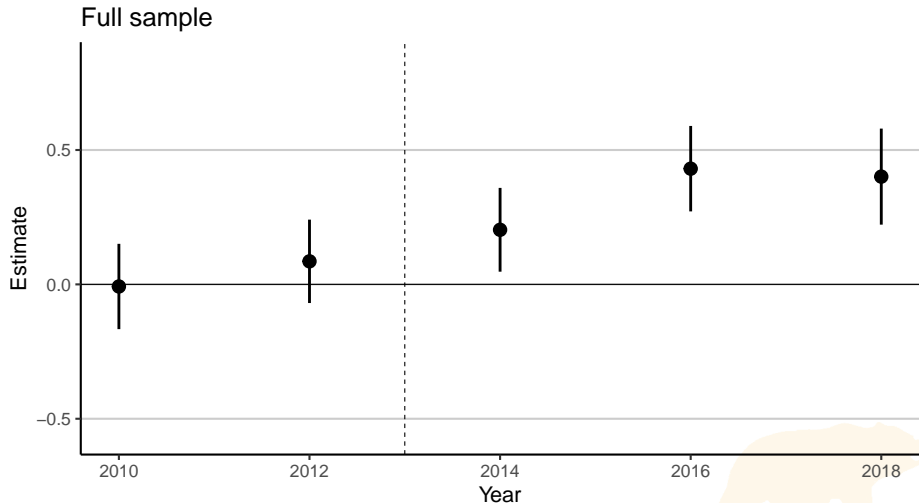


# Main Effects

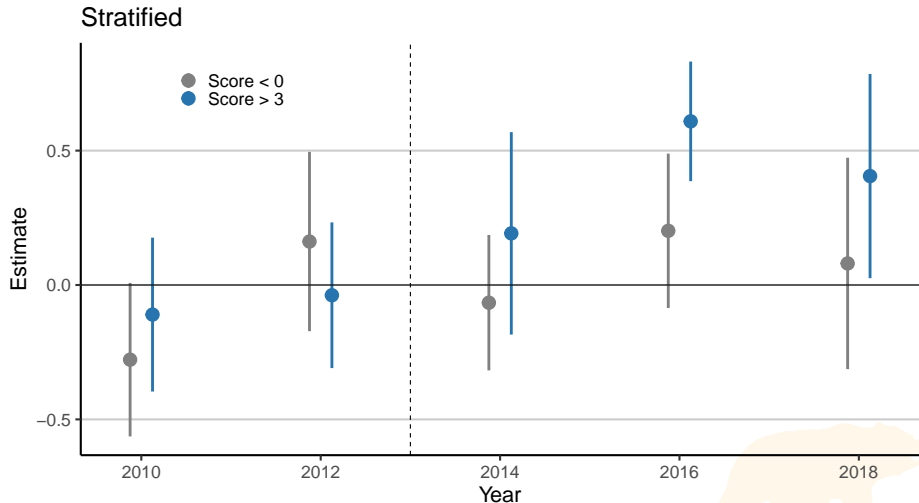
## Post-2013 × Same-sex × Mixed-citizenship



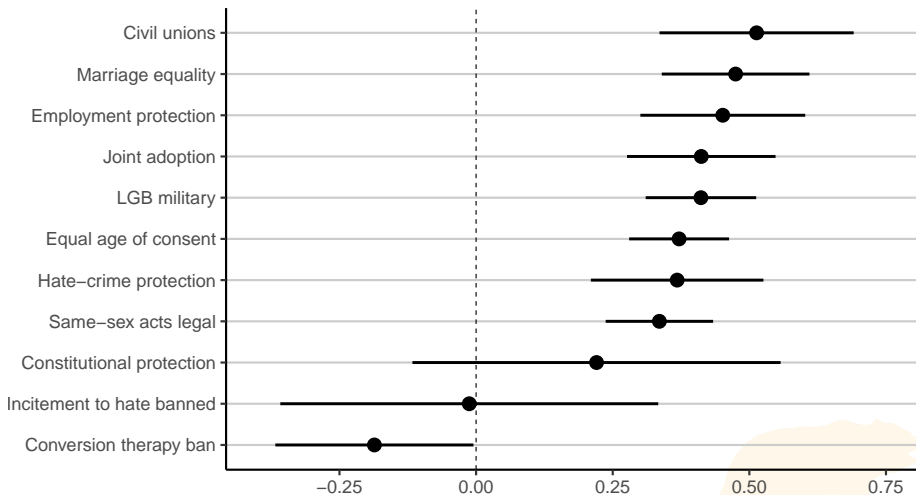
# Dynamic Models



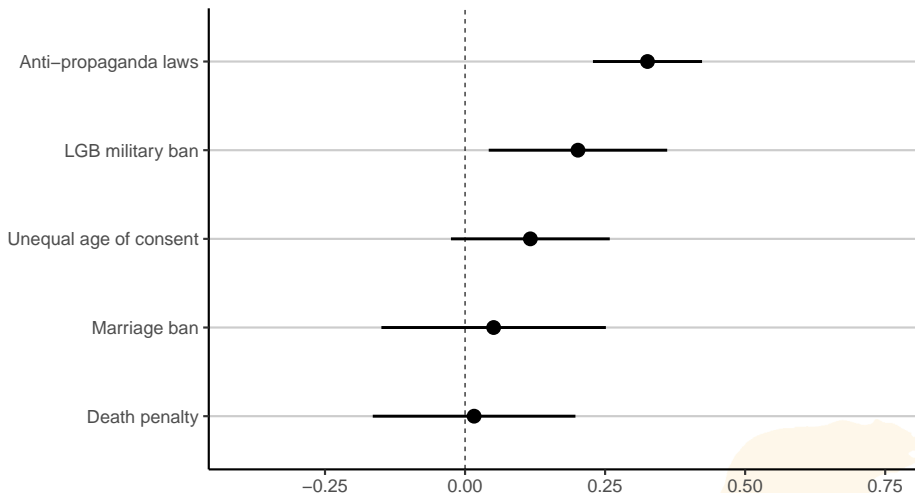
# Dynamic Models



# Specific Policies: 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 civil unions and marriage equality
- 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

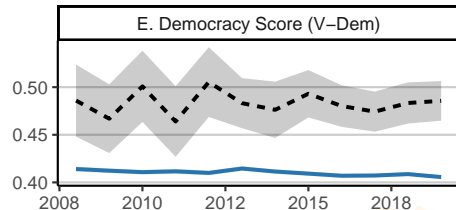
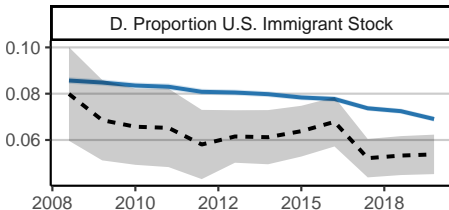
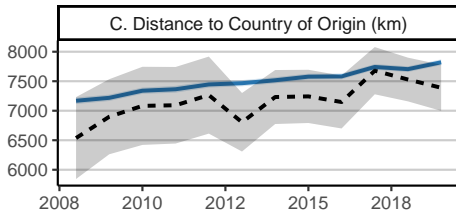
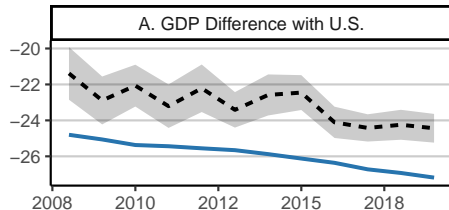


# Thank You

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



# Country-Level Descriptives



— Different-Sex    - - - Same-Sex

# Individual Descriptives

