

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

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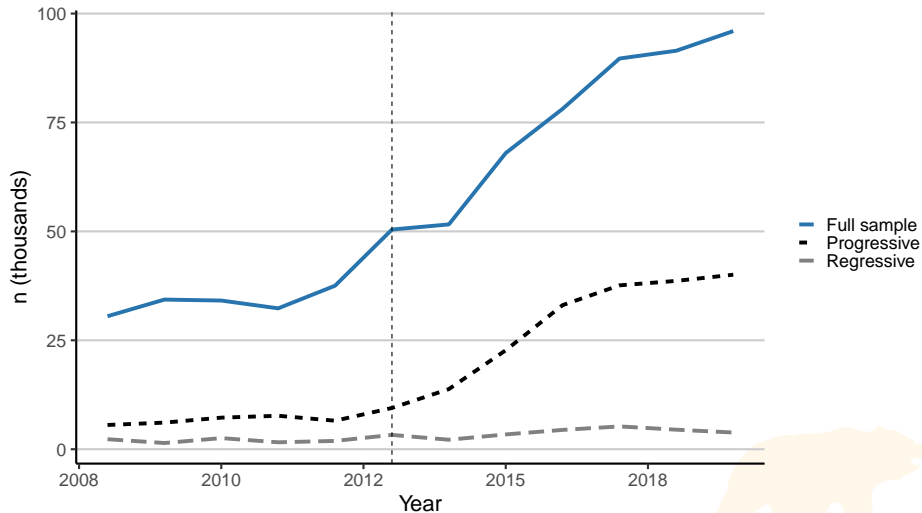


Introduction

- 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

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

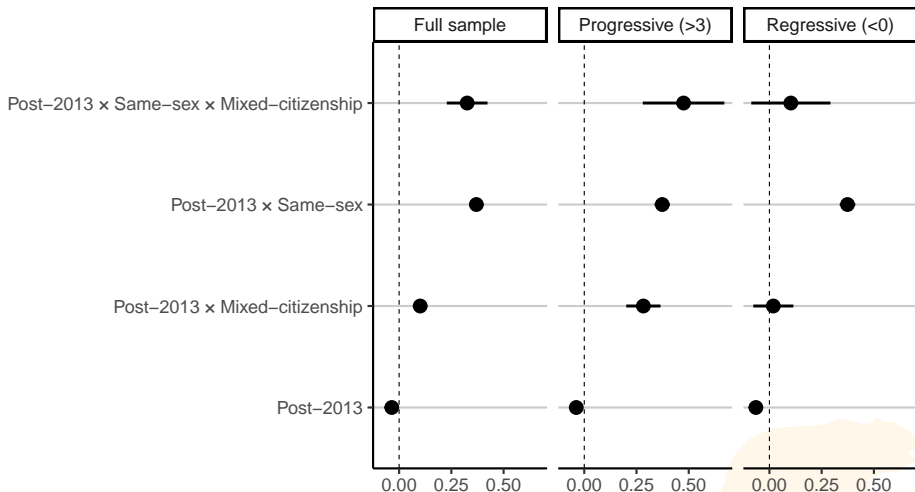
- Where
 - y_{gst} : count of individuals in group g in state s in survey year t
 - $post_t$: indicator for $t > 2013$
 - M_g : indicator for group g being mixed-citizenship
 - S_g : indicator for group g being same-sex
 - α_{gs} : group-state fixed effects
 - γ_t : survey year fixed effects
 - ϵ_{gst} is an error term such that $\mathbb{E}(\epsilon_{gst}) = 0$
- Coefficient of interest is β_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

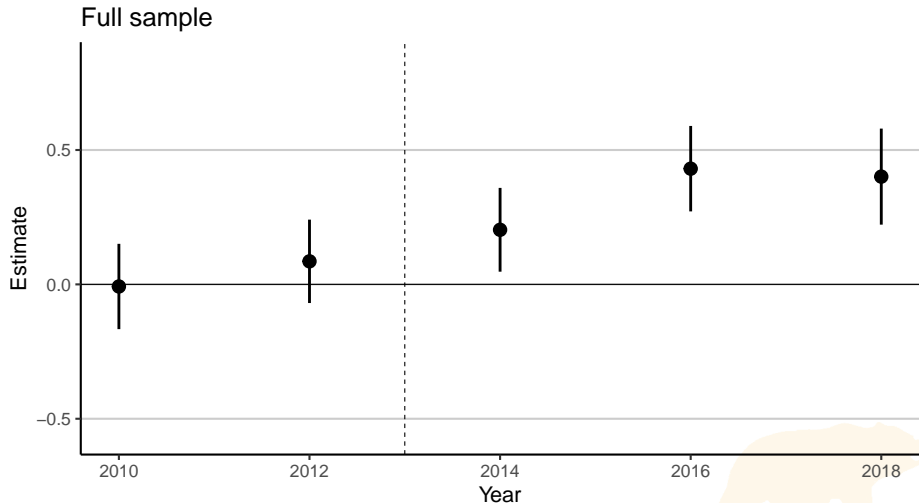
Results



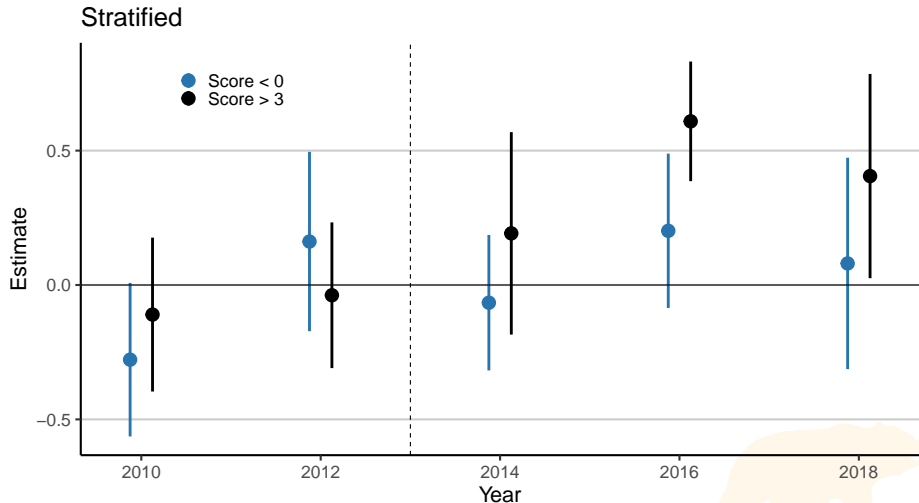
Main Effects



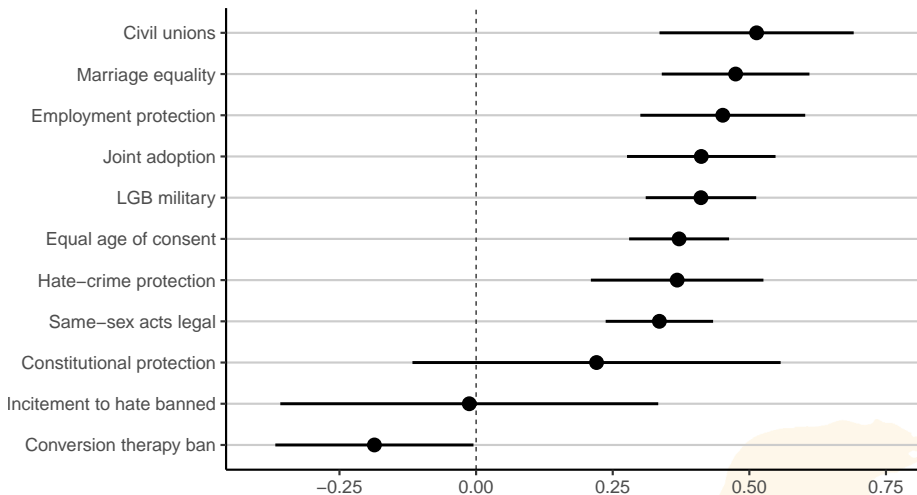
Dynamic Models



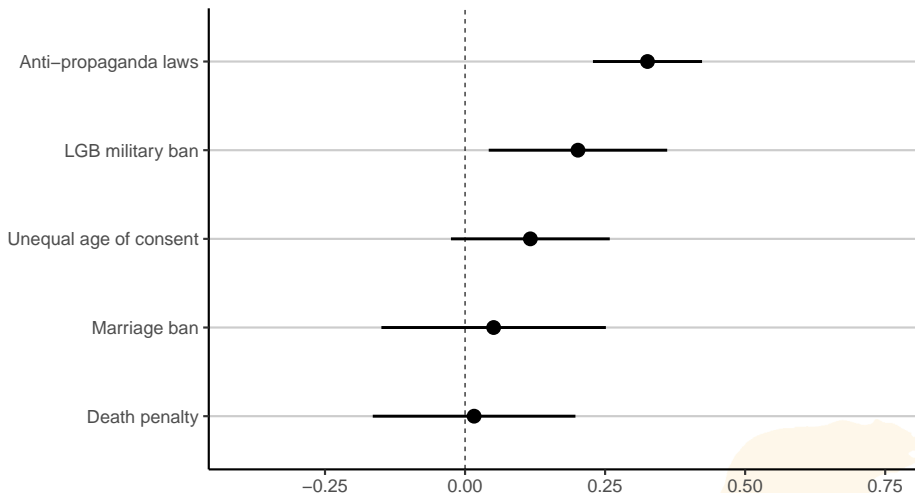
Dynamic Models



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

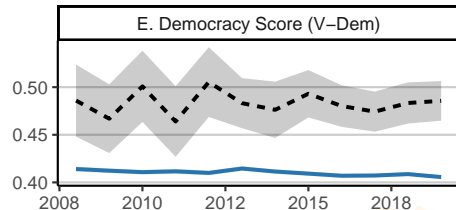
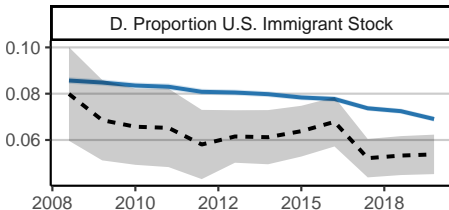
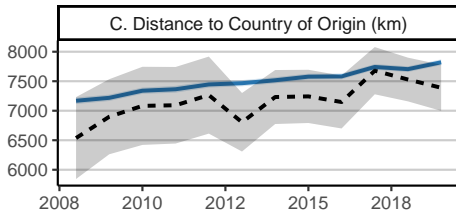
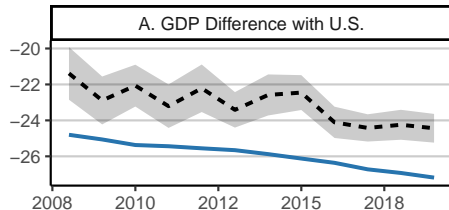


Thank You

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Country-Level Descriptives



— Different-Sex - - - Same-Sex



Individual Descriptives

