# Policy Effects on Mixed-Citizenship, Same-Sex Unions: A Triple-Difference Analysis ASA 2022 Annual Meeting

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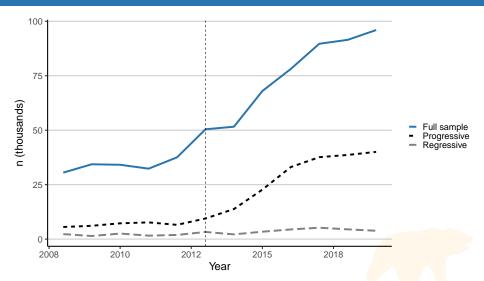
#### Introduction

- 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 migration of immigrants in same-sex couples into the U.S.?

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#### Introduction

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## 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

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#### 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

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#### 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
  - necessarily excludes single and non-cohabiting LGB individuals

#### Data

- Data structure: state-year-group counts (n = 2448)
  - groups: same sex × 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)
  - 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

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## 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

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#### 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 incidence ratio  $\exp(\beta_4)$  estimates the relative increase in mixed-citizenship same-sex couples after 2013, relative to other couples.

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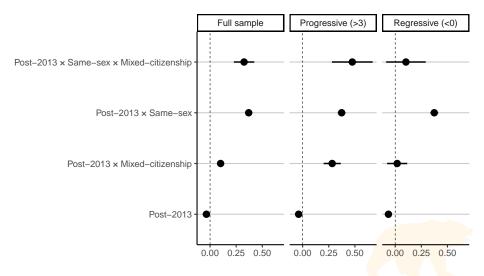
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#### Results

# Results

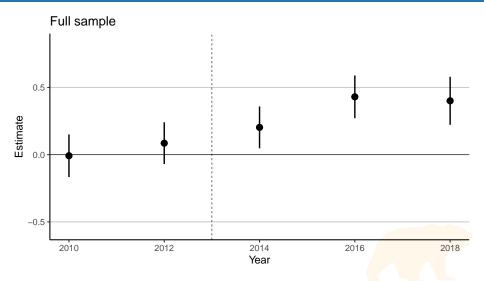


#### Main Effects



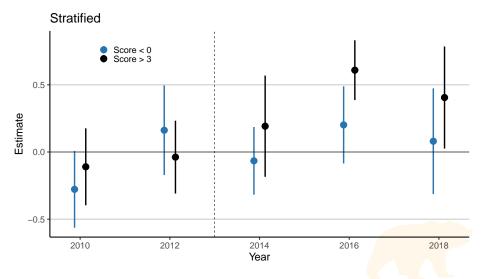
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## Dynamic Models



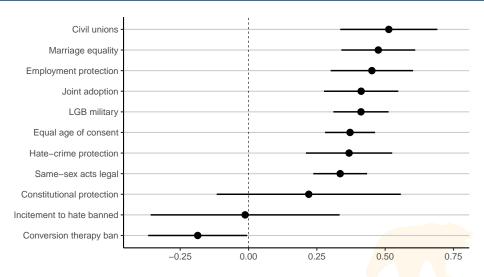
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## Dynamic Models



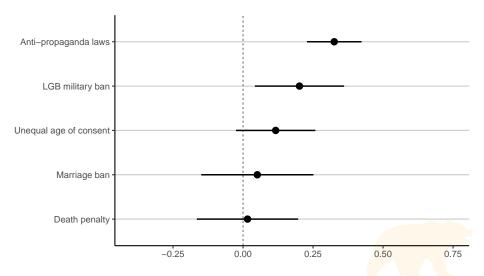


## Specific Policies: Progressive



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## Specific Policies: Regressive



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#### 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

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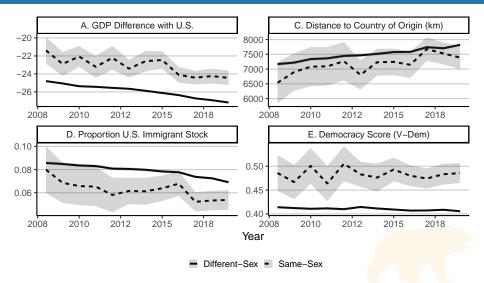
### Next steps

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

## Thank You

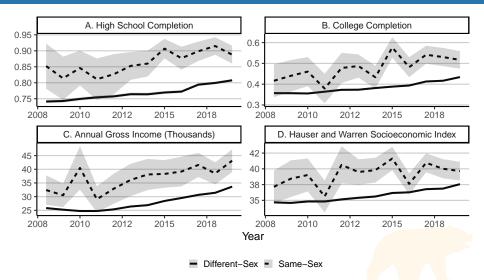
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## Country-Level Descriptives



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## Individual Descriptives



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