

RESEARCH THAT MATTERS

THE IMPACT OF *OBERGEFELL V. HODGES* on the Well-Being of LGBT Adults

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

On June 26, 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that all same-sex couples are guaranteed the right to marry, which extended legal marriage recognition to same-sex couples throughout the United States. Major events such as this have the potential to directly affect the emotional well-being of LGBT people. This study uses population-based data to evaluate the impact of the *Obergefell* decision on two aspects of well-being—happiness and life satisfaction—among LGBT adults before and after the decision and compares their outcomes to those of non-LGBT adults. The study finds that:

- Prior to the *Obergefell* decision, there were significant disparities between LGBT and non-LGBT adults in their happiness and life satisfaction. Fewer LGBT adults reported feeling happy (84%) compared to non-LGBT adults (89%), and fewer LGBT adults (58%) rated their life satisfaction higher-than-average than non-LGBT adults (68%).
- After the *Obergefell* decision, more LGBT people were happy (87%) and reported higher-than-average levels of life satisfaction (62%)—reducing disparities between LGBT and non-LGBT adults to non-significant levels.
- LGBT residents of states where marriages for same-sex couples were not recognized prior to *Obergefell* had the greatest gains in life satisfaction, increasing from 46% reporting higher-than-average life satisfaction to 58% reporting the same after the decision; however, this difference was not statistically significant.
- There were no statistically significant changes in happiness or life satisfaction among non-LGBT adults in relation to the *Obergefell* decision.

The day that *Obergefell* was announced was an important moment for LGBT people in the United States, and this is reflected in their self-reported well-being immediately following the decision. Future research should evaluate how other public policies (e.g., LGBT non-discrimination protections, paid leave) impact the economic and emotional well-being of LGBT people.

INTRODUCTION

On June 26, 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Constitution guaranteed all same-sex couples the right to marry,¹ extending legal marriage recognition to same-sex couples throughout the United States. Previous research suggests that the well-being of LGBT people is directly affected by the legal protections that they are afforded or denied, including those related to marriage.² This study uses population-based data to evaluate the impact of the Supreme Court's decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges* on two aspects of well-being—happiness and life satisfaction—among LGBT people before and after the decision, and compares their outcomes to those of non-LGBT people.

Higher rates of depression, anxiety, and suicidality have been observed among LGBT than non-LGBT adults,³ and are attributed to disproportionate exposure to stigma- and prejudice-induced minority stressors, such as discrimination and violence.⁴ Research has shown that these minority stressors include: state bans on same-sex marriage,⁵ exposure to negative advertising campaigns designed to pass such bans,⁶ the passage of religious exemptions laws that permit discrimination,⁷ and living in places where public attitudes towards LGBT people are generally negative.⁸ Chronic exposure to messages that being LGBT is less valuable and less acceptable than being straight and cisgender can lead to negative self-evaluation⁹ and informs

¹ *Obergefell v. Hodges*, 135 S. Ct. 2584 (2015).

² Hatzenbuehler, M. L. (2016). Structural Stigma: Research Evidence and Implications for Psychological Science. 742–751. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1037/amp0000068>

³ Bostwick, W. B., Boyd, C. J., Hughes, T. L., & McCabe, S. E. (2010). Dimensions of Sexual Orientation and the Prevalence of Mood and Anxiety Disorders in the United States. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100(3), 468–475. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2008.152942>; King, M., Semlyen, J., Tai, S. S., Killaspy, H., Osborn, D., Popelyuk, D., & Nazareth, I. (2008). A Systematic Review of Mental Disorder, Suicide, and Deliberate Self Harm in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual People. *BMC Psychiatry*, 8(1), 70. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-244X-8-70>; Herman, J. L., Brown, T. N. T., & Haas, A. P. (2019, September). *Suicide Thoughts and Attempts Among Transgender Adults: Findings From the 2015 U.S. Transgender Survey*. Los Angeles, CA: The Williams Institute. Retrieved from: <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Transgender-Suicide-Sept-2019.pdf>

⁴ Meyer, I. H. (2003). Prejudice, Social Stress, and Mental Health in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: Conceptual Issues and Research Evidence. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(5), 674–697. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674>

⁵ Hatzenbuehler, M. L., McLaughlin, K. A., Keyes, K. M., & Hasin, D. S. (2010). The Impact of Institutional Discrimination on Psychiatric Disorders in Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Populations: A Prospective Study. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100(3), 452–459. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2009.168815>

⁶ Flores, A. R., Hatzenbuehler, M. L., & Gates, G. J. (2018). Identifying Psychological Responses of Stigmatized Groups to Referendums. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(15), 3816. Retrieved from: <http://www.pnas.org/content/115/15/3816.abstract>

⁷ Raifman, J., Moscoe, E., Austin, S. B., Hatzenbuehler, M. L., & Galea, S. (2018). Association of State Laws Permitting Denial of Services to Same-Sex Couples With Mental Distress in Sexual Minority Adults: A Difference-in-Difference-in-Differences Analysis. *JAMA Psychiatry*, 75(7), 671–677. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2018.0757>

⁸ Hatzenbuehler, M. L., Flores, A. R., & Gates, G. J. (2017). Social Attitudes Regarding Same-Sex Marriage and LGBT Health Disparities: Results from a National Probability Sample. *Journal of Social Issues*, 73(3), 508–528. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12229>

⁹ Hatzenbuehler, M. L. (2009). How Does Sexual Minority Stigma “Get Under the Skin”? A Psychological Mediation Framework. *Psychological Bulletin*, 135(5), 707–730. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016441>

an individual's assessment of their social standing as a member of a stigmatized group.¹⁰

By alleviating one aspect of structural stigma or removing one minority stressor (i.e., laws that ban same-sex marriages) and passing legislation that recognizes same-sex relationships as being of comparable value to different-sex relationships, LGBT people may experience an improvement in emotional well-being. For instance, a study of California adults reported lower levels of psychological distress among married adults, both LGB and straight, as compared to single adults; however, this study did not look at changes in distress pre- and post-marriage, or pre- and post-same-sex marriage legalization.¹¹ Another study, conducted in England and Wales, that examined change in well-being among adults in same-sex relationships pre- and post-marriage legalization reported higher levels of well-being among same-sex couples after same-sex marriage was legalized.¹²

This study builds on prior research by examining the impact of the *Obergefell* decision on two measures of well-being—happiness and life satisfaction—among LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after this decision in the United States, and separately by marriage policy environment. Same-sex couples in thirteen states gained access to marriage through the June 26, 2015 Supreme Court decision, whereas 37 states had already legalized marriage for same-sex couples, including 18 that granted same-sex couples the right to marry in 2014 and 19 that legalized marriage for same-sex couples between 2003 and 2013.¹³

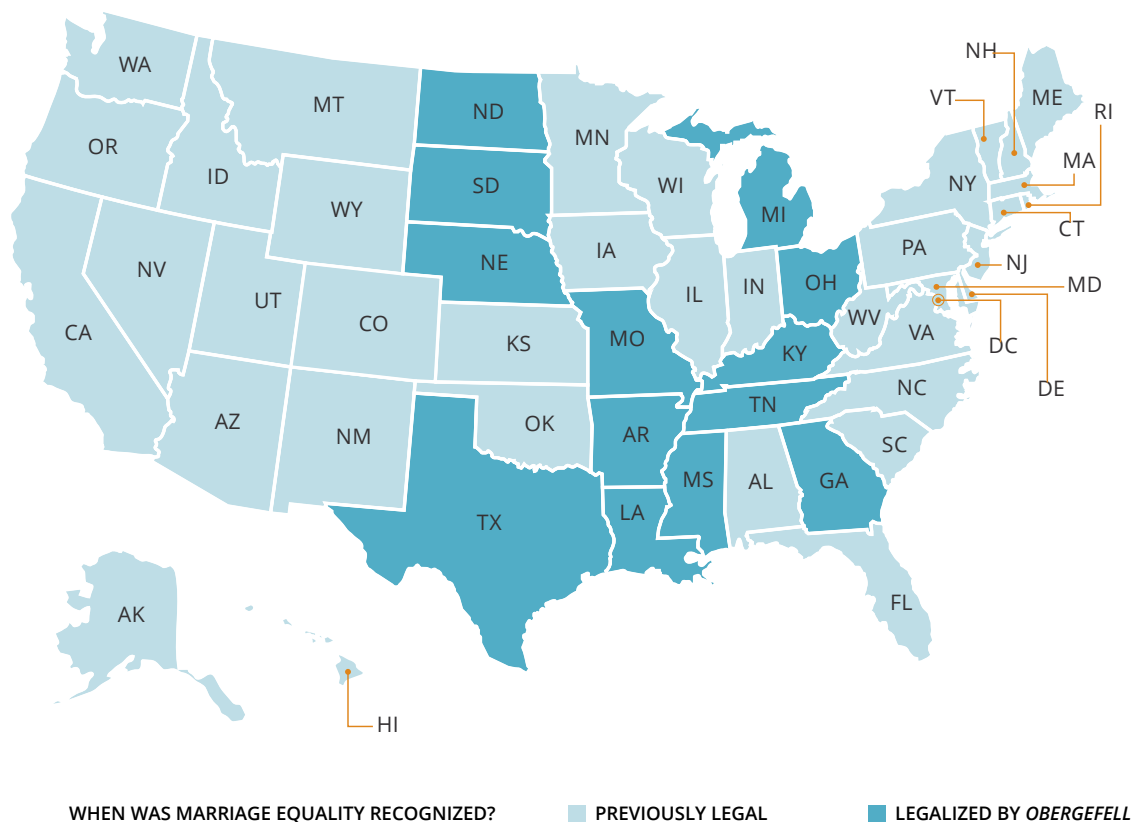
¹⁰ Phelan, J. C., Lucas, J. W., Ridgeway, C. L., & Taylor, C. J. (2014). Stigma, Status, and Population Health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 103, 15–23. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.10.004>

¹¹ Wight, R. G., LeBlanc, A. J., & Lee Badgett, M. V. (2012). Same-Sex Legal Marriage and Psychological Well-Being: Findings From the California Health Interview Survey. *American Journal of Public Health*, 103(2), 339–346. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2012.301113>

¹² Boertien, D. & Vignoli, D. (2019). Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage Matters for the Subjective Well-Being of Individuals in Same-Sex Unions. *Demography*, 56(6), 2109–2121. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-019-00822-1>

¹³ Johnson, D. (2015, June 26). This Map Shows How Gay Marriage Spread Across the United States. *Time Magazine*. Retrieved from: <https://time.com/3938717/supreme-court-gay-marriage-map/>

Figure 1. Where *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) introduced marriage equality

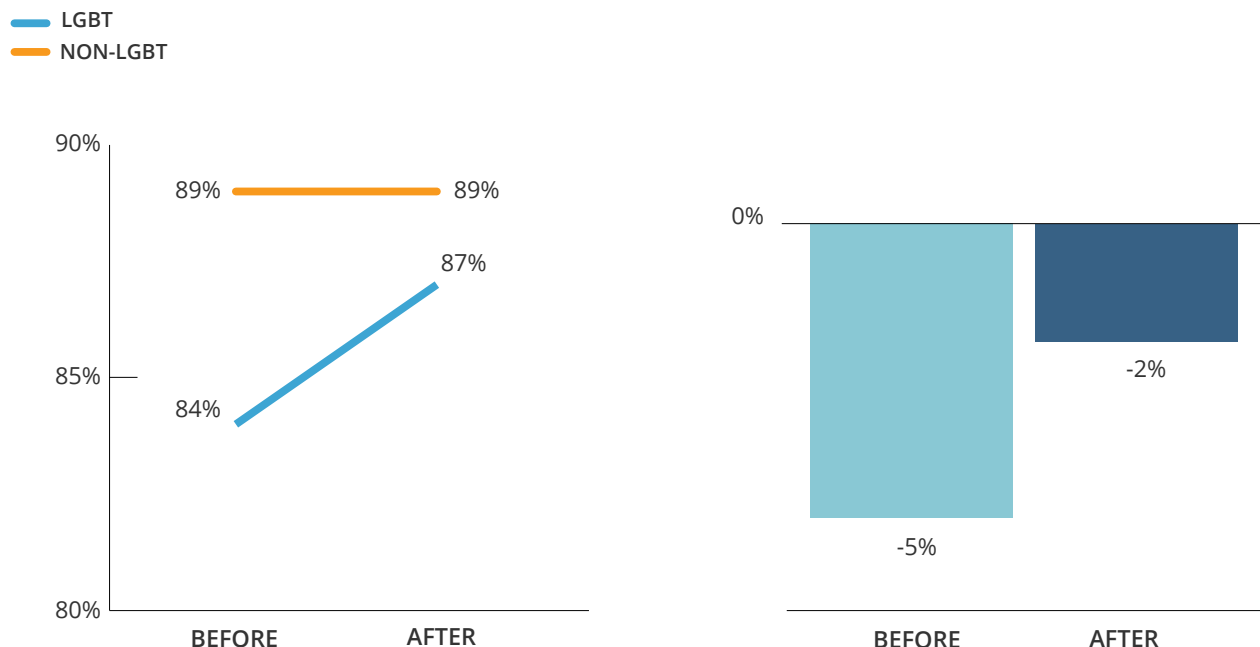


FINDINGS

IMPACT ON HAPPINESS

While LGBT adults were less likely than non-LGBT adults to report that they were happy before *Obergefell*, that gap closed in the weeks following the decision. Specifically, 84% of LGBT adults who completed the Gallup Survey in the two-week period prior to *Obergefell* reported that they felt happy “a lot of the day” when reflecting on their feelings the day prior to the survey—statistically significantly less than the percentage of non-LGBT adults (89%) that reported that they felt happy. In the two weeks following *Obergefell*, levels of happiness did not statistically significantly differ between LGBT (87%) and non-LGBT adults (89%). These differences in percentage happy between LGBT and non-LGBT adults pre- and post-*Obergefell* are displayed in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Overall percentage happy and differences in percentage happy between LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after *Obergefell*

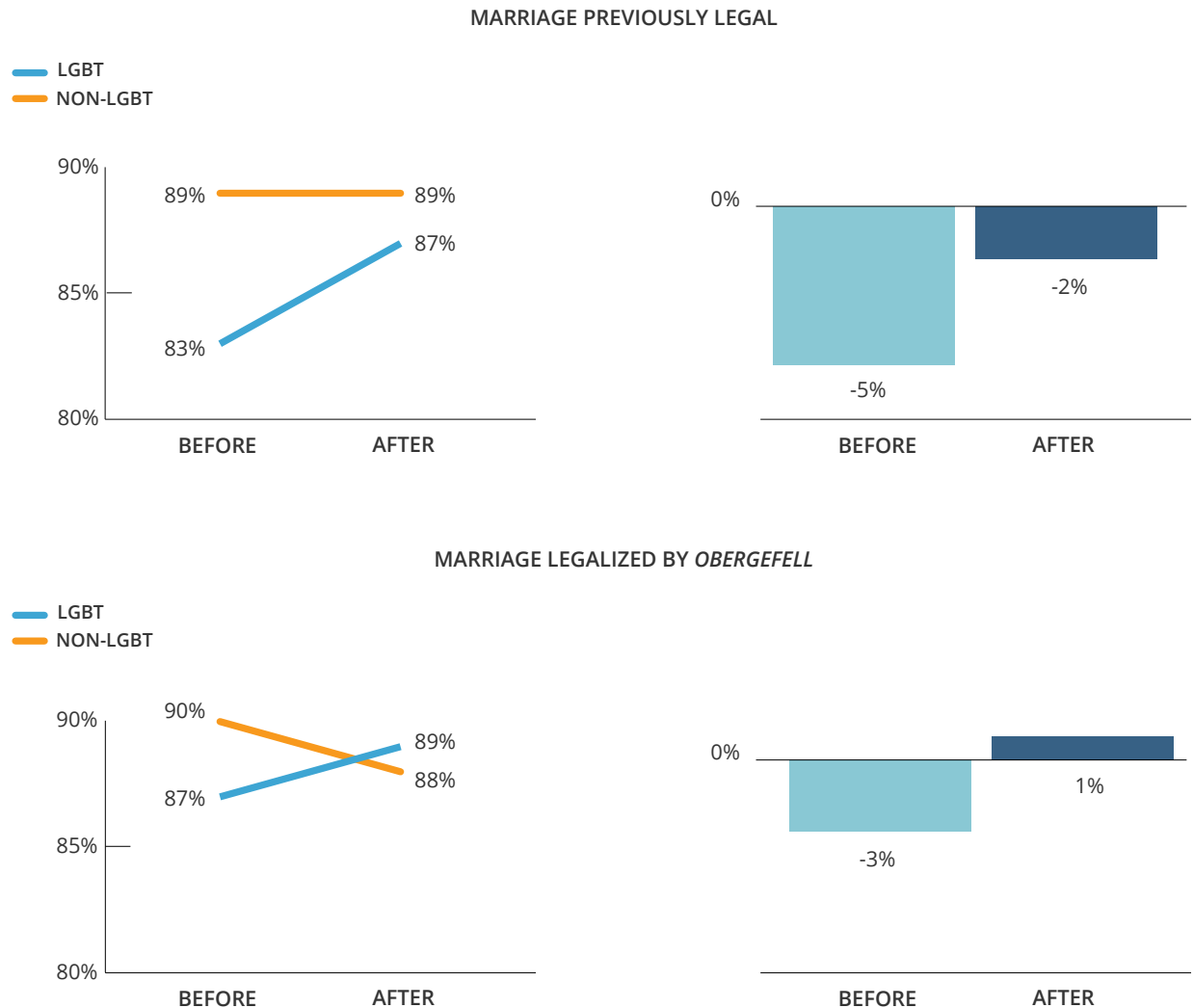


Next, we looked separately at adults residing in two different marriage policy environments—those residing in the 37 states and District of Columbia that had marriage equality prior to the *Obergefell* decision and those residing in the 13 states that gained the right to marry through the *Obergefell* decision. For the group that had marriage equality prior to the *Obergefell* decision, 83% of LGBT adults surveyed in the two-week period prior to *Obergefell* reported that they were happy “a lot of the day” the day before the survey, compared to 89% of non-LGBT adults. In the two weeks after the decision, this difference declined and was no longer statistically significant; 87% of LGBT adults in this group reported that they were happy, compared to 89% of non-LGBT adults.

Among adults living in states that had not yet legalized marriage for same-sex couples, a smaller percentage of LGBT adults (87%) were happy than non-LGBT adults (90%) in the two weeks preceding the *Obergefell* decision. In the two weeks following *Obergefell*, a somewhat larger percentage of LGBT

adults were happy than non-LGBT adults (89% and 88%, respectively). These differences were not statistically significant.

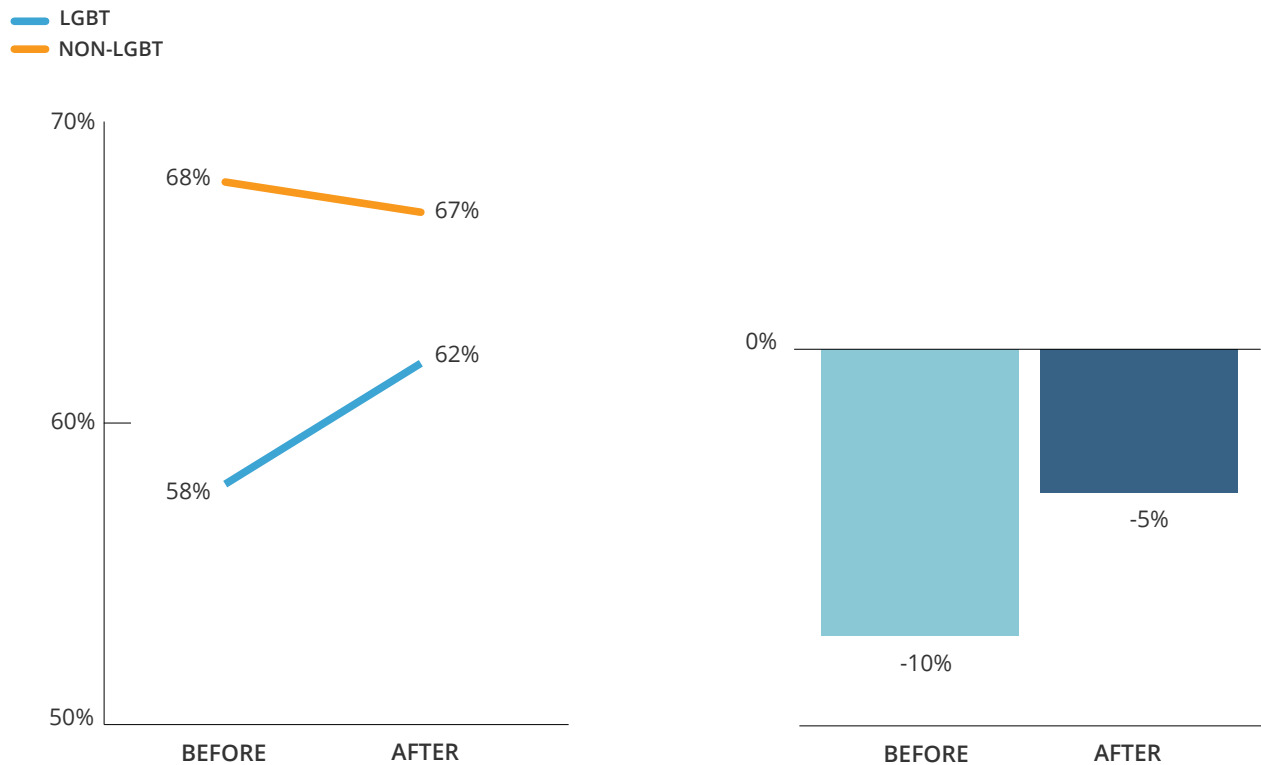
Figure 3. Overall percentage happy and differences in percentage happy between LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after *Obergefell*, by marriage policy environment



IMPACT ON LIFE SATISFACTION

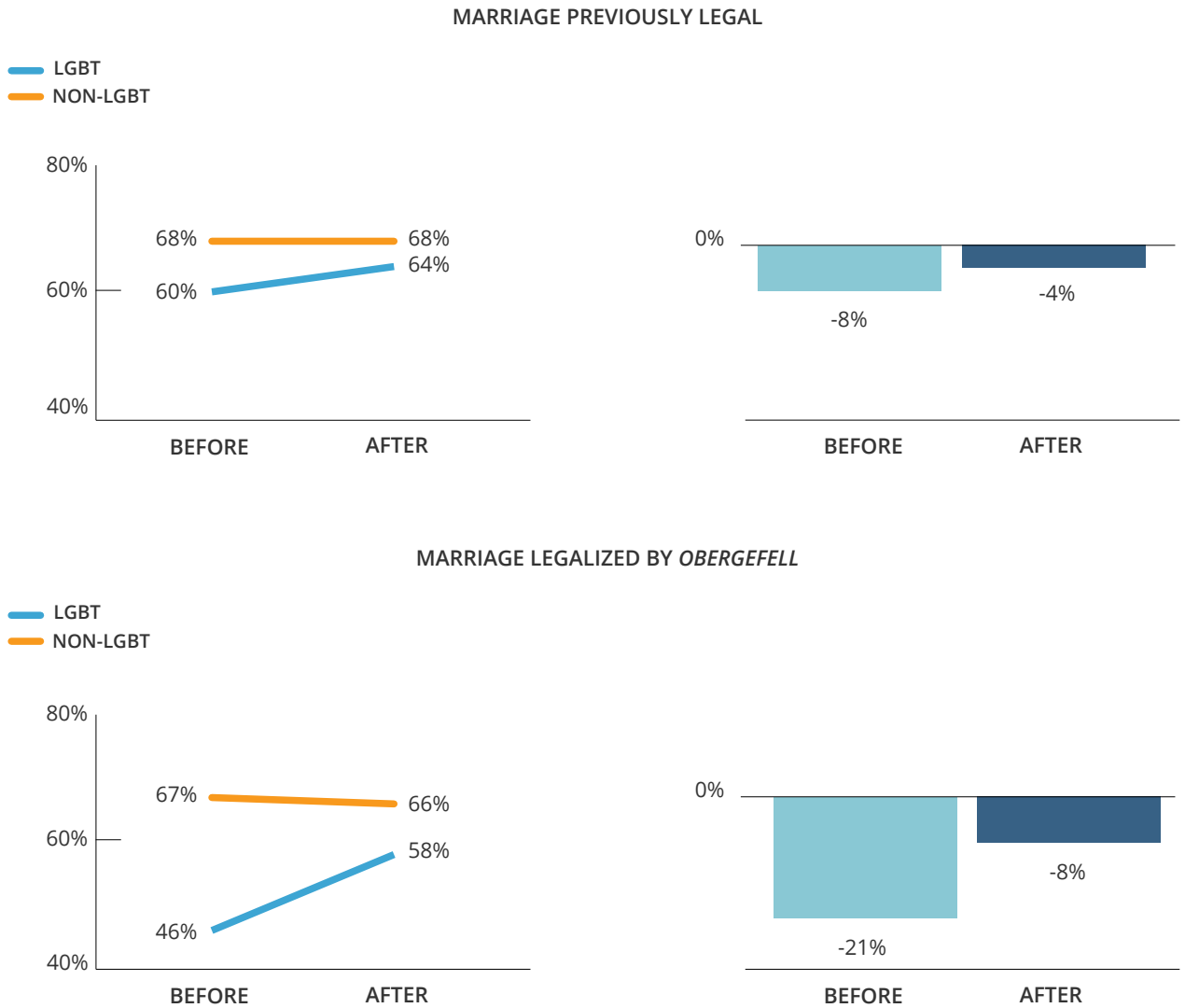
The *Obergefell* decision also reduced disparities in life satisfaction between LGBT and non-LGBT adults (Figure 4). We investigated the percentage of adults who positioned themselves above the median on a “ladder with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to ten at the top,” where the top of the ladder represents the best possible life and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life. In the two-week period before *Obergefell*, 58% of LGBT adults ranked themselves above the median score, compared to 68% of non-LGBT adults; this 10-percentage point difference was statistically significant. In the two weeks after the decision, there was no significant difference between LGBT adults (62%) and non-LGBT adults (67%) who ranked themselves above the median score.

Figure 4. Overall percentage and differences in percentage above the median on life satisfaction between LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after *Obergefell*



The *Obergefell* decision had a greater impact on life satisfaction among LGBT adults relative to non-LGBT adults in the 13 states that did not recognize marriage equality prior to *Obergefell*. Prior to the decision, the disparity in life satisfaction between LGBT and non-LGBT adults was far larger in those 13 states (46% LGBT versus 67% non-LGBT above the median score) than in the states that had already extended marriage to same-sex couples (60% LGBT versus 68% non-LGBT above the median score). In the two-week period following the decision, life satisfaction did not statistically significantly vary between LGBT and non-LGBT adults in either group of states (58% of LGBT versus 66% of non-LGBT above the median score in the states without marriage equality before *Obergefell*, and 64% of LGBT versus 68% of non-LGBT above the median score in the states with marriage equality prior to *Obergefell*).

Figure 5. Overall percentage and differences in percentage above the median on life satisfaction between LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after *Obergefell*, by marriage policy environment



DISCUSSION

Obergefell v. Hodges was a landmark case, and the day the opinion was announced was an important moment for LGBT people in the United States. The significance of this moment was reflected in the emotional well-being of LGBT people.

Overall, we found that LGBT adults were less likely to be happy and less likely to rank themselves at or above the median on life satisfaction than non-LGBT adults prior to the *Obergefell* decision, and that these disparities were reduced to non-significant levels immediately following the decision. The effect of marriage legalization on LGBT well-being was the greatest in states where *Obergefell* legalized same-sex marriage (i.e., in states that did not previously have same-sex marriage). In those states, post-marriage legalization, LGBT adults exceeded non-LGBT adults in the percentage of those reporting that they were happy, and the percentage of LGBT adults who ranked themselves at or above the median on life satisfaction increased from 46% (a minority) to 58% (a majority), although these differences were not statistically significant. Of note, happiness and life satisfaction among non-LGBT adults did not vary, on average, pre or post-*Obergefell*.

Our findings are consistent with prior research showing that the emotional well-being of LGBT people is impacted by events surrounding legal marriage recognition.^{14,15,16} Collectively, these findings, and other research demonstrating increased access to health insurance through marriage legalization,¹⁷ suggest that marriage legalization has positively impacted the health and well-being of LGBT people. Future research should evaluate other public policies (e.g., LGBT non-discrimination protections, paid leave) that are likely to impact the economic and emotional well-being of LGBT people.

¹⁴ Flores, Hatzenbuehler, & Gates (2018)

¹⁵ Boertien & Vignoli (2019)

¹⁶ Hatzenbuehler et al. (2010)

¹⁷ Gonzales, G. & Blewett, L. A. (2013). National and State-Specific Health Insurance Disparities for Adults in Same-Sex Relationships. *American Journal of Public Health*, 104(2), e95–e104. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2013.301577>

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Demographic and well-being data collected from U.S. adults on the nationally-representative Gallup Daily Tracking Well-Being Index Survey¹⁸ were aggregated and analyzed for this report. On average, 500 adults were interviewed every day, excluding national holidays. We examined data collected the two weeks before and after the June 26, 2015 *Obergefell* decision, a timeframe that prior research has shown is sensitive to the psychological effects of contextual changes.¹⁹

Analyses were restricted to respondents who answered the question “Do you, personally, identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender?” In the timeframe analyzed, 4.2% (SE = 0.22) of people affirmatively answered this question and 95.8% (SE = 0.22) said they did not identify as LGBT. For the present analysis, we analyzed only those who affirmatively identified or did not identify, leaving “don’t know” responses out of the analysis. This was because we anticipated that LGBT-identified respondents would be uniquely affected by the *Obergefell* decision as compared to those who do not identify as LGBT. The final total analytic sample size was n=13,059 (see Table 1 for the specific sample sizes of each outcome and policy environment-specific analysis).

This study relies on two questions that measure well-being. The first, a measure of happiness, prompted respondents to reflect on the previous day, from morning until the end of the day, and to consider where they were, what they did, who they were with, and how they felt. Afterward, respondents were asked if they felt specific emotions a lot of the day, including happiness. If respondents affirmatively stated that they felt happiness a lot of the day, we scored them as a 1. If they did not, we scored them as a 0. About 89% (SE = 0.46) of the respondents who completed Gallup Surveys during the analytic study period reported feeling happiness a lot of the day on the day prior to the survey. The second, the Cantril Self-Anchoring Striving Scale,²⁰ a measure of life satisfaction, asked respondents to “Please imagine a ladder with steps numbered from zero at the bottom to ten at the top. The top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom of the ladder represents the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder would you say you personally feel you stand at this time?” The median ladder score in the entire timeframe analyzed was 7; among respondents, 67% (SE = 0.79) positioned themselves at or above the median score, which was more than 50% due to the skew of the responses.

Fixed-effects linear regression models were fit separately for each measure of well-being, including an indicator for LGBT status, one for time (whether respondents were interviewed after the *Obergefell* decision or beforehand), plus an interaction between the two. Respondent characteristics known to be associated with LGBT identification and measures of well-being, including age, education,

¹⁸ In 2015, Gallup called approximately 350,000 U.S. adults ages 18 and up who reside in the 50 states and the District of Columbia using list-assisted random digit dial (70% cell phone, 30% landline). Respondents who agreed to complete a survey were randomly assigned to one of two surveys within the Daily Tracking Survey, including the Gallup Wellbeing Index. The survey was interviewer-administered by telephone in English or Spanish.

¹⁹ Gerber, A. S., Gimpel, J. G., Green, D. P., & Shaw, D. R. (2011). How Large and Long-Lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment. *The American Political Science Review*, 105(1), 135–150. Retrieved from: www.jstor.org/stable/41480831

²⁰ *Understanding How Gallup Uses the Cantril Scale: Development of the “Thriving, Struggling, Suffering” Categories*. Gallup. Retrieved April 22, 2020 from: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/122453/understanding-gallup-uses-cantril-scale.aspx>

marital status, sex, employment, race-ethnicity, and income, were also included as covariates to address potential confounding.^{21,22} Next, we subset our analyses to look separately at respondents who resided in states that had already legally recognized same-sex marriages from those residing in the 13 states where legal marriage recognition was due to the *Obergefell* decision. All analyses were weighted with track-specific national post-stratification sampling weights provided by Gallup. Regression results are shown in Table 2. Model-based predicted percentages are shown in figures. Since our expectations were directional (i.e., we expected LGBT people to score higher on well-being after *Obergefell*), we deemed a one-tailed p-value of 0.05 as statistically significant and report 90% confidence intervals in all figures.

Model predictions are presented in Table 3 for LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after the *Obergefell* decision. Table 3 also contains difference estimates between LGBT and non-LGBT adults in both time periods, as well as before-and-after estimates for LGBT and non-LGBT adults separately. Table 3 also contains difference-in-differences estimates. These difference-in-difference estimates, between LGBT and non-LGBT adults before and after *Obergefell*, were consistent in direction and magnitude (more change in well-being among LGBT than non-LGBT adults following *Obergefell*); however, they were not statistically significant.

Table 1. Sample sizes, overall, and by marriage policy contexts

	OVERALL			
	HAPPY		LIFE SATISFACTION	
	Before	After	Before	After
LGBT	225	214	222	212
Non-LGBT	6,372	6,248	6,360	6,234
Marriage Previously Legal				
LGBT	184	161	181	159
Non-LGBT	4,641	4,507	4,631	4,492
Marriage Legalized by <i>Obergefell</i>				
LGBT	41	53	41	53
Non-LGBT	1,731	1,741	1,729	1,742

²¹ van Hoorn, A. (2008). A Short Introduction to Subjective Well-Being: Its Measurement, Correlates and Policy Uses. In A. Gurria (Ed.), *Statistics Knowledge and Policy 2007: Measuring and Fostering the Progress of Societies*. Paris, France: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

²² Barringer, M. N. & Gay, D. A. (2017). Happily Religious: The Surprising Sources of Happiness Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Adults. *Sociological Inquiry*, 87(1), 75–96. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/soin.12154>

Table 2. Ordinary least squares regression results, overall, and by marriage policy contexts

	OVERALL		MARRIAGE PREVIOUSLY LEGAL		MARRIAGE LEGALIZED BY <i>OBERGEFELL</i>	
Variable	(1) Happy	(2) Life Satisfaction	(3) Happy	(4) Life Satisfaction	(5) Happy	(6) Life Satisfaction
LGBT	-0.05 (0.03)*	-0.10 (0.03)*	-0.06 (0.03)*	-0.08 (0.04)*	-0.01 (0.06)	-0.21 (0.08)*
<i>Obergefell</i>	-0.0003 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.01)	0.0002 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.001 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
LGBT* <i>Obergefell</i>	0.04 (0.03)	0.05 (0.05)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.09)	0.13 (0.11)
Age	-0.001 (.0002)*	0.0004 (0.0003)	-0.001 (.0002)*	-0.00 (0.0004)	-0.004 (.0002)*	0.001 (0.0006)*
College Graduate	0.03 (0.006)*	0.15 (0.01)*	0.02 (0.007)*	0.14 (0.01)*	0.03 (0.008)*	0.17 (0.01)*
Married	0.06 (0.007)*	0.10 (0.01)*	0.06 (0.009)*	0.09 (0.01)*	0.07 (0.01)*	0.10 (0.01)*
Female	0.01 (0.008)*	0.03 (0.01)*	0.02 (0.009)*	0.04 (0.01)*	0.02 (0.009)*	0.02 (0.02)
Unemployed	-0.04 (0.02)*	-0.18 (0.03)*	-0.05 (0.03)*	-0.17 (0.03)*	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.18 (0.05)*
Underemployed	-0.03 (0.01)*	-0.11 (0.03)*	-0.03 (0.01)*	-0.13 (0.03)*	-0.03 (0.04)	-0.05 (0.06)
Out of Work	-0.05 (0.009)*	-0.06 (0.01)*	-0.03 (0.009)*	-0.05 (0.01)*	-0.08 (0.01)*	-0.10 (0.03)*
Black	-0.02 (0.01)	0.003 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Asian	0.02 (0.02)	-0.09 (0.03)*	0.02 (0.02)	-0.12 (0.04)*	0.05 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Hispanic	-0.002 (0.02)	0.05 (0.02)*	0.002 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.07 (0.02)*
Other	-0.02 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	0.02 (0.09)	-0.15 (0.08)*
Income	0.0002 (.0001)*	0.0007 (.0001)*	0.0003 (.0001)*	0.0005 (.0002)*	-0.00 (.0002)	0.01 (.0001)*
Intercept	0.95 (0.01)*	0.64 (0.02)*	0.95 (0.02)*	0.65 (0.02)*	0.81 (0.01)*	0.41 (0.03)*
State fixed effects?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	13,059	13,028	9,493	9,463	3,566	3,565
R-squared	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.05	0.08

Standard errors are in the parentheses; * $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

Table 3. Model predictions of happiness and life satisfaction, overall, and by marriage policy contexts

	HAPPINESS			LIFE SATISFACTION		
Overall						
	Before	After	Difference (After – Before)	Before	After	Difference (After – Before)
LGBT	84% (2.7)	87% (2.3)	4% (3.1)	58% (3.2)	62% (3.8)	4% (5.1)
Non-LGBT	89% (0.3)	89% (0.3)	-0% (0.6)	68% (0.6)	67% (0.6)	-0.6% (1.1)
Difference (LGBT –non-LGBT)	-5% (2.9)*	-1% (2.4)	4% (3.9)	-10% (3.3)*	-5% (3.9)	5% (5.2)
Marriage Previously Legal						
LGBT	83% (3.1)	87% (2.9)	4% (3.3)	60% (3.6)	64% (4.5)	4% (6.0)
Non-LGBT	89% (0.4)	89% (0.4)	0% (0.7)	68% (0.7)	68% (0.7)	-0% (1.3)
Difference (LGBT –non-LGBT)	-6% (3.2)*	-2% (3.0)	4% (3.3)	-8% (3.6)*	-4% (4.5)	4% (5.7)
Marriage Legalized by <i>Obergefell</i>						
LGBT	87% (5.4)	90% (4.0)	3% (8.2)	46% (8.2)	58% (6.7)	12% (10.4)
Non-LGBT	89% (0.6)	88% (0.5)	-0.1% (1.1)	67% (1.1)	66% (1.1)	-2% (2.2)
Difference (LGBT –non-LGBT)	-1% (5.8)	2% (4.2)	3% (8.8)	-21% (8.3)*	-8% (7.4)	13% (11.4)

Standard errors are in the parentheses; * $p < 0.05$ (one-tailed)

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