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# NATIONAL TRENDS IN PUBLIC OPINION ON LGBT RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

By: Andrew R. Flores, Public Opinion Project Director

(Last updated November 2014)

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ANES: American National Election Studies

AP: Associated Press

CBS/NYT: CBS News/New York Times

EGSS-III: Evaluations of Government and Society Study 3

EGSS-IV: Evaluations of Government and Society Study 4

GQRR: Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research

GSS: General Social Survey

HI: Harris Interactive

KN: Knowledge Networks

LGB: Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual

LGBT: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender

M&K: Marttila & Kiley

PRRI: Public Religion Research Institute

PSRA: Princeton Survey Research Associates/Princeton Survey Research Associates International

TG/LSS: Tarrance Group and Lake, Sosin, Snell & Associates

WP: Washington Post

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Public support of the rights of lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgender (LGBT) people in the United States has increased significantly and rapidly over the last three decades. This report presents the national trends on public opinion on LGBT rights by aggregating the results from over 325 surveys from 1977 to 2014. It also explores why support has increased so rapidly.

The issues covered in this brief include the national polling trends on:

- **General attitudes toward LGBT people**
  - Public support for lesbians and gay men has doubled in the past three decades, more so than for any other group surveyed over the same time period.
  - While it is generally assumed that this shift is largely because younger supportive generations are replacing less supportive older ones, this analysis in fact shows that a broader cultural shift impacts people of all ages. In particular, since the mid-1990s, the positive impact on attitudes from increased LGBT visibility -- from more LGBT people being out, the growing number of LGBT characters on television, and the national discussion of, and policy advances toward, marriages equality -- has appeared rapidly to increase support among people of all ages.
  - While very few surveys have asked about support for transgender people, from the two surveys that have, there is a 40% increase in support between 2005 and 2011. The reported feelings the public has toward transgender people remains less supportive, or comfortable, than reported feelings toward lesbians and gay men.
  - While few surveys have independently asked about attitudes regarding bisexual people, the two surveys that have demonstrate more support for bisexual women than men, with the majority reporting more favorable than unfavorable feelings towards "bisexual people" in 2011,
- **Sodomy laws**
  - While support for the legality of same-sex sexual relations decreased from the beginning of the Reagan Administration to the Supreme Court's decision to uphold such laws in 1986, support doubled from then to the present day -- with only one-third of Americans supporting legality at the time of *Bowers v. Hardwick* and two-thirds supporting today.

- However, there was a temporary dip in support just after the Supreme Court declared the remaining sodomy laws unconstitutional in 2003. That 7.6% dip was erased within 3 years.
- Marriage equality
  - While support for marriage equality remained constant from the 1980s to the early 2000s, it has increased rapidly since then. Public support has more than doubled in this time period.
  - Since opinions have changed at an accelerated rate, it is most likely the case that people are changing their minds on the issue as opposed to generational change. When states introduce marriage equality, it has the tendency to further encourage greater support among residents of that state.
  - Support for marriage equality continues to accelerate, and it is unlikely that this acceleration is tapering off.
- Parenting rights
  - A majority of the public supports adoption rights for same-sex couples and support has more than doubled since 1992. Since 2008, the majority has supported these rights and currently stands around 63 percent.
  - While public support for adoption rights for same-sex couples has exceeded that of marriage equality, the policy environment in many states remains uncertain. For example, it is uncertain in twenty-nine states whether LGBT parents can have access to second-parent adoption.
- Non-discrimination policies
  - The public perceives that LGBT people face a lot of discrimination. More than twice the amount of people report that lesbians and gay men face a lot of discrimination from 30 percent in 1978 to 68 percent in 2013. Additionally, 71 percent of the public believes that transgender people face a lot of discrimination.
  - In comparison with other minorities, the public tends to rate LGBT people as a group that experiences some of the most discrimination.
  - Even though the public believes that LGBT people experience a lot of discrimination, a national non-discrimination law has yet to be passed and twenty-nine states do not have non-discrimination laws that include sexual orientation and gender identity. This is in contrast to the 72 percent of the public that support laws

protecting lesbians and gay men from job discrimination and 75 percent for transgender people.

- Open military service by LGBT people
  - There are about 48,500 LGB people actively serving in the military and reserve. There is broad public support for open military service for lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals, which has increased from about 50% in 1993 to about 70% in 2012.
  - There is little known about public attitudes about open service for transgender people, and studies find that transgender people are discriminated against in the military despite a desire to openly serve.

On all of these issues, public support has increased significantly over the past three decades and today a stable majority supports each of them. Support of LGBT rights has not only increased because younger, more supportive generations have replaced older ones, but because a cultural shift towards acceptance has impacted people of all ages and ideologies albeit to varying degrees.



## INTRODUCTION

During the 1950s, lesbians and gay men organized the first sustainable LGBT movement organizations that sought to create and nurture a coherent and collective, albeit largely assimilationist, political identity (D’Emilio 1998). At that time, being lesbian or gay was considered a psychological pathology and a crime, and there was substantial government intrusion into the lives of lesbians and gay men, especially with the “Lavender Scare” purges of LGBT public employees during the McCarthy era. Most people did not know someone who was gay or lesbian.

In the 1970s and 1980s the rise of a more gay –positive Gay Liberation Movement with a politics of “being out”, followed by the rise of the Religious Right—a coalition of individuals who seek to establish conservative Christian values in politics, brought LGBT rights squarely into the public sphere (Stone 2012). Since then, LGBT rights have been in the public ether, and public opinion generally responds to issues that are given priority (Page and Shapiro 1992). In addition, mass media frames on LGBT rights evolved from complete silence, to moral traditionalism, to egalitarianism (Brewer 2003). As a result, the number of people who personally know someone who is LGBT, been exposed to positive depictions of LGBT characters on television or otherwise, and reside in parts of the country with more LGBT people increased (Garretson 2014b; O’Connell and Feliz 2011) – leading to increased support for LGBT people and issues (Flores 2014; Herek and Capitano 1996; Garretson 2009, 2014).

This research brief presents and analyzes findings from several public opinion polls regarding the rights of LGBT people. The current analysis involves over 325 national surveys that ask the public their opinions on five issues:

- General attitudes toward LGBT people
- The legality of same-sex relations
- The legal recognition of marriages for same-sex couples
- The extension of adoption rights to same-sex couples
- The inclusion of sexual orientation and gender identity in non-discrimination policies

- Popular support for open military service

The oldest survey in this analysis is from June 1977, and the most recent survey is from September 2014. Since many of these surveys come from different polling organizations (e.g., Gallup and Pew), there may be unique effects on the results due to different question wordings and methodologies. Accordingly, alongside national trends that are reported with a rolling average, adjusted trends or tables are presented accounting for these potential differences.

In addition, this report explores whether attitude change is primarily driven by inter-generational cohort change (i.e. younger generations are more supportive than older ones) or other factors. I find that the cultural shift over time explains substantially more of the change than generational change.

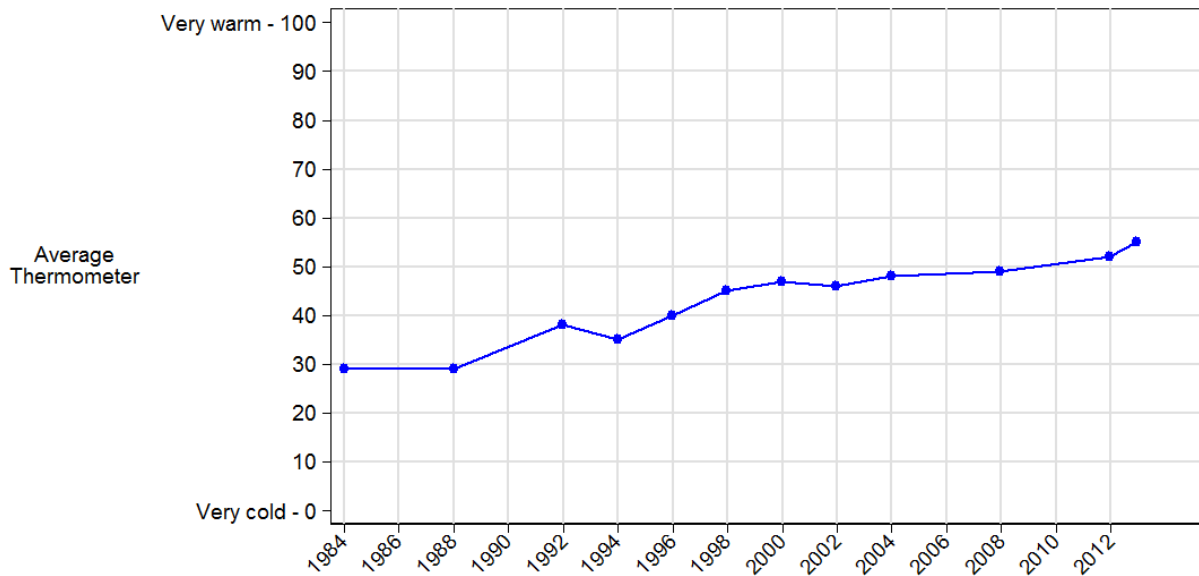
While the rate of change may be different across these topics, there is a consistent pattern showing that, over time, the American public has become increasingly supportive of the rights of LGBT people. Whether and to what extent public policy will reflect changes in public sentiment remains to be seen. Currently, many statewide policies lag behind public opinion (Lax and Phillips 2009). For example, for states to include sexual orientation in non-discrimination policies, public support needs to be on average over 60%. However, as opinions in states continue to trend upward (Flores and Barclay 2013), there is one study that indicates that state policy will likely also change to sudden shifts in opinion (Lewis and Jacobsmeier 2014).

## GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD LGBT PEOPLE

One of the earliest measures of public attitudes toward lesbians and gay men was the use of a *feeling thermometer*. These measures are 101-point scales (including 0) where low ratings near zero are cold, negative feelings, and high ratings near 100 are warm, positive feelings. A 50 rating is a neutral response. People have been periodically asked their feelings toward lesbians and gay men

in the American National Election Studies, and the average rating by survey year is provided in Figure 1.

**Figure 1: Feelings toward Lesbians and Gay Men.** ANES: “How would you rate gay men and lesbians (that is, homosexuals)?”



The average score was 29 in 1984, which indicated very cool feelings toward lesbians and gay men. In the last three decades, the average thermometer score has almost doubled. The public now is on average slightly more positive than neutral in their attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. A recent study has shown that most other groups asked about in the survey, such as African-Americans, liberals and conservatives, and Christian fundamentalists, have had negative changes in average thermometer scores over the years. Moreover, of the few groups that have had positive change, lesbians and gay men have had the greatest amount of change (Garretson 2014a). But why have the thermometers shifted so much for gays and lesbians?

## AGE-PERIOD-COHORT MODEL OF ATTITUDE CHANGE

A popular hypothesis about attitude change is generational replacement. There are fewer older people who come from a fundamentally different time when homosexuality was less accepted. Younger generations are being raised in an environment where there are more positive representations of lesbians and gay men and more LGBT people who are “out.” Generational replacement is a core tenet of lasting attitude change, and it is also reflective of lasting political change (Carmines and Stimson 1981, 1989). A useful exercise here is to examine whether generational cohorts dominate the reason why attitudes have changed. Doing so also requires examining whether cohort change explains changing attitudes over and above the age of the respondents when they were interviewed and the time period when they were interviewed. This type of analysis separates cohort differences from age and period effects:

*“Age effects* represent the variation associated with different age groups brought about by physiological changes, accumulation of social experience, and/or role or status changes. *Period effects* represent variation over time periods that affect all age groups simultaneously—often resulting from shifts in social, cultural, or physical environments. *Cohort effects* are associated with changes across groups of individuals who experience an initial event such as birth or marriage in the same year or years; these may reflect the effects of having different formative experiences for successive age groups in successive time periods” Yang and Land 2008, p. 298, emphasis original.

A period effect reflects general cultural shifts that society as a whole experiences. For example, the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 significantly impacted favorability for stricter immigration laws and invasive security (Huddy, Khatib, and Capelos 2002). While these effects may or may not be long lasting, they describe how events affected the entire population. An age effect, by contrast, reflects how people at different stages in their life cycle may be influenced by that stage. For example, some studies have shown that social and political attitudes on abortion and gay rights are partly attributable to genes (Eaves and Hatemi 2008). Genetic behavior is the study of how genes may surface in human

behavior. Aging tends to increase the prominence of genes in social and behavioral psychology (Bergeman 1997). Aging is also related to new events that are common in the life-cycle. For example, when someone has a child it may influence one's opinions on social issues, as becoming a parent significantly changes one's social role.

For current purposes, age is coded as the age of the respondents when they were interviewed. Period is coded as the year in which the interview occurred. Cohorts are defined using the Pew Research Center definition of cohorts: the Greatest Generation (born 1927 and earlier); the Silent Generation (1928-1945); the Boomer Generation (1946-1964); Generation X (1965-1980); and the Millennial Generation (born after 1981).

The results of the analysis of different age cohort's feelings toward lesbians and gay men are in Figure 2. The results indicate:

- (1) Cohort differences **do not** account for much of the attitude change. After accounting for the age of the respondent and the year the respondent was interviewed, there are actually minimal differences among the different generations. No cohort is significantly different from any other cohort.
- (2) Period effects explain substantially more of the attitude change, indicating that social and cultural shifts affecting the entire population are responsible for a majority of the change in attitudes. For example, this may mean that over time, increases in the number of people who know someone who is LGBT, in the representation of LGBT people in television (e.g., *Ellen*, *Will and Grace*, and *Orange is the New Black*), and in the rights afforded to LGBT people may all explain some of the period effects that resemble a lasting social and cultural shift.

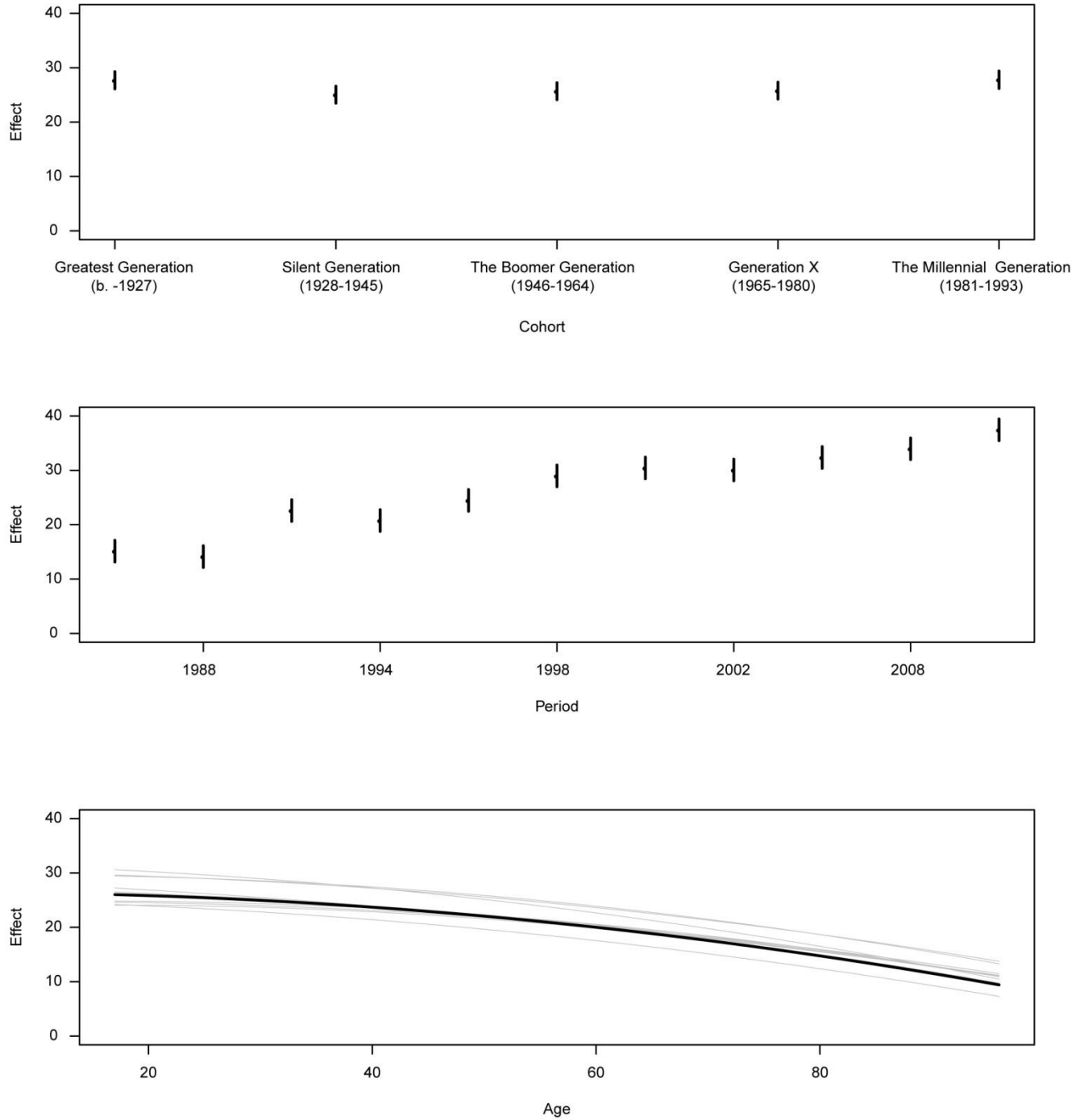
(3) Age effects are marginally significant indicating that one's accumulation of life experiences is associated with reduced positivity toward lesbians and gay men. This may mean that events such as becoming a parent or getting married may affect one's attitudes, which parentage and marital status tend to relate to less positive attitudes toward LGBT rights (e.g., Andersen and Fetner 2008; Brumbaugh 2008).

While popular theories argue that generational replacement is the primary explanation for attitude change, the results of this analysis suggest that cultural shifts have occurred independent of cohort differences. This indicates that the entire population has had ongoing changes in their feelings toward lesbians and gay men, and it is not primarily cohort effects that are driving such changes.<sup>1</sup>

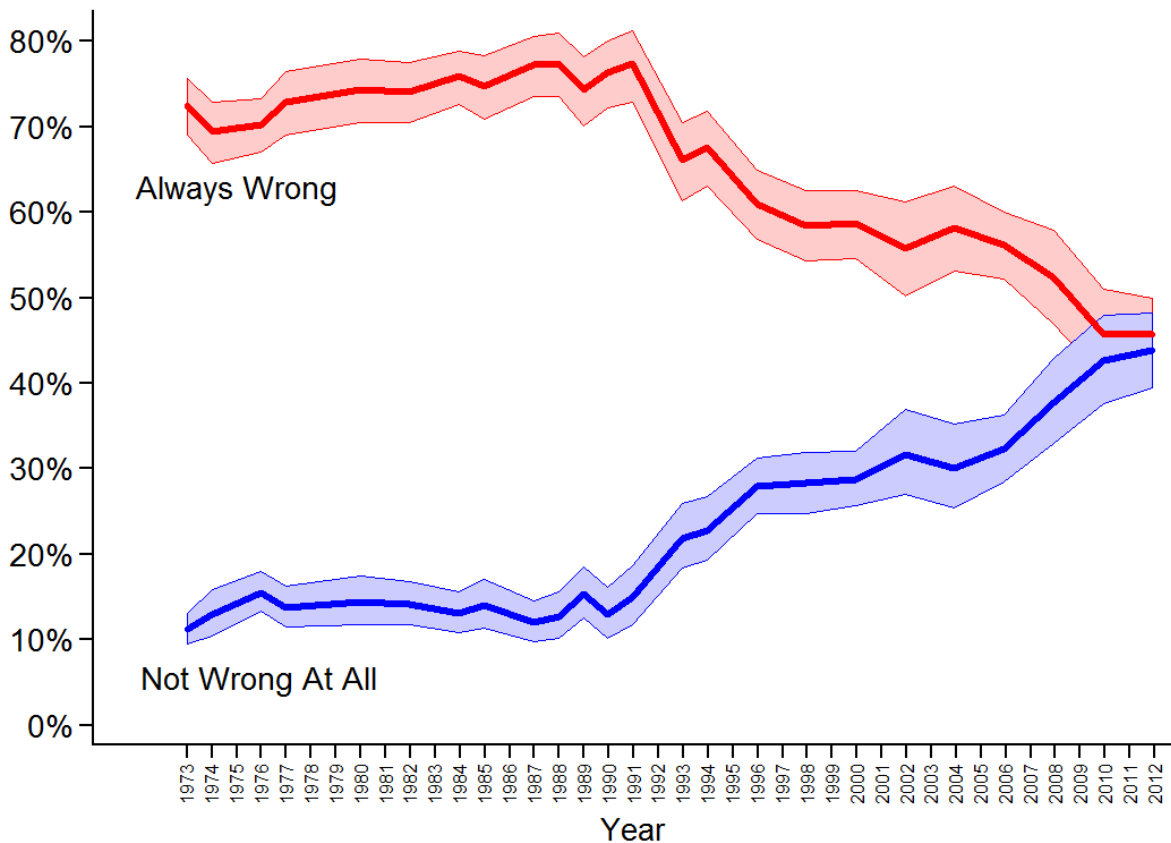
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<sup>1</sup> The Age-Period-Cohort model adopts the methods of Yang and Land (2006), and similar findings are observed for LGBT rights issues such as opinions on marriages for same-sex couples (see also Becker 2012).

**Figure 2: Feelings toward Lesbians and Gay Men.** Age-Period-Cohort model underlying attitude change, ANES: “How would you rate gay men and lesbians?”



**Figure 3: Homosexuality as Wrong.** GSS: “What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?”



In addition to changes in feelings toward lesbians and gay men, the belief that homosexuality is wrong has decreased substantially over the last four decades.<sup>2</sup> Figure 3 plots the trend in beliefs about homosexuality. While a gap regarding whether homosexuality is “always wrong” or “not wrong at all” is persistent prior to 2008, this gap has narrowed. There are not significant differences between these responses in 2012. The trend also indicates nonlinear shifts in attitudes, with accelerated changes in 1990-1996 and 2004-2012. The first period corresponds with a surge in people reporting knowing someone who is LGBT and the number of LGBT characters on television (Garretson 2009, 2014), and the second corresponds with increased attention around the issue of marriage equality.

<sup>2</sup> A previous study on this question found that demographic changes account for some over time attitude changes and cultural ideological shifts account for about one-third of the change over time (Loftus 2001).



While attitudes toward transgender people have not been as thoroughly documented, Table 1 provides the average feeling thermometer ratings toward transgender people from a 2005 survey (Norton and Herek 2012), a 2011 survey, and attitudes about transgender people from the Public Religion Research Institute (2011). While there is no trend line regarding these measures, the KN and GQRR results suggest that in the six year interval, the average thermometer ratings increased by 13 points. Norton and Herek (2012) also found that there was about a 6-8 point gap in the average thermometer ratings for transgender people in relation to lesbians and gay men. The PRRI study suggests that people tend to perceive they are knowledgeable of transgender people and that transgender people deserve rights and protections like any other person.

**Table 1: Feelings and Attitudes toward Transgender People.**

	Average Thermometer		% Agree – “I feel well informed about transgender persons and issues”	% Agree – “Transgender people deserve the same rights and protections as other Americans”
	KN	GQRR	PRRI	PRRI
<b>Date</b>	8/05	7/11	8/11	8/11
	32	45	67	89
<b>N</b>	2,281	800	1,006	1,006

While surveys have included bisexual people in many questions about LGBT people, and rights in general, there are few surveys that focused solely on bisexuals. The average feeling thermometer ratings toward bisexual people are reported from the 2005 (KN) and 2011 (GQRR) surveys in Table 2, which offers insight about public attitudes toward bisexual people. The 2005 survey asked respondents to report their feelings toward bisexual men and women separately while the 2011 survey only asked about “bisexual people.” The results suggest that there have been positive attitude changes about bisexual people between these two surveys, with the positive changes ranging from 10-16 points.

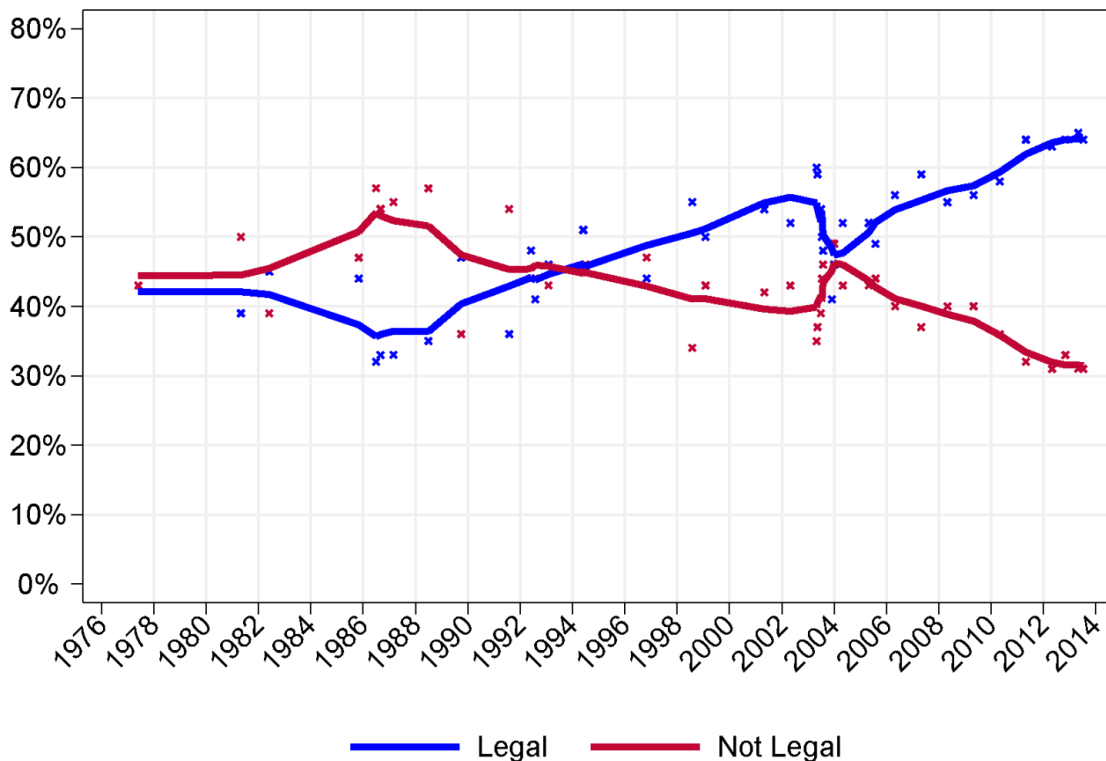
**Table 2: Feelings toward Bisexual People.**

	<b>Bisexual Men</b>	<b>Bisexual Women</b>	<b>Bisexual People</b>
	KN	KN	GQRR
<b>Date</b>	8/05	8/05	7/11
<b>Average</b>	35	41	51
<b>Thermometer</b>			
<b><i>N</i></b>	2,280	2,280	800

## SODOMY LAWS: NATIONAL POLLING TREND

The U.S. Supreme Court addressed sodomy laws twice in its history. It first upheld such laws in *Bowers v. Hardwick* (1986) and second invalidated sodomy prohibitions in *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003). These historical moments also correspond with changes in public opinion on the issue, as Figure 3 shows. The few polls conducted prior to the 1986 decision reveal that the public did not have a clear consensus on this issue, but this changed at the time of the decision with the public supportive of the Court. Support for sodomy laws decreased throughout the 1990s, and the public entered the 2000s with a strong majority supportive of legalizing same-sex sexual relations. Though there is a slight dip in popular support around the time of the *Lawrence* decision, this was only a temporary punctuation. This likely reflects the short reaction to the U.S. Supreme Court decision as discussed by Egan and Persily (2009), who also found a 7.6% dip in the trend on same-sex marriage at the time of the 2003 court decision. The polls in Figure 4 are responses to questions about whether same-sex relations should or should not be *legal*.

**Figure 4: Legality of Same-Sex Relations Nations Trends in Public Opinion**



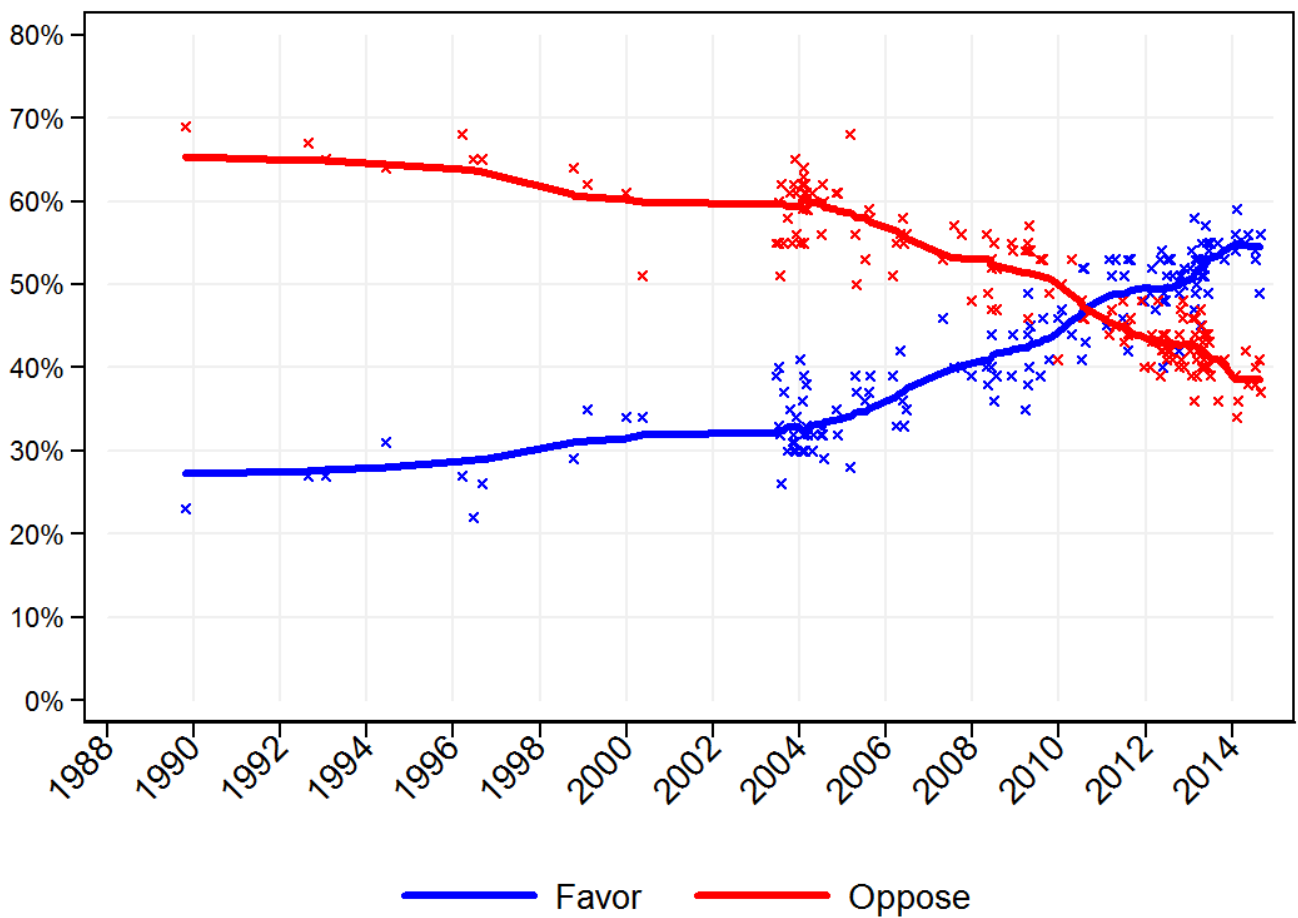
## MARRIAGE EQUALITY: NATIONAL POLLING TREND

Marriage equality is currently among the most important issues in LGBT rights among LGBT people (see Flores and Sherrill N.d.; Pew Research Center 2013). Studies report that the national trends in favor have increased quite quickly (Flores 2014; Silver 2013). About 66% of the over-time change is due to people modifying their preexisting opinions on the issue (Baunach 2011, 2012). This upward trend also corresponds with a number of state and federal courts overturning state laws that ban marriages for same-sex couples. Legalization may actually motivate *greater* support for marriages equality (Barclay and Flores 2014; Flores and Barclay 2014; Kreitzer, Hamilton, and Tolbert 2014). Public opinion backlash from the courts, which was apparent in *Lawrence* in 2003 (Egan and Persily 2009), appears to no longer describe how the public responds to the Court. A recent study shows that opinion backlash in response to experimental manipulations or the U.S. Supreme Court's rulings in *United States v. Windsor* (2013) and *Hollingsworth v. Perry* (2013) are not supported (Bishin et al. 2014).

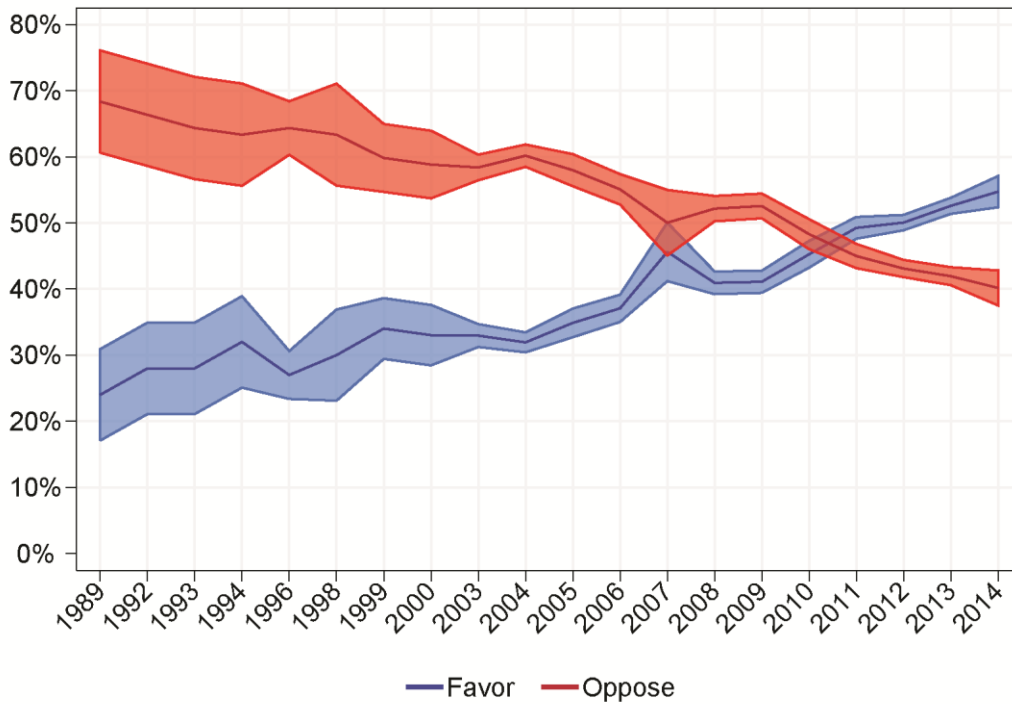
The rate of change is actually accelerating as opposed to remaining stable. Updating a previous analysis with new polls confirms this finding. To examine this question, I examined whether an accelerated model reflected the polls trends better than a stable model. A stable model assumes that attitudes change at uniform rate over time (e.g., 2% a year), and this is reflected in a linear relationship. An accelerated model, on the other hand, assumes that attitudes change at an increasing rate over time, and this is reflected in a polynomial relationship. An accelerated, polynomial model continues to out-perform a stable, linear model (see Table 12 in the Appendix). A recent Pew poll suggested that support for marriage equality may be tapering off, but this is not supported in the data. I tested this possibility with a "resting" model, which estimated an accelerated upward trend and a subsequent tapering off. This failed to explain the trend better than the accelerated model.

The collection of national polls on legal marriage recognition for same-sex couples is plotted in Figure 5. While trends appeared stable from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, opinions start to shift around 2004, and support continues to rise. Since Figure 5 combines numerous polls from different news agencies and different questions, there may be systematic attributes about the surveys that may slightly alter the trend. Figure 6 accounts for these different attributes, and it reports the adjusted annual trends on marriage equality. The shaded regions are 95% confidence intervals, which facilitate in determining whether trends are significant. As indicated in Figure 6, the trend in public support for legal marriage recognition for same-sex couples is significantly greater than the opposition.

**Figure 5: Marriage Equality National Trends in Public Opinion**



**Figure 6: Same-Sex Marriage National Trends in Public Opinion, Adjusted for Polling Organizations and Question Wordings (95% Confidence Intervals in Shaded Regions)**



### The Width of Confidence Intervals

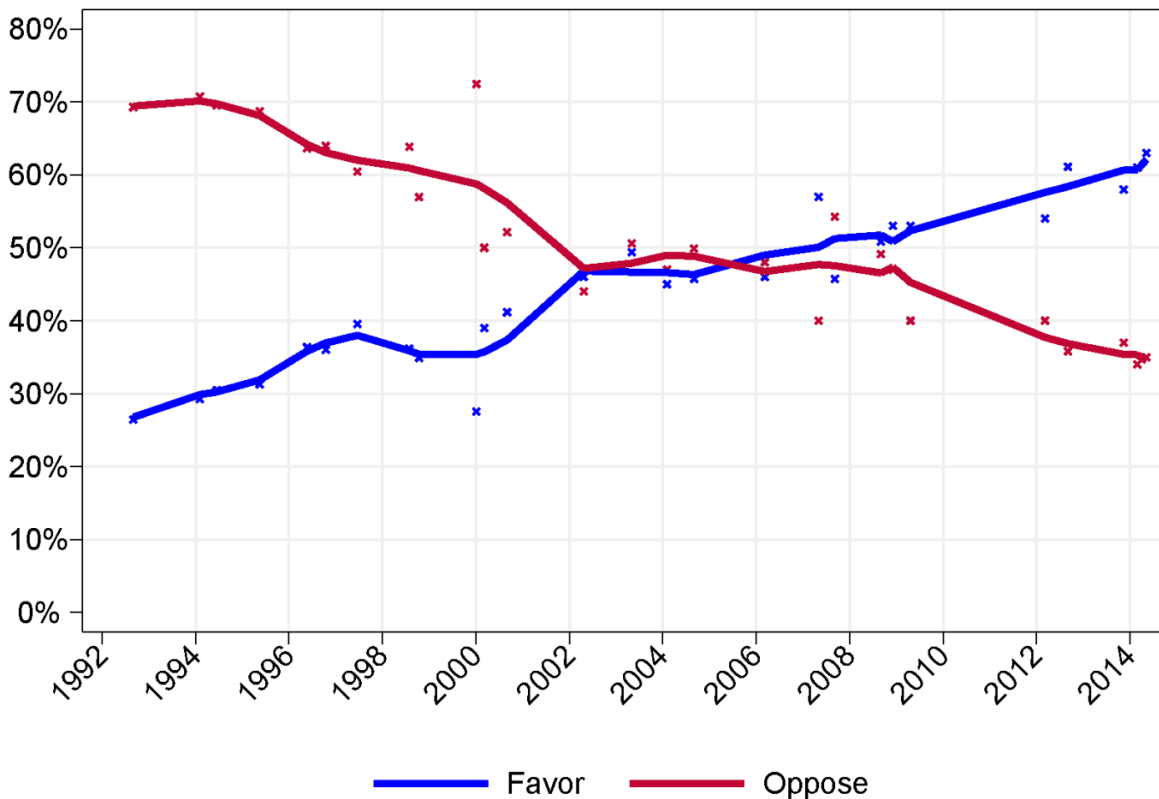
Notice in Figure 6 that the width of the confidence interval is wider in 1989 than in 2014. Why is that? There are two components that affect the width of 95% confidence intervals: (1) Sample Size and (2) Variability.

Compare how many polls were conducted in 1989 to 2014 in Figure 5. As the number of polls increase the width of the confidence interval decreases. Wider intervals in this analysis have more to do with the number of polls available than with variability among the polls.

## ADOPTION: NATIONAL POLLING TREND

Public support for adoption rights for same-sex couples has had a majority since about 2008. Figure 7 indicates that public support currently is about 63%. Attitude changes on adoption rights actually preceded that of legal marriage recognition, and support remains higher for adoption than marriage equality. While this is the case, there have been fewer policy changes recently on adoption rights for same-sex couples. Fifteen states currently allow LGBT parents to petition for second-parent adoptions, but seven states currently restrict same-sex couples from second-parent adoptions.<sup>3</sup> The remaining states have uncertain policies. It may be the case that legalizing marriages for same-sex couples may facilitate same-sex couples adopting. Many state policies, however, provide substantial latitude to the courts in making adoption decisions.

**Figure 7: Adoption Rights for Same-Sex Couples National Trends in Public Opinion**



<sup>3</sup> A second-parent adoption is one in which a second parent adopts a child with the first parent who does not lose any parental rights in this process.

## NON-DISCRIMINATION: NATIONAL POLLING TREND

There are many minority groups that may be discriminated against, and whether the public *perceives* certain groups as actually facing a lot of discrimination speaks to the overall transmission of one group's plight to the broader public. For LGBT people, documentation of discrimination has shown that it is pervasive in both the private and public sectors (Mallory and Sears 2014). The public has over time solidified its perspective that LGBT people face a lot of discrimination. Table 3 reports this trend, which shows that in 2013, 68 percent of the public view lesbians and gay men as facing a lot of discrimination. Although less frequently polled, Table 3 also reports a large difference between 2011 and 2013 regarding perceptions that transgender people face discrimination; 71 percent of the public in 2013 view transgender people as facing a lot of discrimination.

**Table 3: Perceptions of Discrimination.** “How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups?”

<b>Gays and Lesbians (Homosexuals)</b>					
	<b>Roper<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Roper<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>M&amp;K<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>PSRA<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>PSRA<sup>c</sup></b>
	<b>2/78</b>	<b>2/84</b>	<b>4/92</b>	<b>7/98</b>	<b>2/00</b>
<b>A lot/Great Deal</b>	30	35	63	33	57
<b>None at all</b>	15	13	4	21	5
<b>N</b>	2,002	2,000	1,101	602	2,283
	<b>PSRA<sup>d</sup></b>	<b>EGSS-III</b>	<b>EGSS-IV</b>	<b>PRRI<sup>e</sup></b>	
	<b>3/00</b>	<b>11/11</b>	<b>2/12</b>	<b>11/13</b>	
<b>A lot/Great Deal</b>	37	55	52	68	
<b>None at all</b>	18	3	5	27	
<b>N</b>	803	1,262	1,253	4,509	
<b>Transgender People</b>					
		<b>GQRR<sup>f</sup></b>	<b>PRRI<sup>e</sup></b>		
		<b>7/11</b>	<b>11/13</b>		
<b>Major Problem/Yes, a lot</b>		33	71		
<b>No problem at all/No</b>		7	19		
<b>N</b>		800	2,254		

<sup>a</sup> (Here is a list of some different types of people. Would you go down that list and for each one tell me whether you think there is a great deal of discrimination against that group in this country, or a fair amount of discrimination, or some discrimination but not much, or practically none?)...Homosexuals

<sup>b</sup> (I want to ask you about how much discrimination and prejudice you think various groups in America face today. I am going to read a list of groups, and for each one, please tell me if you think that group faces a tremendous amount of discrimination and prejudice, a lot, some, a little, or no real discrimination and prejudice to speak of.)... Homosexuals

<sup>c</sup> (We'd like your opinion on how much prejudice and discrimination, if any, there is against these same groups in this country today. By discrimination, I mean unfair treatment because of who they



---

are. How much prejudice and discrimination do you think there is against each of the following groups -- a lot, some, only a little or none at all?) What about...gay men and lesbians? How much prejudice and discrimination, if any, do you think there is against this group -- a lot, some, only a little, or none at all?

<sup>d</sup> Do you think there is a lot of discrimination against gays and lesbians today, some discrimination, or not much discrimination?

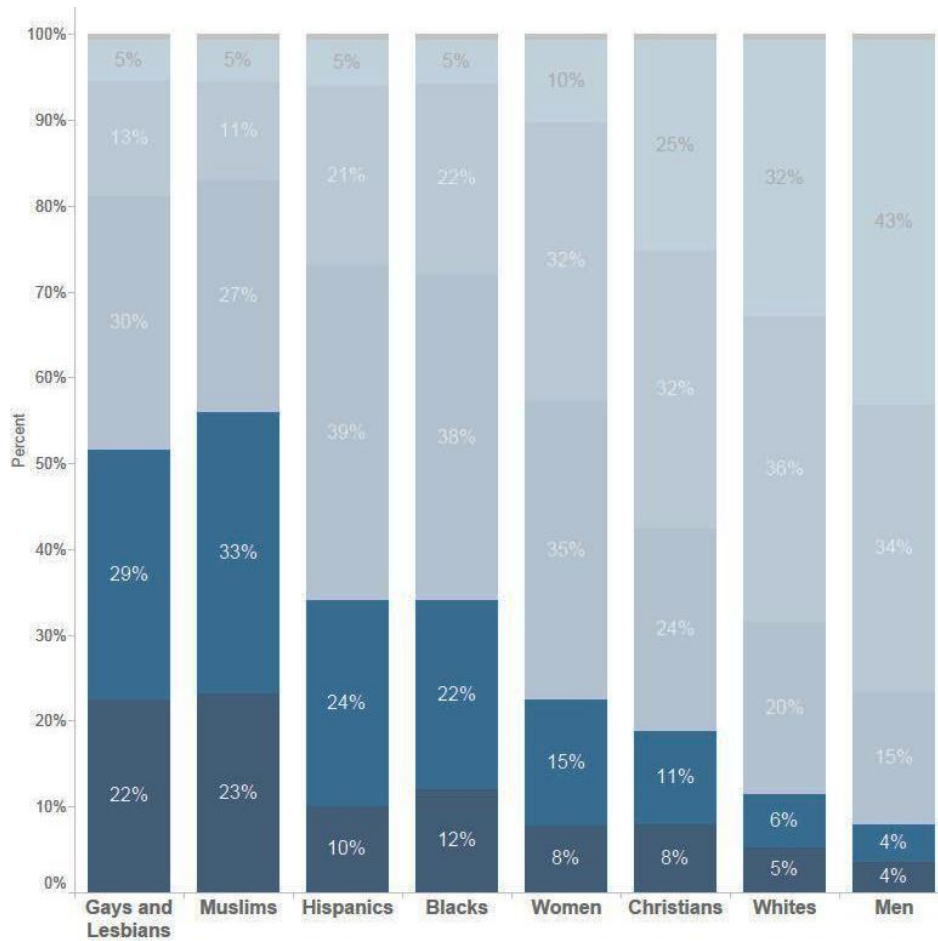
<sup>e</sup> Just your impression, in the United States today, is there a lot of discrimination against...[group] people, or not?

<sup>f</sup> Do you believe discrimination against transgender people as well as transphobia are major problems in this country, minor problems, not much of a problem or no problem at all?

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In comparison to other groups, the public tends to rate gay men and lesbians as facing some of the most discrimination in the country. Figure 8 provides results from the 2012 EGSS-IV, which is the most recent study that asked respondents to rate how much discrimination each of the listed groups face. The only other social group that is perceived to face more discrimination than lesbians and gay men are Muslims. A 2013 PRRI survey suggests that the public may perceive lesbians and gay men as facing the most discrimination; with 68 percent of public reporting lesbians and gay men as facing at least a lot of discrimination. This is a 17 percentage point increase in only one year.

**Figure 8: Perceptions of Discrimination.** EGSS-IV: “How much discrimination is there in the United States today against each of the following groups?” Highlighted responses are “A great deal” or “A lot.”



Despite the view that LGBT people face discrimination, a federal Employment Non-Discrimination Act has not been passed since it was first introduced in 1974. Additionally, 29 states do not have sexual orientation non-discrimination policies, and of the 21 states and District of Columbia that do have sexual orientation non-discrimination laws, three of them have yet to include gender identity. Every legislative session of Congress since 1974 has had a version of sexual orientation and/or gender identity non-discrimination (except the 109th session, 2005-2007). Whether people think that gays and lesbians should be protected from job discrimination has been documented since 1977. There has consistently been a majority of the public supporting the sentiment that gays and lesbians should not be discriminated against when it comes to the workplace. There are two

prominent question wordings on sexual orientation employment discrimination, though regardless of either, both have consistently reported majorities of the public favoring non-discrimination. The trends in both are presented in tables 4 and 5.

**Table 4: Non-Discrimination I.** “In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?”

	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>CBS/NYT</b>
	<b>6/77</b>	<b>11/82</b>	<b>8/83</b>	<b>10/89</b>	<b>6/92</b>	<b>8/92</b>
<b>Yes</b>	56	59	65	71	74	79
<b>No</b>	33	28	25	18	18	13
<b>N</b>	1,513	1,531	767	1,227	1,002	656
	<b>CBS/NYT</b>	<b>CBS/NYT</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>CBS/NYT</b>	<b>AP</b>	<b>Gallup</b>
	<b>1/93</b>	<b>2/93</b>	<b>4/93</b>	<b>2/96</b>	<b>6/96</b>	<b>1/97</b>
<b>Yes</b>	79	78	80	83	86	84
<b>No</b>	16	15	14	12	10	12
<b>N</b>	1,179	935	1,000	1,223	1,019	1,003
	<b>TG/LSS</b>	<b>WP</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>
	<b>4/97</b>	<b>1/99</b>	<b>2/99</b>	<b>6/01</b>	<b>5/03</b>	<b>5/04</b>
<b>Yes</b>	80	87	83	85	88	89
<b>No</b>	14	9	13	11	9	8
<b>N</b>	1,000	1,200	1,054	1,012	1,005	1,000
	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>	<b>Gallup</b>		
	<b>5/05</b>	<b>5/06</b>	<b>5/07</b>	<b>5/08</b>		
<b>Yes</b>	87	89	89	89		
<b>No</b>	11	9	8	8		
<b>N</b>	1,005	1,002	1,003	1,017		

**Table 5: Non-Discrimination II.** “Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?”

	<b>LAT</b>	<b>LAT</b>	<b>ANES</b>	<b>ANES</b>	<b>YANK<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>ANES</b>	<b>PSRA<sup>b</sup></b>	<b>PSRA<sup>b</sup></b>
	<b>9/83</b>	<b>12/85</b>	<b>11/88</b>	<b>11/92</b>	<b>6/94</b>	<b>11/96</b>	<b>9/00</b>	<b>3/05</b>
<b>Favor</b>	52	51	48	59	62	61	76	64
<b>Oppose</b>	36	40	40	39	32	35	20	30
<b>N</b>	1,653	2,308	1,775	2,190	800	1,504	2,283	2,558
	<b>ANES</b>	<b>ANES</b>	<b>ANES</b>	<b>PRRI<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>PRRI<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>ANES</b>	<b>PRRI<sup>c</sup></b>	<b>PRRI<sup>c</sup></b>
	<b>11/00</b>	<b>11/04</b>	<b>11/08</b>	<b>9/10</b>	<b>7/11</b>	<b>11/12</b>	<b>5/13</b>	<b>12/13</b>
<b>Favor</b>	65	73	71	68	71	74	73	72
<b>Oppose</b>	31	24	26	27	27	23	22	23
<b>N</b>	1,532	1,057	2,323	3,013	3,000	3,024	1,000	4,509

<sup>a</sup> Do you favor or oppose the passage of equal rights laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?

<sup>b</sup> Do you think there should or should not be laws to protect gays and lesbians from prejudice and discrimination in job opportunities?

<sup>c</sup> All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose...laws that would protect gay and lesbian people against job discrimination?

These policies are clearly addressing only sexual orientation and its relation to employment discrimination. The inclusion of gender identity or transgender in non-discrimination policies has been a part of legal, legislative, and public discourse,<sup>4</sup> though widespread incorporation of transgender people into public polls has been relatively sparse. Table 6 provides a summary of the national polls regarding the non-discrimination as it relates to transgender people and gender identity. The results suggest that, regardless of the question being asked, a broad majority of the public supports non-discrimination laws that are inclusive of transgender people.

**Table 6: Transgender Non-Discrimination.**

	<b>“Legal protections that apply to gay and lesbian people should also apply to transgender people.”</b>	<b>“Congress should pass laws to protect transgender people from job discrimination.”</b>
	PRRI	PRRI
	08/11	08/11
<b>Agree</b>	81	75
<b>Disagree</b>	13	21
<b>N</b>	1,006	1,006
	<b>“Transgender workers should be treated equally and fairly as all other workers.”</b>	<b>“Federal law should be expanded to include protection from job discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity.”</b>
	HI	HI
	10/14	10/14
<b>Agree</b>	75	65
<b>Disagree</b>	13	24
<b>N</b>	2,543	2,543

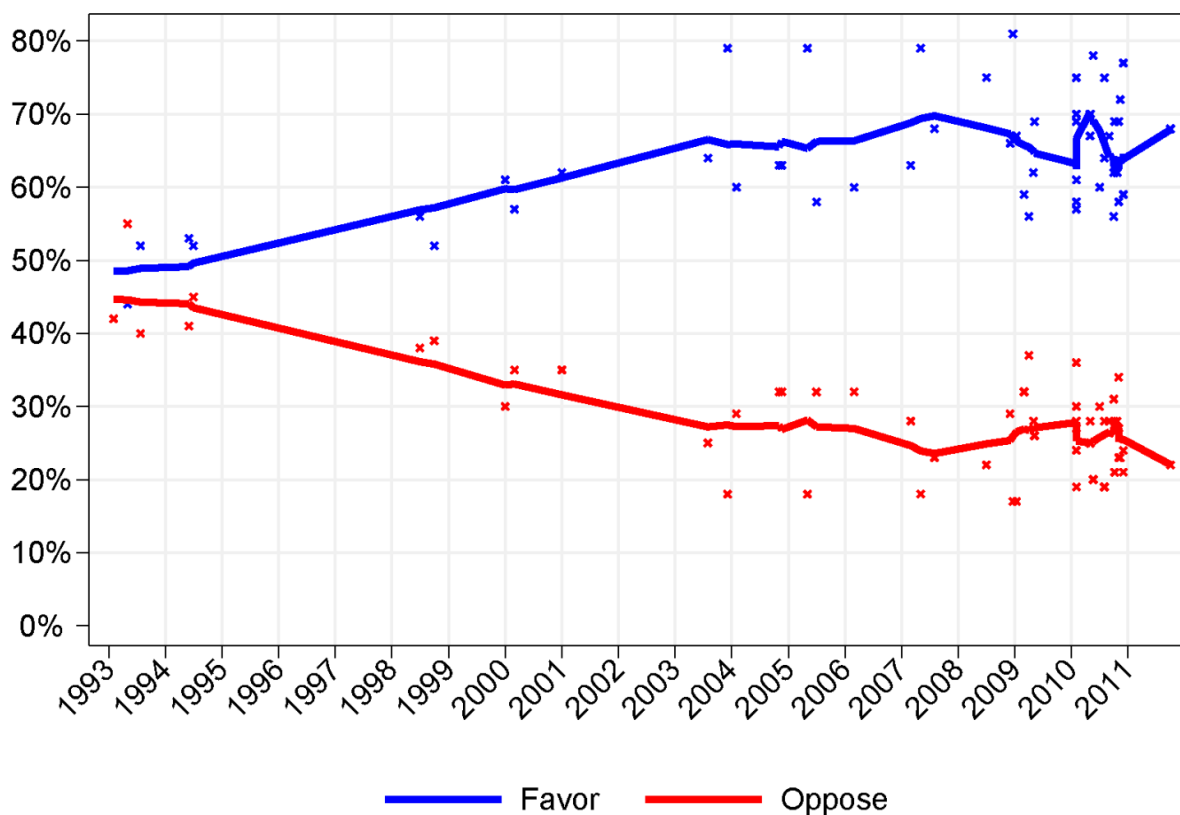
<sup>4</sup> A recent EEOC decision identified transgender discrimination as sex discrimination, which means that Title VII protections are extended to transgender people (*Mia Macy v. Eric Holder* 2012; Geidner 2012).

## MILITARY SERVICE: NATIONAL POLLING TREND

In the U.S., there are an estimated 48,500 lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals who are actively serving or in the reserve (Gates 2010). This came after several years of denying open service to LGB people.

Lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals are allowed to serve openly when the Don't Ask, Don't Tell Repeal Act of 2010 was signed into law. Public polling on the issue continues to show widespread support for lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals to serve openly in the military. The greatest variability about the polling was when the issue re-emerged prior to and immediately following its repeal.

**Figure 9: Lesbians and Gay Men Serving Openly in the Military National Trends in Public Opinion**



There does not exist any polling on open service for transgender people. Though available data from the National Transgender Discrimination Survey suggest that transgender people continue to

face unique experiences of discrimination in spite of a desire to actively and openly serve in the military (Harrison-Quintana and Herman 2013).

## DISCUSSION

This research brief provides the latest details on public opinion trends on LGBT rights issues. It indicates that on each issue assessed, there is a majority currently in favor of LGBT rights and attitudes have positively changed over time. When it comes to explaining these changes, the data suggests that intergenerational change is less important than it would popularly seem. Additionally, periodic events (including changes in law or Court decisions) play a major role in shifting the national climate in favor of LGBT rights.

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## METHODOLOGY

The data for this study comes from numerous public opinion polls that are documented in polling archives such as PollingReport.com and the Roper Center. To account for question wording and polling organization effects, indicator variables were developed that were then used to account for variation in the poll results in fixed effects regression models. While Flores (n.d.) indicates that hierarchical mixed-effects regression models may better account for sources of variation in polls on same-sex marriage, there is little indication that the results presented here strongly deviate from the results that would be provided using the other approach.

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**The Williams Institute** on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Law and Public Policy at UCLA School of Law advances law and public policy through rigorous, independent research and scholarship, and disseminates its work through a variety of education programs and media to judges, legislators, lawyers, other policymakers and the public. These studies can be accessed at the Williams Institute website.

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## APPENDIX: TABLES OF REGRESSION AND SURVEY RESULTS

The research brief relies on numerous data sources from multiple polling organizations. The following tables provide the details of each data point. In addition, regression results are provided for the Age-Period-Cohort model, and model comparisons for the stable versus accelerated model are documented to show that the accelerated model remains the most parsimonious model of attitude change.

**Table 7: Feelings toward Lesbians and Gay Men.** ANES: “How would you rate gay men and lesbians (that is, homosexuals)?”

	1984	1988	1992	1994	1996	1998
<b>Average Thermometer</b>	29	29	38	35	40	45
<b>N</b>	1,821	1,676	2,172	1,733	1,485	1,211
	2000	2002	2004	2008	2012	2013*
<b>Average Thermometer</b>	47	46	48	49	52	55
<b>N</b>	1,448	1,270	1,044	2,004	5,302	1,530

\*ANES 2013 Re-contact Study: “How you rate gays and lesbians?”

**Table 8: Feelings toward Lesbians and Gay Men.** Age-period-cohort mixed effects regression results from ANES: “How would you rate lesbians and gay men?”

	(1) 1984-2008 b (s.e.)	(2) 1984-2012 b (s.e.)
<b>Female</b>	8.1 (0.43)	8.2 (0.38)
<b>Black</b>	1.7 (0.97)	0.6 (0.80)
<b>Female*Black</b>	-3.5 (1.2)	-3.1 (1.00)
<b>Conservative</b>	-7.2 (0.5)	-7.7 (0.41)
<b>Democrat</b>	4.1 (0.7)	6.0 (0.56)
<b>Republican</b>	-3.5 (0.7)	-2.6 (0.60)
<b>Education</b>	3.5 (0.13)	5.6 (0.20)
<b>Age</b>	0.11 (0.09)	0.01 (0.07)
<b>Age*Age</b>	-0.003 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.0007)
<b>Intercept</b>	25.0 (3.7)	26.4 (3.35)
$\sigma^2_{period}$	58.5	68.5
$\sigma^2_{generation}$	6.7	3.5
$\sigma^2_{state}$	33.5	26.0
<b>N</b>	15,676	21,029
<b>AIC</b>	145238.7	195165.9
<b>DIC</b>	145346	195277.3

**\*Note:** The Age-Period-Cohort model was the best fit model when compared to simpler models that only assess age-period, age-cohort, or cohort-period., which had AICs: 195684.9, 196219.1, and 195719.1, and DICs: 195645.1, 196183.2, and 1956219.1, respectively for 1984-2012. (Lower AICs/DICs indicate better fit)

**Table 9: Homosexuality as Wrong.** GSS: “What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?”

	1973	1974	1976	1977	1980	1982	1984	1985
Always Wrong	73	70	70	73	74	74	76	75
Almost Always Wrong	7	6	6	6	6	5	5	4
Sometimes Wrong	8	9	8	8	6	7	6	7
Not Wrong At All	11	13	16	14	14	14	13	14
<i>N</i>	1,448	1,412	1,426	1,453	1,397	1,771	1,412	1,484
	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1993	1994	1996
Always Wrong	77	77	77	76	77	66	68	61
Almost Always Wrong	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	5
Sometimes Wrong	7	6	6	6	4	8	6	6
Not Wrong At All	12	13	15	13	15	22	23	28
<i>N</i>	1,750	937	980	872	926	1,012	1,884	1,784
	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012
Always Wrong	59	59	56	58	56	52	46	46
Almost Always Wrong	6	4	5	5	5	3	4	3
Sometimes Wrong	7	8	7	7	7	7	8	8
Not Wrong At All	28	29	32	30	32	38	43	44
<i>N</i>	1,753	1,697	884	868	1,908	1,269	1,223	1,239

**Table 10: Anti-Sodomy Laws Opinion Polls**

Legal	Not Legal	Agency	Year	Wording
0.43	0.43	Gallup	1977	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.39	0.50	ABC News/Washington Post	1981	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.45	0.39	Gallup	1982	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.44	0.47	Gallup	1985	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.32	0.57	Gallup	1986	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

0.33	0.54	Gallup	1986	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.33	0.55	Gallup	1987	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.35	0.57	Gallup	1988	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.47	0.36	Gallup	1989	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.36	0.54	Gallup	1991	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.48	0.44	Gallup	1992	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.41	0.44	CBS News/New York Times	1992	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.46	0.43	CBS News/New York Times	1993	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.51	0.45	ABC News/Washington Post	1994	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.45	0.46	CBS News/New York Times	1994	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.44	0.47	Gallup	1996	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.55	0.34	Washington Post/Kaiser/Harvard	1998	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.50	0.43	Gallup	1999	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.54	0.42	Gallup	2001	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.52	0.43	Gallup	2002	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.60	0.35	Gallup	2003	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.59	0.37	Gallup	2003	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.54	0.39	CBS News/New York Times	2003	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.50	0.44	Gallup	2003	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.48	0.46	Gallup	2003	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.41	0.49	CBS News/New York Times	2003	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.46	0.49	Gallup	2004	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.52	0.43	Gallup	2004	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.52	0.43	Gallup	2005	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.49	0.44	Gallup	2005	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.56	0.40	Gallup	2006	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.59	0.37	Gallup	2007	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.55	0.40	Gallup	2008	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.56	0.40	Gallup	2009	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.58	0.36	Gallup	2010	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.64	0.32	Gallup	2011	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.63	0.31	Gallup	2012	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.64	0.33	Gallup	2012	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
0.65	0.31	Gallup	2013	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?

0.64	0.31	Gallup	2013	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?
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**Table 11: Same-Sex Marriage Opinion Polls**

<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Agency</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Wording</b>
0.23	0.69	Yankelovich	1989	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.27	0.67	Yankelovich	1992	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.27	0.65	Yankelovich	1993	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.31	0.64	Yankelovich	1994	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.27	0.68	Gallup	1996	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.22	0.65	Fox News	1996	Recently there has been a lot of talk about allowing gays and lesbians to marry a partner of the same sex. Do you favor or oppose same-sex marriage? [Asked of Registered Voters]
0.26	0.65	Yankelovich	1996	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.29	0.64	Yankelovich	1998	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.29	0.64	Yankelovich	1998	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or between homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law?
0.35	0.62	Gallup	1999	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.34	0.61	Gallup	2000	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.34	0.51	AP	2000	In general do you think gays and lesbians should or should not be allowed to be legally married?
0.39	0.55	Gallup	2003	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.4	0.55	CBS News	2003	Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to marry, giving them the same legal rights as other married couples?
0.33	0.6	CNN/Time	2003	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.32	0.51	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	2003	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?
0.26	0.62	Fox News	2003	Recently there has been a lot of talk about allowing gays and lesbians to marry a partner of the same sex. Do you favor or oppose same-sex marriage? [Asked of Registered Voters]
0.37	0.55	ABC News/Washington Post	2003	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for homosexual couples to get married?
0.3	0.58	Pew	2003	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.35	0.61	Gallup	2003	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.31	0.55	Los Angeles Times	2003	Do you support or oppose allowing same-sex couples to marry, or haven't you heard enough about it yet to say?
0.32	0.62	CNN/Time	2003	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.3	0.62	Pew	2003	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally.
0.31	0.65	Gallup	2003	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.3	0.56	National Public Radio	2003	Thinking now about gay marriage, that is, allowing a couple who are gay or lesbian to marry one another legally, do you favor or oppose gay marriage?
0.34	0.61	CBS News	2003	Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to



				marry, giving them the same legal rights as other married couples?
0.41	0.55	ABC News/Washington Post	2004	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for homosexual couples to get married?
0.3	0.62	CNN/Time	2004	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.3	0.62	CNN/Time	2004	On another topic, do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.36	0.59	Gallup	2004	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.3	0.63	Pew	2004	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally.
0.3	0.64	National Annenberg Election Survey	2004	Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would allow gays and lesbians to marry partner of the same sex?
0.32	0.64	Gallup	2004	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.39	0.55	ABC News/Washington Post	2004	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for homosexual couples to get married?
0.3	0.62	CBS News	2004	Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to marry, giving them the same legal rights as other married couples?
0.3	0.61	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	2004	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?
0.38	0.59	ABC News/Washington Post	2004	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for homosexual couples to get married?
0.33	0.61	Gallup	2004	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.32	0.59	Pew	2004	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.3	0.61	National Annenberg Election Survey	2004	Would you favor or oppose a law in your state that would allow two men to marry each other or two women to marry each other?
0.32	0.6	CNN/Time	2004	Do you think marriages between homosexual men or homosexual women should be recognized as legal by the law, or not?
0.32	0.56	Pew	2004	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.32	0.62	Gallup	2004	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.29	0.6	Pew	2004	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.35	0.61	AP	2004	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.32	0.61	Pew	2004	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.28	0.68	Gallup	2005	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.39	0.56	Gallup	2005	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.37	0.5	Boston Globe	2005	Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married
0.36	0.53	Pew	2005	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.37	0.59	Gallup	2005	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.39	0.58	ABC News/Washington Post	2005	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.39	0.51	Pew	2006	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally.

0.33	0.55	Fox News	2006	Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.42	0.56	Gallup	2006	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.36	0.58	ABC News/Washington Post	2006	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.33	0.55	Pew	2006	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.35	0.56	Pew	2006	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.46	0.53	Gallup	2007	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.4	0.57	CNN	2007	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.4	0.56	CNN	2007	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.39	0.48	General Social Survey	2008	Do you agree or disagree: Homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another?
0.4	0.56	Gallup	2008	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.38	0.49	Pew	2008	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.47	0.47	Time	2008	Should gay and lesbian couples be allowed to marry, giving them full legal rights of married couples, or not?
0.4	0.52	Pew	2008	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.44	0.53	CNN	2008	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.36	0.55	Quinnipiac	2008	In general, do you support or oppose same-sex marriage?
0.47	0.47	Time	2008	Should gay and lesbian couples be allowed to marry, giving them full legal rights of married couples, or not?
0.39	0.52	Pew	2008	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.39	0.55	Newsweek	2008	Do you think there should or should not be legally sanctioned gay and lesbian marriages?
0.44	0.54	CNN	2008	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.35	0.54	Pew	2009	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.49	0.46	ABC News/Washington Post	2009	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.38	0.55	Quinnipiac	2009	Would you support or oppose a law in your state that would allow same-sex couples to get married?
0.44	0.54	CNN	2009	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.4	0.57	Gallup	2009	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.45	0.54	CNN	2009	Do you think gays and lesbians have a constitutional right to get married and have their marriage recognized by law as valid?
0.39	0.53	Pew	2009	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.46	0.53	AP/National Constitution Center	2009	Should the federal government give legal recognition to marriages between couples of the same sex, or not?
0.41	0.49	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	2009	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?
0.46	0.41	General Social Survey	2010	Do you agree or disagree: Homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another?

0.47	0.5	ABC News/Washington Post	2010	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.44	0.53	Gallup	2010	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.41	0.48	Pew	2010	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.52	0.46	CNN	2010	Do you think gays and lesbians should have a constitutional right to get married and have their marriages recognized by law as valid?
0.52	0.46	AP/National Constitution Center	2010	Should the federal government give legal recognition to marriages between couples of the same sex, or not?
0.43	0.47	Pew	2010	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.45	0.46	Pew	2011	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.53	0.44	ABC News/Washington Post	2011	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.51	0.47	CNN	2011	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.53	0.45	Gallup	2011	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.46	0.48	Quinnipiac	2011	Would you support or oppose a law in your state that would allow same-sex couples to get married?
0.51	0.43	ABC News/Washington Post	2011	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.42	0.45	AP	2011	Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a law allowing same-sex couples to be legally married in your state?
0.53	0.44	AP/National Constitution Center	2011	Should the federal government give legal recognition to marriages between couples of the same sex, or not?
0.53	0.46	CNN	2011	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.48	0.48	Gallup	2011	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.48	0.4	General Social Survey	2012	Do you agree or disagree: Homosexual couples should have the right to marry one another?
0.49	0.4	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	2012	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?
0.52	0.44	Public Religion Research Institute	2012	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.52	0.43	ABC News/Washington Post	2012	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.47	0.43	Pew	2012	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.48	0.48	Gallup	2012	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.53	0.39	ABC News/Washington Post	2012	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.54	0.42	CNN	2012	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.48	0.44	Pew	2012	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.4	0.42	AP	2012	Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a law allowing same-sex couples to be legally married in your state?
0.49	0.44	Public Religion	2012	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing

		Research Institute		gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.48	0.44	Pew	2012	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.51	0.41	CBS News	2012	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.53	0.42	ABC News/Washington Post	2012	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.53	0.42	AP/National Constitution Center	2012	Should the government give legal recognition to marriages between couples of the same sex, or not?
0.51	0.41	CBS News	2012	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.49	0.4	Pew	2012	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.42	0.44	Fox News	2012	Do you favor or oppose legalizing same-sex marriage?
0.51	0.47	ABC News/Washington Post	2012	Do you support or oppose gay marriage?
0.51	0.41	CBS News	2012	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.5	0.48	Gallup	2012	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.48	0.46	Quinnipiac	2012	In general, do you support or oppose same-sex marriage?
0.52	0.4	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	2012	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?
0.52	0.42	Public Religion Research Institute	2013	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.54	0.39	CBS News	2013	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.46	0.46	Fox News	2013	Do you favor or oppose legalizing same-sex marriage?
0.47	0.43	Quinnipiac	2013	In general, do you support or oppose same-sex marriage?
0.58	0.36	ABC News/Washington Post	2013	Do you think it should be legal or illegal for gay and lesbian couples to get married?
0.49	0.44	Pew	2013	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.53	0.44	CNN	2013	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.49	0.46	Fox News	2013	Do you favor or oppose legalizing same-sex marriage?
0.53	0.39	CBS News	2013	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.5	0.41	Quinnipiac	2013	In general, do you support or oppose same-sex marriage?
0.53	0.42	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	2013	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to enter into same-sex marriages?
0.45	0.47	Quinnipiac	2013	In general, do you support or oppose same-sex marriage?
0.51	0.42	Pew	2013	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.55	0.4	ABC News/Washington Post	2013	Overall, do you support or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.53	0.45	Gallup	2013	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.52	0.43	Public Religion Research Institute	2013	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.52	0.41	Bloomberg	2013	The Supreme Court may also decide on the constitutionality of a prohibition on gay marriage in California. Do you support or oppose allowing same-sex couples to get married?
0.51	0.44	CBS News	2013	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.57	0.4	ABC News/Washington Post	2013	Overall, do you support or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.55	0.44	CNN	2013	Do you think marriages between gay and lesbian couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.55	0.4	USA Today	2013	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional

				marriages?
0.49	0.44	Quinnipiac	2013	Would you support or oppose a law in your state that would allow same-sex couples to get married?
0.54	0.43	Gallup	2013	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.55	0.39	CBS News	2013	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.55	0.36	Bloomberg	2013	Do you support or oppose allowing same-sex couples to get married?
0.53	0.41	Public Religion Research Institute	2013	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally?
0.54	0.39	Pew	2014	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.56	0.39	CBS News	2014	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.59	0.34	ABC News/Washington Post	2014	Overall, do you support or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.55	0.36	Bloomberg	2014	Do you support or oppose allowing same-sex couples to get married?
0.55	0.42	Gallup	2014	Do you think marriages between same-sex couples should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages?
0.56	0.38	ABC News/Washington Post	2014	Overall, do you support or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to legally marry?
0.56	0.37	CBS News/NYT	2014	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.53	0.40	CBS News/NYT	2014	Do you think it should be legal or not legal for same-sex couples to marry?
0.54	0.38	McClatchy-Marist	2014	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?
0.49	0.41	Pew	2014	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

**Table 12: Same-Sex Marriage Model Comparisons**

	(1) Stable Model	(2) Accelerated Model	(3) Resting Model
<b>F</b>	577.53	439.97	291.88
<b><math>\sigma</math></b>	4.3	3.6	3.6
<b>Adj-R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.787	0.849	0.843
<b>R<sup>2</sup></b>	0.788	0.851	0.851
<b>Comparison to (F-test):</b>			
<b>Stable Model</b>	--	--	--
<b>Accelerated Model</b>	$F_{154}^1 = 64.85 (p < .01)$	--	--
<b>Resting Model</b>	$F_{153}^2 = 32.36 (p < .01)$	$F_{153}^1 = 0.21 (p = .65)$	--

Note: Stable:  $y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 * Date_i$ ; Accelerated =  $y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 * Date_i + \beta_2 * Date_i^2$ ;  
Resting:  $y_i = \alpha + \beta_1 * Date_i + \beta_2 * Date_i^2 + \beta_3 * Date_i^3$

**Table 13: Adoption Rights for Same-Sex Couples Opinion Polls**

Favor	Oppose	Agency	Year	Wording
0.26	0.69	American National Election Studies	1992	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.29	0.71	Princeton Survey Research Associates	1994	Do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gay spouses?
0.30	0.70	Yankelovich	1994	Do you think that homosexual couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.31	0.69	Lake Snell Perry & Associates	1995	In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not be able to adopt children or haven't you thought enough about this to really have an opinion?
0.36	0.64	Princeton Survey Research Associates	1996	Do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gay spouses?
0.36	0.64	Princeton Survey	1996	On the subject of gay rights, do you think there should or should not be

		Research Associates		adoption rights for gay spouses?
0.40	0.60	Princeton Survey Research Associates	1997	Do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gay spouses?
0.36	0.64	Princeton Survey Research Associates	1998	Thinking again about what might be done to protect gay rights, do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gay spouses?
0.35	0.57	Yankelovich	1998	Do you think that homosexual couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.28	0.72	Harris Interactive	2000	What about adoption of children by two men or two women who live together as a couple, whether they are married or not. Do you approve or disapprove or don't feel strongly about?
0.39	0.50	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2000	Thinking what might be done to protect the rights of gays and lesbians, do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gay spouses?
0.41	0.52	American National Election Studies	2000	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.46	0.44	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2002	Now, on another subject, I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country. Thinking about what might be done to protect the rights of gays and lesbians, do you think there should or should not be adoption rights
0.49	0.51	Gallup	2003	Do you think homosexual couples should or should not have the legal right to adopt a child?
0.45	0.47	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2004	Do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gays and lesbians so they can legally adopt children.
0.46	0.50	American National Election Studies	2004	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.46	0.48	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2006	As I list some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose each. The first one is allowing gays and lesbians to adopt children.
0.57	0.40	Opinion Research Corporation	2007	Do you think gay or lesbian couples should or should not have the legal right to adopt a child?
0.46	0.54	Gallup	2007	Do you think that homosexual couples should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.51	0.49	American National Election Studies	2008	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.53	0.47	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2008	Do you think there should or should not be adoption rights for gays and lesbians so they can legally adopt children?
0.53	0.40	Quinnipiac	2009	Do you support allowing same-sex couples to adopt children?
0.54	0.40	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2012	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian people to adopt children?
0.61	0.36	American National Election Studies	2012	Do you think gay or lesbian couples, in other words, homosexual couples, should be legally permitted to adopt children?
0.58	0.37	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2013	All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gay and lesbian people to adopt children?
0.61	0.34	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2014	Do you favor or oppose allowing gya or lesbian couples to adopt a child?
0.63	0.35	Gallup	2014	Do you think there should be or should not be adoption rights for gays and lesbians so they can legally adopt children?

**Table 14: Military Service Opinion Polls**

<b>Favor</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Agency</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Wording</b>
0.42	0.42	CBS News	1993	Do you favor or oppose permitting homosexuals to serve in the military?
0.44	0.55	ABC News/Washington Post	1993	Do you think (homosexuals) (gays and lesbians) who do publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not? *Random half of respondents received one version.
0.52	0.40	NBC News/Wall Street Journal	1993	Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?
0.53	0.41	CNN/Time	1994	Do you favor or oppose permitting openly gay or lesbian to serve in the military?
0.52	0.45	Pew	1994	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.56	0.38	Princeton Survey Research Associates	1998	Do you think there should or should not be gay and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.52	0.39	CNN/Time	1998	Do you favor or oppose permitting openly gay or lesbian to serve in the military?
0.61	0.30	Fox News	2000	Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the

				military? [Asked of registered voters]
0.57	0.35	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2000	Do you think there should or should not be gay and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.62	0.35	ABC News/Washington Post	2001	Do you think (homosexuals) (gays and lesbians) who do publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not? *Random half of respondents received one version.
0.64	0.25	Fox News	2003	Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military? [Asked of registered voters]
0.79	0.18	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	2003	Do you think people who are openly gay or homosexual should or should not be allowed to serve in the US military?
0.60	0.29	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2004	Do you think there should or should not be gay and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.63	0.32	Gallup/USA Today	2004	Do you favor or oppose openly gay men and lesbians to serve in the military?
0.63	0.32	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	2004	Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?
0.79	0.18	Boston Globe	2005	Do you think gays or lesbians should be allowed to serve openly in the United States military?
0.58	0.32	Pew	2005	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.60	0.32	Pew	2006	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.63	0.28	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2007	Do you think gays and lesbians should or should not be able to serve openly in the military?
0.79	0.18	CNN	2007	Do you think people who are openly gay or homosexual should or should not be allowed to serve in the US military?
0.68	0.23	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2007	Do you think gays and lesbians should or should not be able to serve openly in the military?
0.75	0.22	ABC News/Washington Post	2008	Do you think (homosexuals) (gays and lesbians) who do publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not? *Random half of respondents received one version.
0.66	0.29	Princeton Survey Research Associates	2008	Do you think there should or should not be gay and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.81	0.17	CNN	2008	Do you think people who are openly gay or homosexual should or should not be allowed to serve in the US military?
0.67	0.17	CBS News/New York Times	2009	Do you favor or oppose permitting homosexuals to serve in the military?
0.59	0.32	Pew	2009	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.56	0.37	Quinnipiac	2009	Federal law currently prohibits openly gay men and women from serving in the military. Do you think this law should be repealed or not?
0.62	0.28	Gallup/USA Today	2009	Do you favor or oppose openly gay men and lesbians to serve in the military?
0.69	0.26	Gallup/USA Today	2009	Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?
0.57	0.36	Quinnipiac	2010	Federal law currently prohibits openly gay men and women from serving in the military. Do you think this law should be repealed or not?
0.61	0.30	Fox News	2010	Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military? [Asked of registered voters]
0.70	0.19	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose permitting homosexuals to serve in the military?
0.69	0.27	CNN	2010	Do you favor or oppose permitting people who are openly gay or lesbian to serve in the military?
0.61	0.27	Pew	2010	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.61	0.27	Pew	2010	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.58	0.28	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose gays and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.75	0.24	ABC News/Washington Post	2010	Do you think (homosexuals) (gays and lesbians) who do publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not? *Random half of respondents received one version.
0.70	0.25	Gallup	2010	Do you favor or oppose openly gay men and lesbians to serve in the military?
0.67	0.28	Gallup	2010	Would you vote for or against a law that would allow gays and lesbians to serve openly in the U.S. military?
0.70	0.25	Gallup	2010	Do you favor or oppose allowing openly gay men and lesbian women to serve in the military?
0.78	0.20	CNN	2010	Do you think people who are openly gay or homosexual should or should not be allowed to serve in the US military?
0.60	0.30	Pew	2010	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.75	0.19	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose permitting homosexuals to serve in the military?

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0.67	0.28	CNN	2010	Do you favor or oppose permitting people who are openly gay or lesbian to serve in the military?
0.56	0.31	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose gays and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.62	0.28	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay men and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.69	0.21	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose permitting homosexuals to serve in the military?
0.62	0.28	CBS News/New York Times	2010	Do you favor or oppose gays and lesbians serving openly in the military?
0.58	0.27	Pew	2010	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.69	0.23	CBS News	2010	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay men and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.58	0.34	Quinnipiac	2010	Federal law currently prohibits openly gay men and women from serving in the military. Do you think this law should be repealed or not?
0.58	0.27	Pew	2010	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.72	0.23	CNN	2010	Do you favor or oppose permitting people who are openly gay or lesbian to serve in the military?
0.59	0.24	Pew	2010	Please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.77	0.21	ABC News/Washington Post	2010	Do you think (homosexuals) (gays and lesbians) who do publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not? *Random half of respondents received one version.
0.59	0.24	Pew	2010	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly in the military?
0.68	0.22	CBS News	2011	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay men and lesbians to serve openly in the military?