

ORIGINAL DRAFT

FINAL DRAFT WITH CHANGES FORTHCOMING

Maple Syrup vs. Peaches:

**Why Vermont and Similar States Allow Same-Sex Marriage
While Georgia and Others Do Not**

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ABSTRACT

Even as acceptance for same-sex marriage increases in the United States, media attention, public scrutiny and political discourse is increasingly focused on the debate over gay equality. Openly gay military service, adoption of children by same-sex couples and same-sex marriage are quickly becoming defining social issues of our time. Currently five states and the District of Columbia legally perform same-sex marriages. This paper examines the social factors that may influence whether or not a state allows same-sex marriage. Traditional social factors including age, gender, political affiliation, religious ideology, geographic location, education level, race and others are researched in a way that combines social polling results with Census Bureau data and analyzed statistically by t-test and regression analysis, concluding that there are in fact certain characteristics of a state's population that seem to influence acceptance of same-sex marriage, including strongly Democratic states with higher median income and number of same-sex couples and lower number of black citizens.

Keywords: same-sex marriage, same sex, gay, lesbian, social factors, states, legislation

INTRODUCTION

June 28, 1969 saw a flashpoint in the fight for gay equality in the United States with the Stonewall riots (Matzner). The Stonewall Inn, located in the liberal-minded Greenwich Village neighborhood of New York City, served as a safe-haven for gays, lesbians and their allies. When faced with a raid on the Inn by what they perceived as a homophobic, intolerant police force, the patrons of the bar fought back in repeated, spontaneous demonstrations forcing the police to retreat and regroup. The riots galvanized gays and lesbians in New York City, resulting in the formation of gay activist organizations and newspapers whose influence began to permeate the whole of the United States (Matzner).

In the ensuing 40 years, the cause of gay equality has morphed from general acceptance in the form of marches and rallies to more substantive political involvement aimed at same-sex marriage legislation at both the state and national levels. While a national solution in favor of same-sex marriage does not seem to be quite forthcoming, some states have taken the bold, inevitable step of allowing legal unions for same-sex couples. This paper will examine the factors that influence same-sex marriage support in the states that have enacted such legislation.

With an ever-increasing segment of the U.S. population identifying as gay or lesbian, the debate over same-sex marriage is becoming more relevant every day. According to UCLA School of Law's Williams Institute, a think tank dedicated to the field of sexual orientation law and public policy, there are approximately 8.8 million gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons in the U.S. based on 2005/2006 data (Gates 2006, 1). Further, the Institute finds that "the number of same-sex couples in the United States increased by more than 20% between 2000 and 2005" (Johnson). The Institute attributes the gain to an increased willingness on the part of Americans to candidly discuss their sexuality. According to the 2008 American Community Survey

conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau, there are approximately 565,000 same-sex couples living in the United States (Gates 2009, i).

The fact that gay and lesbian couples are becoming more accepted by their straight counterparts in more and more areas of the country suggests that the social climate is changing in the United States. This paper will seek to determine whether any correlation can be made between certain aspects of a state's population as a whole and the propensity for that state to adopt same-sex marriage through judicial, legislative or other means.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

PUBLIC OPINION POLLING REGARDING SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

In order to create a base line for comparison regarding people's attitudes toward same-sex marriage, a review of public opinion polling on the subject is necessary. To date, a significant body of work has been accumulated regarding opinions toward gays and lesbians as a whole. While the simple question of whether or not people approve of same-sex marriage has been asked repeatedly and additional research has been conducted to figure out why people approve or disapprove, less research has been done to determine whether these factors contribute to acceptance of same-sex marriage on a statewide level. In other words: Do states that have more people with "pro same-sex marriage characteristics" than average tend to allow same-sex marriage more frequently?

As evidenced by the increased rate of legislation in the United States in favor of same-sex marriage, public opinion toward the issue is in a state of flux. A Gallup poll ¹ conducted from 1996-2007, tracks the steady increase in support for same-sex marriage. The ten year period from 1996-2006 saw a 15-point increase in support for same-sex marriage, and in the year from 2006 to 2007, support jumped another four points. This comparatively dramatic increase in one

¹ See Appendix, Figure 1.

year seems to give credence to the overall feeling in recent years that the tide is shifting in favor of same-sex marriage at a rapid rate.

Additionally, an ABC News poll² is in line with the “pro same-sex marriage” trend, displaying an even greater acceptance of same-sex marriage in 2009. This poll shows a similar distribution to the Gallup poll in that a relatively gradually changing perception of same-sex marriage in the past 5-10 years leads to a large leap in acceptance in the past 1-3 years – acceptance is gaining momentum. In addition, ABC News notes that this is “the first time in ABC/Post polls that supporters have outnumbered opponents [...] Now 49 percent support it vs. 46 percent opposed” (ABC News/Washington Post Poll).

As discussed, several factors contribute to a person’s acceptance or lack thereof of same-sex marriage. Generally, social polling has shown that people who are younger, non-religious, Democratic and who live in certain geographic areas (namely the Northeast and West Coast) tend to support same-sex marriage, while those with a higher level of religious attendance, older age, Republican party affiliation and who live in the South and Midwest tend to oppose (Smith 2005, 11). Race has rarely been studied as a singular variable but has been studied to a certain extent in combination with religious beliefs. Below is a discussion of the social variables individually. Tables with associated data follow in the appendix.

Age

In general, there is a negative relationship between age and acceptance of same-sex marriage. That is, as age goes up, acceptance goes down. According to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, a majority (53%) of Americans under 30 approve of marriage equality (The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life). This correlation can be strongly observed in

² See Appendix, Figure 2.

research done by Lax and Phillips³. In people under 30 years old, approximately 38 states carry a majority favoring same-sex marriage whereas the next oldest age group, people between 30 and 44 only has 11 states with a majority. Age will be a significant factor in the debate over same-sex marriage as the large Baby Boomer population continues to age and pass away. Additionally, a May 2005 *Boston Globe* poll⁴ conducted nationally by the Survey Center at the University of New Hampshire demonstrates a relatively low level of disapproval for same-sex marriage for those under 35 (29%) compared with those between ages 35 and 49 (46%), ages 50-64 (51%) and older than 65 (64%). Again, this poll clearly indicates an inverse relationship between age and acceptance of same-sex marriage.

Gender

It is well documented that women are more likely to approve of same-sex marriage than are men. Depending upon the survey methods used, the difference is usually in the range of 6-10%. Plausible reasoning to explain this difference may include: 1. Women themselves have been a subjugated class of citizens and therefore do not approve of similar subjugation of another group. 2. Women are generally the caregivers of a family and may therefore feel the need to nurture and support loving relationships. 3. For males, opposition to same-sex marriage may stem from the “machismo factor” – those who don’t exhibit classically masculine traits and behavior may be deemed “less of a man” and therefore not deserving of acceptable treatment. Of the many studies and polls which describe the difference in opinion between males and females, two recent polls⁵ from 2009 are included in the appendix.

Political Affiliation

Political affiliation regularly demonstrates a great difference in acceptance of same-sex marriage, specifically between Democrats and Republicans. The simple 3-party labeling system

³ See Appendix, Figure 3.

⁴ See Appendix, Table 1.

⁵ See Appendix, Tables 2 and 3.

(Democrat, Republican, Independent) used in a May 2005 *Boston Globe* poll⁶ demonstrates an aggregate affect resulting in 53% of Democrats expressing approval of same-sex marriage while only 21% of Republicans do so. Independents run slightly ahead of Republicans in their approval at 34%.

However, broken down even further into more distinct political categories, a different picture emerges in a 2007 Pew Research Center poll,⁷ indicating that liberal Democrats display the highest rate of approval for same-sex marriage at 71% while conservative Republicans nearly mirror that number in their opposition, at 80%. Taking the numbers overall, however, results in a remarkably similar result to the 2005 *Boston Globe* poll, with approval ratings of 56% for Democrats, 22% for Republicans and 41% for Independents.

Religious Ideology

Religion plays a major role in determining how people think about moral and social issues. Accordingly, feelings about same-sex marriage may be dramatically influenced by one's religious ideology and activities. All of the available data, of which there is a substantial amount, corroborates that the more strongly-held one's religious beliefs and the more frequently one attends church, the more likely a person is to oppose same-sex marriage. A 2007 Pew Research Center poll⁸ indicates that compared to those who describe themselves as unaffiliated with a religion, 60% of whom favor same-sex marriage, a strong majority of those who identify themselves as Protestant oppose same-sex marriage at about 65% in the case of both whites and blacks, while those who practice Catholicism remain fairly evenly divided except for Hispanics, who display a bit more of a spread, greatly influenced by a contingent who are undecided on the question. Further, those who identify themselves as evangelical Protestants are the least likely to favor same-sex marriage, with approximately 80% of both whites and blacks opposing same-sex

⁶ See Appendix, Table 4.

⁷ See Appendix, Figure 4.

⁸ See Appendix, Figure 5.

marriage. Also, those who attend church more frequently are less likely to approve of same-sex marriage. A May 2005 *Boston Globe* poll⁹ indicates that nearly 70% of those who attend church at least one time per week disapprove of same-sex marriage while only 26% of those who only attend church a few times a year or never attend church disapprove of same-sex marriage.

Geographic Location

Geographic location in and of itself does not appear to be a causal factor related to one's opinion of same-sex marriage. Rather, other factors, such as education level, political affiliation and religious ideology tend to impact where one chooses to live. These other factors tend to be much more significant in determining one's stance on same-sex marriage. Bearing that distinction in mind, there are areas that see a higher rate of same-sex marriage approval. The Northeast and the West Coast tend to be more favorable toward same-sex marriage while the Midwest and the South tend to oppose it. Two studies¹⁰ included in the appendix bear that generalization out.

Education Level

Education level is a less-frequently studied aspect of one's opinion of same-sex marriage. Although the data available does not strongly agree in the manner in which the data for some other factors does, there is a general positive correlation between education level and approval of same-sex marriage. That is, the more education one has, the more likely one is to favor same-sex marriage. However, as noted, the details of this trend are not conclusive across all data sets. A 2009 Pew Research Center Religion and Public Life Survey¹¹ displays a marked association between education level and same-sex marriage approval. However, a May 2005 *Boston Globe* poll¹² describes a slightly different scenario in which those who have completed some college are

⁹ See Appendix, Table 5.

¹⁰ See Appendix, Tables 6 and 7.

¹¹ See Appendix, Table 8.

¹² See Appendix, Table 9.

more likely than college graduates to approve of same-sex marriage. Nonetheless, the overall trend of more education equals higher rates of approval is consistent when high school or less and post-graduate education are taken into account.

Race

Like education, race has been a lesser-studied aspect of attitudes toward same-sex marriage. Jenkins et al. conclude in their 2009 article “The Attitudes of Black and White College Students Toward Gays and Lesbians” that black and white college students do not differ significantly in their attitudes toward gays and lesbians (593). However, there are two factors that make this finding questionable: 1. College students are not a fully representative polling population. 2. Even with this additional information, the authors claim, “further research is needed as a result of the limitations of this study and the importance of this topic” (609). Two polls¹³ included in the appendix reinforce the conventional impression that blacks are less likely than other races to accept same-sex marriage. An interesting finding of these two polls is the level of Hispanic approval (44% and 45%, respectively) versus the level of white approval (both 39%). An interesting further topic of study would be the factors that contribute to the high level of Hispanic acceptance of same-sex marriage.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES AND BACKGROUND

Currently, five states perform legal same-sex marriage: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Iowa, Vermont and New Hampshire. Massachusetts was the first U.S. state to legalize same-sex marriage on November 18, 2003 by a state Supreme Court judicial ruling (*Goodridge vs. Department of Public Health*) (Same-sex marriage in Massachusetts). Connecticut became the second U.S. state to legalize same-sex marriage on October 10, 2008 when the state Supreme Court overturned the state’s 2005 civil-union statute as unconstitutional (Same-sex marriage in

¹³ See Appendix, Tables 10 and 11.

Connecticut). Iowa legalized same-sex marriage on April 3, 2009 following a Supreme Court judicial ruling (*Varnum vs. Brien*) (Same-sex marriage in Iowa). Vermont legalized same-sex marriage on April 7, 2009 through legislation (Same-sex marriage in Vermont). New Hampshire legalized same-sex marriage on June 3, 2009 through legislation. Same-sex marriages were performed beginning January 1, 2010 (Same-sex marriage in New Hampshire). This research will test the seven different factors described above for these five states against the national statistics for each factor. The following hypotheses will be tested:

1. Age: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will have a lower median age compared to the national median.
2. Gender: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will have more women than the national average.
3. Political affiliation: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will have more Democrats compared to Republicans than the national average.
4. Religious ideology: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will be less religious than the national average.
5. Geographic location: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will be located in the Northeast and the West Coast.
6. Education level: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will have a higher level of education than the national average.
7. Race: States that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation will have a higher proportion of whites and Hispanics compared to blacks than the national average.

METHODOLOGY

This paper differs from previous research in its method of analysis. It merged information from social polling with Census Bureau data in a statistical manner. The methodology consisted of two related steps. First, a base-line of national statistics on which to compare the various social factors and their influence on same-sex marriage support was obtained through the use of government agencies and professional polling groups. Then, the

state-level and national-level comparisons were statistically analyzed by t-test and regression analysis to arrive at the final conclusions.

The traditional decennial census provides a wealth of data for many types of research projects, but the long time between data collection cycles makes it a somewhat cumbersome tool. Fortunately, the American Community Survey (ACS), a project of the Census Bureau that is meant to augment the data provided by the traditional census, provides updated data as recent as 2008. In this case, the 2006-2008 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates provided a relatively up-to-date source for the independent variables of age, gender, education and race on a national and state level. Age is provided as a median for both the nation and states. Gender is provided as a ratio of males per 100 females in the population. Education is measured in terms of having a bachelor's degree or higher. A more ideal measurement would have been a category for "some college," to more selectively test the effect of any college experience on same-sex marriage approval, but the Census does not provide such data. Race is measured by percentages of white, black and Hispanic members of the population.

A single, simple measure for the independent variables of politics and religion is not provided by the U.S. Census. Because these ideas are multifaceted, the "most valid" aspect of the idea should be determined. In these cases, Gallup published aggregated "States of the States" information for these topics in 2008, measuring religion with the straightforward question: "Is religion an important part of your daily life?" and political party affiliation by analyzing "leaned" party identification by state. According to Gallup, "This measure adds partisan-leaning independents to the percentage who identify with either of the parties." In the case of political party affiliation, the most recent national statistics for comparison are from 2006.

Finally, the remaining variable of geography, as noted in the literature review, is not a typically measured variable in that it basically defines itself in a circular manner. That is, same-

sex marriage approval is not really measured by the state, but rather, the state is measured for inclusion in this paper by same-sex marriage approval. However, it will be included to test for common assumptions about same-sex marriage approval.

The national statistics which will be compared to the five states that have enacted same-sex marriage legislation are below (state level statistics can be found at the same web addresses):

Table 1. National social statistics

National Statistics	
Age (Median)	36.8 (2008) (Median Age of the Total Population)
Gender	97.3 (2008) The sex ratio represents the number of males per 100 females in the population. (Sex Ratio of the Total Population)
Politics	50.4 Dem. to 40.2 Rep (2006) (State of the States: Political Party Affiliation)
Religion	65% Answered yes: Is religion an important part of your daily life? (2008) (State of the States: Importance of Religion)
Geography	The Northeast and the West Coast are more favorable toward same-sex marriage while the Midwest and the South tend to oppose it.
Education	27.4% have Bachelor's or higher (2008) (Percent of People 25 Years and Over Who Have Completed a Bachelor's Degree)
Race	White 74.3% (2008) (Percent of the Total Population Who Are White Alone) Black 12.3% (2008) (Percent of the Total Population Who Are Black or African American Alone) Hispanic/Latino 15.4% (2008) (Select a State)

FINDINGS

By simple comparison of the raw numbers corresponding to the tested social factors at the national and state levels, several trends emerge. Table 2, below, lists the social variables in the left column, national statistics in the second column and then the statistics for the five same-

sex marriage (SSM) states. Black numbers indicate a positive correlation between national and state factors when compared to the results of public opinion polling as discussed above. In other words, the numbers “act as we would expect.” For the most part, this is the case. However, there are certain notable cases in which the numbers do not “act as we would expect,” indicated with colored numbers. A summary of this preliminary data follows.

Table 2. National social factors compared to same-sex marriage states’ social factors

Social Variables	National	MA	CT	IA	VT	NH
Median Age (2008)	36.8	38.6	39.4	38.1	41.2	40.2
Gender (2008) Males per 100 females	97.3	94.3	95.2	97.6	96.9	97.4
Politics Dem. to Rep.	50.4% to 40.2 (2006)	60.3% to 26.3% (2008)	56.7% to 30.4% (2008)	52.5% to 34.4% (2008)	58.9% to 26.2% (2008)	49.3% to 36.1% (2008)
Religion (2008) Important part of daily life?	65%	48%	55%	64%	42%	46%
Geography NE and W. Coast favor; Midwest and South oppose		NE	NE	Midwest	NE	NE
Education (2008) Bachelor’s degree or higher	27.4%	37.7%	34.8%	24.2%	33.1%	32.6%
Race (2008)						
White	74.3%	82.7%	79.9%	92.7%	96.1%	94.9%
Black	12.3%	6.1%	9.4%	2.4%	0.8%	1.0%
Hispanic/Latino	15.4%	8.6%	12%	4.2%	1.4%	2.6%

1. Age: All of states have a median age higher than the national median, a finding contrary to what would be expected based on opinions expressed in public opinion polls, indicating that age alone is not a significant factor in relation to same-sex marriage acceptance in these five states.

The first hypothesis is not supported.

2. Gender: Massachusetts, Connecticut and Vermont have more women than the national average, which is expected, while Iowa and New Hampshire have very slightly fewer. Because three of the five states affirm the hypothesis, gender may be a moderately valid indicator of

same-sex marriage acceptance based on the raw numbers. The second hypothesis is moderately supported.

3. Political affiliation: Massachusetts, Connecticut, Iowa and Vermont all have significantly more Democrats than the national average, which is expected. New Hampshire misses the national average for Democrats by about 1%. However, New Hampshire has about 4% fewer Republicans than the national average, which may make up the difference. The third hypothesis is strongly supported by the raw numbers.

4. Religious ideology: Each state tested is less religious than the national average. In fact, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont and New Hampshire are each 10%+ less religious than the national average, indicating that religious ideology is a strong corollary to same-sex marriage acceptance. The fourth hypothesis is strongly supported at this preliminary stage.

5. Geographic location: With the exception of Iowa, each state tested is in the Northeast, a favorable area for same-sex marriage acceptance. The fifth hypothesis is moderately supported.

6. Education level: With the exception of Iowa, each state tested has a higher level of education than the national average. The higher percentages range between about 5-10%, while Iowa is below the national average by about 3%. The sixth hypothesis is somewhat strongly supported.

7. Race: Each state tested has a higher percentage of white citizens than the national average and a lower percentage of black citizens. Each state tested has a lower percentage of Hispanic citizens than the national average. The seventh hypothesis is somewhat strongly supported by the raw numbers.

Simple comparison of the raw numbers associated with the tested national and state social factors provides one level of evaluation from which conclusions can be drawn. However, a statistical analysis can, in some cases, reveal differing conclusions. For this research, two statistical tools were used: the t-test and the regression analysis.

Table 3. T-test comparison of non-SSM states and SSM states

Variables	Non-SSM Avg.	SSM Avg.	Difference (SSM-NSSM)	T test
Age	36.94	39.50	2.55	3.97***
Gender	97.80	96.28	-1.52	-1.048
Republican	38.65	30.68	-7.97	-3.554**
Democrats	47.91	55.54	7.63	3.348**
Religion	64.18	51.00	-13.18	-3.067**
Location	.22	.80	.58	2.899**
Education	26.05	32.48	6.43	2.747**
Black	10.76	3.94	-6.82	-3.092**
Age 65+	12.94	13.74	.80	1.955*
Income	50856	59474	8618	2.259**
SS couple	.888	1.016	.128	1.182

P value: *** <.01 ** <.05 *<.1

The t-test, the results for which are listed above in table 3, answers the question, “How statistically significant are the differences between the SSM states and the rest of the states?”. The left column of the table lists the social variables tested. In this case three variables (Age 65+, Income and SS couple) were added to the test. Data for these variables was collected in the same way as the others, utilizing the American Community Survey. The second column lists averages for the social variables in the 45 non-SSM states, compared to the third column which lists averages for the social variables in the five SSM states. The final column, the t-test column, indicates the statistical difference between the non-SSM states and the SSM states for each variable, indicated by an increasing number of asterisks for greater statistical difference. For example, the numbers for gender, the second variable, do in fact differ (with the non-SSM average being 97.80 males per 100 females and the SSM average being 96.28 males per 100 females). However the t-test column, with no asterisk, indicates the difference is not statistically significant. Likewise the variable for the number of same-sex couples is not statistically significant in its difference. Age, with three asterisks ($p < .01$), displays strong statistical

significance with regard to the difference between the non-SSM states and the SSM states, while seven variables are moderately statistically significant, indicated by two asterisks ($p < .05$), and senior status (age 65+), is simply statistically significant, indicated by one asterisk ($p < .1$).

Finally, a regression analysis, the results for which are listed below in table 4, will indicate the true determinants of SSM acceptance, answering the question, “Which variables are still significantly associated when controlling for the others?” Certain social factors are strongly related to others and can create issues in trying to come to conclusions based on raw numbers. These factors must be “controlled” for by omission. For example, race, gender and age are strongly statistically related because black males have the lowest life expectancy of any other racial and gender combination. This problem is called multicollinearity, which indicates that to use all three of these variables in an analysis would skew the numbers, and therefore, the conclusion as well. Therefore in this particular regression analysis, four variables – senior status, Republican ideology (because Democrat and Republican measure the same thing and therefore should not be used together in an analysis), gender and education – have been omitted.

Table 4. Regression analysis indicating determinants of SSM acceptance

	Unstandardized		Standardized		
	B	Std. Error	β	t	Sig.
Constant	26.276	5.963		4.406	.000
AGE	-.210	.138	-.180	-1.524	.135
DEM	-.105	.045	-.280	-2.310	.026
REL	-.008	.025	-.038	-.307	.760
LOC	-.284	.776	-.050	-.366	.716
INC	.000	.000	-.351	-3.037	.004
BLK	.083	.032	.304	2.610	.012
SSC	-2.837	1.311	-.252	-2.165	.036

Note 1. Adjusted R-square: .636, F: 13.234

2. Due to multicollinearity, SEN, REP, GEN, and EDU are omitted

This analysis utilizes an eight-point Likert scale¹⁴ to measure the dependant variable of SSM acceptance in a state. This was done because a simple dichotomous measurement (SSM allowed vs. SSM not allowed) yielded inconclusive results, there being only five states that allow same-sex marriage. This comparatively small number created a model which did not clearly assess differences. The scale used provides for a range of measurements from full SSM acceptance (1) to constitutional bans on SSM *and* other kinds of same-sex unions (8) and the variations legislation that lie between those two options.

The left column of the regression analysis lists included variables. The next four columns list statistical data relevant to the final significance column. Colored results in this column have a significance (p-value) less than .05, indicating a significant association with SSM acceptance. In this case, the variables of Democratic affiliation, income, black race and same-sex couple ratio are statistically strongly associated with SSM acceptance, controlling for other variables. Additionally, the adjusted R-square value of .636 means that about 64% of the total variance in the model is explained by the included group of independent variables, indicating a statistically sound model.

CONCLUSION

The social and political implications of same-sex marriage will be a growing field of research for years to come as data becomes more available in the form of more states adopting legislation in its favor. Indeed, one area of study that could be researched more fully is the demographic components of states that enact same-sex marriage legislation and later revoke it, such as California and Maine.

Although the sample size of five states is small, certain traditionally “pro same-sex marriage” factors do in fact seem to inform the acceptance of legislation in the states.

¹⁴ See Appendix, Table 12.

Significantly, the conclusions drawn from the raw numbers differ from the conclusions indicated by the regression analysis. The more statistically sound regression analysis indicates that particularly strong indicators of favor for same-sex marriage include Democratic states with higher median income and number of same-sex couples and lower number of black citizens.

For further study, an extended model that includes other social variables could be created. Additionally, a model that incorporates states as they allow same-sex marriage (for example, this model did not include Washington D.C., which very recently began performing same-sex marriages) would provide a more complete picture of what it means to be a state that performs same-sex marriage. Another area of inquiry would be the effects of GLBT/SSM political interest groups on same-sex marriage acceptance in states. Additionally, GLBT/SSM political interest groups could utilize the resulting analysis in a predictive manner to help gauge where most effectively to use precious resources and to gain more insight into the current state of affairs. Obviously, as only 10% of the United States currently perform same-sex marriage, this will be a growing field of study that deserves scholarly attention and resources.

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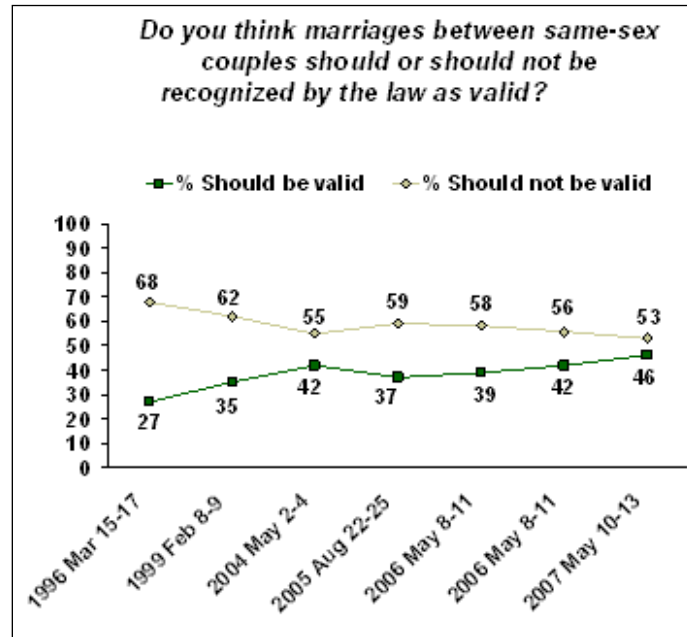
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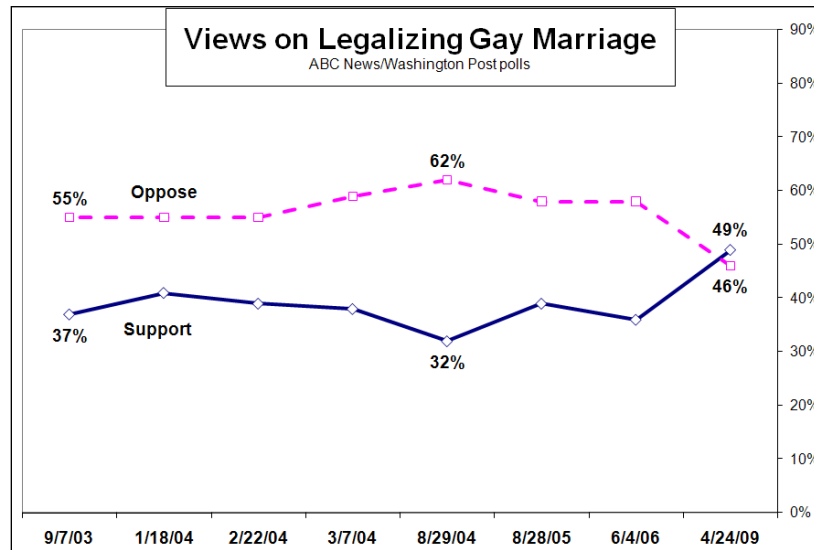
APPENDIX

Figure 1. Public views on recognizing same-sex marriages from 1996-2007



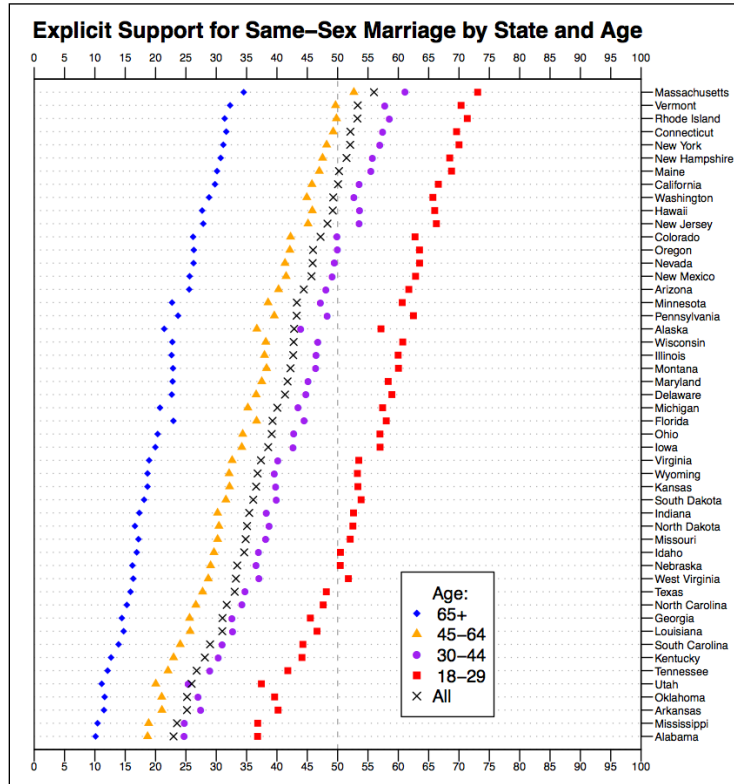
(Freedom to Marry)

Figure 2. Public views on legalizing gay marriage from 2003-2009



(ABC News/Washington Post Poll)

Figure 3. Support for same-sex marriage based on age



(Lax 2009, 50)

Table 1. Attitudes toward gay marriage in relation to age

Overall Attitude re Gay Marriage							
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married?" "Is that strongly or just somewhat?"							
	<u>Strongly Approve</u>	<u>Approve Somewhat</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disapprove Somewhat</u>	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>(N=)</u>
NATIONWIDE	25%	12%	11%	8%	42%	2%	748
18 to 34	32	14	12	10	29	3	164
35 to 49	24	16	13	8	38	1	200
50 to 64	27	10	12	7	44	1	233
65 and over	18	8	8	9	55	2	131

(Smith 2005, 11)

Table 2. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage with regard to gender

Gay Marriage				
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	
Total	39	53	8=100	2,010
Men	34	59	7=100	895
Women	43	48	9=100	1,115

(Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life)

Table 3. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to gender

CBS News Poll. March 12-16, 2009. N=1,142 adults nationwide. MoE 3 (for all adults).				
"Which comes closest to your view? Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry. OR, Gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry. OR, There should be no legal recognition of a gay couple 's relationship."				
	Legal Marriage	Civil Unions	No Legal Recognition	Unsure
	%	%	%	%
3/12-16/09	33	27	35	5
Men	27	28	42	
Women	38	26	30	

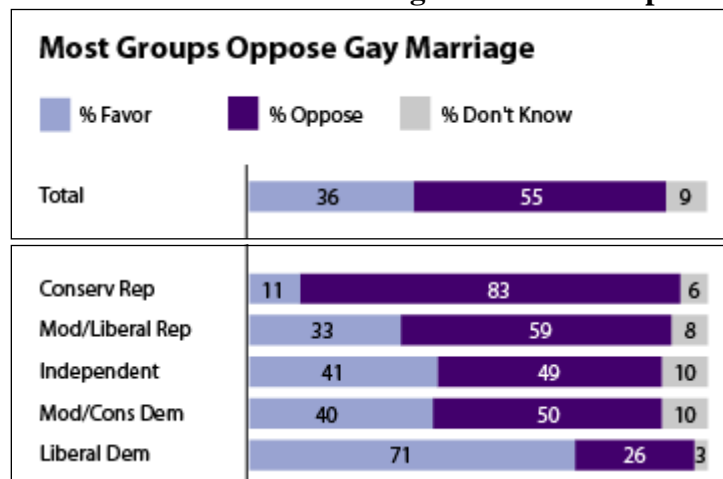
(CBS News Poll)

Table 4. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to general political party

Overall Attitude re Gay Marriage							
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married?" "Is that strongly or just somewhat?"							
NATIONWIDE	Strongly Approve	Approve Somewhat	Neutral	Disapprove Somewhat	Strongly Disapprove	Don't Know	(N=)
	25%	12%	11%	8%	42%	2%	748
Democrat	39	14	12	7	24	3	327
Independent	26	8	15	7	42	2	90
Republican	9	12	9	10	60	0	281

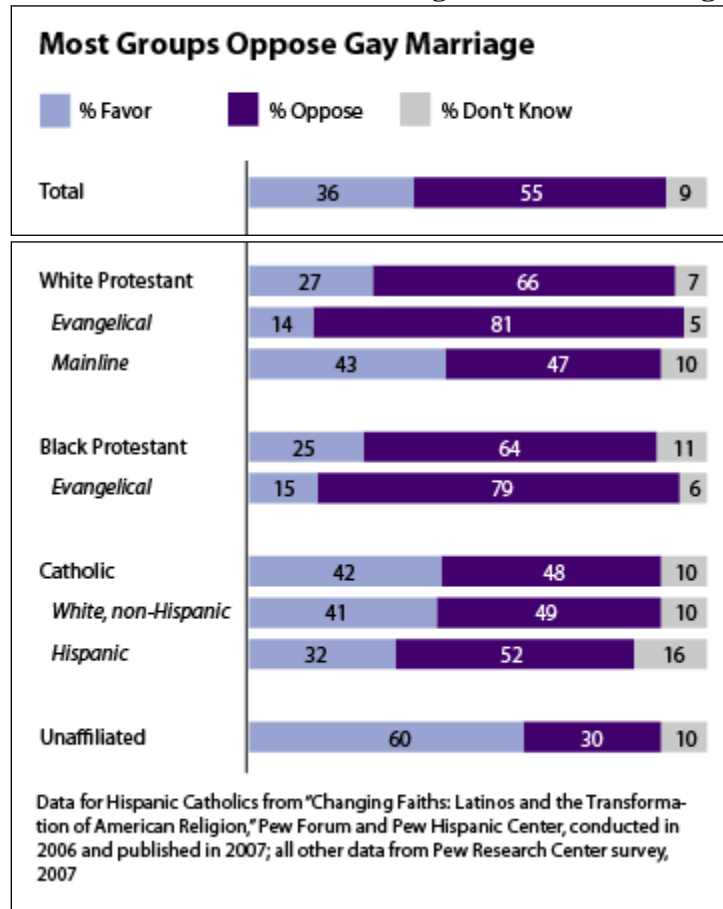
(Smith 2005, 11)

Figure 4. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to specific political party



(Masci 2008)

Figure 5. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to religious affiliation



(Masci 2008)

Table 5. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to frequency of church attendance

Overall Attitude re Gay Marriage							
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married?" "Is that strongly or just somewhat?"							
NATIONWIDE	Strongly Approve	Approve Somewhat	Neutral	Disapprove Somewhat	Strongly Disapprove	Don't Know	(N=)
NATIONWIDE	25%	12%	11%	8%	42%	2%	748
Attend Church 1/week or more	14	7	8	5	63	2	299
Attend 1-2 times/month	31	13	6	18	31	1	117
Attend few times a year	37	13	15	9	24	1	124
Never attend church	32	18	16	7	24	3	195

(Smith 2005, 11)

Table 6. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to geographic location
 (May 2005 *Boston Globe* poll conducted by the Survey Center at the University of New Hampshire)

Overall Attitude re Gay Marriage							
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married?" "Is that strongly or just somewhat?"							
	<u>Strongly Approve</u>	<u>Approve Somewhat</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disapprove Somewhat</u>	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>(N=)</u>
NATIONWIDE	25%	12%	11%	8%	42%	2%	748
Northeast	34	13	14	10	26	3	152
South	14	12	7	7	57	2	259
Midwest	27	10	14	12	36	2	167
West	33	14	11	4	37	2	171

(Smith 2005, 11)

Table 7. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to geographic location
 (2009 Annual Religion and Public Life Survey of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life)

Gay Marriage				
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	
Total	39	53	8=100	2,010
East	45	45	10=100	391
Midwest	38	54	8=100	505
South	31	60	9=100	773
West	47	47	6=100	341

(Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life)

Table 8. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to education level

Gay Marriage				
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	
Total	39	53	8=100	2,010
College grad+	49	43	8=100	769
Some college	42	51	8=100	492
HS or less	32	59	9=100	743

(Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life)

Table 9. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to education level

Overall Attitude re Gay Marriage							
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married?" "Is that strongly or just somewhat?"							
	<u>Strongly Approve</u>	<u>Approve Somewhat</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disapprove Somewhat</u>	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>(N=)</u>
NATIONWIDE	25%	12%	11%	8%	42%	2%	748

High school or less	18	11	12	8	46	4	197
Some college	27	12	10	5	44	1	230
College graduate	23	14	11	10	40	2	198
Post-graduate	37	10	13	9	29	1	116

(Smith 2005, 11)

Table 10. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to race
(May 2005 *Boston Globe* poll conducted by the Survey Center at the University of New Hampshire)

Overall Attitude re Gay Marriage							
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of gay and lesbian couples being allowed to get married?" "Is that strongly or just somewhat?"							
	<u>Strongly Approve</u>	<u>Approve Somewhat</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Disapprove Somewhat</u>	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	<u>(N=)</u>
NATIONWIDE	25%	12%	11%	8%	42%	2%	748
White	26	13	11	8	41	2	635
African American	17	7	12	14	47	3	52
Hispanic	30	14	17	9	26	4	25
Other	21	5	23	5	38	9	23

(Smith 2005, 11)

Table 11. Attitudes toward same-sex marriage in relation to race
(2009 Annual Religion and Public Life Survey of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life)

Gay Marriage				
	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	
Total	39	53	8=100	2,010
White	39	52	8=100	1,526
Black	26	66	8=100	197
Hispanic	45	49	6=100	165

(Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life)

Table 12. Laws Regarding Same-Sex Marriage

Laws regarding same-sex partnerships in the United States	
1	Same-sex marriage
2	Unions granting rights similar to marriage
3	Legislation granting limited/enumerated rights
4	Same-sex marriages performed elsewhere recognized
5	No specific prohibition or recognition of same-sex marriages or unions
6	Statute bans same-sex marriage
7	Constitution bans same-sex marriage
8	Constitution bans same-sex marriage <i>and</i> other kinds of same-sex unions

(Source: Adapted from Wikipedia: Same-Sex Marriage in the United States)