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Religious Participation and Attitudes towards Homosexual Marriage and Civil Unions

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RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUAL
MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS

By

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A Research Paper

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

In the Graduate School

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RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL

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A Research Paper Submitted in Partial
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for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in the field of Sociology

Approved by:
Rachel Whaley, Chair
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Graduate School
Southern Illinois University Carbondale
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE RESEARCH PAPER OF

AMANDA PATRICK, for the Masters of Arts degree in SOCIOLOGY, at Southern Illinois University Carbondale.

TITLE: RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS HOMOSEXUAL MARRIAGE AND CIVIL UNIONS

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Dr. Rachel Whaley

This study examines how religious participation and progressive attitudes serve to shape opinions on same-sex marriage and civil unions. Although several investigations have been carried out on the issue of same-sex marriage and civil unions, mostly in the area of the influence of religious participation, attitudes however, have not been given much consideration. This study therefore expands the literature on the issue of same sex marriage and civil unions by looking at attitudes and beliefs such as: being open to new experiences, belief in doing social and religious good, belief in the attribution of choice in homosexuality, the belief that there should be less separation of church and state (sacralization) and how images of God (perceiving God as being angry, positive and involved in one's life and the world) shape attitudes.

Multinomial regression technique was used in analyzing data obtained from wave 2 of the Baylor Religious Survey, in examining males' and females' attitudes separately. The results indicated that the attribution of choice in homosexuality, sacralization, being open to new ideas, biblical literacy and wanting to do religious and social good, were key predictors of acceptance of same-sex marriage and civil unions.

KEYWORDS: Same-sex marriage, civil unions, religion, attitudes

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DEDICATION

To my mother and my aunt

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Historically, in western societies, homosexuality was viewed as a sin, a disease, or an aberration (Laumann et al 1994:284; Scott, 1998). This same perspective is dominant in the west today. It has however, been suggested, that even Americans opposed to solemnizing same-gender marriages may still not consider homosexuality to be wrong or a sin (Kurtz, 2000; Avery et al 2007). The polls also indicate that the label of “marriage” is all that matters for most people. As long as marriage is not actually involved in homosexual relations, people are quite agreeable to having the law recognize same-sex relationships (Koppelman, 2004).

It has been argued that the liberalization of public opinion on homosexuality in the United States can be attributed at least to some extent to the political activism and visibility of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (LGBT) communities (Loftus, 2001; Epstein, 1999). Visibility is also perpetuated through the media in shows which serve to normalize homosexuality. For instance, Hodge (2005) has observed that there are groups such as the entertainment industry, news media and helping professions which have the ability to define and direct discourse. He also believes that education is a powerful medium which can be used to influence the discourse on homosexuality. In addition, the media are credited with triggering and widening political discussions among citizens (Price, Nir, & Cappella 2005; Kim, Wyatt, and Katz 1999) given that the media also shape the terms of debate, largely establishing the “universe of discourse” for citizen discussion (Price, Nir, & Cappella 2005; Blumer 1946, p. 191). According to Price,

Nir, & Cappella (2005) audiences are dependent on media discourse for many of their understandings; they employ this discourse quite extensively using their own experience, common wisdom, and other resources in their “tool kits” in order to construct meaning.

While there have been several arguments against homosexual marriage and civil unions, there have been many changes leading to more positive attitudes towards homosexuals. One example of such change is the decriminalization of homosexuality in America. This was initiated by the repealing of anti-sodomy laws starting around 1970 and finally the repealing of the laws in all states after 2003 when the U.S Supreme Court ruled that “anti-sodomy” laws are unconstitutional if applied to consenting adults (Sherkat et al., 2011). Although there were several discussions on the matter, the issue of same-sex marriage gained prominence when the Supreme Court of Hawaii ruled that denying same-sex couples the right to marry may have violated that state’s constitutional prohibition on sex discrimination (Baehr v. Lewin 1993). In response to this declaration in Hawaii, congress passed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) in 1996 which defines marriage as the union of one man and one woman. However, other states are exempted from recognizing marriages granted in another state. The issue of same-sex marriage was again brought to the forefront in 2003 when the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in favor of offering marriage licenses (Goodridge v. Dept. of Public Health, 2003). With this occurring the year before a presidential election, President Bush was called to take a stand; in response, he implemented an amendment to the U.S. Constitution to prohibit same-sex marriage. Twenty three states amended their own constitutions to do the same (Lewis and Gossett, 2008).

Despite this and the several advances made through lobbying to reduce discrimination in the housing and job market, adoption rights and civil liberties extended to gays in schools and the military, homosexuality is still being met with great resistance; this is evidenced through the passing of proposition 8 in California in 2008, which eliminated the rights for homosexuals to marry. On the other hand, the passing of the law in New York in 2011 and Maryland in 2012, to legalize marriage, offers some optimism. However, instituting these laws has given rise to a surge of disagreement on whether homosexuals should be allowed to marry or have civil unions. This again called for politicians to take a stand on the issue. In fact, just seven months before the 2012 presidential election, President Obama stated that he was in support of same-sex marriage.

In this paper, I will examine how attitudes, with specific reference to how religious attitudes and progressive attitudes affect the acceptance of same sex marriage and civil unions. This examination will be carried out through the use of a comprehensive set of attitudinal variables such as: being open to new experiences, the attribution of choice in being a homosexual and wanting to do social or religious good. The second set of measures looks at religious factors. These are: religious beliefs, religiosity, religious practices, biblical literacy, images of God and sacralization. The terms homosexual marriage, same sex-marriage and gay marriage are used interchangeably in this paper.

This study will address three primary research questions:

- 1) How does religion shape attitudes towards homosexual marriage and civil unions?

- 2) What other attitudinal factors shape opinions regarding the sanctioning of homosexual marriage and civil unions?
- 3) Do the factors that explain attitudes about homosexual marriage and civil unions vary by sex?

This research compares attitudes using a nationally representative sample from a survey conducted in Wave II of the Baylor Religion Survey. This survey was carried out in 2007.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: chapter two presents a general discussion on homosexual marriage and civil unions with a review of the literature and addresses specific socio-demographic characteristics which can affect respondents' attitudes. Also addressed in this chapter are factors which affect individuals' perception of homosexuality. These factors include religion, political affiliation, and attribution of choice in homosexuality. Other factors which are also examined in relation to how they affect individuals' perception of homosexual marriage and civil unions are progressive attitudes and sacralisation. Further, there is also a discussion on issues pertaining to reasons as to why marriage and civil unions should be granted and conversely why they should not be granted. Integrated in chapter two are the specific hypotheses that were tested in this study.

Chapter three discusses the methodological procedure used in this paper and also explains how each variable is measured. Chapter four presents the findings of the analyses and chapter five presents a discussion and conclusion and also identifies limitations of this research as well as suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Attitudes Towards Homosexuality

Consideration of the issue of the acceptance of homosexual marriage and civil unions would require us to examine the general attitudes towards homosexuality, given that it is those attitudes that shape the larger debate about marriage. For instance, Whitley and Aegisdottir (2007) examined three theoretical perspectives. First, they explain that the gender belief system perspective holds that heterosexuals dislike lesbians and gay men because they are stereotypically perceived as having cross-gender traits, roles, and physical characteristics. They further explain that dislike of lesbians and gay men would be strong among people who hold traditional gender-role attitudes because homosexuality poses an especially strong threat to their system of gender beliefs. This point of view was also echoed by Brown and Henriquez (2008). Secondly, in looking at authoritarianism, Whitley and Aegisdottir (2007) state that individuals high on authoritarianism also tend to organize their world views in terms of in-groups and out-groups which lead to expressions of prejudice against members of out-groups as they may perceive members of out-groups as threatening the traditional values they uphold.

The third perspective is that of social dominance. Here the authors assert that persons in the 'in-groups' are oriented to have high social dominance and are prone to denigrate members of 'out-groups,' to oppose equality-enhancing social programs such as affirmative action, and to discriminate against members of the 'out-groups' in order to enforce the status quo. These are important considerations

in examining the changing attitudes towards gays and lesbians, given that prior to the gay movement the “in-group” was represented by the ideas held by the church. With the advent of the gay movement, there was a shifting of the tide to where the ‘in-group’ is now represented by more liberal individuals. For instance, Hayes (1995) defines religious non-affiliates as individuals who take a liberal position on a range of moral issues such as abortion, divorce, homosexuality, or pornography as well as being more cynical of government or political institutions generally.

Hodge (2005) who cites Hunter’s (1991) work has noted that contemporary society is characterized by two macro-level worldviews which give meaning to how individuals live their lives. He calls these two views the orthodox and the progressive. The first group called the Orthodox, consists of persons whose views are derived from a sovereign God. The second group (the progressives) organizes their worldview based on the culture of the current age; as such, their views are constantly evolving. Included in the progressive group are gay men and lesbians, feminists, atheists, and metaphysical relativists and religious believers who seek to redefine historic faith traditions according to prevailing culture. Hodge (2005) further observes that progressives generally support freedom of thought, free speech, separation of church and state, freedom of association, freedom of religion, and other basic human rights. Then too, according to Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera (2006) politically conservative respondents have less accepting attitudes towards both gay men and lesbians. In light of the prevailing argument I present:

Hypothesis 1: Respondents desirous of a separation of church and state (Sacralization) will be more accepting of gay marriage and civil unions.

Hypothesis 2: Respondents who identify themselves as having a more progressive attitude (open to new ideas) will be more accepting of gay marriage and civil unions.

2.2 Arguments for and against Homosexual Marriage and Civil Unions

It is essential to present a discussion of the arguments that are supportive of as well as in opposition to the issue of gay marriage and civil unions, given that these discussions are prevalent in society and may serve to shape the views of the respondents used in this study.

Cherlin (2004) argues that America is moving towards a state which supports the deinstitutionalization of marriage. He defines this state as a weakening of the social norms that define people's behavior in a social institution such as marriage. Further, he argues that same-sex marriage is the most recent development in the deinstitutionalization. On the other hand, it can be said that the case made for marriage by same-sex couples, and the counter movement by proponents for heterosexual marriage show that marriage is still intrinsically important and still maintains its status symbol. For instance, Judith Stacey's (2011) book titled "Unhitched: Love, Marriage and Family Values from West Hollywood to Western China" clearly challenged the idea of what is conventionally termed the 'normal' family. The nuclear family, created through marriage, which is the gold standard by which western families are judged, is definitely changing. No longer can we describe the nuclear family as one consisting of a female and a male (mother and father) with their children but rather a family that consists of two parents and their children. The arguments presented by Stacey (2011) show that we are not at all unhitched but rather we are still hitched to love, marriage and the

baby carriage in that precise order. Throughout her discourse the stories she narrates all lend themselves to the concept of being “hitched”. Further, Stacey (2011) shows that the ideal of love, marriage and the baby carriage is so ingrained in us that it is emulated by gays, who in many cases crave the traditional family arrangement even to the point where one individual stays at home to look after the children. It is this perspective that leads us to look at the different arguments which have been advanced for and against same-sex marriage.

While homosexuality is still viewed as immoral by many Americans, a growing majority are unwilling to restrict the civil liberties of gay and lesbian people (Sanchez, Nock and Wright, 2008; Peplau & Fingerhut 2007; Loftus, 2001). In fact, while there has been an increased acceptance in attitudes towards homosexual marriage over the past years and conversely, a decrease in attitudes against same sex marriage, the Gallup's poll (2011) for the first time in tracking the issue, has reported that a majority of Americans (53%) believe that same-sex marriage should be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages. Lewis and Gossett (2008) have also found that support for same sex marriage has risen by 13 percentage points. The decrease in negative attitudes towards sexual morality has been attributed to a decline in traditional religious authority. This perspective is offered by Hayes (1995) who notes that the lack of religious affiliation, or religious independence, constitutes a primary predictor towards moral attitudes.

The argument for same sex marriage is based largely on how the issue is framed. Gamson and Modigliani (1987, p. 143) define a frame as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning.” Thus, the debate on same-sex

marriage is divided into two camps; the case advanced by proponents in favor of marriage and civil unions is based on a civil liberties frame while the opponents argue from a religious frame based on the sanctity of marriage and family. Lannutti (2005) who examined meanings of same-sex marriage within the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community (LGBT) found that the major theme was that of legal equity. The participants in that study believed that the legal recognition of same-sex marriage would mark the end of differing legal protections and treatment for LGBT and heterosexual.

Dobson (2007) is a Christian author and psychologist who bases his perspective on biblical principles. He hosts the popular radio program “Family Talk” which is broadcasted daily on three hundred stations nationwide. Given that he openly shares his views with hundreds of people on a daily basis, this could undoubtedly influence the attitude that some individuals develop regarding homosexual marriage and civil unions. Dobson argues against same sex marriage on the grounds that it would erode the sanctity of marriage and destroy the traditional family. One of the leading reasons advanced by advocates for same sex marriages is that of health care benefits to be derived for dependents. Dobson however, believes that the increase in the number of dependents can have adverse consequences for the health care system and Social Security. Further he believes that religious freedom could be jeopardized as Christians will no longer be able to speak out against homosexuality.

Stoddard (1989) on the other hand, identifies several reasons why homosexuals should be granted marriage. Firstly, he argues that marriage will allow for economical and practical advantages such as tax benefits and special

government benefits given to surviving spouses and dependents through social security programs. Same sex marriage will also allow the partners to inherit from each other without a will, and marriage will allow for citizenship and residency for a foreigner marrying an American. Other advantages such as health and insurance offered through employee's spouse benefits will also be gained through marriage. Herek (2006) also argues that there is a difference between marital relationships and non-marital intimate relationships, in that marriage requires a lifelong commitment which may be publicly affirmed and as such, the couple gains social support which strengthens ties to the larger community. Herek (2006) also reasons that marriage buffers against psychological stress associated with extremely traumatic life events; it creates barriers to terminating a marriage, and it creates order in which an individual can make sense of life experiences.

Despite the previous argument, even among homosexuals, the issue of marriage is met with resistance. Some argue that marriage would create a double standard for lesbians and gay men, which will lead to acceptance if one is married and being regarded as outlawed if one is not (Ploikoff 1993; Ettelbrick 1989). Ploikoff (1993) also argues that "the desire to marry in the lesbian and gay community is an attempt to mimic the worst of mainstream society; an effort to fit into an inherently problematic institution that betrays the promise of both lesbian and gay liberation and radical feminism." On the other hand, Stoddard (1989) who advocates for gay marriage being at the forefront of gay issues, surmises that marriage is the "political issue that most fully tests the dedication of people who are not gay, in granting full equality for gay people." He also believes that it is the issue which is most likely to lead to a world free from discrimination against

lesbians and gay men. In this same vein, he also argues that gay marriage can be one of the major ways through which the institution of marriage should “divest itself of its sexist trappings of the past.”

2.3 Cause of Homosexuality

At this juncture, it is important to examine how one’s perception of the cause of homosexuality affects one’s attitude towards supporting or opposing gay marriage and civil unions. The answers to queries about the origins of homosexuality, frequently divide into opposing casual attributions. According to attribution theory, attitudes about stigmatized behaviors are affected by the perceived causes of those behaviors. More favorable attitudes are held when the cause of a behavior are attributed to uncontrollable rather than controllable factors. This means that stigmatized behaviors that are viewed as having biological or physical causes are viewed more favorably than stigmatized behaviors which are viewed as being behaviorally caused (Boysen and Vogel 2007; Dijker and Kooman 2003; Weiner et al. 1988). If homosexuality is believed to be biological it is looked at as being uncontrollable; if on the other hand homosexuality is believed to be a choice, this suggests that it is acquired and can be controlled and thus the individual is responsible for their homosexuality (Haider-Markel and Joslyn, 2008).

Some scientists have explored a biological explanation for homosexuality including brain state and genes (see for example LeVay, 1991). Greenburg and Bailey (1993) have however, argued that attributing a biological cause to a particular behavior implies that the behavior cannot be controlled. They are of the view that this suggests that no behavior of any kind can ever be controlled and that the discovery that a particular behavior is biologically caused tells us nothing

about control or choice. They argue that environmental factors can cause changes in a person's brain state. They believe that it is that brain state that is mainly responsible for the individual's behavior.

Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008) who tested the theory of attribution found that attribution of choice was the most powerful factor influencing attitudes toward gays and lesbians and also the probability of support for same sex marriage and having equal rights just like married couples ahead of liberal ideology, conservative ideology and being born-again. They however advise that if homosexuality is not a personal choice or a result of environmental forces but rather attributed to genetic factors, it would be far more feasible to provide intervention rather than mere tolerance. They suggest that if the homosexual gene can be changed or manipulated, then there will be consideration of curing homosexuality; consequently, individuals who do not pursue therapy will face increased discrimination and prejudice.

In empirical studies which seek to determine attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, Herek and Capitanio (1995) found that one in four respondents agreed that female or male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality and that respondents who felt that homosexuality is a choice had more negative attitudes than those who saw it as beyond the individual's control. Attribution of a choice in homosexuality accounted for 13.4% of the variation in their model. Whitehead (2010) also found that an attribution of the choice of homosexuality also affected respondents' attitudes. For instance, males were more likely to agree that homosexuality is a choice. He also found the political conservatives, people who

exhibit high levels of religious behavior and those who view the Bible more literally were more likely to agree that homosexuality is a choice.

Boysen and Vogel (2007) who examined the issue as to why learning about biological explanation of homosexuality does not universally increase positive attitudes toward homosexuals, offer the concepts of attitude polarization and biased assimilation as explanations. They define attitude polarization as the tendency for individuals to report that their original attitude has become stronger after evaluating supportive and contradictory evidence related to that attitude. They suggest that this underlying cause of attitude polarization is based on biased assimilation of information, which occurs when supportive evidence is seen as more convincing than contradictory evidence even when they are of the same quality. As such they contend that preexisting attitudes predispose information processing. Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008) also found that attribution was the strongest factor influencing attitudes toward gays and lesbians and also the probability of support for same sex marriage and having equal rights like married couples ahead of liberal ideology, conservative ideology and being born-again. As such I present the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Respondents indicating that homosexuality is a choice will have more negative attitudes towards homosexual marriage and civil unions.

2.4 Politics and the issue of Homosexual Marriages and Civil Unions

In recent years, the issue of gay rights has become politically charged, with liberals generally supporting the passing of antidiscrimination statutes and conservatives denouncing gay men and lesbians as immoral (Herek, and Capitanio 1995; Herek 1994). As the debate on legalization of gay marriages continues,

politics plays a central role and in many cases shape individuals' voting decisions. As such it is not surprising that politicians are pressured to take a stand on the issue. For instance, President Obama has publically acknowledged that he supports gay marriage. While in some circles this is regarded as a political ploy and others see it as a risky move, it is nevertheless met with optimism by advocates for same sex marriage. Other politicians, such as San Diego's conservative Republican mayor has also declared that he has had a change of mind regarding same-sex marriage. According to Lewis and Gossett (2008) who cite Vigil (2007) although the mayor had opposed same-sex marriage earlier on, he later expressed the view that civil unions were a "separate but unequal alternative to marriage, and that he could not look his lesbian daughter or gay and lesbian staff members in the face and tell them that their relationships— their very lives—were any less meaningful than the marriage that I share with my wife." (p. 4).

The effect of public opinion is quite salient in the policy debate on gay marriage. In fact Lewis and Oh (2008) found a strong link between public opinion and policy: the eleven states with the most supportive public opinion have taken public action to recognize same-sex relationships, and ten of the twelve states with the most hostile public opinion have passed both legislative and constitutional bans. Using Field Polls data, Lewis and Gossett (2008) also found that liberals, democrats, and the less religious have become more supportive of same-sex marriage over time, but conservatives, republicans, and Protestants have not. They also point out that for liberals who were already twice as likely as conservatives to favor same-sex marriage in 1985, support jumped 33 percentage points while conservatives dropped 5 points, widening the gap between them to 61 points in

2003-06. Also, in examining political views, they found that the gap between democrats and republicans grew from 8 to 36 points, as support rose 25 points among democrats and dropped 3 points among republicans. Similarly, Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008) observe that being conservative decreases the probability of supporting same-sex relations by almost 23 percent. There is also the suggestion that liberal democrats tend to be more accepting than conservative republicans, especially as the “family values” agenda of social conservatism has become a more dominant aspect of political conservatism (Lewis and Gossett 2008; Jelen 1993; Kaufmann 2002).

Attribution (see discussion in section 2.3) also affects political belief. For instance, Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008) contend that liberals are likely to select an attribution which removes individual responsibility and as such the belief that genetics is responsible for homosexuality serves to negate individual responsibility; it is therefore this belief which influences liberals to advance social and political support for homosexuals. On the other hand, Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008) describe conservatives as defenders of the status quo, especially as it applies to traditional morality and gender roles. According to these theorists, conservatives are more likely to attribute homosexuality to controllable factor such as personal choice and situational factors and are willing to limit government role. This discussion leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4: Respondents identifying as being politically liberal will be more accepting of gay marriage and civil unions.

Hypothesis 5: Respondents identifying as Democrats will be more willing to accept gay marriage and civil unions.

2.5 Religion and Homosexual Marriage and Civil Unions

According to Dalton (1996) in religiously divided nations (Germany, the Netherlands and the United States) and in predominantly Catholic nations (Ireland, Italy and Spain), issues such as abortion are still part of the voters' identity, while in protestant nations such issues no longer capture public interest. This has implications for religion as a factor in the debate on same sex marriage, since religious doctrine will become part of the socialization of members which in turn will make them more likely to oppose gay marriage, particularly if they believe that what is written in the Bible is being violated. This is especially true for religions that believe in biblical literalism. For instance, Sherkat and Blocker (1994) argue that biblical literalism, reinforced and interpreted within conservative protestant religious communities, emphasizes obedience to family, school and secular authority.

Nelsen, Yokley and Madron (1973) also assert that the way in which a clergyman views himself is also important. For instance, they asked the ministers in their study to rate themselves on both their theological and political positions. They found that ministers who rated themselves as theologically liberal also tended to rate themselves as being politically liberal. They therefore suggest that this relationship supports the conclusion that theological outlook is a good predictor of political viewpoint. This finding is pertinent to understanding the role that the clergy plays in shaping what is preached on the pulpit and thus in shaping the ideology of the congregation. The Westboro Baptist Church is an example of how the ideology of the pastor is transmitted to the congregation and subsequently induces them to protest against homosexuality.

The theory of attribution (see section 2.3) was also found to have an effect on religious perception of homosexuality. It was found that the clergy's respected position within the church suggests a powerful role for influencing causal explanations about homosexuality. Religious education often includes negative references to homosexuals (Layman and Carmines 1997; Wood and Bartkowski 2004); homosexuality is frequently considered a sin or crime against nature, the moral standards of homosexuals are questioned, and reference is made to the book of Leviticus which describes homosexual acts between men as an abomination (Tygart, 2000). It is believed that the logic behind such thinking is that one's sinful acts are chosen. The argument is therefore that as a sin, homosexuality could hardly be genetically based or predicted. However, viewing homosexuality as a sin presumes that it can be controlled. The controllability attribution should then be most evident among individuals with the most exposure to the doctrines of a religious tradition as well as association with conservative denominations (Haider-Markel and Joslyn, 2008). Loftus (2001) has also noted that fundamentalists argue that gays and lesbians are not like other minority groups because they have chosen their lifestyles, therefore while other groups genuinely deserve civil rights protection gays and lesbians do not.

Haider-Markel and Joslyn (2008) also found that among respondents who never attended church 20 percent considered homosexual behavior a sin while nearly 85 percent of frequent church attendees believe that homosexual behavior is sinful. When persons who attend church frequently were also asked whether their clergy speaks out on laws regarding homosexuals, fifty two percent noted that their clergy did so, and 75 percent of this group reported that their clergy publicly

discouraged homosexuality. These distributions they suggest, clearly point to the potential power of the pulpit in shaping causal attributions about homosexuality. Further they found that being born-again or being conservative decreases the probability of attributing homosexuality to a genetic source. Herek and Capitanio (1995) also observed more negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians among those who attend church more frequently. Lewis (2003) using nationally representative data from General Social Survey (GSS), Center for People and the press (Pew) and Gallup Poll, found that weekly attendance lowers probabilities of positive responses by 11–21 percentage for whites and 7–13 percentage for blacks. Their results also indicate that fundamentalists were 13–22 percentage less likely than non-fundamentalist Protestants to give a positive response among whites, but only 2–12 percentage less likely to do so among blacks. Lewis and Gossett (2008) who examined the impact of religion on the issue of same sex marriage indicated that those who consider religion ‘extremely important’ in their lives were less likely to favor same-sex marriage than those who consider religion ‘not very important.’ Also, born-again Christians were less likely to favor same-sex marriage than other Protestants.

Herek and Gonzalez-Rivera (2006) who studied religion as it relates to homosexual attitudes, found that conservative religious organizations and individuals who participated more actively in church, especially those who attended religious service more than once a week, had a more negative attitude toward gay men and lesbians. Also, individuals who identify with a more conservative Christian denomination (Baptist, Mormon, Evangelical, and Pentecostal) had less accepting attitudes than other Protestants (Episcopalians)

and those who had no religious affiliation. Several other studies have shown that non-Protestants are more likely to be favorable toward homosexual civil unions and marriage (Whitehead, 2010; Haider-Markel and Joslyn, 2008; Olson, Cadge, and Harrison, 2006; Wilcox and Norrander, 2002; Wood and Bartkowski, 2004).

Further, the literature indicates that denomination (e.g. Whitehead, 2010; Sherkat et al., 2011) views on the Bible and church attendance (e.g. Whitehead, 2010; Sherkat et al., 2011; Sherkat, 2002; Loftus, 2001) all affect attitudes to homosexuality and gay marriage. Whitehead (2010) suggests that Christians, conservative denominations, frequent attendees, biblical literalists, and those with active or angry images of God tend to be the most condemning of homosexual behavior. His research also shows that religion is a strong predictor of attitudes regarding same-sex unions.

According to Sherkat et al. (2011) who studied attitudes towards homosexuality and religion, the United States is also exceptional in that it has a more influential religious culture, wherein religious institutions often lend resources to the political realm, and infuse political rhetoric with schemas derived from religious scripts (Sherkat, 1998; Sherkat and Ellison, 1997). Others have pointed to the fact that the differences among various churches affect attitudes towards homosexuals and by extension the acceptance of gay marriage and civil unions. For instance, churches or different religions, and sects within a particular religion also hold varying viewpoints towards gay people. Some supportive Christian sects are the Unitarian-Universalists, the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Ethical Humanists (Herman, 1990; Alderson, 2003), the United Church, and the Metropolitan Community Church (Blumenfeld & Raymond, 1993; Alderson,

2003). Similarly, some religions, such as Buddhism, are supportive of gay people (Alderson, 2003). Lewis (2003) has also suggested that Jews are more accepting than born-again Protestants. In fact Lewis and Gossett (2008) who used a combination of four nationally representative surveys found that the gap between Jewish and Protestant respondents in support of same-sex marriage has grown from 27 to 42 percentage points between 1985 and 2003-06, and the gap between those with no religious affiliation and Protestants has increased from 22 to 43 percentage. As such I present the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 6: Factors such as being an Evangelical Protestant, religiosity, taking the Bible literally, attending church as a child, having an angry image of God, believing that God is involved in your life and word affairs, and believing in doing religious good will be associated with being less supportive of homosexual marriage and civil unions. On the other hand, belief in doing social good will lead to greater acceptance.

2.6 Socio-Demographic Characteristics and Homosexual Marriage and Civil Unions

2.6.1 Age

Several demographic characteristics have been looked at with respect to attitudes towards homosexual marriage and civil unions. One of these is age. Age has been found to have a profound effect on the acceptance of gay marriage and civil unions. Negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians appear to be more pronounced among persons who are older (Satcher and Schumacker, 2009; Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006; Wood, 2004). Likewise, many studies have shown that individuals who are older are less accepting of gay marriage and civil unions (e.g.

Loftus, 2001; Hayes 1995). This difference is adequately explained by Hayes (1995) who states that younger individuals have “consistently been identified as marginal or unconventional individuals who are liberal, both politically and morally, at odds with not only religious but other institutions, and hold values different from the majority in society.” Similarly, it is believed that older Americans tend to be less politically and socially tolerant than younger Americans, probably due more to the eras in which they were socialized than to the aging process (Lewis 2003; e.g., Davis 1992; Herek and Glunt 1993). Interestingly however, Lewis and Gossett’s (2008) study examining individual characteristics related to people’s own assessments of how their attitudes toward homosexuality have changed found that while older respondents were more likely to condemn homosexuality they were, however, four times more likely to report having become more accepting since they were 18. They consider this to be a cohort replacement effect, in that, each decade tends to be more accepting of gay relationships and more willing to grant them legal recognition than those born in the decade before. Lewis (2003) has also found that acceptance decreases with age.

Hypothesis 7: Older individuals will be less accepting of gay marriage and civil unions.

2.6.2 Education

Research has also shown that individuals with higher education exhibit more accepting attitudes towards homosexuals (see for example Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006; Sherkat et al., 2011). Loftus (2001) expresses the view that changes in the demographics of the population, specifically increasing levels of education, account for about one-third of the change in positive attitudes

toward homosexuality. The literature suggests that as general contact with homosexuals increases, anti-gay attitudes decrease (Herek, 1993; Brown & Henriquez, 2008; Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006). In fact, education appears to lead to greater acceptance of difference in others, more liberal sexual attitudes, greater interaction with gay men and lesbians, and heightened commitment to democratic values and civil liberties (Lewis, 2003). It also exposes one to more diverse perspectives and teaches social and political tolerance (Lewis and Gossett 2008; Bobo and Licari 1989). Lewis (2003) also supports the perspective that acceptance of homosexuality increases with education; being a college rather than a high school graduate increases the probability of a positive response by 4–16 points for blacks, but by 9–20 points for whites. Herek and Capitanio (1995) also share the view that respondents with a college degree exhibited significantly more favorable attitudes than those with less education.

Wardle (1997) who studied the works of various scholars (e.g. Bennette 1994; D'Souza 1991; Bloom 1987) has offered a reason as to why educated persons tend to be in support of same sex marriage. She suggests that the academic community at large is less tolerant of views critical of same-sex marriage and that the ideological orientation of most universities is generally antagonistic to the expression of culturally conservative perspectives such as opposition to same-sex marriage. Opposition to same-sex marriage is treated as proof of narrow-mindedness, dangerous fundamentalism, or as unprofessional mixing of personal religious preferences and law. She further suggests that students may be influenced by the constant exposure to information supporting same-sex marriage

and homosexual family relations, and the almost nonexistent expressions of opposing points of view.

Hypothesis 8: Higher education will be associated with increased acceptance of gay marriage and civil unions.

2.6.3 Race

Attitudes to homosexuality vary based on individuals' racial/ethnic background. Some researchers find that African Americans appear to have more negative attitudes than Whites (Brown & Henriquez, 2008; Wood, 2004). While this result, however, has not been consistent across studies (Satcher and Schumacker, 2009; Schulte & Battle, 2004), the commonly held belief that homophobia is more prevalent in the black community than in society at large (Brandt 1999, pp. 8–9) has been cited as a contributing factor in slowing African-American mobilization against AIDS, as an obstacle to black lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (LGBs) in coming to terms with their sexuality, and as a challenge to the legitimacy of the gay rights movement (Lewis, 2003).

However, African Americans have been found to be more positive about civil rights for gay men and lesbians than whites (Satcher and Schumacker, 2009; Lewis, 2003). For instance Lewis (2003) found African Americans to be more likely than whites to support a law prohibiting antigay job discrimination. On the other hand, he found that blacks are more likely than whites to condemn homosexual relations as “always wrong” and more likely to see them warranting “God’s punishment” in the form of AIDS, but they were no more likely to favor criminalizing gay sex. Loftus (2001) also found that while blacks are more accepting of civil liberties, they hold more negative attitudes towards

homosexuality than whites. However, in contrast, Dejowski (1992) found whites to be more supportive of civil rights.

One reason advanced for the difference in attitudes among the races is that blacks are inclined to be more religious than whites, they are more likely to be fundamentalist Protestants, and more likely to believe in a God who sends calamity as retribution (Lewis 2003; Taylor 1988; Taylor and Chatters 1996). In addition, many blacks perceive homosexuality to be a white cultural phenomenon and the gay community to be a predominantly white community (Herek and Capitanio 1995; Icard 1985). Herek, and Capitanio (1995) also argue that the prevalence of sexual fluidity among African American men who label themselves as heterosexual points to the fact that African American construction of homosexuality and heterosexuality may be differ from white Americans and may support the shaping of blacks attitudes that homosexuality is a matter of choice. Lewis (2003) has also suggested that religious and educational differences contribute to greater black social conservatism, therefore they are less likely to accept homosexuality.

In their examination of the effect of race on same sex marriage Lewis and Gossett (2008) found that African-Americans' support for same-sex marriage has not risen; acceptance has however risen among non-Hispanic whites, Latinos, and Asian-Americans. Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera (2006) who studied the acceptance of homosexuality among Mexican descendants also found that there is a within-race difference. Herek and Capitanio (1995) also discovered in their studies that negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians are widely prevalent among black heterosexuals, with black men seeming to hold somewhat more negative attitudes

towards gay men than black women do. This gender difference results primarily from men's greater tendency to regard male homosexuality as unnatural.

2.6.4 Sex

The sex of the respondents was also identified as a factor which affects attitudes towards homosexuality. Several studies have shown that women tend to be more accepting of homosexuals than males (see for example Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera, 2006; Sherkat et al., 2011). This has been attributed to the notion that the hegemonic model of masculinity was traditionally bound up with heterosexual prowess and dominance over women (Carrigan et al., 1987; Scott, 1998.) Herek & Gonzalez-Rivera (2006) also observe that men tend to have more negative attitudes towards gay men but their attitude towards lesbians was not significant. Although Herek and Capitanio (1995) found male and female attitudes to be quite similar they note that black heterosexual men tend to have more negative attitudes towards gay men than towards lesbians. Similarly, Lewis (2003) suggests that acceptance of homosexuality is greater among females. Black men were significantly more likely than black women to label same-sex relations as “always wrong” although they support gay rights laws. In contrast, white women gave significantly more positive responses than white men on every question with the exception of abolishing sodomy laws, with half the male-female gaps being eight points or greater.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data

The Baylor Religious Survey which is a nationally representative multi-year study of religious values, practices, and behaviors, places special emphasis on religious goods and services. This survey which is conducted in collaboration with the Gallup Organization used a mixed-mode sampling design which included telephone and self-administered mailed surveys with adults ages 18 or older. One thousand respondents were contacted via telephone using random digit telephone numbers. Of those one thousand persons, 624 agreed to participate in the survey. An additional 1836 questionnaires were mailed using Gallup's database; the total number of surveys mailed was 2,460. The survey which was conducted during September 4 to September 29, 2007 had a 67% response rate. This present study uses 785 respondents for gay marriage and 803 for gay unions

3.2 Measurements

The dependent variables used in this analysis were derived from the following two questions:

Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements about homosexuals:

- a) Homosexuals should be allowed to marry
- b) Homosexuals should be allowed civil unions

The responses ranged from strongly disagree (42.3%), disagree (21.1%), agree (15.8%), to strongly agree (20.8%) for the indicator of allowing homosexuals to marry. In the case of allowing homosexuals civil unions the responses ranged from

strongly disagree (28.4%), disagree (12%), agree (33.5%), to strongly agree (26.2%). Both indicators had means of 2.52 (SD=1.63) and 3.17(SD=1.61) respectively for homosexual marriage and for civil unions (see appendix 1). Individuals indicating that they were undecided were not retained in this analysis and were recoded as missing. Strongly disagree was coded as 1, disagree was coded as 2, agree as 3 and strongly agree as 4. The independent variables of interest were operationalized as follows:

3.2.1 Religion

In looking at religious affiliation I used the criterion set forth by Steensland et al. (2000), who divide the religious tradition of individuals into the categories of black Protestant, evangelical Protestant, mainline Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, other religion, and no religion. Due to the small number of black Protestants in this analysis (3%) they were combined with mainline Protestants. Likewise, the Jews (1.6%) were combined with the category, other religion. Dummy variables were created for each group with evangelical Protestant as the comparison category.

Biblical fundamentalism is operationalized using the question “Which one statement comes closest to your personal beliefs about the Bible?” (1) the Bible means exactly what it says and it should be taken literally, word-for-word, on all subjects; (2) the Bible is perfectly true, but it should not be taken literally, word-for-word, we must interpret its meaning; (3) the Bible contains some human error; and (4) the Bible is an ancient book of history and legends. Given that this is a key feature in identifying attitudes towards homosexual marriage and civil unions I constructed a dichotomous variable with those who identified as stating that the Bible should be taken literally coded as one (23.5%) and the other categories coded

as zero (76.5%) because they all in essence convey that the Bible should not be taken literally.

In order to determine religiosity, I constructed a factor consisting of the following questions. Firstly, was how often the respondents attend church, which ranged from (1) less than once a year to (7) weekly attendances or more. The second variable used was how religious the respondents considered themselves to be. This ranged from (1) not at all religious to (4) very religious. The third question asked the respondents how often they pray or meditate outside of religious services, where (0) represented never and (5) several times a day. The final question asked the respondents to identify how often they read the Bible, Koran, Torah, or other sacred book outside of attending religious services. Responses ranged from never (0) to several times a week or more often (8). The variables were standardized as they were not on the same scale. A Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin of 0.814 was obtained indicating that the variables are linearly associated with one another. The analysis generated one factor which accounted for 70.26% of the variation explained with an Eigen value of 2.81. A reliability test for internal consistency was conducted and a Cronbach alpha of 0.859 was gained. The variables loaded on the factor in the following order: reading sacred book (0.860), how religious do you consider yourself to be (0.842), religious service attendance (0.829) and frequency of prayer (0.822).

Further, I used frequency of church attendance at age 12 as a proxy to control for the effect that religion can possibly have on the respondents at a young age. Such early attendance can help to strengthen religiosity. Secondly, attendance at age 12 may have the same effect even for those who do not currently identify

with religion. Attendance at age 12 was kept as an ordinal variable which ranged from never (0) to several times a week (8) with a mean of 5.61 (S.D=2.24).

In keeping with Froese and Bader (2007) and Whitehead (2010) I also examined how the perception of God may affect attitudes on homosexual marriage and civil unions. To create a measure for having an angry image of God, I summed the following questions to create an index: “God is angered by my sin,” “God is angered by human sin,” and each of the following words which asked respondents to describe God in their opinion as “critical,” “punishing,” “severe,” and “wrathful.” Also included in this index were two questions which asked respondents the extent to which they agree or disagree with the following statements about God: “God punishes sinners in small ways” and “God punishes sinners with terrible woes.” All questions were rated on a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree or not at all, to (5) strongly agree or very well. The scale was readjusted so that it ranged from zero to 32 with a mean of 12.85 (SD=7.78). Item total correlations ranged from 0.47 to 0.73 with $\alpha=0.87$.

Also in keeping with Froese and Bader (2007) and Whitehead (2010) I created an index for active God which refers to whether God is removed from or directly involved with human affairs. This index was created using the following questions: “Based on your personal understanding, what do you think God is like?” “directly involved in worldly affairs,” “directly involved in my affairs” “removed from worldly affairs,” “concerned with the well-being of the world,” “concerned with my personal well-being.” I also used two other questions which asked the respondents how they felt about each of the following words to describe God: “distant” and “ever-present.” Questions were also on a Likert scale ranging from (1) strongly

disagree or not at all to (5) strongly agree or very well. This scale was also readjusted so that it ranged from zero to 23 with a mean of 20.71 (SD=6.83). Inter total correlations ranged from 0.45 to 0.81 with $\alpha=0.892$.

In keeping with Gorsuch (1968) I created a “Kindly God” index using the following questions: “How well do you feel that each of the following words describes God in your opinion?” “loving,” “kind,” “just,” “friendly,” and “forgiving.” Questions were also on a Likert scale ranging from (1) not at all to (5) very well. This scale was also readjusted so that it ranged from zero to 20 with a mean of 17.09 (SD=5.22). Inter total correlations ranged from 0.85 to 0.94 with $\alpha=0.960$.

3.2.2 Political Identification

I examined two political variables, the first of which captures the strength of party identification. This measure of party identification was measured on a sevenfold ordinal scale from (1) Strong Republican to (8) Strong Democrat with independents and third party identifiers at the midpoint. This variable was subsequently converted to three categories then into 3 dummy variables named republican (42.8%), democrat (36.6%) and independent and other party identification (20.6%) created the third category. The second political variable measured political conservatism and was derived from an item asking respondents to describe themselves politically. Responses ranged from (1) extremely conservative to (7) extremely liberal with moderates as a midpoint. This was kept as an ordinal variable as preliminary analyses found that this ordinal item provides stronger estimates compared to other specifications.

3.2.3 Attitudes

In order to examine progressive attitudes, the question “I see myself as: open to new experiences,” was used as a proxy. This question was used on the basis that individuals who are closed to new experiences tend to be set in their ways and may conform to traditional beliefs, which may not include extending marriage to non heterosexuals. This variable ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) and had a mean of 3.96 (SD=0.83).

In order to measure how the concept of choice affects individuals’ attitudes towards homosexuality, the survey also asked individuals to indicate their level of agreement with the following statement about homosexuals: “People choose to be homosexuals.” This indicator ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5) with undecided as a mid point and with a mean of 2.85 (SD=1.47). This was kept as an ordinal variable.

Two indices were created of the respondents’ perception of what was needed to be a good person. This was done on the basis that not only do churches place emphasis on the need to be a good person or to do good deeds but society as a whole emphasizes the ‘doing of good deeds’ as the distinguishing quality of a good person. Responses were elicited using six questions rated on a Likert scale: (1) not important to (5) very important, which asked the respondents how important it is to do the following if one wished to be a good person: “Actively seek social and economic justice,” “take care of the sick and needy.” “Consume or use fewer goods,” formed the first index which was called “social good” with a mean of 6.30 (SD=1.83). Inter total correlations ranged from 0.37 to 0.45 with alpha =0.60. The second index, labeled “religious good”, consisted of the following questions

pertaining to whether one wished to be a good person; “have faith in God,” “teach others your morals,” “convert others to your religious faith.” This index had a mean of 5.36 (SD=2.46). Inter total correlations ranged from 0.56 to 0.61 with $\alpha=0.76$.

According to Stark and Finke (2000:284), sacralization ideology means that “there is little differentiation between religious and secular institutions and that the primary aspects of life, from family to politics, are suffused with religious symbols, rhetoric, and ritual.” Sacralization ideology indicates the extent to which individuals feel that their religion should influence and be a part of public policy debates (Froese and Mencken, 2009). In keeping with Froese and Mencken’s (2009) approach, I created an index including three of the same variables which asked the respondents to identify the extent to which they agree that the government should: “Advocate Christian values,” “allow the display of religious symbols in public spaces,” and “allow prayer in public schools.” I also included the following three questions which were available in the 2007 survey which asked the respondents to what extent they agree or disagree that the federal government should: “enforce a strict separation of church and state,” “declare the United States a Christian nation,” and lastly “if we do not change things dramatically we will witness the moral decay of our society.” This index was recoded to range from zero to 24 and had a mean of 13.81 (SD=6.00). Inter total correlations ranged from 0.41 to 0.77 with $\alpha=0.84$. I therefore offer the perspective that those who support stronger ties between faith and public policy will be less likely to support gay marriage and civil unions.

3.2 4 Demographics

As stated before this analysis will be undertaken comparing attitude of males and females towards homosexual marriage and civil unions. However, at this juncture it is important to look at the statistics on sex. In this analysis the sex of the respondents were recoded with females (57.5%) being coded as zero and males (42.5%) kept coded as one. The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 96 and had a mean of 48.78 (SD=15.16). This was kept as an ordinal variable. The race of the respondents was originally placed in four categories: Whites (85.4%), Blacks (5%) Hispanics (5.2%), and Others (4.4%). Due to the small percentages of the non-whites they were collapsed into one group resulting in the indicator for race being a dichotomous variable with whites coded as one and other race coded as zero.

Household income was on an ordinal scale which ranged from (1-\$10,000 or less) to (7-\$150,001 or more) and had a mean of 4.59 (SD=1.44) indicating that the mean income was between \$35,001.00 and \$50,000.00. Education was kept as an ordinal variable as subsequent test with dummy variables failed to produce significant differences between the groups. This variable ranged from no high school degree to post graduate degree with a mean of 4.84 (SD=1.57) indicating that the respondents had some college education. Marital status was recoded into four dummy variables: married or living as married; the comparison group (living as married (4%) was combined with married due to the small percentage); separated or divorced (also combined as separated was 0.8%), widowed and never married.

A control variable was also used to describe the place where the respondents live. The four responses were combined to create a dichotomous variable where

living in a large city or living in a suburb near a large city was coded as one and living in a rural area or living in a small town was coded as zero. The combination of these variables was supported in cross-tabulation analysis (not shown) which found no significant variation on the dependent variables. A control was also used for the region of the country where the respondents live. A dichotomous variable was created with South coded as one and East, West and Midwest coded as zero as cross-tabulation analysis shows that while these three areas were not significantly different from one another they were all significantly different from the south on both dependent variables.

Also in keeping with Sanchez, Nock and Wright's (2008) approach (they found that attitudes towards divorce were associated with disapproval of gay marriage) I created a summed index of divorce attitudes using the question: "How do you feel about the morality of the following?" "Divorce, if the couple does not have children" and "divorce, if children are present?" responses ranged from not at all wrong (1) to always wrong (4) with a mean of 3.72 (SD=2.11).

On all variables, individuals who responded "I don't know" or "I don't have an opinion" or if they were not sure, were excluded from this analysis. I used a listwise selection to eliminate missing data.

3.3 Statistical Methods

In this study Multinomial Logistic Regression (MLR) is used in the analysis of data as the test for parallel lines was violated in ordinal regression. Multinomial logistic regression is used when there are three or more categories to the dependent or outcome variable. The categories can be ordered or unordered (Hosmer & Lemeshow, 2000). An advantage of MLR (and logistic regression) is that

it uses odds ratios as estimators for the predictor variables. This provides researchers and practitioners with a more intuitive interpretation of the final model produced. Another advantage of MLR is that both categorical and continuous independent variables can be incorporated as predictors (Petrucchi, 2009). Using multinomial logistic regression also allows for the estimation of a separate binary logistic regression model for each of the categories. Each category indicates the effect of the probability of success in that category, in comparison to the reference category.

3.4 Difference with prior study using same data set

While this same data set was used by Whitehead (2010), it is important to note the differences between this study and his. Firstly, Whitehead used logistic regression by combining the responses ‘strongly agree’ with ‘agree’ and ‘strongly disagree’ with ‘disagree.’ As such, the use of multinomial regression in this study will capture the differences between each category. This can be missed in using logistic regression. Secondly, while sex was included as a variable in Whitehead’s analysis, in this paper separate regressions were used for the sexes. Thirdly, while Whitehead used the frequency of church attendance as a measure of religiosity, this study uses a more comprehensive measure which includes frequency of church attendance, how religious the respondents considered themselves to be, how often they pray or meditate outside of religious services, and how often they read the Bible, Koran, Torah, or other sacred book outside of attending religious services. Also included in this study are controls such as attendance of religious service at age 12 and the respondents’ perception of what is needed to be a good person. This includes factors that look at both religion and social good. I also

included other factors which can affect attitudes towards homosexual marriages and civil unions such as having a progressive attitude, respondents' attitudes toward divorce, and respondents' attitudes towards sacralization (wanting a separation of church and state).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Multinomial logistic regression models allowed me to estimate the net effects of covariates on the odds of strongly agreeing, agreeing, strongly agreeing and disagreeing with homosexual marriages and civil unions. In addition, this enables me to compare the effects of covariates on the odds of being in one category or another. Table 1 presents these findings for males and Table 2 the findings for females in response to the issue of attitudes towards homosexual marriage. Table 3 presents males responses while Table 4 presents females' responses towards civil unions.

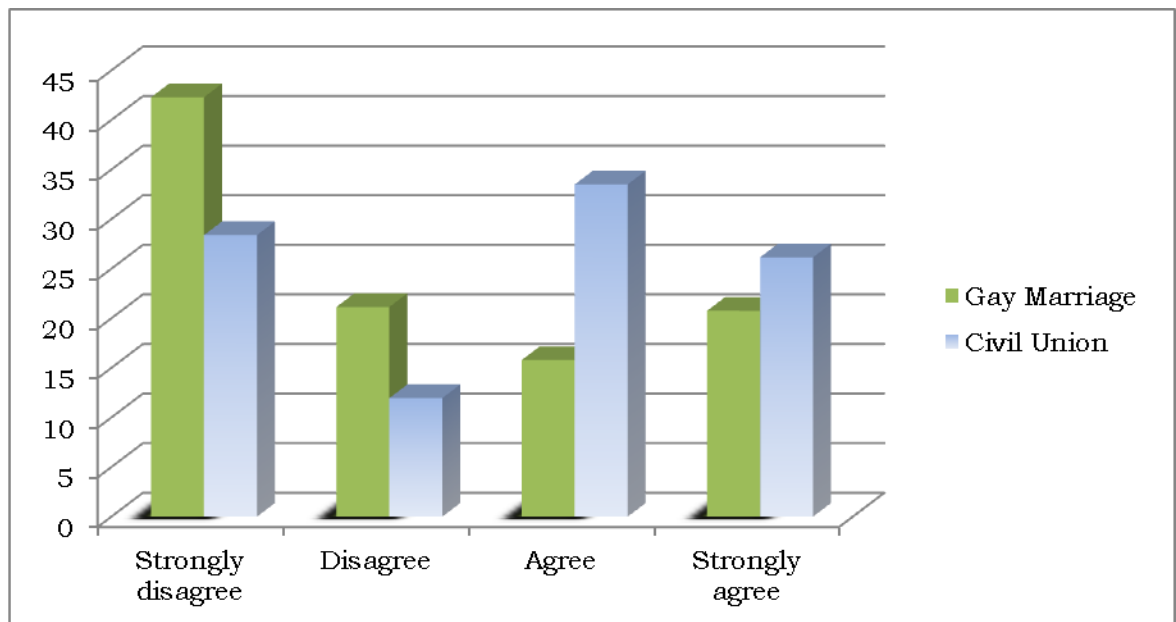


Figure 1: Acceptance of Homosexual Marriage and Civil Unions

Figure 1 shows responses to the question of whether or not homosexuals should be allowed marriage and civil unions. The U-shape which is evident indicates a clustering of individuals at polar ends of strongly disagree and strongly agree.

While a large percentage strongly agrees with civil unions rather than marriage, the

percentage of persons who strongly disagree with civil union still exceeds that of strongly agree. Whitehead (2010) offers the perspective that it is possible that the marriage question refers to a more “sacred” rite, while civil unions refer to a more “legal” standing and as such might not ‘push the same buttons’ for those identifying as evangelical Protestants.

4.1 Gay Marriage

4.1.1 Males and Gay Marriage

Table 1 presents the results for males only in looking at gay marriage. Individuals who called for less separation between the church and state (sacralization) were more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ in comparison to ‘agree’ and ‘disagree.’ This gives credence to hypothesis 1; respondents who are less desirous of a separation of church and state will be less accepting of gay marriage. Although support for divorce regardless of the circumstances, is largely unrelated to level of agreement with gay marriage, respondents were less likely to ‘strongly disagree’ compared to those who ‘agree.’ In looking at the question as to whether one chooses one’s homosexuality or was born that way, individuals who believe in choice were significantly more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ and ‘disagree,’ compared to those who either ‘strongly agreed’ or ‘agreed;’ as such, hypothesis 3, an attribution of choice will lead to more negative attitudes towards homosexual marriage, is supported.

Among males, increases in liberal attitudes result in significantly lower odds of ‘strongly disagreeing,’ ‘disagreeing’ and ‘agreeing’ than those who ‘strongly agree’. This analysis supports hypothesis 4. The results also support hypothesis 5,

Table 1: Multinomial Regression of Attitudes towards Gay Marriage for Males

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A. Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Intercept	-2.372 (3.726)	-1.996 (3.565)	-1.725 (3.337)	-.647 (3.184)	-.271 (3.023)	-.376 (2.388)
Age	.065** (0.023)	.065** (0.023)	.037 (0.021)	.027 (0.019)	.028 (0.018)	.000 (0.013)
Race (Whites=1)	.929 (0.793)	.154 (0.745)	.941 (0.768)	-.012 (0.705)	-.788 (0.661)	.776 (0.504)
Education	.157 (0.240)	.051 (0.230)	-.131 (0.201)	.288 (0.212)	.182 (0.201)	.106 (0.148)
Marital Status (Married or living as married)						
Separated or	-.723 (1.021)	-.869 (0.972)	-.907 (0.923)	.184 (0.997)	.037 (0.955)	.147 (0.797)
Divorced						
Widowed ¹	17.808 (8555.771)	18.225 (8555.771)	.030 (0.000)	17.779 (8555.770)	18.196 (8555.770)	-.417 (1.052)
Never Married	.334 (1.079)	.419 (1.036)	-.273 (0.877)	.607 (0.977)	.692 (0.931)	-.085 (0.784)
Income	.043 (0.247)	.127 (0.241)	.211 (0.216)	-.168 (0.224)	-.084 (0.217)	-.084 (0.173)
Urban Location	.414 (0.628)	.826 (0.598)	.267 (0.542)	.147 (0.547)	.559 (0.511)	-.412 (0.417)
Region (south=1)	2.162** (0.732)	1.331 (0.705)	1.215 (0.675)	.947 (0.582)	.116 (0.549)	.831* (0.416)
Political Views (Liberal)	-.853** (0.271)	-.705** (0.263)	-.266 (0.248)	-.587* (0.240)	-.438 (0.229)	-.148 (0.187)
Political Affiliation (Democrats)						
Independent/Other	2.734*** (0.805)	1.780* (0.751)	2.062*** (0.632)	.672 (0.706)	-.282 (0.648)	.954 (0.618)
Republican	1.621 (0.863)	1.748* (0.818)	.829 (0.827)	.792 (0.758)	.918 (0.709)	-.127 (0.569)
Religion (Evangelical Protestant)						
Catholic	-.377 (0.910)	-.040 (0.897)	.322 (0.908)	-.698 (0.710)	-.361 (0.691)	-.337 (0.527)
Black and Mainline	.622 (0.917)	1.397 (0.895)	.977 (0.892)	-.355 (0.715)	.420 (0.687)	-.775 (0.496)
Protestants						
Other	-.348 (1.283)	-.534 (1.213)	-1.007 (1.127)	.659 (1.190)	.473 (1.115)	.186 (0.799)
None	.531 (1.325)	.268 (1.203)	-.803 (1.097)	1.334 (1.202)	1.071 (1.063)	.264 (1.042)
Biblical Literacy ²	19.338 (3279.088)	17.946 (3279.088)	16.251 (3279.088)	3.088* (1.262)	1.695 (1.284)	1.393** (0.539)
Religiosity Factor	.017 (0.516)	.263 (0.495)	-.357 (0.468)	.374 (0.439)	.620 (0.419)	-.246 (0.287)
Attend church at age 12	.225 (0.153)	.271 (0.146)	.086 (0.119)	.139 (0.141)	.185 (0.133)	-.046 (0.107)
Angry God Index	.092 (0.049)	.073 (0.048)	.104* (0.045)	-.012 (0.040)	-.031 (0.039)	.019 (0.028)

¹ The large standard error on Widowed is due to small cell counts of 'agree' and 'strongly agree' revealed through cross tabulation.

² The large standard error on biblical literacy is due to small cell counts of 'agree' and 'strongly agree' revealed through cross tabulation.

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A.Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Active God Index	.016 (0.072)	-.027 (0.068)	-.002 (0.063)	.019 (0.061)	-.024 (0.057)	.043 (0.049)
Positive God Index	.002 (0.078)	.036 (0.068)	-.016 (0.059)	.018 (0.073)	.052 (0.062)	-.034 (0.065)
Sacralization Factor	-.274 (0.478)	-1.050* (0.462)	-1.362** (0.438)	1.088** (0.389)	.312 (0.362)	.776** (0.308)
Religious Good Index	.382 (0.201)	.319 (0.194)	.423* (0.176)	-.041 (0.170)	-.104 (0.161)	.063 (0.117)
Social Good Index	-.525** (0.198)	-.485** (0.191)	-.422* (0.180)	-.103 (0.169)	-.063 (0.160)	-.040 (0.119)
Choose	.886*** (0.241)	.514* (0.228)	.041 (0.215)	.845*** (0.203)	.474* (0.190)	.372* (0.149)
Progressive Attitude Index	-.641 (0.390)	-.391 (0.379)	-.478 (0.362)	-.163 (0.328)	.087 (0.313)	-.250 (0.241)
Attitudes towards Divorce	-.442 (0.228)	-.349 (0.223)	-.069 (0.224)	-.373* (0.176)	-.280 (0.171)	-.093 (0.110)

Where *=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001. Regression coefficients (b) are presented with Standard Errors in parenthesis. N=330

given that persons who identify themselves with an independent/other political party in comparison with democrats, were significantly more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ (exp. [2.734]=15.39) and ‘disagree’ (exp. [1.780]=5.93) with sanctioning gay marriage compared to those who ‘strongly agreed.’ Similarly, independents/others were more likely to ‘agree’ (exp. [2.062]=7.86) rather than ‘strongly agree’. Affiliation with the republican political party is largely unrelated to level of agreement with gay marriage. The only exception was that republicans, in comparison to democrats were also five times more likely (exp. [1.748]=5.74) to ‘disagree’ rather than ‘strongly agree’ with marriage.

Examination of the religious indicators suggests that individuals who believe that the Bible should be taken literally, word-for-word, on all subjects, were 20 times more likely (exp. [3.088]=21.93) and almost 4 times as likely (exp.[1.393]=4.026) to ‘strongly disagree’ with homosexual marriage compared to those who ‘agreed’ and those who ‘disagreed’ respectively. Increases in the perceived importance of doing religious good decrease the odds of ‘strongly

agreeing' versus 'agreeing'. On the other hand, increases in the perceived importance of doing social good decrease the likelihood of 'strongly disagreeing,' 'disagreeing,' and even 'agreeing' relative to 'strongly agreeing.' In other words those higher on social good index were more likely to strongly agree. These findings support hypothesis 6 that religious factors decreases support for same sex marriage.

In keeping with hypothesis 7, older male respondents are significantly more likely to 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' with gay marriages than 'strongly agree' controlling for all other factors.

Living in the South in comparison to living in the East, West or Midwest dramatically increases the odds of 'strongly disagreeing', in comparison to 'strongly agreeing'. Compared to others, respondents living in the South are almost nine times more likely to 'strongly disagree' (exp. [2.162]=8.69). Analysis of the data also indicates that southerners are twice (exp. [0.831]=2.30) as likely to 'strongly disagree' with sanctioning gay marriage in comparison to those who 'disagree.' This supports the expectation that southerners have more negative attitudes towards gay marriage.

Variables that were not significant in this model were race, income, education, urban location, marital status, religious denomination, religiosity, attending church at age 12, Active God and positive God index, and being open to new ideas.

4.1.2 Females and gay marriage

First I will compare the variables for females which were also significant for males and then look at significant variables that the sexes did not have in

common. This discussion will draw on the results presented in table 2. Like their male counterparts females who identify themselves as being more politically liberal, were also significantly less likely to 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' with homosexual marriage compared to those who either 'strongly agree' and 'agree.'

Females who are affiliated with an independent (or other) political party in comparison to the democratic party were three times as likely to have 'strong disagreement' with marriage (exp. [1.171]=3.23) than have 'strong agreement.' This was fifteen times as likely for males, suggesting that the effect of political affiliation is stronger for males than females. Females were also three times and four times more likely to 'strongly disagree' in comparison to those who either 'agreed' and 'disagreed' respectively. Unlike males however, females identifying as republican in comparison to democrats were three times as likely (exp. [1.267]=3.55) to 'strongly disagree' in comparison to 'strongly agree' with gay marriage. These results therefore support hypotheses 4 and 5 that politically liberal respondents and respondents identifying as Democrats will be more willing to accept gay marriage.

In looking at choice, the results were similar for both males and females. Like males, females were more likely to 'strongly disagree' with marriage if they believed that the individual had a choice than to 'strongly agree' and 'agree.' They were 53% more likely to 'strongly disagree' versus 'strongly agree' and were twice as likely to either 'strongly disagree' (exp. [0.906] =2.48) and 'disagree' (exp. [0.784] =2.19) versus 'agreed.' Also similar to males, females scoring higher on the religious good index were more likely to 'strongly disagree' by 66% and 'disagree' by 52% than those who 'strongly agree.'

Table 2: Multinomial Regression of Attitudes towards Gay Marriage for Females

Independent Variables	SD Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Intercept	6.183 (2.945)	2.546 (2.634)	4.289 (2.581)	1.895 (3.038)	-1.743 (2.768)	3.638 (2.339)
Age	.003 (0.017)	-.003 (0.016)	-.011 (0.016)	.014 (0.017)	.008 (0.016)	.006 (0.013)
Race (Whites=1)	.224 (0.651)	.148 (0.570)	.511 (0.556)	-.287 (0.702)	-.363 (0.622)	.076 (0.535)
Education	-.231 (0.149)	-.137 (0.134)	-.280* (0.128)	.049 (0.151)	.144 (0.136)	-.094 (0.115)
Marital Status (Married or living as married)						
Separated or	-1.441*	-.892	-.797	-.644	-.096	-.548
Divorced	(0.734)	(0.677)	(0.641)	(0.796)	(0.759)	(0.642)
Widowed	1.012 (0.967)	1.772* (0.896)	.573 (0.981)	.439 (0.896)	1.199 (0.829)	-.760 (0.574)
Never Married	-.480 (0.766)	-.681 (0.676)	-.263 (0.576)	-.216 (0.791)	-.418 (0.705)	.201 (0.698)
Income	-.306 (0.170)	.040 (0.159)	-.042 (0.151)	-.264 (0.172)	.082 (0.163)	-.346** (0.130)
Urban Location	.431 (0.440)	-.055 (0.396)	.015 (0.376)	.417 (0.439)	-.069 (0.400)	.486 (0.338)
Region (south=1)	.037 (0.459)	-.137 (0.439)	.536 (0.433)	-.499 (0.457)	-.673 (0.437)	.174 (0.325)
Political Views (Liberal)	-.773*** (0.195)	-.624*** (0.181)	-.240 (0.184)	-.533** (0.208)	-.383 (0.196)	-.150 (0.160)
Political Affiliation (Democrats)						
Independent/Other	1.171* (0.569)	-.224 (0.518)	-.031 (0.461)	1.201* (0.576)	-.194 (0.532)	1.395** (0.497)
Republican	1.267* (0.641)	.360 (0.597)	.167 (0.643)	1.101 (0.635)	.193 (0.589)	.908 (0.486)
Religion (Evangelical Protestant)						
Catholic	-.120 (0.586)	.480 (0.552)	-.037 (0.553)	-.084 (0.609)	.517 (0.581)	-.600 (0.441)
Black and Mainline	.445 (0.574)	.989 (0.541)	.651 (0.551)	-.206 (0.591)	.338 (0.563)	-.544 (0.428)
Protestants	.106 (0.801)	.355 (0.743)	.323 (0.658)	-.217 (0.821)	.032 (0.772)	-.249 (0.646)
Other	-.19.462 (0.000)	-.127 (1.063)	-.438 (0.756)	-19.024 (0.000)	.311 (1.106)	-19.336 (0.000)
None	-.431 (0.611)	-.478 (0.599)	-1.274 (0.758)	.844 (0.692)	.797 (0.686)	.047 (0.387)
Biblical Literacy	.925** (0.336)	.439 (0.305)	.177 (0.292)	.748* (0.332)	.262 (0.303)	.487 (0.264)
Religiosity Factor	.180 (0.093)	.259 (0.091)	.115 (0.084)	.065 (0.097)	.144 (0.094)	-.079 (0.074)
Attend church at age 12	-.036 (0.032)	-.025 (0.030)	-.052 (0.030)	.017 (0.034)	.027 (0.032)	-.010 (0.024)
Angry God Index	-.127* (0.061)	-.065 (0.053)	-.077 (0.048)	-.050 (0.062)	.012 (0.055)	-.061 (0.051)
Active God Index	.033 (0.082)	-.028 (0.059)	-.043 (0.045)	.076 (0.082)	.015 (0.059)	.061 (0.076)
Positive God Index	.687* (0.330)	.092 (0.292)	-.157 (0.281)	.844** (0.332)	.249 (0.296)	.595* (0.265)
Sacralization Factor						

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A.Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Religious Good Index	.506*** (0.134)	.418*** (0.123)	.467*** (0.130)	.039 (0.144)	-.050 (0.134)	.089 (0.102)
Social Good Index	-.195 (0.127)	-.030 (0.117)	-.106 (0.111)	-.088 (0.131)	.076 (0.120)	-.165 (0.102)
Choose	.427* (0.188)	.305 (0.179)	-.479* (0.217)	.906*** (0.214)	.784*** (0.209)	.123 (0.127)
Progressive Attitude Index	-.406 (0.256)	-.210 (0.228)	.165 (0.231)	-.571* (0.281)	-.375 (0.256)	-.196 (0.203)
Attitudes towards Divorce	-.201 (0.130)	-.122 (0.124)	-.217 (0.131)	.017 (0.128)	.095 (0.122)	-.078 (0.094)

Where *=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001. Regression coefficients (b) are presented with Standard Errors in parenthesis. N=455

Degree of sacralization had no effect on the odds of ‘strongly disagreeing’ versus ‘strongly agreeing’ for males, but it did increase the odds of strong disagreement among females (exp. [0.687] =2.00). Like males, females were also more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ when compared to ‘agree’ but while the odds were 3 times higher for males it was only twice as high for females (exp. [0.844] =2.33). Thus hypothesis 1 (Respondents desirous of a separation of church and state (Sacralization) will be more accepting of gay marriages), hypothesis 3 (attribution of homosexuality as a choice will have more negative attitudes towards homosexual marriages), and hypothesis 6 (religious factors will decrease acceptance of gay marriage) are supported for females.

While income, education and marital status had no effect on men’s level of agreement, they were related to women’s. A one unit increase in income, decreased the odds of ‘strongly disagreeing’ with gay marriage than ‘disagreeing’ holding all other variables constant by 29% (exp. [-0.346] =0.71). Each additional year of education for women was associated with a lower odd of ‘agreeing’ than ‘strongly agreeing.’ Being separated or divorced in comparison to being married or living as married, decreased the odds of ‘strong disagreement’ versus ‘strong agreement’ by

76% (exp.[-1.441]=0.24) but increased the odds of widows 'disagreeing' versus 'strongly agreeing' by almost 6 times (exp. [1.772]=5.88).

The odds of 'strongly disagreeing' with marriage was twice as likely (exp. [0.925] =2.52) and (exp. [0.748] =2.11) for females with a high score on religiosity than either 'strongly agreeing' or 'agreeing' respectively. Stating that God is involved (either in personal life or world affairs) decreases the odds of 'strongly disagreeing' versus 'strongly agreeing.' Females who stated that they were open to new ideas were 44% less likely to 'strongly disagree' in comparison to those who 'agree.' Thus hypothesis 2 (having a more progressive attitudes (open to new ideas) will be more accepting of gay marriage), and hypothesis 6 (religious factors will lead to less accepting attitudes) are supported.

While age, region, biblical literacy, social good index, angry God and attitudes towards divorce were significantly related to gay marriage for males, they were not significant for females. Variables that were not significant for both sexes were race, location (rural versus urban), religious affiliation, never married, attending church at age 12 and positive God.

4.2 Civil Unions

4.2.1 Males and Civil Union

Table 3 shows the regression of attitudes towards civil unions for males. In comparison to living in the East, West or Midwest, living in the South increased the odds by three times for 'strongly disagreeing' (exp. [1.219]=3.38) in comparison to 'disagreeing.' Examination of marital status also shows that being widowed instead of being married is associated with higher odds of 'strongly disagreeing' and 'disagreeing' in comparison to 'strongly agreeing.' Individuals who believe that

Table 3: Multinomial Regression of Attitudes towards Civil Unions for Males

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A.Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Intercept	-1.631 (3.146)	-4.915 (3.464)	-.444 (2.398)	-1.187 (2.476)	-4.471 (2.906)	3.284 (2.963)
Age	.022 (0.019)	.039 (0.020)	.016 (0.014)	.006 (0.014)	.023 (0.016)	-.017 (0.016)
Race (Whites=1)	.606 (0.698)	-.338 (0.711)	.412 (0.546)	.194 (0.560)	-.750 (0.590)	.944 (0.623)
Education	-.198 (0.200)	-.086 (0.205)	-.159 (0.150)	-.039 (0.158)	.073 (0.165)	-.112 (0.167)
Marital Status (Married or living as married)						
Separated or	-.760	.206	.026	-.786	.179	-.966
Divorced	(1.001)	(0.954)	(0.716)	(0.904)	(0.835)	(0.992)
Widowed ³	21.394***	21.222***	19.362	2.032	1.860	.172
	(1.411)	(1.589)	(0.000)	(1.411)	(1.589)	(1.319)
Never Married	-.949 (0.935)	.325 (0.929)	-.884 (0.679)	-.065 (0.811)	1.210 (0.829)	-1.275 (0.824)
Income	-.164 (0.221)	.008 (0.235)	.205 (0.166)	-.369 (0.183)	-.197 (0.199)	-.172 (0.211)
Urban Location	-.105 (0.546)	.201 (0.576)	.210 (0.397)	-.314 (0.449)	-.009 (0.489)	-.305 (0.523)
Region (south=1)	.717 (0.576)	-.502 (0.651)	.236 (0.450)	.481 (0.439)	-.738 (0.537)	1.219* (0.529)
Political Views (Liberals)	-.088 (0.244)	-.451 (0.263)	-.261 (0.181)	.173 (0.204)	-.191 (0.228)	.364 (0.248)
Political Affiliation (Democrats)						
Independent/Other	.510 (0.728)	.159 (0.843)	.959* (0.477)	-.449 (0.641)	-.799 (0.776)	.350 (0.851)
Republican	.210 (0.770)	.718 (0.807)	.377 (0.580)	-.167 (0.631)	.340 (0.686)	-.507 (0.741)
Religion (Evangelical Protestant)						
Catholic	.366 (0.745)	1.074 (0.772)	.941 (0.598)	-.574 (0.571)	.134 (0.608)	-.708 (0.634)
Black and Mainline	-.082 (0.713)	.360 (0.770)	.936 (0.550)	-1.018 (0.555)	-.577 (0.636)	-.441 (0.654)
Protestants	.247 (1.028)	.556 (1.038)	.091 (0.757)	.156 (0.868)	.465 (0.897)	-.309 (0.940)
Other	.693 (1.229)	.064 (1.432)	-.139 (0.759)	.832 (1.169)	.203 (1.381)	.629 (1.463)
None						
Biblical Literacy ⁴	20.257*** (0.586)	20.198*** (0.648)	18.349 (0.000)	1.909*** (0.586)	1.850** (0.648)	.059 (0.541)
Religiosity Factor	.012 (0.407)	.114 (0.422)	-.168 (0.306)	.180 (0.314)	.282 (0.343)	-.102 (0.358)
Attend church at age 12	.304* (0.133)	.323* (0.150)	.012 (0.089)	.292** (0.112)	.311* (0.134)	-.020 (0.137)
Angry God Index	.135*** (0.042)	.115** (0.044)	.091** (0.034)	.044 (0.032)	.024 (0.034)	.020 (0.034)

³ The large coefficient on widowed is due to small cell count of 'disagree' and "strongly agree" revealed through cross tabulation.

⁴ The large coefficient on biblical literacy is due to small cell count of 'strongly agree' revealed through cross tabulation.

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A.Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Active God Index	.033 (0.069)	-.041 (0.069)	.014 (0.047)	.019 (0.058)	-.055 (0.059)	.074 (0.066)
Positive God Index	-.118 (0.084)	-.043 (0.079)	-.006 (0.049)	-.111 (0.077)	-.036 (0.072)	-.075 (0.087)
Sacralization Factor	.581 (0.400)	-.320 (0.408)	-.745** (0.294)	1.326*** (0.332)	.424 (0.344)	.901* (0.381)
Religious Good Index	.393* (0.161)	.349* (0.174)	.223 (0.123)	.169 (0.126)	.125 (0.143)	.044 (0.147)
Social Good Index	-.358* (0.161)	-.049 (0.174)	-.095 (0.124)	-.263* (0.128)	.045 (0.145)	-.309* (0.146)
Choose	.844*** (0.209)	.751*** (0.220)	.386* (0.156)	.458** (0.169)	.365 (0.185)	.093 (0.196)
Progressive Attitude Index	-.608 (0.349)	-.518 (0.368)	-.693** (0.277)	.086 (0.255)	.175 (0.284)	-.089 (0.285)
Attitudes towards Divorce	-.291 (0.171)	.001 (0.184)	-.112 (0.145)	-.179 (0.118)	.112 (0.137)	-.291* (0.139)

Where *=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001. Regression coefficients (b) are presented with Standard Errors in parenthesis. N=344

persons choose to be homosexual were twice as likely to ‘strongly disagree’ and ‘disagree’ when compared to ‘strongly disagreeing.’ In addition, individuals who ‘agree’ that there should not be a separation between the church and state were three times as likely (exp. [1.326]=3.765) to ‘strongly disagree’ in comparison to ‘agree’ with civil unions. As such hypothesis 1 (desiring less separation of church and state (Sacralization) will decrease acceptance of unions), hypothesis 3 (attribution of choice in homosexuality will increase negative attitudes towards civil unions), and hypothesis 9 (living in the south will increase negative attitudes towards civil unions) are supported.

As for the religious variables, believing that the Bible is the actual word of God increased the odds of ‘strongly disagreeing’ and ‘disagreeing’ in comparison to ‘strongly agreeing’ and ‘agreeing.’ Likewise, individuals who had higher scores on the religious good index were 48% more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ and 42% more likely to ‘disagree’ versus ‘strongly agree.’ On the other hand, those who scored higher on the social good index were 30% less likely to ‘strongly disagree’ in

comparison to 'strongly agree' and 23% less likely to 'strongly disagree' in comparison to 'agree.' Attending church at age 12 increases the odds that a respondent would either 'strongly disagree' or 'disagree' between 34 -38% in comparison to choosing 'strongly agree' or 'agree.' Having an angry image of God also increased the odds of 'strongly disagreeing' and 'disagreeing' in comparison to 'strongly agreeing.' These findings are all in support of hypothesis 6, that religious factors decrease acceptance of civil unions.

Variables that were not significant for males were age, race, income, education, separated or divorced, never married, urban location, political views, political affiliation, religious denomination, religiosity factor, positive God and God involved indices.

4.2.2 Females and Civil unions

Table 4 shows the regression of females' attitudes towards civil unions. Like males, females who increasingly believe in doing religious good were also more likely to 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' versus 'strongly agree'. While 'strong disagreement' was 1.48 times more likely for males who scored higher on the perceived importance of doing religious good, it was twice as likely (exp. [0.695]=2.00) for females. Similarly, for males who 'disagree' in comparison to those who 'strongly agree,' 'disagreement' also increased by 78% (exp. [0.575]=1.78) for females for believing in religious good. In addition, also similar to males, females scoring higher on the social good index were less likely to 'strongly disagree' with civil unions than 'strongly agreed' or 'agreed.'

Females who attended church more frequently at age 12 were also more likely to 'disagree' versus 'strongly agree' by 41% in comparison to males who were

Table 4: Multinomial Regression of Attitudes towards Civil Union for Females

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A.Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD Vs. D
Intercept	-1.953 (3.541)	2.344 (3.276)	3.520 (2.114)	-5.473 (3.176)	-1.176 (2.925)	-4.297 (3.385)
Age	-.002 (0.018)	.002 (0.018)	-.005 (0.013)	.004 (0.016)	.008 (0.016)	-.004 (0.016)
Race (Whites=1)	1.280 (0.765)	.275 (0.702)	.446 (0.472)	.834 (0.711)	-.170 (0.655)	1.005 (0.678)
Education	-.609*** (0.169)	-.325 (0.166)	-.269* (0.108)	-.340* (0.150)	-.056 (0.150)	-.284 (0.159)
Marital Status (Married or living as married)						
Separated or Divorced	-1.052 (0.809)	.179 (0.794)	-.832 (0.577)	-.221 (0.737)	1.011 (0.752)	-1.231 (0.755)
Widowed	.201 (0.948)	1.035 (0.911)	.292 (0.715)	-.091 (0.756)	.743 (0.734)	-.834 (0.758)
Never Married	.074 (0.975)	-.401 (0.965)	-.412 (0.490)	.486 (0.938)	.011 (0.937)	.475 (0.992)
Income	-.154 (0.184)	.105 (0.191)	.120 (0.130)	-.274 (0.156)	-.015 (0.168)	-.259 (0.170)
Urban Location	.548 (0.494)	-.528 (0.493)	.028 (0.314)	.520 (0.433)	-.556 (0.445)	1.076* (0.467)
Region (south=1)	.152 (0.504)	-.793 (0.526)	.222 (0.360)	-.070 (0.419)	-1.015* (0.457)	.945* (0.444)
Political Views (Liberals)	-.162 (0.219)	-.201 (0.222)	-.264 (0.153)	.102 (0.191)	.063 (0.200)	.039 (0.207)
Political Affiliation (Democrats)						
Independent/Other	1.459* (0.681)	-.482 (0.681)	.678 (0.392)	.782 (0.624)	-1.160 (0.634)	1.941** (0.716)
Republican	1.840** (0.742)	.584 (0.714)	1.086* (0.529)	.755 (0.627)	-.502 (0.605)	1.257 (0.659)
Religion (Evangelical Protestant)						
Catholic	-.246 (0.634)	.277 (0.610)	.012 (0.453)	-.258 (0.548)	.265 (0.533)	-.523 (0.553)
Black and Mainline Protestants	-.380 (0.623)	-.842 (0.666)	.335 (0.443)	-.715 (0.529)	-1.177* (0.595)	.463 (0.609)
Other	.375 (0.950)	.829 (0.840)	-.513 (0.585)	.887 (0.873)	1.342 (0.768)	-.455 (0.808)
None ⁵	-17.639 (7553.363)	-19.644 (0.000)	-.978 (0.697)	-16.662 (7553.363)	-18.667 (0.000)	2.005 (4581.490)
Biblical Literacy	.901 (0.669)	.434 (0.694)	.345 (0.608)	.556 (0.455)	.089 (0.504)	.467 (0.453)
Religiosity Factor	.701 (0.393)	.324 (0.375)	.304 (0.249)	.397 (0.344)	.020 (0.331)	.377 (0.363)
Attend church at age 12	.161 (0.102)	.342** (0.111)	.147* (0.072)	.014 (0.089)	.195 (0.101)	-.181 (0.097)
Angry God Index	.026 (0.035)	-.042 (0.036)	-.004 (0.024)	.031 (0.030)	-.038 (0.032)	.069* (0.031)
Active God Index	.047 (0.073)	-.106 (0.067)	-.096* (0.043)	.142* (0.065)	-.010 (0.059)	.153* (0.067)
Positive God Index	.062 (0.126)	-.004 (0.093)	-.062 (0.042)	.124 (0.123)	.058 (0.089)	.065 (0.130)

⁵ The large standard error on no religious affiliation is due to small cell counts of 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree' revealed through cross tabulation.

Independent Variables	SD.Vs.SA	D. Vs. SA	A.Vs. SA	SD Vs. A	D. Vs. A	SD. Vs. D
Sacralization Factor	1.019** (0.365)	.851* (0.368)	.205 (0.220)	.814** (0.332)	.646 (0.341)	.168 (0.365)
Religious Good Index	.695*** (0.154)	.575*** (0.149)	.371*** (0.100)	.325* (0.137)	.204 (0.134)	.121 (0.139)
Social Good Index	-.410** (0.147)	-.252 (0.144)	-.029 (0.094)	-.381** (0.133)	-.223 (0.131)	-.157 (0.130)
Choose	.499** (0.199)	.588** (0.202)	-.208 (0.157)	.707*** (0.161)	.796*** (0.172)	-.089 (0.168)
Progressive Attitude Index	-.609* (0.297)	-.690* (0.286)	-.100 (0.192)	-.509 (0.269)	-.590* (0.260)	.081 (0.236)
Attitudes towards Divorce	-.207 (0.144)	-.139 (0.144)	-.032 (0.111)	-.175 (0.116)	-.107 (0.121)	-.068 (0.119)

Where *=p<0.05, **=p<0.01, ***=p<0.001. Regression coefficients (b) are presented with Standard Errors in parenthesis. N=459

38% more likely to do the same. Females who believe that there should be no separation between church and state (sacralization) were twice as likely to 'strongly disagree' (exp. [1.019]=2.77) and 'disagree' (exp. [0.851]=2.34) with civil unions than 'strongly agree.' While males were 3 times as likely to 'strongly disagree' in comparison to 'agree,' women were twice as likely to 'strongly disagree' (exp. [0.814]=2.26). Thus hypothesis 1 that respondents desirous of a separation of church and state (Sacralization) will be more accepting of civil unions and hypothesis 6 (religious factors will lead to decreased acceptance of civil unions) are supported.

The analysis also indicated that while men were twice as likely to 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' with civil unions if they believe that the individual chooses to be homosexual, women were only 1.65 times more likely to 'strongly disagree' and 1.80 times more likely to 'disagree' in comparison to 'strongly agree.' In comparison to those who 'agree,' females were twice as likely to either 'strongly disagree' (exp. [0.707] =2.03) or 'disagree' (exp. [0.796] =2.23), whereas males were only 1.58 times more likely to 'strongly disagree.' Again hypothesis 3 is supported

Although the following variables were significant findings for females they were not significant for males. In comparison to those who 'agree,' living in the

south decreased 'disagreement' by 64% (exp. [-1.015]=0.36). Identifying with an independent/other or republican party increased 'strong disagreement' with civil unions by 4 times (exp. [1.459] =4.30) and 6 times (exp. [1.840]=6.30) respectively in comparison to being a democrat. Females who scored high on the having a progressive attitude (i.e. saw themselves as open to new experiences) had lower odds of 'strong disagreement' (46%) and 'disagreement' (50%) in comparison to those who 'strongly agree. Also, in comparison to 'agreeing' females with progressive attitudes were 45% less likely to 'disagree'. Thus hypothesis 2, (respondents having a more progressive attitude will be more accepting of civil unions), hypothesis 5 (democrats will be more willing to accept civil unions) and hypothesis 9 (respondents living in the south will have less accepting attitudes of civil unions) are supported.

Women identifying with a Black Protestant and mainline protestant church, in comparison to an Evangelical church, had lower odds of 'disagreement' in comparison to 'agreement' by 69% (exp. [-1.177]=0.308). Females who had angry images of God were significantly more likely to 'strongly disagree' in comparison to 'disagree.' Also, women who believe that God is involved in their lives and the world had higher odds of 'strongly disagreeing' in comparison to either 'agreeing' and 'disagreeing.' These findings support hypothesis 6.

In support of hypothesis 8, that higher education will be associated with increased acceptance of civil unions, each additional year of education for women decreased the odds of 'strongly disagreeing' by 46% and by 29% in comparison to 'strongly agreeing' and 'agreeing' respectively.

While age, income, views on the Bible and being a widow(er) were significant for males they were not significant for females. In addition, the following variables were not significantly related to civil unions for either sex: age, race, income, catholic, other religion and no religion, political views, separated or divorced, never married, religiosity and positive God index.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study examined attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions. The issue was explored within the framework of religious participation and attitudinal factors. I specifically addressed issues such as how the attribution of choice in homosexuality and existing debates, which argue both for and against homosexual marriage serve to shape attitudes. Further, I went beyond just a narrow focus on demographic characteristics, and looked at how individual attitudes such as the perception of what is needed to be a good person (based on doing religious good or social good) and how being open to new ideas also shape attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions.

In analyzing the issue of same sex marriage, five variables which robustly explained attitudes to marriage were identified for both males and females. Four of these variables were common for both sexes: political views, being affiliated with independent/other political party, believing in the attribution of choice in homosexuality and advocating for less separation of church and state. While for males doing social good was also a robust indicator for marriage, religious good was an indicator for females. In looking at civil unions, the attribution of choice and wanting less separation between the church and state were robust predictors of attitude towards civil unions for both sexes. Other robust predictors for males were biblical literacy, doing social good, attending church at age 12, and having an angry image of God. On the other hand, education, wanting to do religious good, believing that God is involved (in one's life and the world), and being open to new ideas were robust predictors for females. These findings lend support to the fact

that looking at a full model (which included both sexes) would have hidden the effect of sex difference in attitudes towards gay marriage. In unpacking these differences in the marriage model, we can see for example, that while biblical literalism greatly increased the odds of 'strong disagreement' for males by 21 times (exp. [3.088] =21.93) it was not associated with women's level of agreement. The strong effect of literalism on men's attitudes would not have been seen for example, in the full model which included both sexes (results not shown); biblical literalism increased the odds of 'strong disagreement' merely 3 times (exp. [1.287]=3.62).

The literature indicates that age is a significant factor in the acceptance of homosexual marriage and civil unions, with older respondents being less accepting. While this held true in this sample, it was significant for males for the acceptance of homosexual marriage but not for females. Similarly while it is generally argued that people living in the South tend to have more negative attitudes toward gay marriage, this was only reflected for males. Analysis of civil unions revealed that while females were 64% less likely to 'disagree' in comparison to 'agree,' no significance was recorded for males in the same category. The analysis in this study thus confirms the results of existing research of homosexuality; this research however shows that males are significantly more intolerant.

In addition, having a liberal political view decreased the odds of 'strongly disagreeing' and 'disagreeing' for both sexes on the issue of gay marriage, but no significance was found for civil unions. On the other hand, while both males and females who were independent/other and republican were more likely to 'disagree'

or 'strongly disagree' with gay marriage, there was no significant difference for males in regard to civil unions.

The effect of education on gay marriage and civil unions is dependent on the sex of the individual. While in the full model, education had no effect on the level of agreement in regard to marriage and civil unions, when the sexes are looked at separately, education affects women's attitudes but not men's. For males, as education levels increased there was no significant effect. On the other hand, the results indicate that as education level increases for females they are significantly less likely to strongly disagree with civil unions. Thus while Loftus (2001) found that increasingly, positive attitudes for granting civil liberties to homosexuals, were due in part to rising levels of education, the results here show that sex plays a key role in forming attitudes. Also, in looking at cross tabulation (not shown) the percentages of women in this sample who stated that they had some college training and those who held a college degree and post graduate degree, were higher for females than males. It can thus be inferred that as educational levels increase for females they are more likely to be supportive of same-sex marriage and homosexual family relations. However, the finding that females are more likely to support same-sex marriage and homosexual relations may well be an indicator that the particular majors that women tend to specialize in predispose them to cultivate or develop such attitudes. This perspective in turn can lead to future study as to why advanced levels of education increase support in women's case while this does not hold true for men. Perhaps an examination of the types of majors both sexes are exposed to should be used to guide study in this area.

While marital status had no effect for males regarding same sex marriage, women who were separated or divorced had *less* disagreement with gay marriage, while those who were widowed were *more* likely to disagree. However, men with more liberal attitudes towards divorce showed less disagreement. Analysis of the data on civil unions indicated that while there was no significance for women, widowed men were significantly more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ and ‘disagree.’ It would therefore seem that widowed and married individuals are not yet open to the idea of marriage among homosexuals.

Religious factors proved to be an important indicator of acceptance of gay marriage and civil unions, especially for females. While indicators such as religiosity and the need to do religious good, had no effect for males on the issue of marriage, it significantly increased disagreement for females. Males on the other hand, (unlike females) who believe in doing social good, were significantly more likely to agree with marriage. In relation to the issue of civil unions, both the sexes were more likely to disagree with civil unions if they believed in religious good and attended church at age 12; disagreement however decreased if they believed in doing social good. Females who believe that God is involved (in their lives and the world) unlike males were significantly more likely to disagree with civil unions. These findings again point to the fact that religious factors depend on sex and that females’ attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions are based on religious perspective while males’ attitudes are based more on non-religious factors. Further, the examination of sacralization suggests that while males were *less* likely to ‘disagree’ compared to ‘strongly agree’ with marriage, females were *more* likely to

‘strongly disagree’ in comparison to ‘strongly agree’ for both gay marriage and civil unions.

The only variable which seemed to influence the sexes in the same direction was the attribution of choice regarding homosexuality; this decreases acceptance. Choice again points to another difference which would have been lost in a full model (including both sexes). The full model shows that the attribution of choice would only increase ‘strong disagreement’ by 1.79 times in comparison to ‘strong agreement’. However, in looking at the sexes separately, females were only 1.53 times more likely to ‘strongly disagree’ with marriage if they believed in choice, while males were 2.43 times as likely to ‘strongly disagree.’ Similarly, for civil unions, in the full model attribution of choice increased disagreement by 1.90 times, while in the female-only model, disagreement was 1.65 times, and in the male-only model it was 2.33 times. Clearly, the attribution of choice has a stronger effect on the odds of ‘strongly disagreeing’ for males than for females.

Only for females did progressive attitudes significantly lead to a reduction in negative attitudes towards marriages (another finding that would have been lost in a full model). This attitude serves to shape females’ response at least in this case, to gay marriage and civil unions.

Summary

What then can we say influences attitudes about gay marriages and civil unions? Clearly, factors such as religion, believing that individuals have a choice about homosexuality, political views and political affiliation, all serve to shape attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions. However, there were two variables which affected males’ and females’ attitudes differently. For males, wanting to do

social good decreased the odds of disagreement. On the other hand, having a more progressive attitude (that is seeing themselves as open to new experiences) decreased the odds of disagreement for females. This progressive attitudinal effect for women may also be reflected in the fact that while older males were more likely to disagree with same sex marriage this was not significant for older females. This may also account for the fact that while men living in the south were 8 times more likely to strongly disagree with gay marriage there was no significance for women. This difference may also be attributed to the fact that the states which legally recognize gay marriage and civil unions are not in the south. It can therefore be inferred that the passing of the laws either affects attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions or the favorable attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions are reflected in these laws. Given that this analysis was done using cross-sectional data it is impossible to determine the causation. Nevertheless, having a progressive attitude is indeed a significant factor in regard to women's attitude towards gay marriage and civil unions.

Also supporting the perspective that attitudes are important in determining acceptance of gay marriage and civil unions is the fact that in this analysis, race and living in a city, as opposed to living in a small town or rural area were not significant. One explanation for this could be that offered by Rosenfeld and Kim (2005) who found that while homosexual couples tend to gravitate towards cities as this affords them protection, they are now also moving into rural and suburban areas. Thus, the finding in this analysis is therefore noteworthy given that it points to the fact that homosexuals are increasingly becoming more accepted and integrated into mainline American society and as such no longer have to carve out

enclaves for themselves such as is evident in Boystown, Chicago, the Castro, San Francisco and Key West, Florida.

Notwithstanding the positive findings in this analysis, some important limitations should be noted. Firstly, in light of the fact that a cross-sectional study was used no cause and effect relationships could be established. As such, the associations observed in the regression analyses could be the function of some common prior cause. For example, respondents who have homosexual friends or family may have been influenced to respond in a particular way. Unfortunately this data set did not lend itself to testing this concept. Another limitation of this study was associated with the small number of individuals used; there were approximately 330 males and 455 females. I therefore propose that future research be conducted using a larger sample for both males and females. Future studies should also conduct a trend analysis which will allow for comparison between the years; this will allow for examination of emerging changes and patterns in attitudes towards homosexual marriage and civil unions. Two other aspects which the present study could not control for, should also be included in future research. These are the influence of the media and how having a close friend or family member who is homosexual may shape attitude towards gay marriage and civil unions.

Despite these shortcomings, I believe that this study can contribute significantly to our understanding of how religious participation and individuals' attitudes affect the likelihood of agreement versus disagreement on the issue of homosexual marriage and civil unions. The results clearly show that individuals who adhere to more traditional, Christian religious affiliations and beliefs, and

believe that individuals have a choice in being a homosexual tend to have more conservative attitudes than those who identify as having a more liberal view and no affiliation to religious institutions. The knowledge gained from this study may therefore help us to identify and address issues pertinent to homosexual marriage and civil unions.

One other salient point that must be reiterated is that this study expands on previous research by looking separately at males' and females' attitudes towards gay marriage and civil unions. Consequently, this allows for capturing important sex differences in the factors that affect attitudes towards marriage/civil unions. In addition, multinomial regression technique was utilized in order to capture differences between the response categories, which would otherwise have been lost if another technique was used. Further, the study expands on existing research by using a more comprehensive indicator for religiosity rather than just frequency of church attendance. Controls were also used for progressive attitudes, sacralization and persons wanting to do good based either on religion or social factors.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 1 Descriptive statistics for all study variables**Descriptive Statistics**

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	18	96	48.78	15.16
Race (Whites=1)	0	1	0.85	0.35
Sex (Male=1)	0	1	0.43	0.50
Education	2	7	4.84	1.57
Marital Status:				
Married/Living as married	0	1	0.77	0.42
Separated/Divorced	0	1	0.08	0.28
Widowed	0	1	0.05	0.22
Never Married	0	1	0.10	0.30
Income	1	7	4.59	1.44
Urban Location	0	1	0.42	0.49
Region (south=1)	0	1	0.32	0.47
Political Views	1	7	3.63	1.64
Political Affiliation:				
Democrats	0	1	0.37	0.48
Independent/Other	0	1	0.21	0.40
Republican	0	1	0.43	0.50
Religious Tradition:				
Evangelical Protestants	0	1	0.35	0.48
Catholic	0	1	0.25	0.43
Black/Mainline Protestants	0	1	0.25	0.43
Other	0	1	0.09	0.28
None	0	1	0.07	0.26
Biblical Literacy	0	1	0.24	0.42
Religiosity Factor	-2.12	1.39	0.00	1.00
Attend church at age 12	0	8	5.61	2.24
Angry God Index	0	32	12.85	7.78
God Involve Index	0	28	20.71	6.83
Positive God Index	0	20	17.09	5.22
Sacralization Factor	-2.06	1.62	0.00	1.00
Religious Good Index	0	9	5.36	2.46
Social Good Index	0	9	6.30	1.83
Choose	1	5	2.85	1.47
Progressive Attitude	1	5	3.96	0.83
Attitudes towards Divorce	0	6	3.72	2.11
Gay Marriage	1	5	2.52	1.63
Gay Union	1	5	3.17	1.62

N=863

Appendix 2 Descriptive statistics of study variables for males only**Descriptive Statistics**

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	18	89	48.93	14.82
Race (Whites=1)	0	1	0.85	0.36
Education	2	7	4.90	1.58
Marital Status:				
Married/Living as married	0	1	0.82	0.39
Separated/Divorced	0	1	0.07	0.26
Widowed	0	1	0.02	0.13
Never Married	0	1	0.10	0.29
Income	1	7	4.73	1.39
Urban Location	0	1	0.43	0.50
Region (south=1)	0	1	0.32	0.47
Political Views	1	7	3.39	1.53
Political Affiliation:				
Democrats	0	1	0.30	0.46
Independent/Other	0	1	0.24	0.43
Republican	0	1	0.46	0.50
Religious Tradition:				
Evangelical Protestants	0	1	0.33	0.47
Catholic	0	1	0.25	0.43
Black/Mainline Protestants	0	1	0.25	0.44
Other	0	1	0.08	0.27
None	0	1	0.09	0.29
Biblical Literacy	0	1	0.20	0.40
Religiosity Factor	-2.12	1.39	-0.20	1.02
Attend church at age 12	0	8	5.56	2.10
Angry God Index	0	32	13.65	7.96
God Involve Index	0	28	19.35	7.59
Positive God Index	0	20	16.22	6.02
Sacralization Factor	-2.06	1.62	-0.05	0.98
Religious Good Index	0	9	5.14	2.53
Social Good Index	0	9	6.08	1.85
Choose	1	5	3.15	1.45
Progressive Attitude	1	5	3.94	0.81
Attitudes towards Divorce	0	6	3.68	2.10
Gay Marriage	1	5	2.37	1.57
Gay Union	1	5	3.10	1.61

N=367

Appendix 3 Descriptive statistics of study variables for females only**Descriptive Statistics**

Variables	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Age	18	96	48.67	15.42
Race (Whites=1)	0	1	0.86	0.35
Education	2	7	4.80	1.56
Marital Status:				
Married/Living as married	0	1	0.73	0.45
Separated/Divorced	0	1	0.09	0.29
Widowed	0	1	0.07	0.26
Never Married	0	1	0.10	0.31
Income	1	7	4.49	1.47
Urban Location	0	1	0.40	0.49
Region (south=1)	0	1	0.33	0.47
Political Views	1	7	3.81	1.69
Political Affiliation:				
Democrats	0	1	0.42	0.49
Independent/Other	0	1	0.18	0.39
Republican	0	1	0.40	0.49
Religious Tradition:				
Evangelical Protestants	0	1	0.36	0.48
Catholic	0	1	0.25	0.43
Black/Mainline Protestants	0	1	0.24	0.43
Other	0	1	0.09	0.29
None	0	1	0.06	0.23
Biblical Literacy	0	1	0.26	0.44
Religiosity Factor	-2.12	1.39	0.15	0.96
Attend church at age 12	0	8	5.64	2.34
Angry God Index	0	32	12.26	7.61
God Involve Index	2	28	21.72	6.02
Positive God Index	0	20	17.73	4.43
Sacralization Factor	-2.06	1.62	0.03	1.01
Religious Good Index	0	9	5.51	2.41
Social Good Index	0	9	6.47	1.81
Choose	1	5	2.63	1.44
Progressive Attitude	1	5	3.97	0.85
Attitudes towards Divorce	0	6	3.75	2.11
Gay Marriage	1	5	2.62	1.67
Gay Union	1	5	3.22	1.62

N=496

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