Transformation or Continuity in Americans' Definition of Family: A Research Note

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ABSTRACT

This brief research report summarizes key patterns from a nationally representative phone survey in which over 800 adults from the continental United States were interviewed in 2010 about their definitions of family and the lines that they draw around what they consider to be families. Interviewees were given a list of living arrangements—e.g., husband and wife with children, lesbian couple with children, heterosexual cohabiting couple with children, single man with foster children—and asked whether they personally believe that these arrangements count as family. Patterns in 2010 were compared to patterns in 2003 and 2006. The data indicate: (1) a dramatic movement in American's definitions of family across all three years, with over two-thirds of Americans now including some types of same-sex couples in their definition of family; (2) a notable increase in endorsement of same-sex marriage, especially between 2006 and 2010—a pattern that also is confirmed in other national surveys; and (3) the power of legal status in definitions of family, with legally married same-sex couples receiving greater recognition of family status and deserving of the rights of family than same-sex couples who are not legally married.

TRANSFORMATION OR CONTINUITY IN AMERICANS' DEFINITION OF FAMILY: A RESEARCH NOTE

This brief research report summarizes key patterns from a nationally representative phone survey in which over 800 adults from the continental United States were interviewed in 2010 about their definitions of family and the lines that they draw around what they consider to be families. Interviewees were given a list of living arrangements—e.g., husband and wife with children, lesbian couple with children, heterosexual cohabiting couple with children, single man with foster children—and asked whether they personally believe that these arrangements count as family. Interviewees also were asked questions regarding the provision of various rights and benefits (e.g., health benefits) to these different living arrangements. This survey is the third of three cross-sectional panel surveys on these topics (the other two were conducted in 2003 and 2006), thereby enabling us to discern the extent to which views regarding the definition of family have changed, or have been constant, during the seven-year period

Social scientists have long been interested in family—so interested, in fact, that they have studied the effects of family in virtually every aspect of children's and adults' lives (Glass and Estes 1997; Freese, Powell, and Steelman 1999), explored the causes and effects of changing family structure (e.g., the rise in what used to be considered atypical family forms, including single-parent households, interracial households, and cohabiting couple households) (Cherlin 1981; Biblarz and Raftery 1999; Bumpass 1990; Hamilton, Cheng, and Powell 2007; Manning and Brown 2006; Powell and Downey 1997; Seltzer 2000; Smock and Manning 2004; Rosenfeld 2007, 2008), and written extensively on public views regarding a broad range of family-related topics (Bielby and Bielby 1984; Milkie, Simon, and Powell 1997; Bianchi,

Robinson, and Milkie 2006). That said, they mostly ignore public definitions of family (but see Trost [1990]).

This, of course, does not mean that social scientists avoid defining family themselves. At least since the early 1900s, scholars have debated over the definition of family; however, these debates focus on academicians' constructions of family and construction by the public (Burgess 1926; Waller 1938; Murdock 1949; Gubrium and Holstein 1990; Stacey 1996; Bernstein and Reimann, 2001; Demo, Allen, and Fine 2000). When scholars have written about public definitions, they have focused on how people think about and what they define as their own family—with scholarship often emphasizing the experiences of marginalized groups (e.g., on African Americans' incorporation of extended or fictive kin into their family and on gay and lesbian couples' efforts to create and reaffirm their identity as family [Carringon 1995; Hill 1999, Sullivan 2001; Weston 1991]). With the exception of some limited college student surveys (Ford et al. 1996; Weigel 2008), we have known very little about the boundaries that Americans set in defining other people's families—until recently, as discussed below.

The case for looking at public definitions—more broadly, public opinion—is compelling. Sociologists and political scientists have persuasively articulated the role that public opinion can assume in driving policy change or maintaining the status quo (Page and Shapiro 1992; Burstein 2003; Brooks and Manza 2007). Recent ballot initiatives, along with those that will be voted on this year, regarding gay marriage, adoption, and fosters accentuate the importance of public views and definitions.

Public definitions of family are especially important if our goal is to better understand the measurement of and implications of children's family structure. Indeed, the impetus behind The National Center of Family and Marriage Research's "New Approaches to the Measurement of

Children's Family" initiative apparently is "the increasingly complex and diverse configurations of children's family experience." Recognition of a more inclusive conceptualization of family also led to the change in the title of the flagship journal of the National Council of Family Relations from *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (emphasis mine) to *Journal of Marriage and Family*. The question, though, remains whether the public also shares this recognition or instead whether they differentiate between living arrangements that meet more circumscribed criteria of "family" and the living arrangements that do not meet these criteria.

To date, the most extensive empirical examination of Americans' definitions of family was conducted by Powell, Bolzendahl, Geist, and Steelman (2010). Using a cross-sectional panel design and examining two waves of data (one collected in 2003 and the other collected in 2006) that tapped into Americans' definitions of family and their rationale behind these definitions, Powell et al. found strong evidence of changing definitions of family between 2003 and 2006—a period that, at least in terms of the discussion of family, can be considered critical and contentious. In 2003, landmark court decisions struck down anti-sodomy laws at the national level (*Lawrence et al. v. Texas*) and the prohibition of same-sex marriage in one state (*Goodridge v. Massachusetts Department of Public Health*). These court decisions precipitated a great deal of political activity both by advocates of same-sex marital rights who promoted an expanded definition of family and by opponents of same-sex marriage who advanced a more limited definition that presented heterosexual marriage as its cornerstone. That the latter group appeared to be more successful during this period—at least as signaled by the approval of constitutional amendments banning same-sex marriage in over ten states in 2004 alone.

A comparison of the responses in the 2003 and 2006 survey, however, revealed a sizable, and statistically significant, movement toward greater expansiveness in definitions of family and

greater tolerance of "non-traditional" families (both same-sex couples and heterosexual cohabiting couples). For example, bivariate and multivariate analyses of the data confirm a statistically significant increase between 2003 and 2006 in the percentage of Americans who agreed that a lesbian couple with children counts as family.

Since 2006, however, there have been remarkable changes regarding the debate about the meaning of family and the legal status of same-sex couples and cohabiting couples. These changes, arguably, may be even more pronounced than those experienced between 2003 and 2006. Correspondingly, the public discourse on the meaning of family may well have intensified since 2006. These changes have not followed a predictably linear fashion—with the advancement of the rights of same-sex couples in some states (e.g., court-initiated legalization of in Iowa or legislatively-approved marriage in New Hampshire) and with successful legal, legislative, and electoral actions that stalled or prevented the movement toward the extension of these rights in other states.

Given changes in Americans' responses that occurred between 2003 and 2006 and unprecedented changes in the political and social landscape that have occurred since 2006, it is unclear whether Americans' definitions of family have continued to expand, have remained the same, or have become more delimited. It also is unclear whether the fact that same-sex marriage is legalized in some states has implications for definitions of family—i.e., does being legally married give same-same sex couples greater legitimacy as a "family?"

DATA AND METHODS

Data for this study come from the Constructing the Family Surveys of 2003, 2006, and 2010 (CFS). These telephone surveys of Indiana and United States adult residents (712 in 2003, 815 in

2006, and 831 in 2010) are the product of the Indiana University Sociological Research Practicum and were conducted by the Center for Survey Research at Indiana University (CSR) in Bloomington, Indiana. A primary purpose of the surveys was to monitor public opinion regarding definitions of family, policies regarding families, and attitudes about same-sex marriage. The surveys include background information on sociodemographic characteristics such as education, age, gender, race, religion and marital status.

Dependent Variables

Definitions of Family

The primary variable of interest in this project is public definitions of family – that is, which groups of people or living arrangements are counted as family. In the 2003, 2006, and 2010 interviews respondents were given 11 living arrangements and asked whether each of these living arrangements constituted a family. These living arrangements included a husband and wife living together with one or more of their children; a man and woman living together as an unmarried couple, with one or more of their children; a husband and wife living together who have no children; a man and woman living together as an unmarried couple who have no children; two women living together as a couple with one or more of their children; two men living together as a couple with one or more of their children; two men living together as a couple who have no children; two women living together as a couple who have no children; a man living alone with one or more of his children; a woman living alone with one or more of her children; and two people living together housemates who are not living as a couple and have no children.

Using Latent Class Analysis (Bartholomew, 2002; Hogan, Eggebeen, and Clogg 1993; McCutcheon 1987), we collapsed responses to the first ten questions into a smaller set of

categories or "ideal types" for defining family: Traditional, Transitional, and Modern.[1] Those in the traditional category—also referred to as exclusionist in Powell et al. (2010)—take the most restrictive definition of family that does not include any type of same-sex couple (and is ambivalent about the inclusion of unmarried heterosexual couples with children). Those in the modern category—also referred to as inclusionist in Powell et al. (2010)—endorse the most expansive definition of family that includes same-sex couples (and cohabiting heterosexual couples) with or without children. Those in the transitional category—also referred to as moderate in Powell et al. (2010)—count same-sex couples (and cohabiting heterosexual coples) as family if the household includes children. To put it another way, if the traditional category is "closed" in its definition of family and the modern category is "open," the transitional category is "ajar."

The 2010 added several living arrangements to consider the constitutive power of the law on views toward same-sex families. We asked a subsample whether same-sex couples (with children, without children) are a family if they: (1) are legally married in the state that they live; (2) not legally married but have participated in a religious ceremony; or (3) legally married in one state but living in a state in which same-sex marriage is not legal. Since respondents were asked more than one of these questions, our analysis is based on 3,447 records nested within 697 respondents. In the multivariate analysis, we adjust the standard errors to address the unique structure of the dataset.

[1] So few Americans counted the eleventh group—housemates—as family that responses to this question did not cluster well with the other responses. As a result, the latent class analysis does not take into account responses regarding this group, although respondents in the modern category were more likely than those in other categories to count housemates as family.

Support for Same-Sex Marriage

As in 2003 and 2006, respondents in 2010 were asked whether they strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement: "gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to marry." We report the results of OLS regression models estimating support for same-sex marriage. Multivariate analyses using ordinal logistic regression and multinomial logistic regression provided very similar findings to those reported here.

Support for Family Rights

The survey includes closed-ended items that gauge individuals' support for different family rights that are usually associated with marriage. One-fourth of the sample were asked about the right to file joint income tax returns, one-fourth were asked about the right to have health insurance for the partner, one-fourth were asked about hospital visitation rights, and one-fourth were asked about inheritance rights. All respondents were asked whether they strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that these rights should be given to the following five groups of people who have no children: a man and woman living together as an unmarried couple; two men living together as a couple or two women living together as a couple; two men or two women who are legally married; two men or two women who were married to each other in a religious ceremony but are not legally married; or two men or two women who were legally married to each other by a state that allows gay marriage but are now living in a state that does not legally recognize their marriage. Since respondents were asked more than one question, the multivariate OLS regression analysis (as well as supplementary analyses using ordinal logistic regression and multinomial logistic regression) is based on 3407 records nested within 691 respondents.

Independent Variables

In examining whether Americans' definitions of family have changed since 2006, we also include controls for sociodemographic factors that may be implicated in these definitions. They include gender (female=1, male=0), age (four groups: 18-29, 30-44, 45-64, and 65 and older), race/ethnicity (white, black, Latino, other race), educational attainment (high school degree or less, some college, college degree), marital status (married=1, never married=0), region (south, northeast, north central, west), religiosity (as measured by views regarding whether the bible is the actual word of G-d, the inspired word of G-d, or an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral teaching recorded by man), and political self-identification (from extremely liberal [1] to extremely conservative [7]).

RESULTS

Changes in Americans' Definition of Family

We begin by exploring Americans' definition of family over time. As seen in Figure 1, between 2003 and 2010 there is a notable decline in the percentage of respondents who fall into traditional category (from 45 percent to 34 percent) and a responding increase in the percentage of respondents who can be categorized as having a transitional (from 29 percent to 34 percent) or modern view (from 25 percent to 33 percent) of family. In other words, by 2010 nearly two-thirds of Americans count some type of same-sex couple (for transitional respondents, same-sex couples with children; for modern respondents, same-sex couples with or without children) as family (Figure 2).

Figures 1 and 2 about here

Are the changes from 2003 to 2010 a function of changes in other sociodemographic characteristics, religiosity and political identification? The multivariate analysis in Table 1 discounts this possibility. In this table, we see that the decrease in support of traditional definitions of family is significant even after controls for gender, age, race/ethnicity, and education (Model 1), marital status and region (Model 3), religiosity and political identification (Model 4) are taken into consideration.

This table also confirms strong effects of some sociodemographic characteristics on the definitions of family. We see that women, younger respondents, college graduates, respondents who never married, and respondents who did not live in the south are more likely to hold transitional and modern views than were their male, older, less education, married, and southern counterparts. Some of these effects—e.g., the regional differences—are partially via religiosity (as noted above, measured by views regarding the literalness of the bible) and political identification, both of which are strongly tied to public definitions of family.

Table 1 about here

Americans' Views about Same-Sex Marriage

We examine public opinion regarding the legalization of same-sex marriage. As seen in Figure 3, support for the legalization of same-sex marriage increased dramatically between 2003 and 2010 (from 41 percent to 52 percent), although most of the change was between 2006 and 2010. The growing support for same-sex marriage is also evident in several other surveys and polls conducted over the last decade, as shown in Table 2.

Figure 3 about here

Table 2 about here

Multivariate analyses in Table 3 confirm that the change in public support toward same-sex marriage is not attributable to changes in sociodemographic characteristics, religiosity and

political identification (Models 1-3). As seen in Model 4 and as would be expected, Americans who subscribe to a traditional definition of family are more likely than their counterparts to oppose same-sex marriage. Importantly, however, the increase in support for same-sex marriage between 2003 and 2010 is not due entirely to the decrease in the percentage of people who have a traditional of family. That is, even when we take into account definitions of family (Model 4), the effect of year remains significant. Additional analyses (not shown here) indicate that one reason for this seeming anomaly is the movement of those with transitional definitions toward greater acceptance of same-sex marriage. Approximately one-half of Americans in this category were in favor of the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2003; by 2010 the figure increased to two-thirds. In other words, the movement to approval of same-sex marriage is due in part to changes in definitions of family and but also is in part independent from these changes.

Table 3 about here

The Constitutive Power of the Law: Marital Status and Public Views

Finally, we examine whether the inclusion of marital status—a socio-legal status and a signal of commitment—affects definitions of family. In their analysis of open-ended comments that individuals make when defining family, Powell et al. (2010) suggest that a sizable number of Americans do not define same-sex couples with children (or without children) as family precisely because they are not legally married. This connotes a catch-22. On one hand, because same-sex couples are not seen as family, they are not seen as suitable candidates for legalized marriage. On the other hand, because same-sex couples are not legally allowed to be married in most states, they are not seen as family.

To assess the role that marital status may play in Americans' views regarding same-sex couples, the 2010 survey includes questions that explicitly ask whether a legally married same-

sex couple counts as family. Figure 4 indicates a strong impact of marital status. Only one-third of the sample (33 percent) view same-sex couple without children as a family; this figure nearly doubles if the couple is married (59 percent).

Figure 4 about here

This bivariate pattern also is confirmed in multivariate analyses. Table 4 presents logistic regression models that assess the effects of four signals of commitment—legal marriage, a religious commitment ceremony, legal marriage in one state but residence in a state that does not recognize same-sex marriage, and the presence of children—on whether or not a same-sex couple is defined as a family (unmarried same-sex couples constitute the referent category). This table indicates that each of these signs of commitment increases the likelihood that a same-sex couple is considered a family. Notably, the effects of legal marriage and children are especially strong. These patterns hold regardless of the control variables taken into account.

Table 4 about here

We next consider the extent to which marriage also shapes individuals' support of various family rights. Table 5 presents regression models predicting support for these rights. Five groups are compared: unmarried heterosexual couples, unmarried same-sex couples (the reference category), married same-sex couples, married same-sex couples who live in a state that does not recognized same-sex marriage, and same-sex couples who are not legally married but have participated in a religious ceremony. Since one-quarter of the sample was asked about one of four rights (health insurance, hospital visitation, inheritance, and joint tax returns), these rights also are included as independent variables (with joint tax returns as a reference category).

Table 5 about here

As seen in the tables, unmarried same-sex couples are seen as least deserving of family rights—significantly less so than unmarried heterosexual couples. This pattern, however, changes dramatically is the same-sex couples are legally married. Support for family rights for married same-sex couples is greater than support for unmarried same-sex couples and unmarried heterosexual couples.[2]

CONCLUSION

The patterns from data from this 2010 survey are very clear. They identify important change in the acceptance of particular living arrangements. More specifically, they show a striking movement away from a traditional definition of family that privileges married heterosexual couples, especially those with children. Instead, more Americans are endorsing a definition of family that includes at least some type of same-sex couples—for those in the transitional category, same-sex couples with children; and for those in the modern category, same-sex couples regardless of parental status. These changes likely are due to a combination of factors—among them, Americans' increasing contact with same-sex couples and individuals, increasing visibility of same-sex couples and individuals in the public sphere (e.g., in media), and increasing endorsement of the position that sexuality is not a "choice" and instead is due to factors that are beyond the control of the individual (e.g., genetic factors, G-d's will). These factors—along with sociodemographic changes (e.g., the entrance each year of another cohort of young adults who are more supportive of same-sex issues than their much older counterparts)—likely will continue to shape views regarding the meaning of family. In other words, change is indeed occurring.

[2] These models also demonstrate the least support for providing joint tax returns to any of these groups and the most support for providing hospital visitation rights.

If there is continuity in views regarding family, it is reflected in the ongoing importance that Americans attribute to marital status—and parent status—when deciding whether a particular living arrangement is a family. Ironically, though, this continuity also suggests a change in future definitions of family. Our analysis demonstrates that marital status powerfully increases Americans' willingness to view a same-sex couple as a family that is deserving of the rights of family. In other words, the legalization of same-sex marriage in some states may continue to reshape Americans' willingness to define same-sex households as family.

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Figure 1: Changes in Americans' Definition of Family: 2003, 2006, and 2010

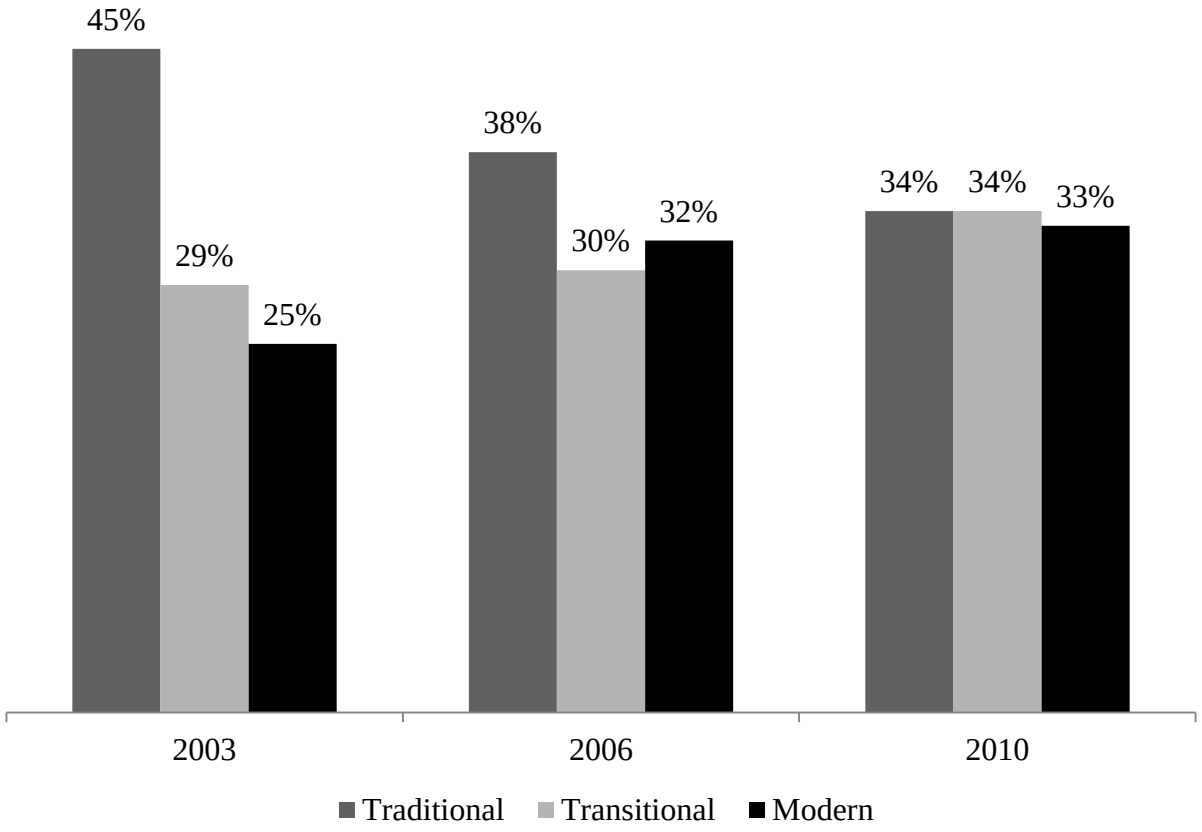

Figure 2: Changes in Americans' Definition of Family: 2003, 2006, and 2010

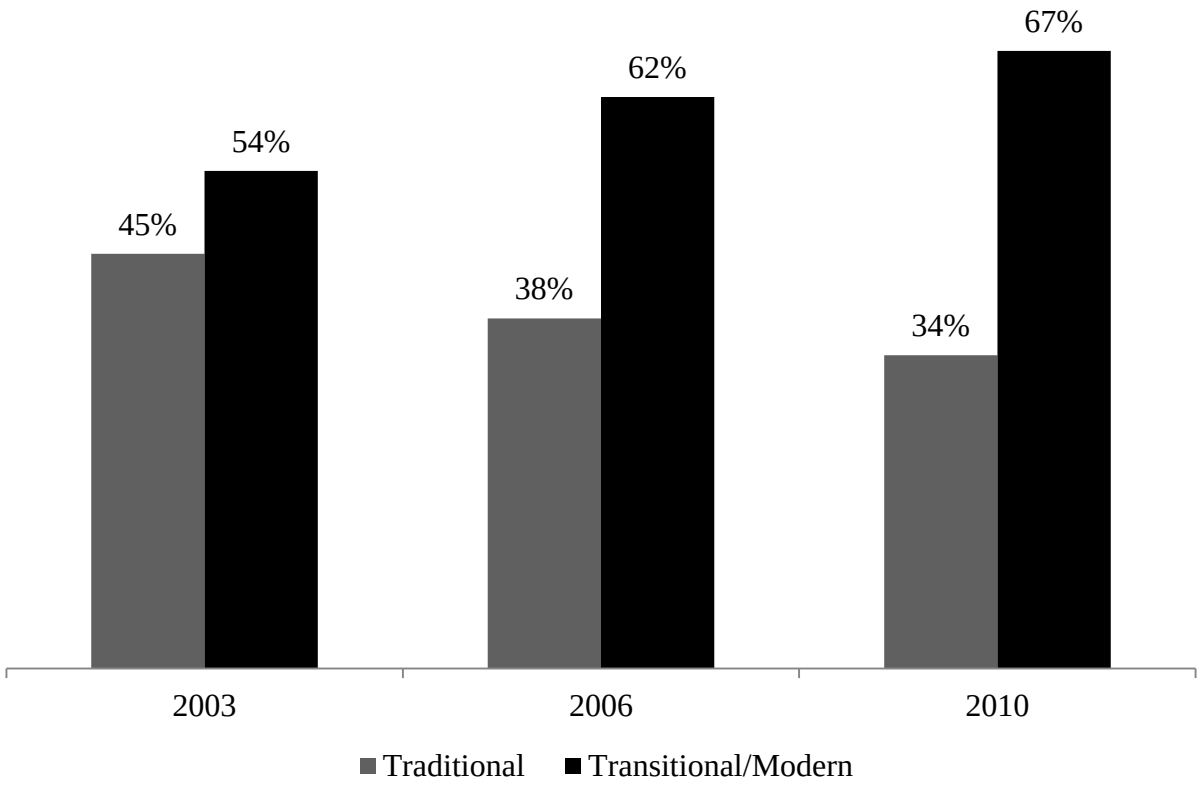

Figure 3: Changes in Americans' Views about Same-Sex Marriage: 2003, 2006, and 2010

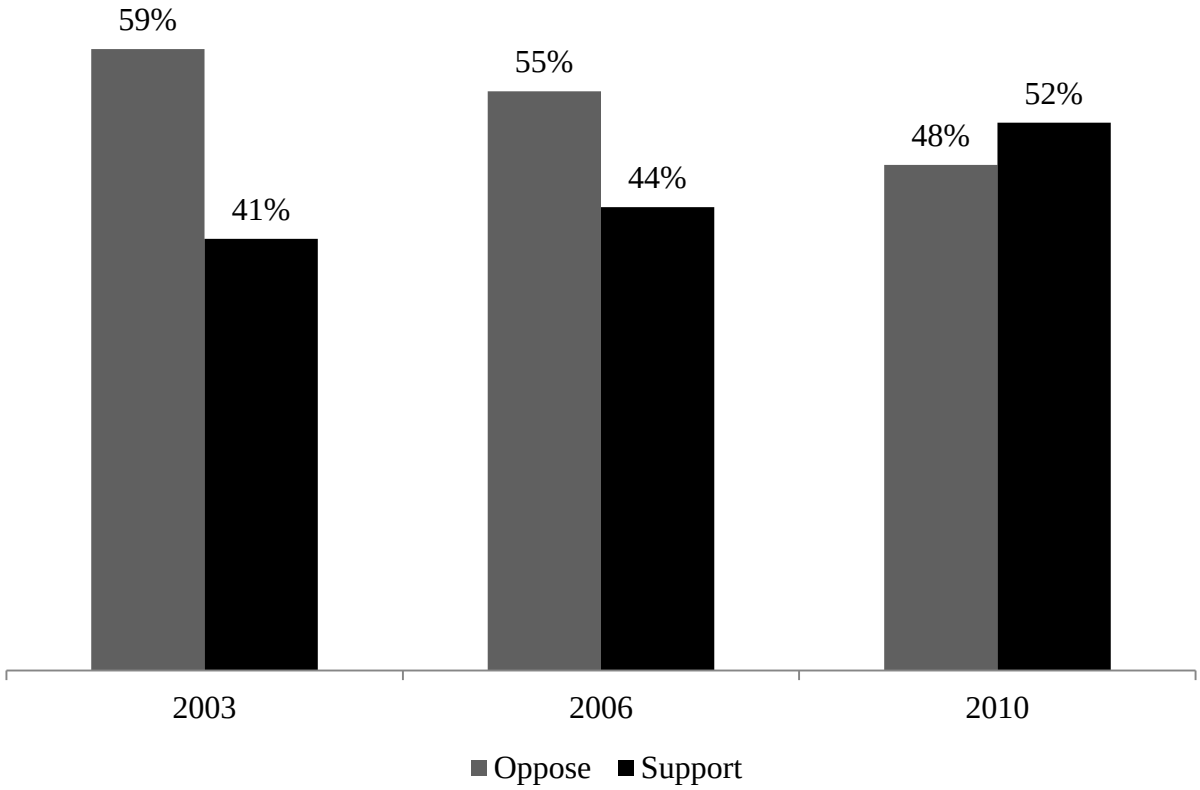

Figure 4: Power of Marriage on Definitions: Same-sex Couples as Family

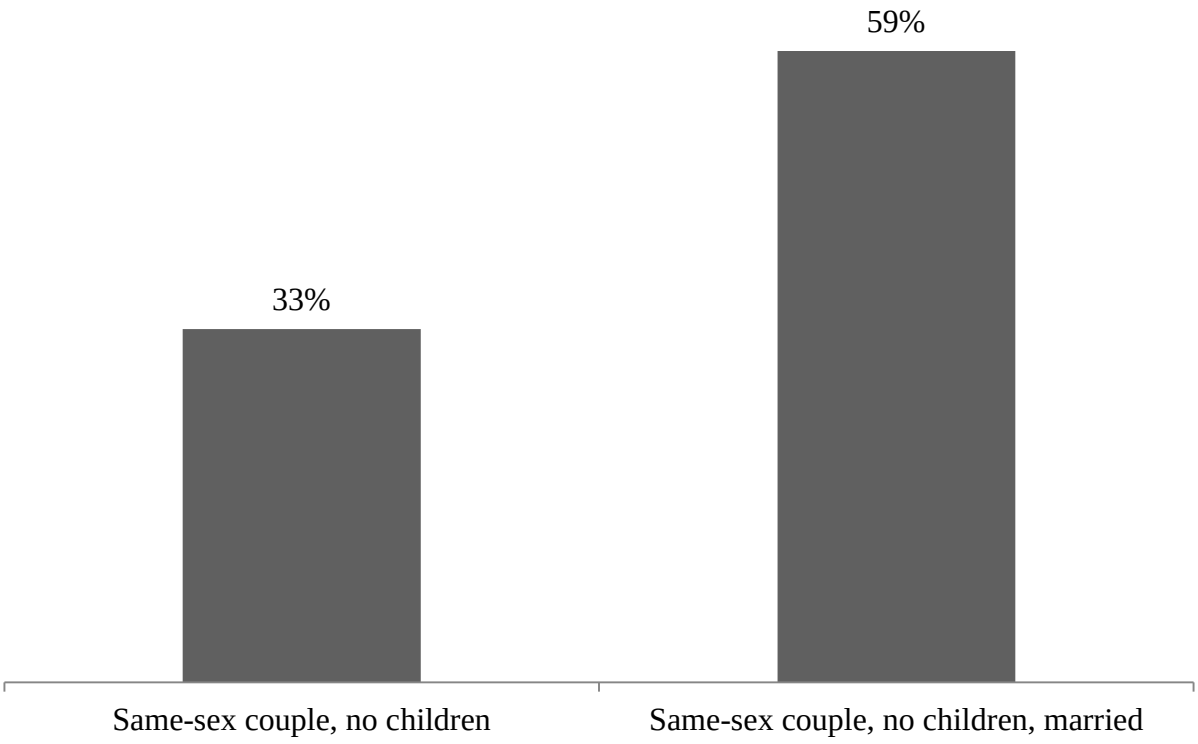

Table 1: Unstandardized Coefficients from Multinomial Logistic Regressions Predicting Family Definition Clusters: 2003, 2006 and 2010 (n=2,176)

	Modern vs. Traditional			Transitional vs. Traditional		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Year: 2006	.25	.29*	.37*	.20	.21	.25
	(.14)	(.14)	(.16)	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)
Year: 2010	.42**	.48***	.65***	.28*	.28*	.41**
	(.14)	(.14)	(.16)	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)
Female	.85***	.84***	1.06***	.28**	.28**	.44***
	(.12)	(.12)	(.13)	(.11)	(.11)	(.12)
Age: 30-44	-.53**	-.30	-.15	-.75***	-.64***	-.57**
	(.18)	(.19)	(.21)	(.17)	(.18)	(.19)
Age: 45-64	-.79***	-.61***	-.42*	-1.08***	-.98***	-.87***
	(.17)	(.18)	(.20)	(.16)	(.17)	(.18)
Age: 65 and over	-1.72***	-1.66***	-1.48***	-1.60***	-1.55***	-1.41***
	(.21)	(.21)	(.23)	(.19)	(.19)	(.20)
Black	.09	-.01	.18	.05	-.01	.16
	(.20)	(.21)	(.23)	(.20)	(.20)	(.21)
Other Race	.04	-.04	-.10	.05	.01	-.02
	(.16)	(.16)	(.18)	(.15)	(.15)	(.16)
Latino	-.08	-.09	.13	-.12	-.14	.02
	(.29)	(.30)	(.34)	(.28)	(.28)	(.30)
Some College	.22	.24	.17	.26	.26*	.22
	(.14)	(.14)	(.16)	(.13)	(.13)	(.14)
College Degree	.79***	.85***	.64***	.61***	.61***	.48***
	(.14)	(.14)	(.16)	(.13)	(.14)	(.15)
Married		-.65***	-.66***		-.33**	-.34**
		(.12)	(.13)		(.11)	(.12)
Northeast		.73***	.38		.66***	.39
		(.22)	(.24)		(.20)	(.21)
North Central		.42**	.40*		.14	.10

		(.14)	(.16)		(.13)	(.14)
West		.89***	.60**		.45*	.24
		(.20)	(.22)		(.19)	(.20)
Bible: Inspired			-.77***			-.54**
			(.19)			(.18)
Bible: Actual			-2.20***			-1.57***
			(.22)			(.20)
Political Identification			-.62***			-.35***
			(.05)			(.04)
Intercept	-.71	-.92	2.68	.09	.02	2.38
$(L_a^2 - L_b^2) / L_a^2$				.048	.061	.159
AIC				4557.99	4509.90	4056.94
BIC				4694.45	4691.83	4272.98

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Reference categories are: Year: 2003, Age: 18-29, Race: White, Education: High School degree or less, Marital Status: Never Married, Region: South, Bible: Fables and legends.

Table 2: Changing Support for Same-Sex Marriage: Summary of Selected Polls

	Support Same-Sex Marriage	Oppose Same-Sex Marriage
Constructing the Family		
2010	52%	48%
2006	44%	**55%**
2003	41%	**59%**
TESS/Knowledge Networks (Doan et al.)		
2010	**55%**	45%
ABC News/Washington Post		
2012	**52%**	44%
2006	36%	**58%**
2003	37%	**55%**
Gallup Poll		
2011	**53%**	45%
2006	42%	**56%**
2003	42%	**55%**
General Social Survey		
2010	**46%**	40%
2006	35%	**52%**
2004	30%	**56%**
1988	12%	**73%**
AP-National Constitutional Center Poll		
2010	**52%**	46%
2009	46%	**53%**
CNN/Opinion Research		
2011	**51%**	46%
2008	44%	**55%**
Pew Research Center		
2011	**46%**	45%
2008	38%	**49%**
2004	31%	60%
Quinnipiac University		
2011	46%	**48%**
2009	38%	**55%**
NBC/Wall Street Journal		
2012	**49%**	40%
2009	41%	**49%**
2004	30%	**61%**
Public Religion Research Institute/Religion News Service		
2012	**52%**	44%

Table 3: Unstandardized Coefficients from OLS Regressions Predicting Support for Same-Sex Marriage: 2003, 2006, and 2010 (n=1,777)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Year: 2006	.04	.05	.06	.00
	(.06)	(.06)	(.05)	(.05)
Year: 2010	.26***	.25**	.26***	.18**
	(.08)	(.08)	(.07)	(.06)
Female	.25***	.24***	.28***	.11**
	(.06)	(.06)	(.05)	(.04)
Age: 30-44	-.33***	-.24**	-.12	-.07
	(.09)	(.09)	(.08)	(.07)
Age: 45-64	-.61***	-.52***	-.34***	-.24***
	(.08)	(.08)	(.07)	(.06)
Age: 65 and over	-.89***	-.83***	-.57***	-.31***
	(.10)	(.10)	(.08)	(.07)
Black	-.13	-.17	-.09	-.12
	(.11)	(.11)	(.09)	(.08)
Other Race	.08	.04	.03	.05
	(.08)	(.08)	(.07)	(.06)
Latino	.06	.03	.09	.03
	(.15)	(.15)	(.13)	(.11)
Some College	.09	.09	.03	-.01
	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)	(.05)
College Degree	.40***	.40***	.20***	.06
	(.07)	(.07)	(.06)	(.05)
Married		-.27***	-.21***	-.09*
		(.06)	(.05)	(.04)
Northeast		.47***	.20*	.16*
		(.11)	(.09)	(.08)
North Central		.13	.06	.02

		(.07)	(.06)	(.05)
West		.31**	.09	-.01
		(.10)	(.09)	(.07)
Bible: Inspired			-.46***	-.32***
			(.07)	(.06)
Bible: Actual			-1.12***	-.68***
			(.08)	(.07)
Political Identification			-.26***	-.15***
			(.02)	(.01)
Transitional				.87***
				(.05)
Modern				1.44***
				(.06)
Intercept	2.29	2.23	3.91	2.64
adj. R^2	.081	.103	.345	.519
AIC	5638.90	5595.96	5041.54	4494.04
BIC	5704.70	5683.68	5145.71	4609.18

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Reference categories are: Year: 2003, Age: 18-29, Race: White, Education: High School degree or less, Marital Status: Never Married, Region: South, Bible: Fables and legends, Typology: Traditional.

Table 4: Unstandardized Coefficients from Logistic Regression Predicting Definition of Family (n=3447/697)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Same-sex Couple: Children	.80***	.88***	.93***	1.18***
	(.09)	(.10)	(.11)	(.12)
Same-sex Couple: Legally Married	.74***	.81***	.85***	1.04***
	(.06)	(.06)	(.07)	(.08)
Same-sex Couple: Religious Ceremony	.37***	.40***	.42***	.51***
	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.08)
Same-sex Couple: Legally Married but Living in New State	.41***	.44***	.46***	.57***
	(.05)	(.06)	(.06)	(.08)
$(L_a^2 - L_b^2) / L_a^2$	.041	.110	.126	.264
AIC	4826.96	4496.79	4204.98	3553.11
BIC	4857.95	4583.55	4315.59	3682.16

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Model 2 also includes controls for gender, age, race/ethnicity end education
Model 3 also includes controls for marital status and region
Model 4 also includes controls for religiosity (bible) and political identification
Omitted category is same-sex couple without children
Standard errors adjusted for 697 clusters (individual respondents)

Table 5: Unstandardized Coefficients from OLS Regressions Predicting Support for Family Rights (n=3407/691)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Heterosexual Couple: Unmarried	.21***	.21***	.21***	.21***	.21***
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Same-sex Couple: Legally Married	.29***	.30***	.30***	.30***	.30***
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Same-sex Couple: Religious Ceremony	.08*	.08*	.08*	.07*	.07*
	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)	(.03)
Same-sex Couple: Legally Married Living in a New State	.14***	.14***	.15***	.14***	.14***
	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)	(.04)
Rights: Health Insurance	.22	.22*	.21	.29**	.24**
	(.12)	(.11)	(.11)	(.09)	(.08)
Rights: Hospital Visitation	.74***	.74***	.74***	.79***	.78***
	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.09)	(.07)
Rights: Inheritance	.29*	.26*	.25*	.30**	.30***
	(.11)	(.11)	(.11)	(.09)	(.07)
Adjusted R^2	.050	.113	.128	.290	.434
AIC	11085.70	1086.79	10806.00	10108.60	9338.32
BIC	11134.77	10965.06	10934.81	10255.80	9497.79

Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Model 2 also includes controls for gender, age, race/ethnicity end education
Model 3 also includes controls for marital status and region
Model 4 also includes controls for religiosity (bible) and political identification
Omitted categories: Same-sex Couple: Unmarried, Rights: Joint Tax-Returns
Standard errors adjusted for 691 clusters (individual respondents)