

INDYSTAR POLL ANALYSIS AND CROSS TABS REPORT
Bowen Center for Public Affairs. Joseph Losco, Director

Analysis: Overall, half of all Hoosiers (50.2%) favor an amendment to the Civil Rights Act in Indiana that would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. Only 35% oppose the amendment, while an additional 14% remain unsure. This is down slightly from the results of the Hoosier Survey (56%) taken in October of this year. This reflects an increase in the number who say they are unsure or who refused to answer (up from 7.8% in the Hoosier Survey). However, given the margin of error in both samples, the decline may be small. Polling experts (like Nate Silver) suggest it is advisable to trust polling averages. If this were the case, support for the LGBT civil rights amendment would stand at 53.1%. This is in line with other statewide polls we have seen (e.g., Christine Matthews, June 2015 showed 54% support).

Support is fairly evenly spread across all regions of the state (Northern, Central, and Southern—see maps in Appendix) and across various types of communities (urban, suburban, and rural), although it is somewhat strongest in the Southern region and in suburban communities (although almost a quarter of Southern county residents responded “refuse/DK”). It is strongest among females and Democrats, and those who attend church services less frequently or not at all. Fully 56% of those who say they attend church more than once a week oppose the amendment. Support increases slightly with educational attainment and is strongest among Hispanics and non-African American minorities. While support of the amendment is highest among the young (18-24), this group is closely followed by those in the 55-64-age category.

Q. Would you favor or oppose an amendment to the Civil Rights Act in Indiana that would PROHIBIT discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity?

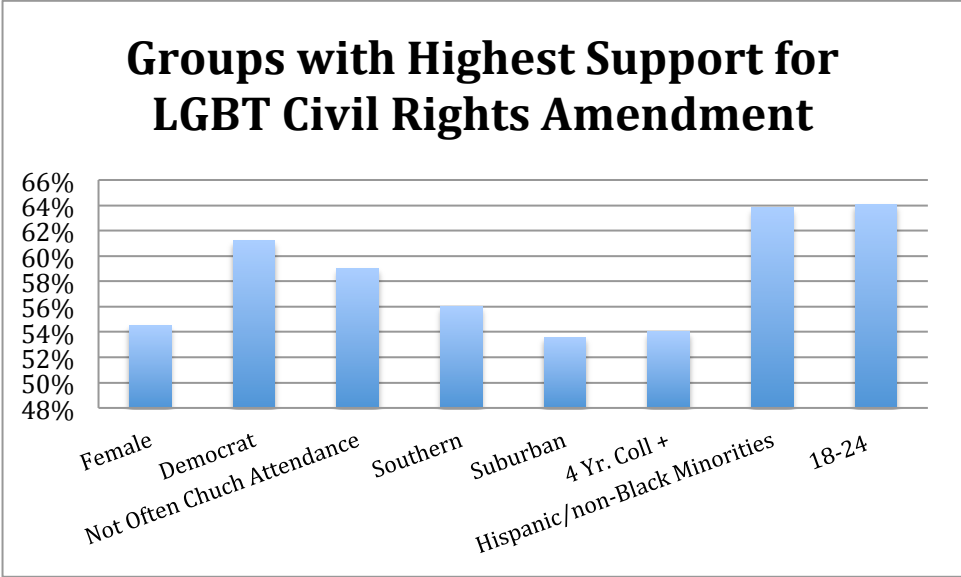
	<u>ALL</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	<u>Freq</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Not often</u>
							<u>Church</u>	<u>Church</u>	<u>Church*</u>
Favor	50.2	45.5	54.5	44.3	61.2	57.6	40.3	58.5	59
Oppose	35.1	41.3	29.2	40.9	29.1	33.3	41.2	32.8	29.8
DK/Refuse	14.7	13.2	16.3	14.8	9.7	9.1	18.6	8.7	11.2

	<u>North</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>Southern</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Suburban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Favor	52.3	44.9	56	49.1	53.6	45.6
Oppose	37.9	40.6	22	34.4	34.1	38.2
DK/Refuse	9.7	14.5	22	16.5	12.3	16.2

	<u>HS or less</u>	<u>Some Coll/ Assoc Degree</u>	<u>4 Yr Coll and over</u>	<u>White/non Hispanic</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Hispanic/ Other</u>
Favor	50.6	51.1	54	51.5	42.9	63.8
Oppose	31.9	36.6	36	32.9	44.9	29.8
DK/Refuse	17.5	12.1	10	15.6	12.2	6.4

	<u>18-24</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55-64</u>	<u>65+</u>
Favor	64.1	42.6	47.1	55	60.4	47.3
Oppose	28.1	47.5	35.6	27	27.4	33.3
DK/Refuse	7.8	9.9	17.3	18	12.3	19.4

*Frequent church attendance is once a week or more (39% of sample); Sometimes is once or twice a month or a few times a year (32.4% of sample); Not often is seldom or never (28.6%) of sample.



Support for Exemptions

When asked if they were more likely to support the amendment if it included an exemption for small businesses or religious organizations, less likely to support the bill with those exemptions, or whether it made no difference, a plurality of Hoosiers (41.7%) said it made no difference. However, the percentage of those who would be MORE likely to support the bill (24%) was matched almost exactly by the percentage of those who would be LESS likely to support the bill (24.7%). Partisan differences appear to be a major reason why exemptions would be a “wash.”

While about a third of Republicans who OPPOSE the blanket amendment prohibiting discrimination would be MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT ONE WITH EXEMPTIONS (32.4%), about an equal number of Democrats (31.1%) who support the blanket amendment would BE LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT ONE THAT INCLUDED EXEMPTIONS.

While those who say they attend church services frequently (once a week or more) are about evenly divided in their support (40.3%) and opposition (41.2%) to amending the Civil Rights Act, among those who attend church services less frequently (once or twice a month or a few times a year) a majority (58.5%) supports the legislation. About the same percentage of those who seldom or never attend church services support the amendment (59%).

Q. If small wedding-related businesses and religious-affiliated organizations were exempt from following legislation that provides protections for gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender individuals, would you be more likely to support the legislation, less likely to support it, or would this not make much difference to you either way?

	ALL	Rep	Dem	Ind	Freq Church	Sometimes Church	Not Often Church
More likely to support	24	27.3	20.1	28.5	24.5	29	20.4
Less likely to support	24.7	17	31.1	26.1	25.5	25.1	25.3
Not make much diff.	41.7	47.7	35.4	38.2	39.1	38.3	47.5
Don't know/Refused	9.6	8	13.4	7.3	10.9	7.7	6.8

Of those who **FAVOR** the amendment to prohibit LGBT discrimination, below are the percentages of each group likely to Support/Oppose **IF** exemptions made for small businesses with religious objections:

	ALL	Rep	Dem	Ind	Freq	Sometimes	Not Often
					Church	Church	Church
<u>Support w/exemption</u>		23.1	21.8	29.8	27.8	22.6	23.2
<u>Oppose w/exemption</u>		11.5	31.7	21.3	17.8	26.4	27.4
<u>No Difference</u>		59	34.7	44.7	43.3	48.1	43.2

Of those who **OPPOSE** the amendment to prohibit LGBT discrimination, below are percentages of each group likely to Support/Oppose **IF** exemptions made for small businesses with religious objections:

	ALL	Rep	Dem	Ind	Freq	Sometimes	Not Often
					Church	Church	Church
<u>Support w/exemption</u>		32.4	20.8	27.3	26.7	35.6	18.8
<u>Oppose w/exemption</u>		21.1	29.2	32.7	31.1	25.4	16.7
<u>No Difference</u>		38	37.5	29.1	33.3	27.1	56.3

Support for Specific Protections

When Hoosiers are asked about specific legal protections covered by the civil rights amendment, there is strong support. Support is broadly spread across both political parties as well as among those who attend church services often and those who do not. It is strongest among females and Democrats.

Q. Do you support Legal protection against discrimination in housing and employment?

	ALL	Male	Female	Rep	Dem	Ind	Freq	Sometimes	Not often
							Church	Church	Church
Favor	69.3	64.2	74	58.5	84.2	69.5	58.6	76	76.5
Oppose	23.4	29.2	17.9	33.5	12.7	25	32.3	19.7	17.9
DK/Refuse	7.4	6.6	8.0	8	3	5.5	9.1	4.4	5.6

Q. Do you support Legal protection against discrimination when shopping or receiving services from restaurants, hotels, and other public places?

	ALL	Male	Female	Rep	Dem	Ind	Freq	Sometimes	Not often
							Church	Church	Church
Favor	69.8	61.5	77.2	56.3	88.5	68.3	60.2	76	79
Oppose	23.7	31.9	16	34.1	8.5	26.8	31.7	21.3	16
DK/Refuse	6.6	6.6	6.7	9.7	3	4.9	8.1	2.7	4.9

Q. Do you support equal treatment in receiving public services?

	ALL	Male	Female	Rep	Dem	Ind	Freq	Sometimes	Not often
							Church	Church	Church
Favor	72.2	66.7	77.5	62.3	90.3	74.2	63.2	78.7	81.4
Oppose	20.6	26.7	14.8	29.7	7.3	19	27.7	16.4	13.7
DK/Refuse	7.2	6.6	7.7	8	2.4	6.7	9.1	4.9	5

The Use of Bathrooms

During the Equal Rights Amendment debates in the 1970s, opponents of the ERA in various states, including Indiana, claimed that the passage of the ERA would result in gender-neutral public bathrooms. The recent referendum on the issue of legal protections for LGBT persons in Houston, Texas, resulted in the issue being defeated, and the opponents used the issue of gender-neutral public bathrooms as a major reason for the defeat.

A majority of Hoosiers (53.6%) agrees (strongly or somewhat) that businesses and government buildings in Indiana should provide gender-neutral bathrooms while 35.3% either somewhat or strongly disagrees. More females (63.2%) than males (43.4%) either strongly or somewhat agree that businesses and government buildings should provide gender-neutral bathrooms. Republicans are evenly split on the issue (44.3% agree to 47.2% disagree) while Democrats support a requirement for gender neutral bathrooms by a margin of 61.2% to 25.4%.

Exempting public bathrooms from civil rights protections for gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and the transgendered would likely gain minimal additional support for the legislation (15.7%) while 28% would be less likely to support the legislation. Among Republicans, 14.3% say the exemption would make them more likely to support the civil rights amendment while 29.1 % said it would make them less likely to support the measure, and 51.4% said it would make no difference. Among Democrats, 14.5% would be more likely to support an amendment that includes the exemption while 33.9% said it would make them less likely to support the measure and 43.6% said it would make no difference. There are no significant difference between males and females on this question.

Q. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree that businesses and government buildings in Indiana should provide gender-neutral bathrooms?

1	Strongly agree	26.1
2	Somewhat agree	27.5
3	Somewhat disagree	10.9
4	Strongly disagree	24.4
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	11

Concerning the use of public bathrooms by the transgendered, a plurality of Hoosiers believe transgendered individuals should be required to use the bathrooms for the gender of their birth (44.9%) rather than the bathroom of their preferred gender (34.4%). There is a clear difference on this issue among male and female respondents. While 41.9% of female respondents believe the transgendered should be able to use the bathroom of their preferred gender, 53.6% of male respondents said they thought the transgendered should use bathrooms for their birth gender.

Q. Do you think individuals who are transgender should be allowed to use public bathrooms of their preferred gender or should they have to use the bathrooms of the gender they were born as?¹

	ALL	Male	Female	Rep	Dem	Ind
Preferred gender	34.4	26.3	41.9	29.1	47.9	36
Gender they were born as	44.9	53.6	36.7	56	30.9	49.4
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	20.7	20.1	21.4	14.9	21.2	14.6

Impact on Hoosier Businesses

A slight majority of Hoosiers believes the failure to adopt civil rights protections for Indiana will not have much of an impact on the ability to attract workers and customers (52.9%) while 35.9% believes that Hoosier businesses will have a harder time attracting workers and customers and only 3.5% believes that failure to add the amendment will make it easier for Hoosier businesses to attract employees and buyers. Those in the central counties of Indiana appear to be most concerned about the impact on business if the amendment is not passed.

Q. If the state of Indiana does NOT adopt legal protections for gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender individuals in housing, employment, and public accommodations, do you believe businesses in Indiana will have a harder time attracting workers and customers, have an easier time attracting workers and customers, or will it not affect businesses much either way?

	ALL	Northern	Central	Southern
Harder time attracting workers and customers	35.9	32.3	40.3	33.1
Easier time attracting workers and customers	3.5	4.2	2.7	3.4
Not be affected much either way	52.9	55.2	50.2	54.5
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7.8	8.3	6.8	9

Religious Conflicts

A majority of Hoosiers (54.1%) believes it is more important to protect civil rights for all citizens seeking access to services regardless of sexual orientation and gender identity than protecting the religious freedom of individuals who choose not to provide services based on religious beliefs (33.5%). A similar majority said they see no conflict between their own religious beliefs and homosexuality (55.8%) while 24.5% see a lot of conflict and 12.7% see a little conflict. There are significant differences, however, based on frequency of church attendance and self-identified political party as the tables below indicate.

Q. Which is more important to you? (READ AND RANDOMIZE)

	ALL	Freq Church	Sometimes Church	Not Often Church	Rep	Dem	Ind
Protecting religious freedom	33.5	50	27.5	19.9	57.4	10.9	34.1
Protecting the civil rights	54.1	39.1	64.3	65.8	29.5	79.4	54.3
Don't know/Refused	12.4	10.9	8.2	14.3	13.1	9.7	11.6

Q. And thinking about your own religious beliefs, do you personally feel that there is a conflict between your religious beliefs and homosexuality, or not? [IF CONFLICT: How much conflict do you think there is, a lot or a little?]²

	ALL	Freq Church	Sometimes Church	Not Often Church	Rep	Dem	Ind
Yes, a lot of conflict	24.5	39.1	19.8	10.6	35.8	12.7	26.4
Yes, a little conflict	12.7	13.2	15.9	9.9	13.6	12.7	14.7
No, no conflict	55.8	38.2	61	75.8	46	70.3	55.2
Don't know/Refused	7.0	9.5	3.3	3.7	4.5	4.2	3.7

Familiarity

A majority of Hoosier residents say they know of or have a family member who is gay or lesbian. Fewer are familiar with a person who is bisexual or transgendered. Differences are reported by party identification and gender of respondent as indicated below. Whether or not one is familiar with or has a family member who is gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered does not appear to have a significant impact on support for the civil rights amendment.

Q. Now, thinking about the people you know... Do you have a family member, relative or a close friend who is [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? Those answering YES:

	ALL	Rep	Dem	Ind	Male	Female
Gay	61.2	58.3	75.8	54.3	54.5	67.3
Lesbian	51.5	51.7	61.4	45.1	46.4	56.3
Bisexual	37.2	32.4	49.1	32.5	35.1	39.2
Transgender	12.1	11.4	18.8	9.8	9.7	14.1

Support or Oppose Civil Rights Amendment by personal Familiarity with person who is...

GAY	Favor	Oppose
Know Gay	63.5	64.3
Don't Know	35.2	33.8
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LESBIAN	Favor	Oppose
Know Lesbian	54.6	54.3
Don't Know	44	42.9
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BISEXUAL	Favor	Oppose
Know Bisexual	37.7	39.5
Don't Know	57	54.8

TRANSGENDER	Favor	Oppose
Know Transgender	13.6	11
Don't Know	85.1	87.1

Overall Take-Aways

Half of all adult Hoosiers 18 and over support amending the civil rights act to protect gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and the transgendered. A significant minority remains uncommitted. Support is greatest among females, Democrats, those with more education, the very young, non-African American minorities, and those who infrequently go to church. However, support for the specific legal protections provided such legislation is very high among virtually all groups.

Exempting small businesses from the amendment is likely to lose as many supporters as it picks up. The same holds for exempting the use of public restrooms by transgendered individuals.

Most Hoosiers do not see a conflict between religious freedom and civil rights protections and most believe it is more important to protect civil rights than religious freedom. Most Hoosiers do not see a major impact on Indiana businesses whether or not a civil rights amendment is passed.

SAMPLE OVERVIEW

The 2015 Indy Star Survey, sponsored by the Bowen Center for Public Affairs at Ball State University, obtained telephone interviews with a representative sample of 600 adults living in Indiana. Telephone interviews were conducted by landline (360) and cell phone (240, including 141 with adults with no landline phone). The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). Interviews were done in English by Princeton Data Source from November 30 to December 9, 2015. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ± 5.2 percentage points.

ENDNOTES

¹ This question is similar to one asked in a CBS New Poll, June 8, 2014 regarding the use of SCHOOL bathrooms for transgendered. The results of that survey are as follows:

Transgendered Students Should Use the Bathrooms/Locker Rooms of Their...

	TOTAL	Men	Women
Birth gender	59%	62%	56%
Preferred gender	26%	23%	29%

Accessed at: http://www.cbsnews.com/htdocs/pdf/CBSNewsPoll_Mar2014b_Transgender.pdf.

² This question is a variation of one taken from Pew Research Center Report, *Support for Same Sex Marriage at Record High*, June 8, 2015. Accessed at <http://www.people-press.org/2015/06/08/section-2-knowing-gays-and-lesbians-religious-conflicts-beliefs-about-homosexuality/>.

That study found: “A majority of the public (54%) says there is no conflict between their religious beliefs and homosexuality.”

APPENDIX

The maps below indicate the Northern, Central, and Southern counties included in crosstabs for “regions.”

