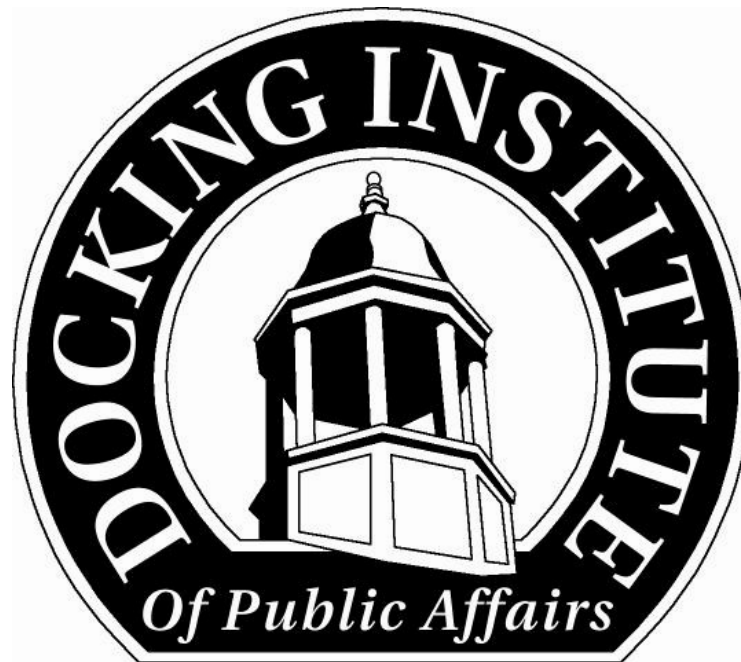


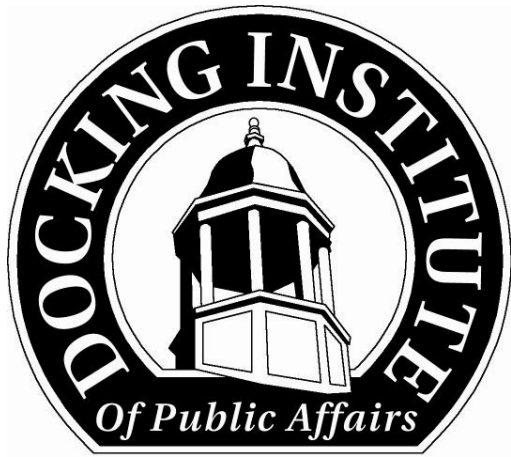
Reformation Project Survey 2015  
Kansans' Opinions on LGBT Rights



Prepared For  
**The Reformation Project Administrators**

Prepared By  
**The Docking Institute of Public Affairs**  
**Fort Hays State University**

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Mission:

To Facilitate Effective Public Policy Decision-Making.

The staff of the Docking Institute of Public Affairs and its University Center for Survey Research are dedicated to serving the people of Kansas and surrounding states.

# Reformation Project Survey 2015

## Kansans' Opinions on LGBT Rights

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Reformation Project Administrators  
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## Executive Summary

The results of the Docking Institute of Public Affairs survey conducted on behalf of the Reformation Project regarding opinions on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transsexual (LGBT) and same-sex marriage issues in Kansas show an electorate committed to two different belief systems: one, a belief in general equality and fairness and another an abiding religious faith. The survey sampled 887 Kansans who voted in the previous election between January 20<sup>th</sup> and February 5<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Generally, Kansas voters believe it is wrong to discriminate against gay and transgender people, but also value religious faith and reject attempts by some to push their beliefs onto others.

### Survey findings:

- Ninety-one percent of respondents believe that religious and cultural diversity are important elements that have flourished due to Constitutional protection.
- Almost three-quarters of respondents were equally divided in believing that discrimination against an LGBT individual is either a major or minor problem. In comparison, 24% of respondents said that LGBT discrimination was not much of a problem or none at all.
- More than two-thirds (70%) of respondents favor a state law that would provide workplace protections for LGBT individuals.
- Same-sex marriage divided the respondents nearly evenly, with 49% in favor either strongly or somewhat, while 47% opposed same-sex marriage rights.
- When given options to support full marriage rights for same-sex couples, civil unions, or no legal recognition at all, most supported full marriage rights at 42%, with civil unions at 31% and no recognition at 23%.
- When provided the qualifier that churches would never be required to perform same-sex marriages, support for allowing LGBT individuals to legally marry jumped to 60%.

- Respondents largely exempted churches from their support for recognition of LGBT rights. Nearly three-quarters (73%) of respondents said churches should not be forced to perform same-sex marriages if they did not want to.
- A majority of respondents (55%) opposed 2014's House Bill 2453 that would have made LGBT discrimination legal for private business and government. Just over one-third (35%) supported the bill.
- More than three-quarters (77%) of respondents opposed a hypothetical bill that would allow government employees who object on religious grounds to deny services to gay couples. Just under one-sixth (14%) supported such a bill.
- Almost three-quarters (74%) would also oppose a bill that would allow businesses and government employees to refuse to recognize married gay couples, and thus deny them family leave, medical information, or pensions. Less than 20% supported such a bill.
- A majority opposed (56%) and just over a third (36%) supported a bill that would allow private businesses to refuse service to gay couples and other LGBT individuals if they believed doing so violated their religion.
- Exactly three-quarters believed that businesses should not be allowed to discriminate against LGBT or other persons regardless of race, religion, or other criteria. Just over one-fifth (21%) supported allowing businesses to discriminate.
- Almost 70% of respondents would not support the re-election of their state legislator if they had voted for a bill that would have allowed the religious-based LGBT discrimination to take place, while 17% would be more likely to support re-election. However, the support was soft, as a majority of those supporting the re-election of said legislator indicated they would not actively campaign for their re-election (56%), while among those who would vote against said legislator, 56% said they would not actively campaign against their re-election.

- Respondents were evenly divided among who they trusted most for information on LGBT discrimination. Just under one-fifth look to friends and family (20%), while 15% said church leaders, and 11% said gay and lesbian couples themselves.
- Respondents mostly reported having very few or some gay and lesbian people in their workplaces or social circles. Nearly three-quarters of respondents combined to say some (43%) or few (32%).
- Partisanship was not particularly strong, as half (50%) of respondents said they were not loyal to any party.
- Respondents who indicated a party identification were evenly divided by party and faction, with 28% self-identified as conservative Republicans, 20% moderate Republicans, 27% independent, and 22% Democrats. Overall, about half of these respondents indicated that they would vote against their party if another party better represented their views.
- A majority (52%) attend church services weekly or more frequently. Just over a third (34%) attend infrequently, and 14% never attend.
- Relationships between political partisanship and attitudes toward LGBT discrimination were more pronounced than relationships between church attendance and LGBT discrimination attitudes, suggesting that politics is a stronger driver of opinions than religious beliefs.
- Conservative Republicans were not only the largest group of respondents, they displayed a split that was not evident among any other ideological self-identification. Conservative Republicans are divided between support for and opposition to LGBT discrimination laws.



## Methodology

For the purpose of this study, The Docking Institute of Public Affairs at Fort Hays State University surveyed a random sample of likely Kansas voters to assess attitudes and opinions towards religious freedoms, and in particular, gay marriage. The survey sample was purchased from Scientific Telephone Samples, a professional vendor with database sources that allow them to generate random telephone numbers that produce highly representative survey results. The samples include Kansas landline telephone numbers and cellphone numbers. The data were collected using a highly advanced computer-assisted telephone interviewing system (ID Survey) and highly trained survey interviewers recruited mostly from the Fort Hays State University student population.

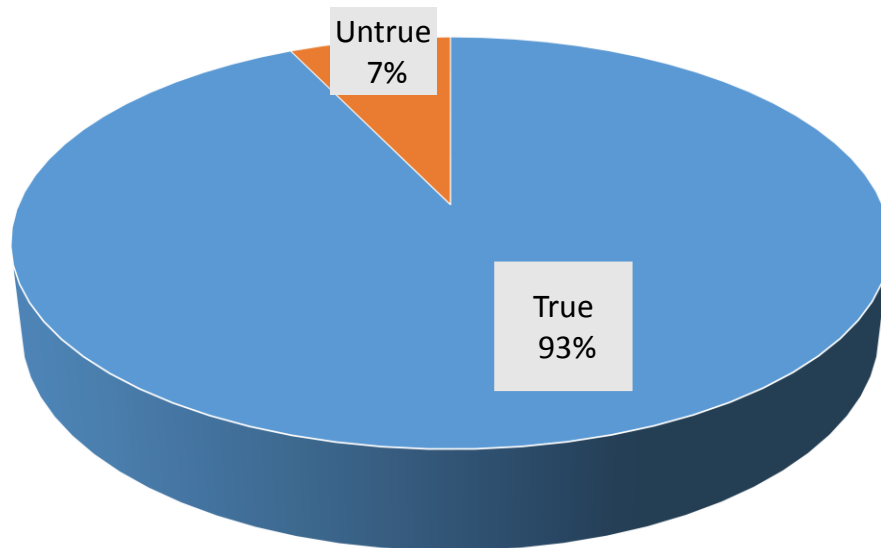
Data concerning this survey were collected for the duration of approximately two weeks (the period beginning January 21<sup>st</sup> and ending on February 5<sup>th</sup> 2015). The survey interviewed 700 respondents, which at the 95% confidence level yields a margin of error for the full sample population of +/- 3.8%. As a result, it can be ascertained that the responses gathered from the sample population are an extremely good indication of the opinions of all registered Kansas voters.

Of the 1,197 Kansans surveyed, 887 indicated that they had voted in the most recent election held (with females being slightly more likely to vote than their male counterparts). Of the 887 voters, 58% of the respondents were age 55 or older and 85% were age 35 or older. Due to the fact that the target population is active voters in Kansas, the age distribution is skewed more heavily towards older Kansans. Of the 887 respondents who indicated that they voted in the most recent election, 82% had some college and at least 99% of them had a minimum of a high school diploma.

## Responses to Survey Questions

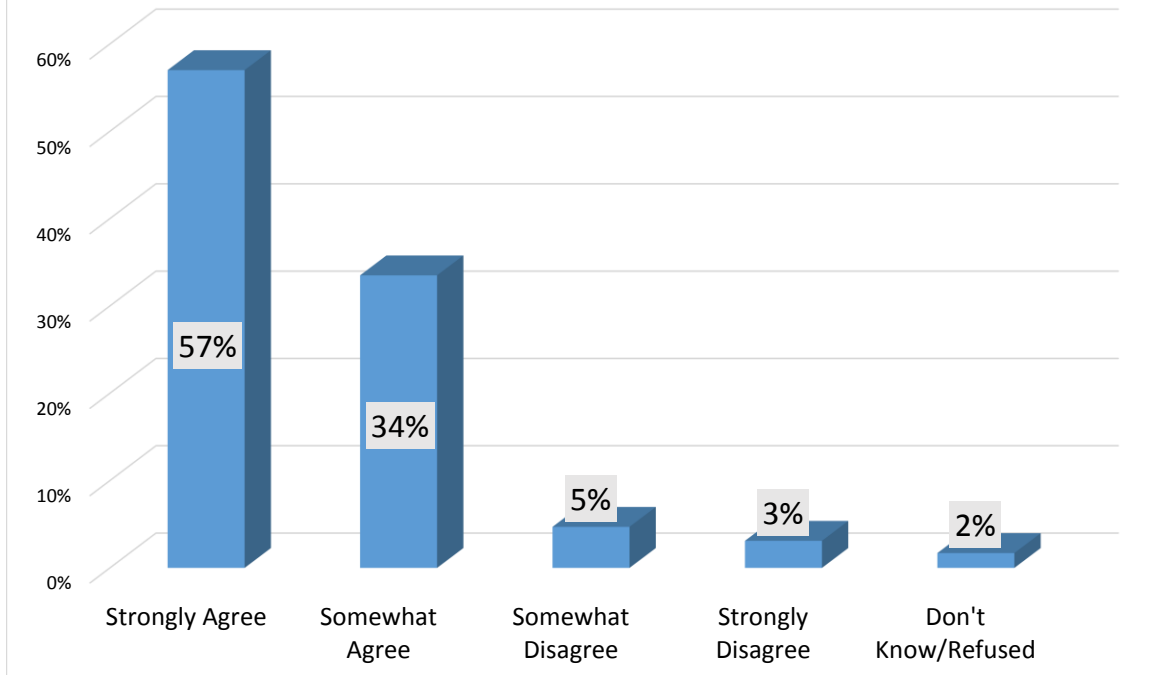
### Univariate Analysis

To the best of your knowledge, is the following statement true or untrue? "Religious freedom is protected by the U.S. Constitution."

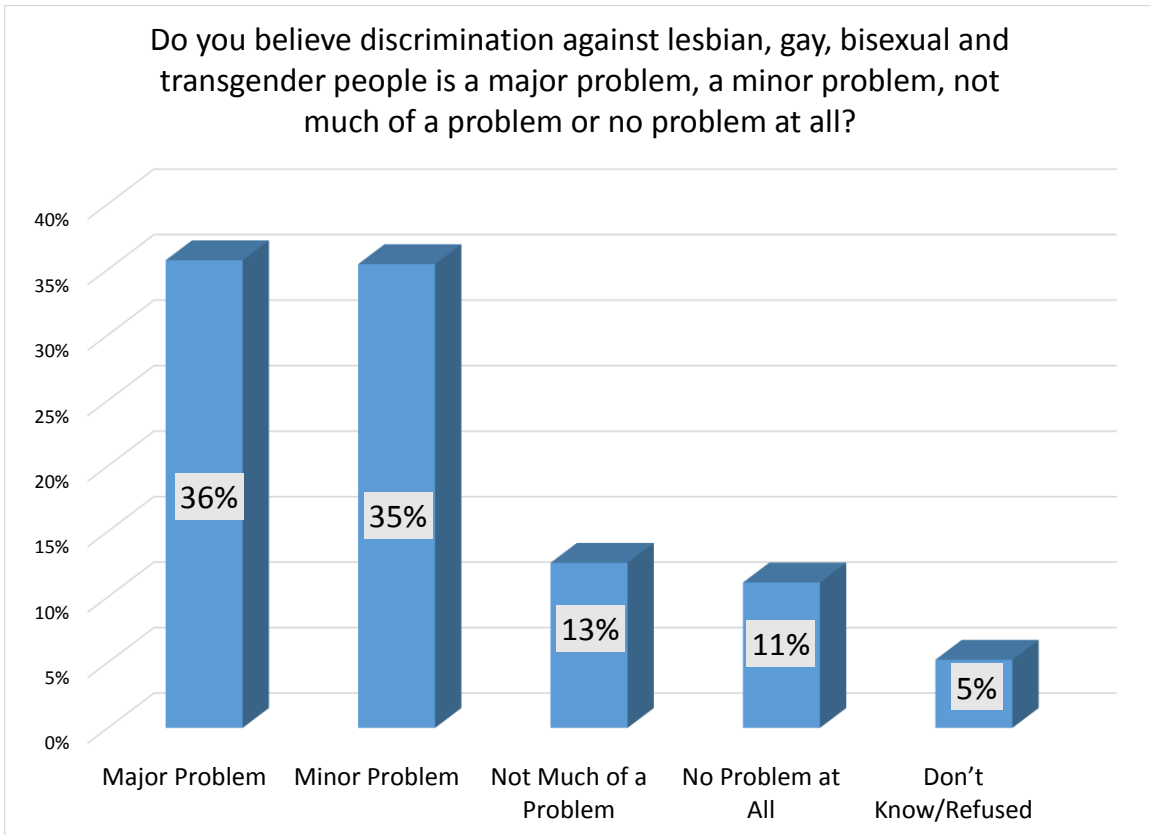


Ninety-three percent of respondents indicated their agreement with a statement claiming that religious freedom is a Constitutionally- protected value.

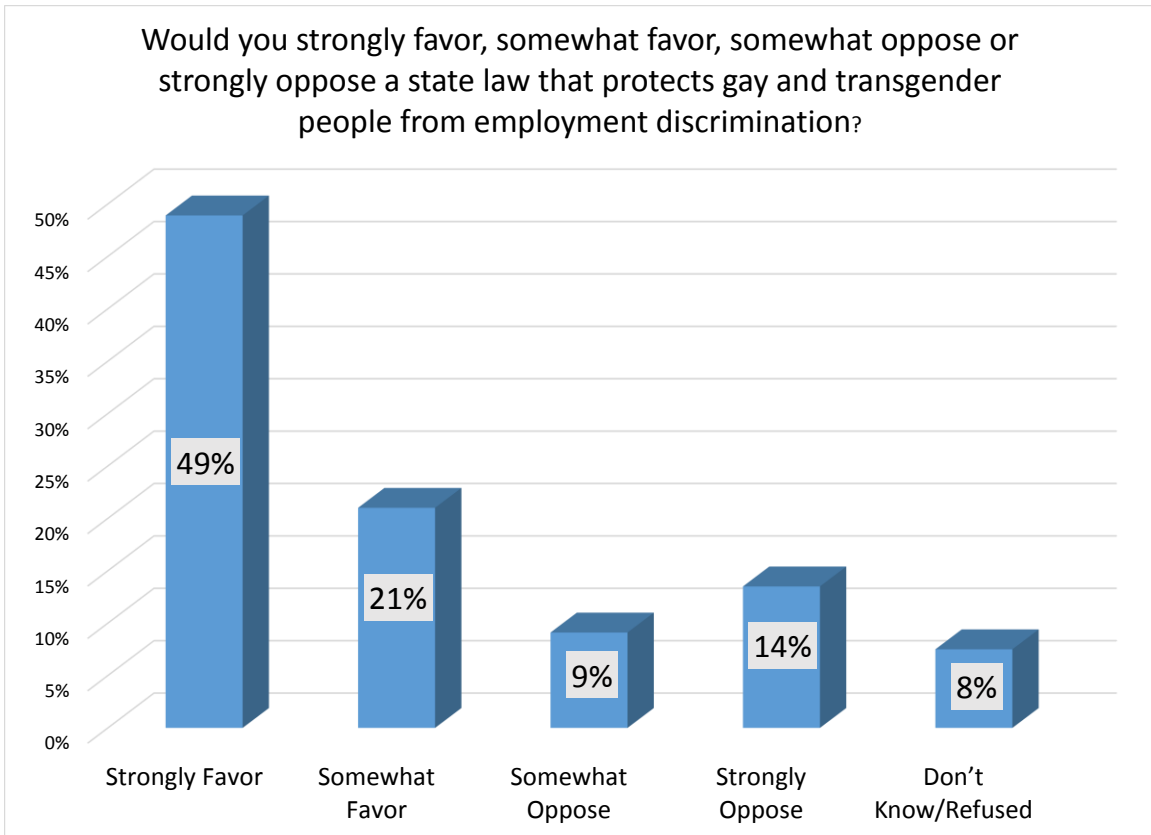
Religious and cultural diversity is an important element of American culture that has flourished because of our Constitutional protection of religious freedom.



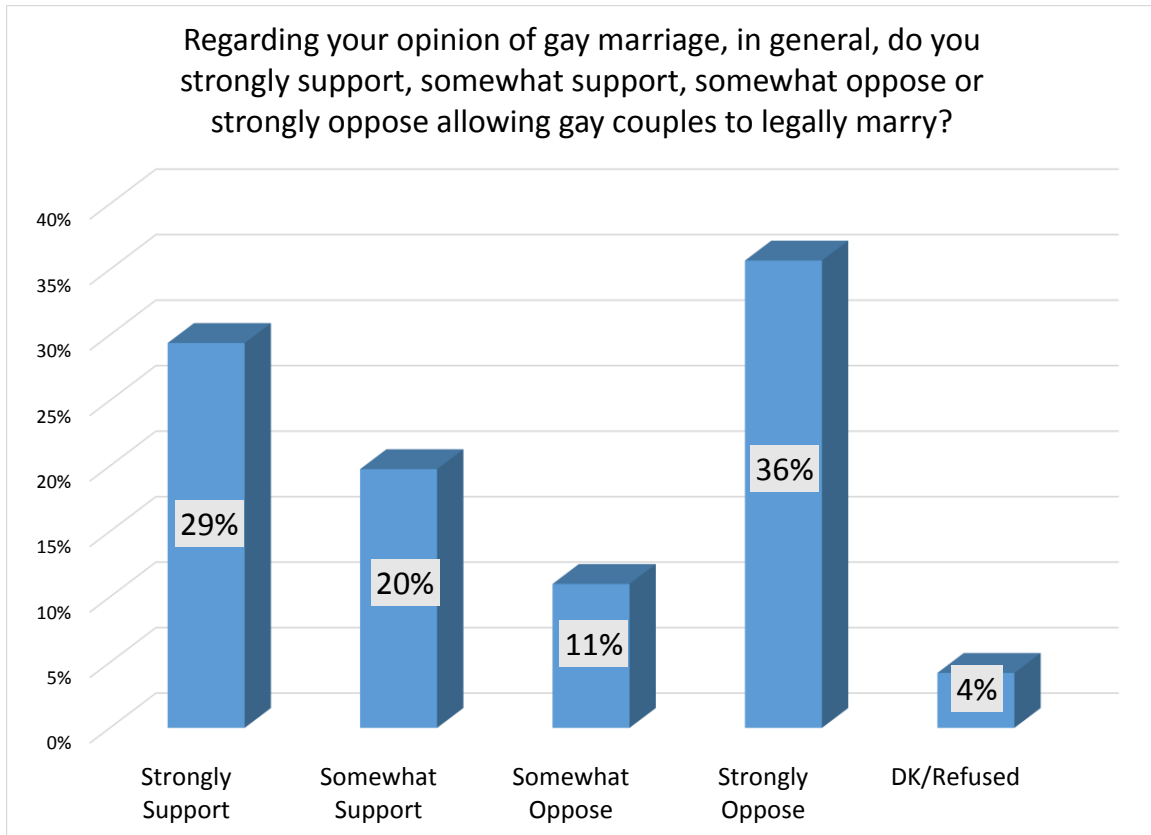
Additionally, 91% of the respondents also believed that religious and cultural diversity is an important element that has flourished because of its Constitutional protection, as may be expected.



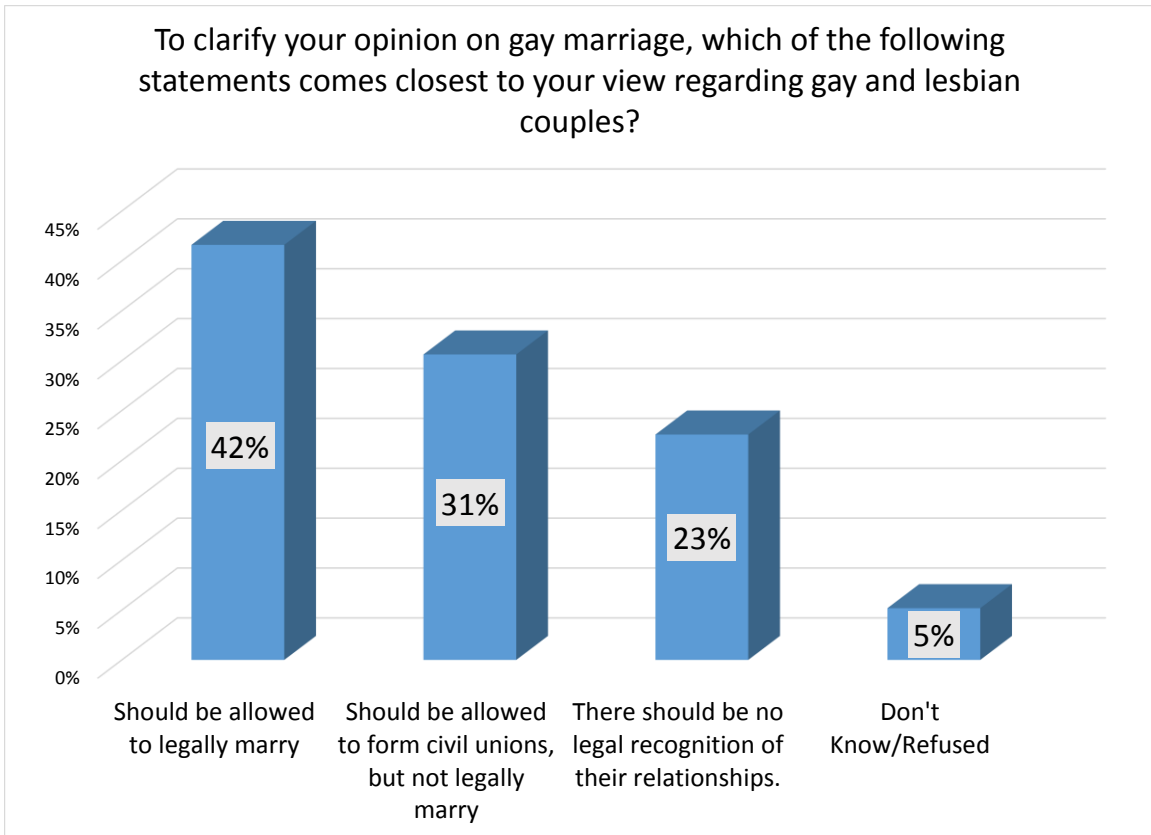
Although the previous analyses showed that Kansan's strongly believe in Constitutionally protected religious freedom and that protecting religious diversity is important, one religious doctrine can condemn behaviors that are perfectly acceptable to other religions, creating a dilemma in protecting everyone's civil rights. Conflicting results obtained in this survey provide a good indication of such truths. Approximately 71% of the respondents indicated that they believe LGBT discrimination is a problem to some degree, while only 24% indicated that no such problem exists or that it is not a significant problem.



About 70%, a clear majority, of voters indicated that they would favor a state law which serves the purpose of protecting gays and transgender people from employment discrimination, while only 23% of respondents indicated that they would oppose such laws that aim to provide such protections.

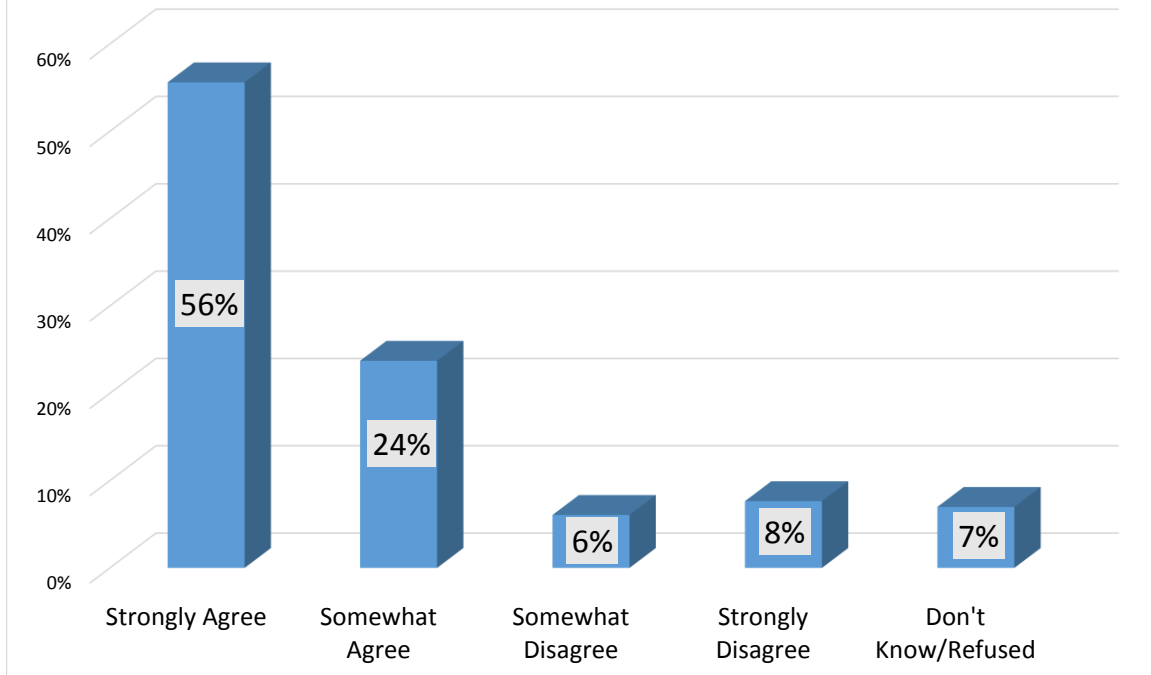


When asked about support for gay marriage, respondents were most likely to be either strongly supportive or strongly disapproving of allowing legally gay marriages in the state of Kansas. Thirty-six percent of respondents indicated that they strongly opposed gay marriages, while 29% of respondents indicated that they strongly support gay marriages. Even so, 49% of respondents indicated some degree of support for gay marriage, while 47% of respondents indicated some degree of objection towards the allowance of gay marriages. So those that feel strongly over the issue are more likely to oppose gay marriage, but overall approval of gay marriage in Kansas is stronger than overall disapproval. Such results indicate that, while the majority (70%) of respondents believe that there should be protection from employment discrimination for LGBT individuals, a smaller percentage of individuals (49%) are willing to extend their ideological belief concerning civil rights into values based areas such as marriage (which may be influenced by an uncountable amount of factors).



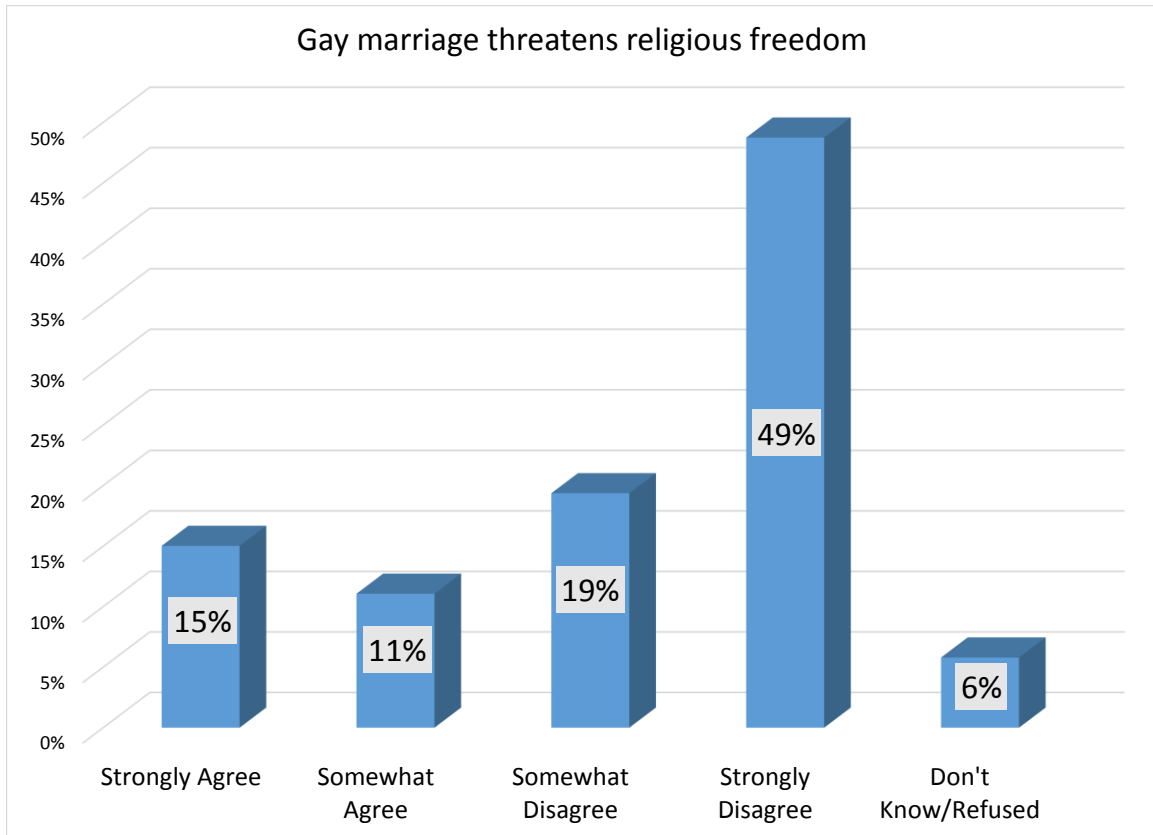
The analysis so far has suggested that religious values may be a strong driver of whether a respondent supports or opposes LGBT rights. Even so, the fact that 42% of respondents claimed to support marriage rights for same-sex couples, 31% support civil unions and only 23% would not support legal recognition of same-sex marriage in any form is an indication of tolerance of LGBT relationships rather than opposition by the majority of Kansans.

I may not feel comfortable with the idea of gay marriage, but at the same time, I believe in treating my neighbors as I want to be treated and I don't want to stand in the way of others' happiness.



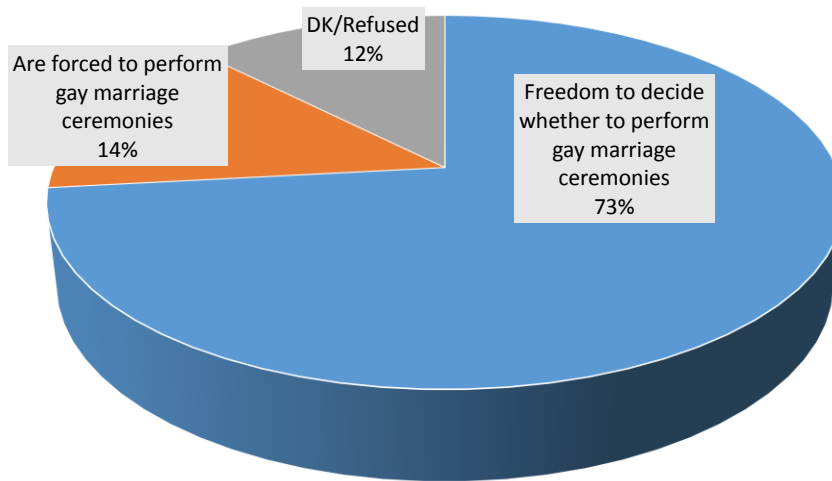
Tolerance for gay marriage is also demonstrated by 80% of respondents agreeing strongly or somewhat with a statement indicating that they were more concerned with others' happiness than their own personal misgivings about same-sex marriage. Only 14% disagreed with this statement.



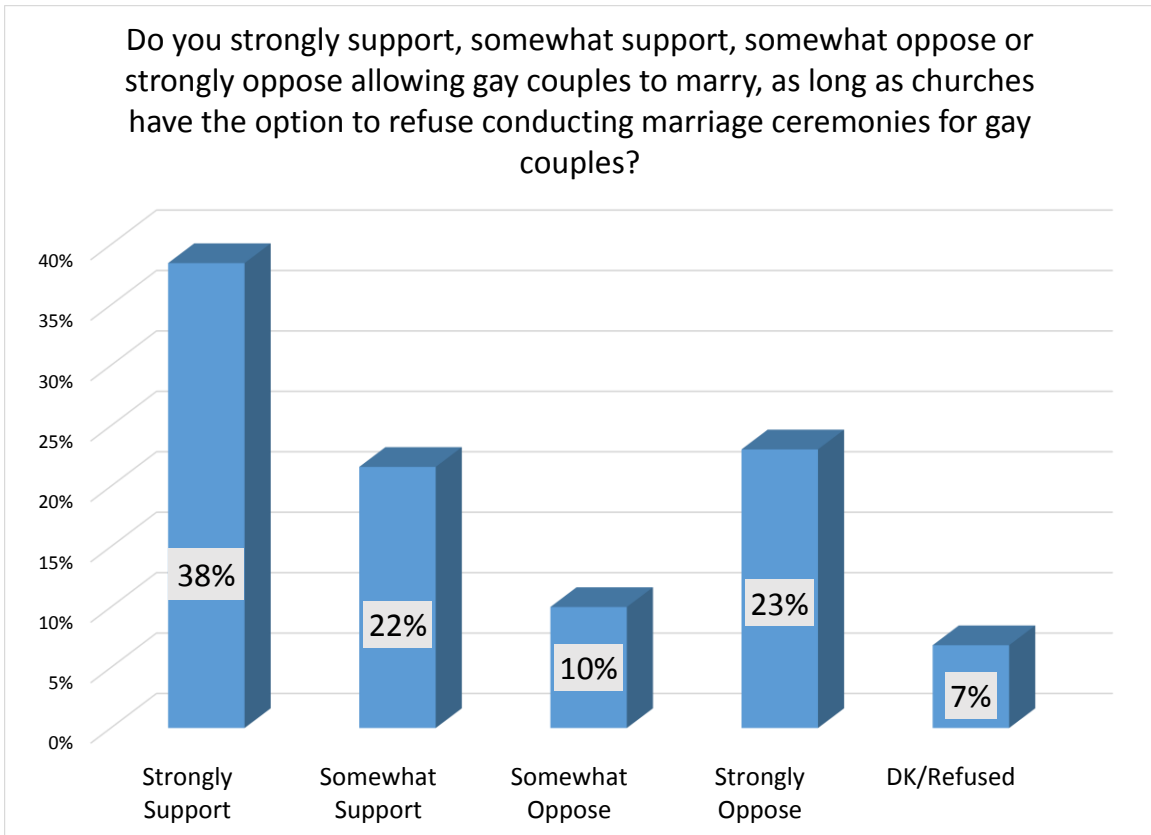


Only 26% of respondents believed that same-sex marriages would threaten religious freedom, while almost half strongly disagree agree, and over two-thirds disagreed at least somewhat, that same-sex marriages would constitute a threat to religious freedom.

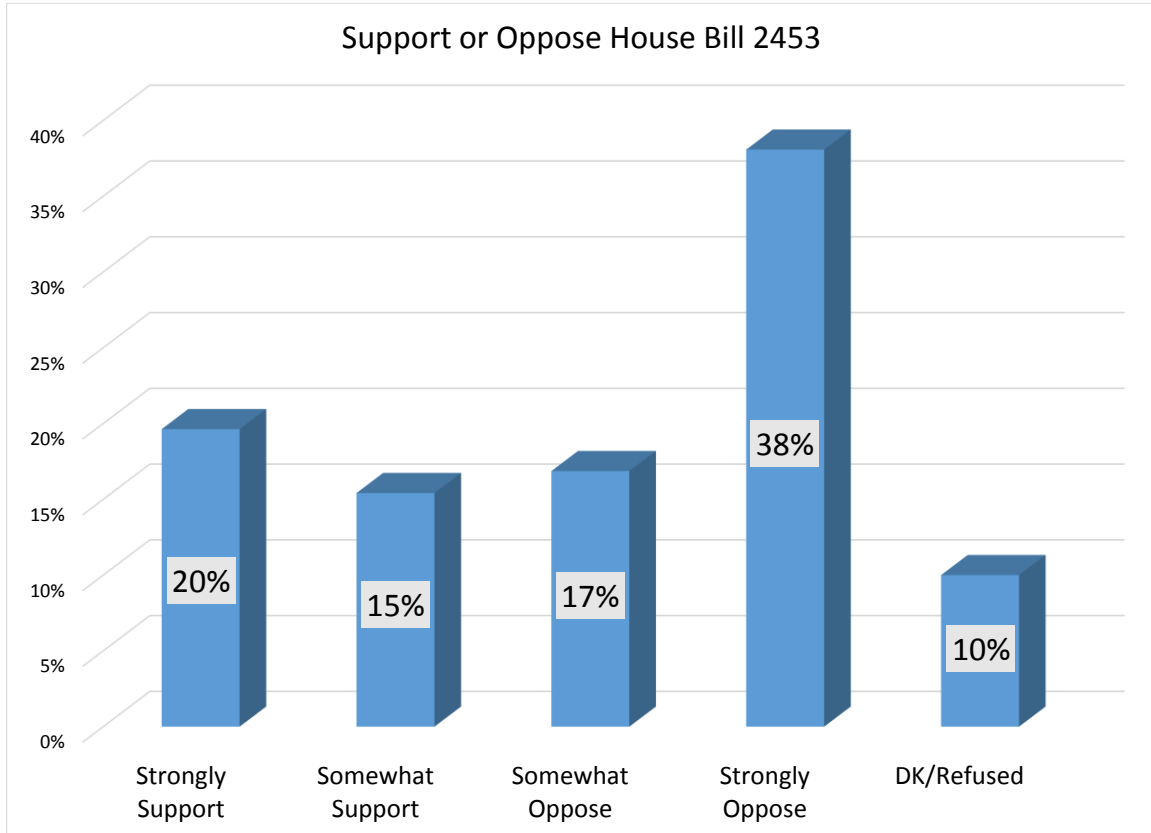
In your opinion, which is the more accurate statement? 1) churches and ministers still have the freedom and legal protections needed to decide whether to marry same-sex couples; or 2) churches and ministers are forced to perform marriages for gay couples



Additionally, respondents were surveyed regarding their understanding of current Kansas law, with most interpreting the law correctly. Almost three-quarters of respondents, more specifically, 73%, said that they believed churches are be free to determine whether they will or will not perform same-sex marriage ceremonies. However, less than 15% of respondents believed churches should be forced under Kansas’s law to perform same sex marriage ceremonies against their will.



When respondents are reassured that gay marriage does not compel churches to perform marriage ceremonies, respondents' support for same-sex marriage rights jumps from 41% to 60%. When respondents have this reassurance, support almost doubles opposition (60% vs 33%).



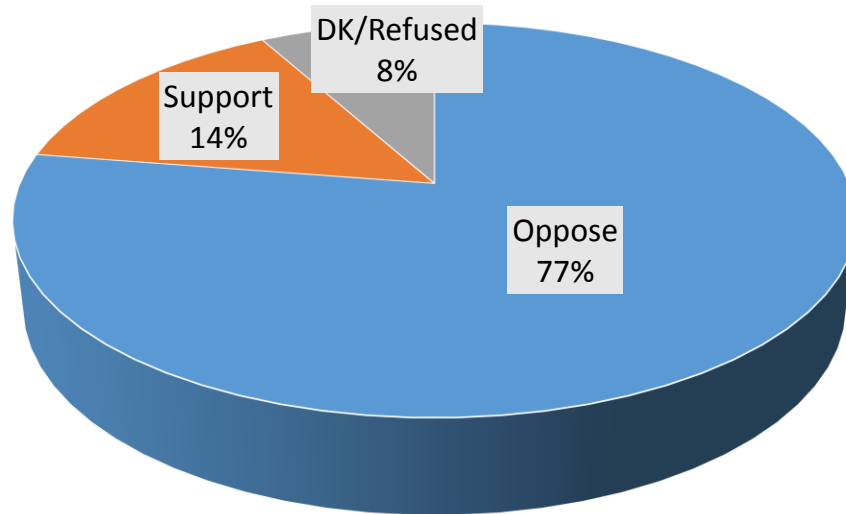
Fifty-five percent of respondents opposed H.B. 2453, versus 35% supporting, which would have allowed businesses that oppose same-sex marriage to refuse to provide services to same-sex couples. These results indicate that, despite the fact individuals may not be completely sold on the idea of the allowance of LGBT marriages in Kansas, once such marriages are legally recognized, a large majority of voters believe that such marriages should be allowed services by all businesses, whether or not the business supports or opposes same sex marriages.

Respondents were also asked to provide their thoughts on HB 2453 and why they either supported or opposed the bill. Of the entire set of respondents, 253 provided elaborated opinions on their support for the bill and 395 respondents shared thoughts on their opposition to the bill. The entire set of respondents' comments is available in Appendix B of this report.

Among supporters of the bill, most of the rationale for support came from three trains of thought. One-hundred and thirty-seven respondents indicated that they believed either religious freedom should allow for discrimination or explicitly said that homosexuality was against their religious beliefs, and should thus not be allowed. Another forty respondents suggested that churches specifically should have a choice in what they do, implying that a narrowly constructed law that only codifies the ability of churches to discriminate would find support among respondents. A further twenty-six respondents indicated that they did not think gay marriage was right or proper, but did not state their opposition to it on religious grounds.

Among opponents of HB 2453, while the majority of respondents (228) said that they believed people should be allowed to live their individual lives without discrimination, many others said that as long as something is the law in Kansas it should be followed. Eighty-two respondents indicated that their primary interest was the rule of law and obedience to it. Very few respondents indicated their opposition to the bill because of perceived bigotry, at a total of five respondents.

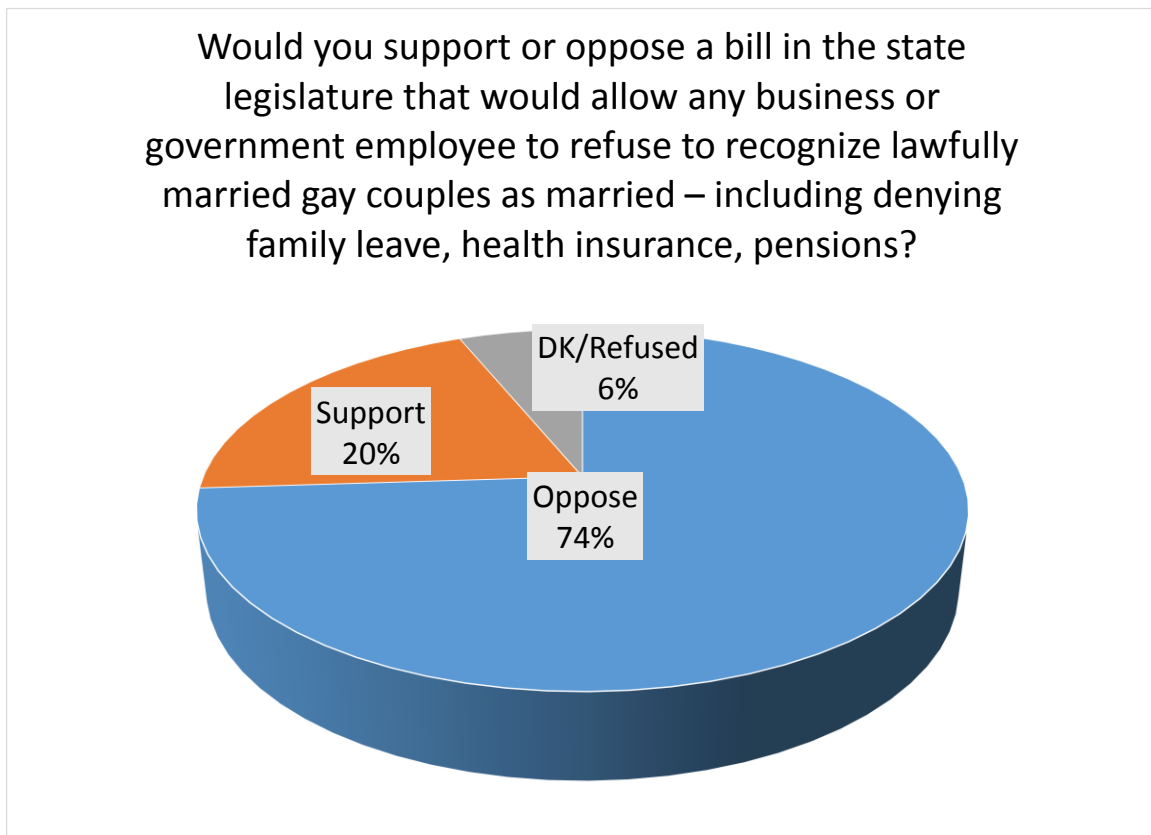
Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow government employees who claim religious objections to deny government services to gay couples?



Support for discrimination protections is magnified when respondents were asked the following: “Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow government employees who claim religious objection to deny services to gay couples?” Opposition was consistent to government denying such services, as 77% expressed disagreement with allowing government employees to refuse services based on their personal religious beliefs, while only 14% supported this policy.

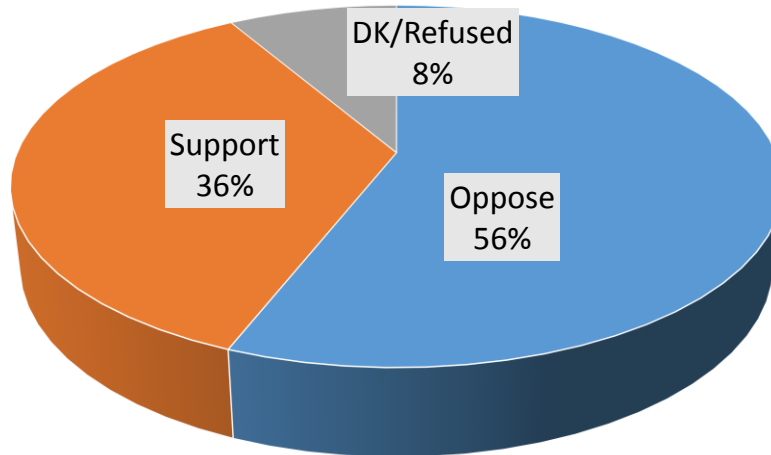
**Research Note:** When the Docking Institute conducts a survey, we strive to make sure the question wording introduces as little response bias as possible. When we first start a survey, we collect feedback from our telephone surveyors to see if a question is confusing or if the wording of the questions leads the respondent to not want to answer within the response set of the question. The original wording of the question above was as follows: “Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow government employees to deny government services, like marriage licenses or drivers’ licenses, to gay couples?” The feedback received on this question included comments from respondents such as: “Of course, gay couples should be allowed to get

drivers licenses, but I do not think they should be allowed to be married.” This shows that some respondents were answering outside of the response set provided in the question. Thus, we felt that this could introduce response bias into the question. This question was changed on January 23rd to the following: “Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow government employees who claim religious objections to deny government services to gay couples?” Comparative analysis of the results between before and after the wording change showed little difference in response distributions. Regardless, the Docking Institute of Public Affairs will always err on the side of caution when it comes to introducing unnecessary response bias.



Similarly, 74% of respondents opposed a hypothetical bill that would allow businesses or government to refuse to recognize a same-sex couple as married, even if they have a legal marriage. Only about one-fifth of respondents believe that government should be able to deny same-sex couples health insurance, pension, or family leave access, while three-quarters oppose such a policy.

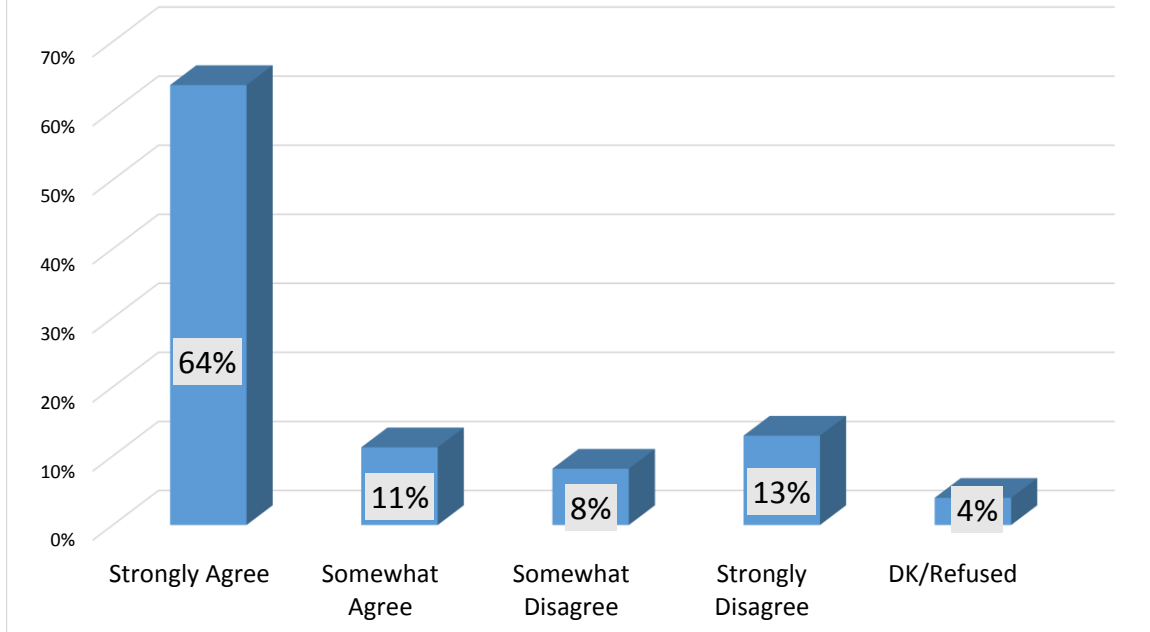
Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow businesses to refuse service to gay couples and other individuals, if the business owner claims that serving these individuals would violate their freedom of religion?



A majority of respondents opposed the allowance of such private discrimination if the business owner claimed that providing services to a gay couple would cause them to go against their religious beliefs and violate their freedom of religion. Approximately 36% of respondents indicated they would support the legislation, while 56% indicated that they would oppose such a bill. The support for anti-discriminatory bills dwindled as matters transverse from the public realm of service operations to privatized operations.

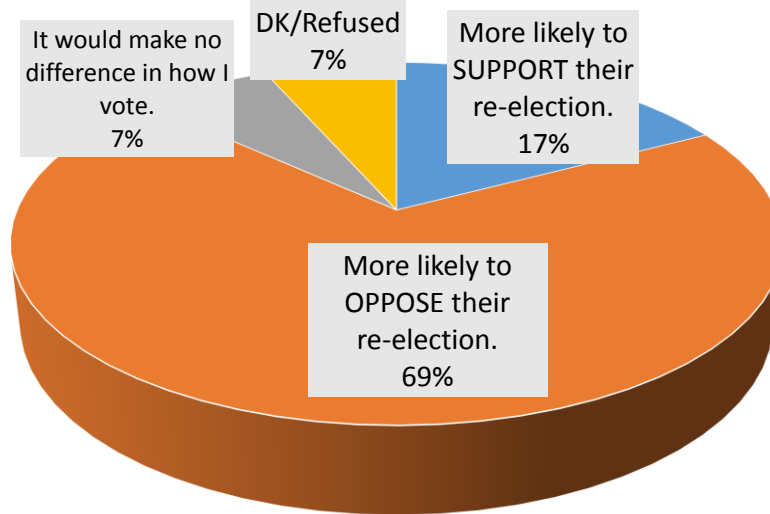


Businesses, that are open to the public should be open to everyone on the same terms. They should not be allowed to discriminate against an individual based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or any other personal criteria.



Interestingly enough, approximately 75% of respondents claimed that they believed that “businesses opened to the public should be opened to everyone on the same terms, businesses should not be allowed to discriminate against an individual based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or any other personal criteria,” while 21% of respondents disagreed with this statement. Intuitively, a similar percentage of respondents who believed that all businesses should be open to everyone on equal terms also opposed discriminatory bills.

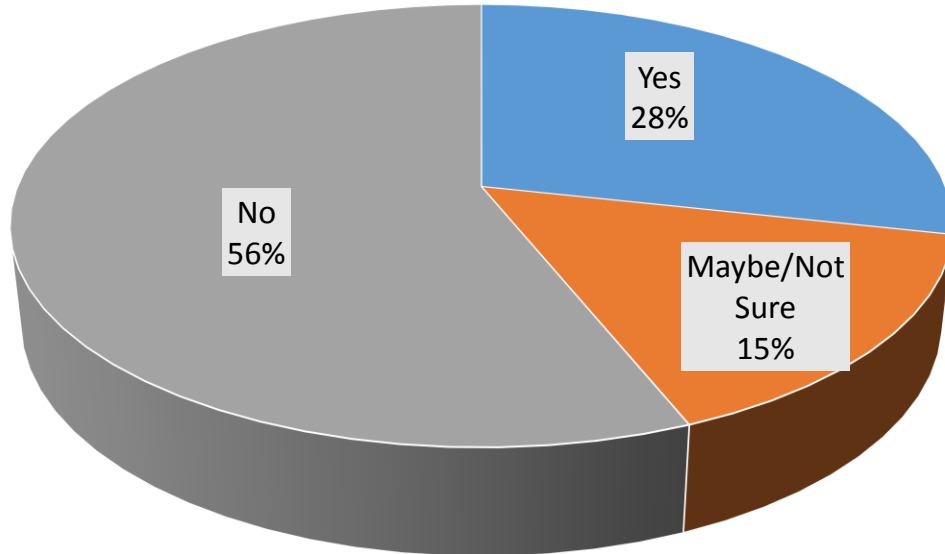
If your State Legislator voted FOR a religious exemption bill that allowed government employees and businesses to refuse to serve someone because of their sexual orientation, would you be more likely to support or oppose their re-election?



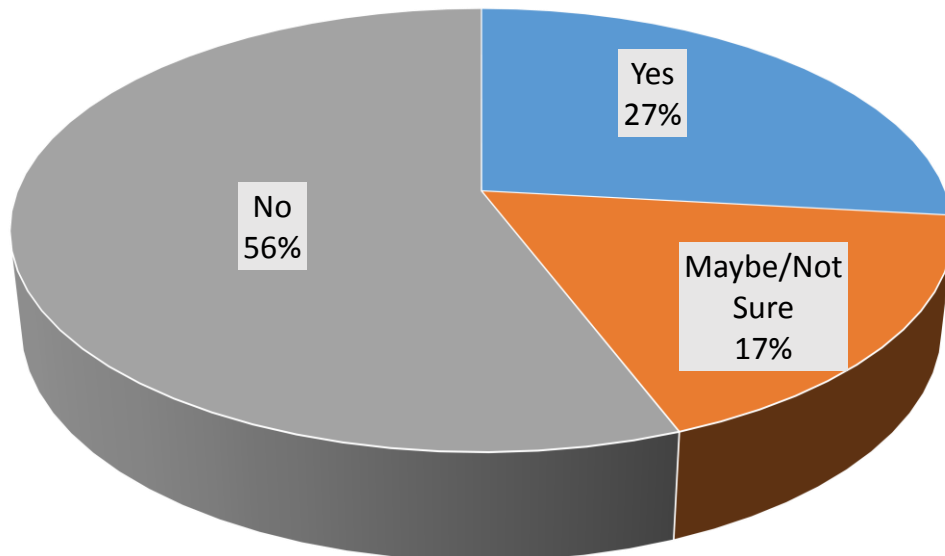
The nature of the legislation was of great importance to respondents of this poll. When prompted with a possible state legislator who had voted in favor of a bill that would allow religious rationales for discriminatory behavior, 69% indicated they would be more likely to oppose re-election for that representative, while 17% said they would be more likely to support that legislator's re-election.

However, responses to two subsequent questions, shown on the following page, suggest that only about one-fourth of those respondents felt strongly enough to actively campaign in support of their positions. More than half of the respondents, either for or against that legislator, would not actively support or oppose the legislator in question.

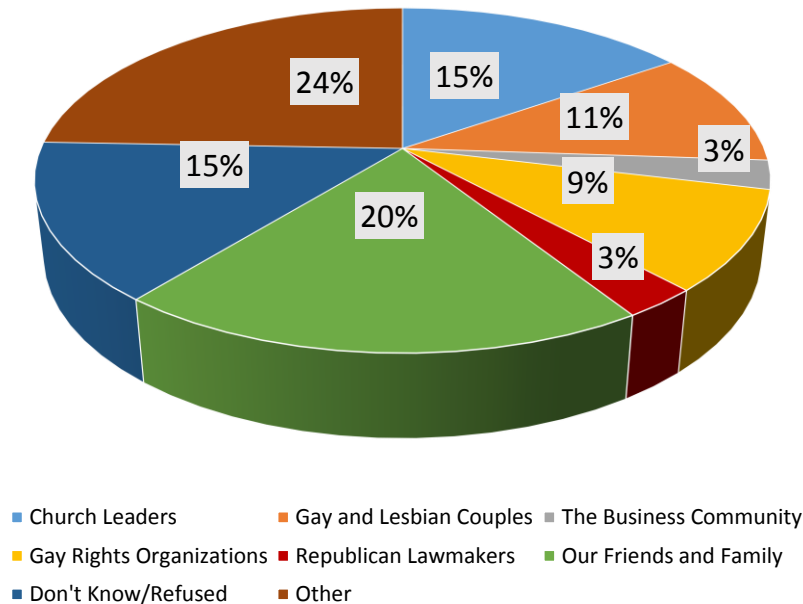
Do you think you would actively campaign for their re-election?



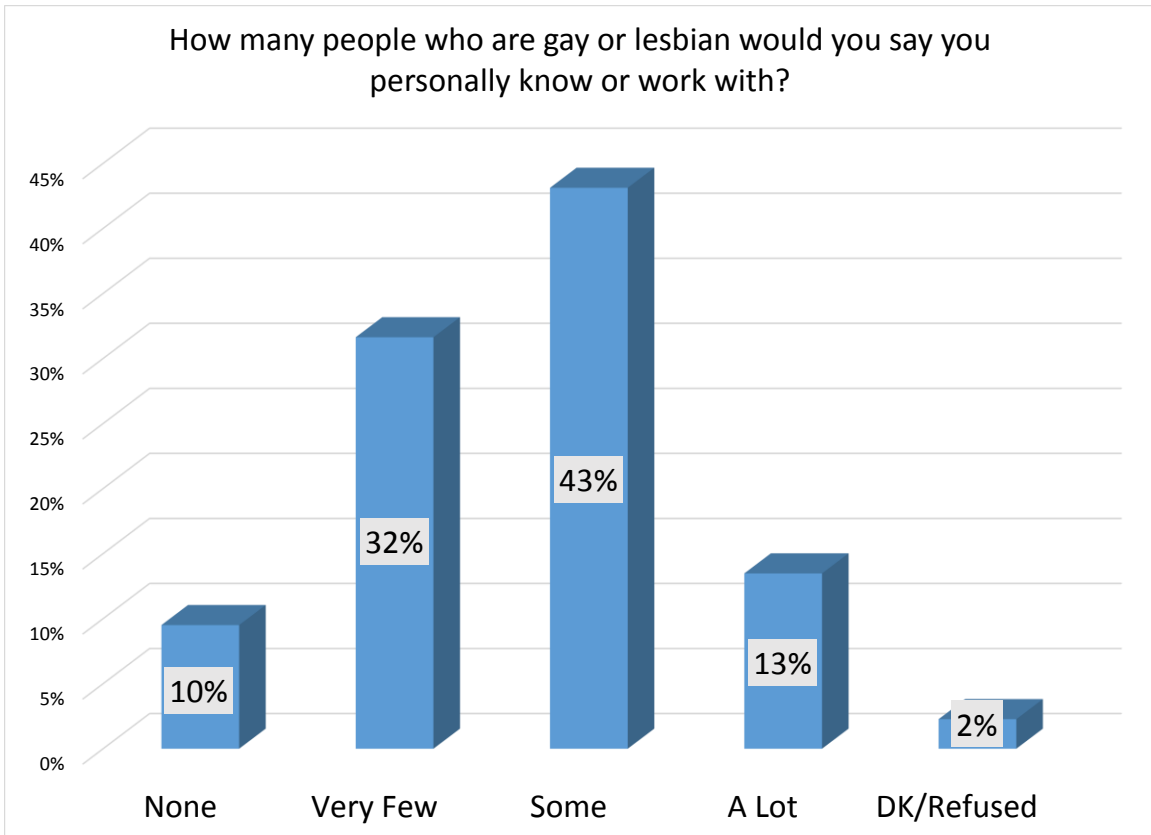
Do you think you would actively campaign against their re-election?



Who do you trust most to provide you with information on discrimination against gays and lesbians? Would you say: (Read Responses)

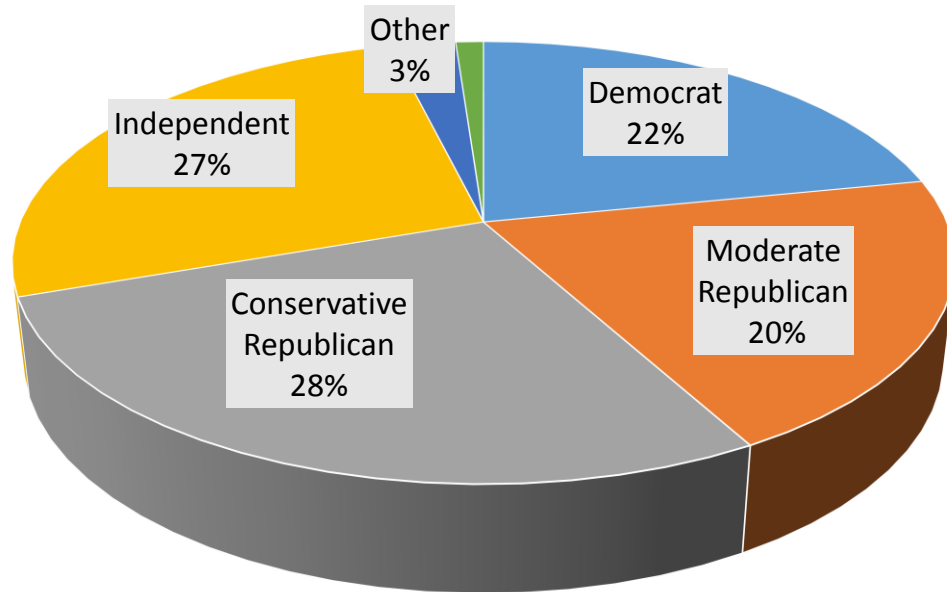


Regarding partisanship, respondents were quite evenly split, with just over one-fifth each self-identifying as Democrats or moderate Republicans, 28% as conservative Republicans, and 26% independent. Still, diverse messages continued when respondents were asked whom they trusted most to provide them with information on discrimination against LGBT individuals. Nearly one-quarter indicated 'other.' These responses can be viewed in Appendix B. Surprisingly, only 3% of respondents believed that Republican lawmakers are the most trustworthy source for providing them with discriminatory information concerning LGBT, while 15% of respondents found church leaders the most trustworthy for publishing discriminatory information, and a little less than 21% of respondents believed that their friends and family are the most trusted source for discriminatory information regarding LGBT.



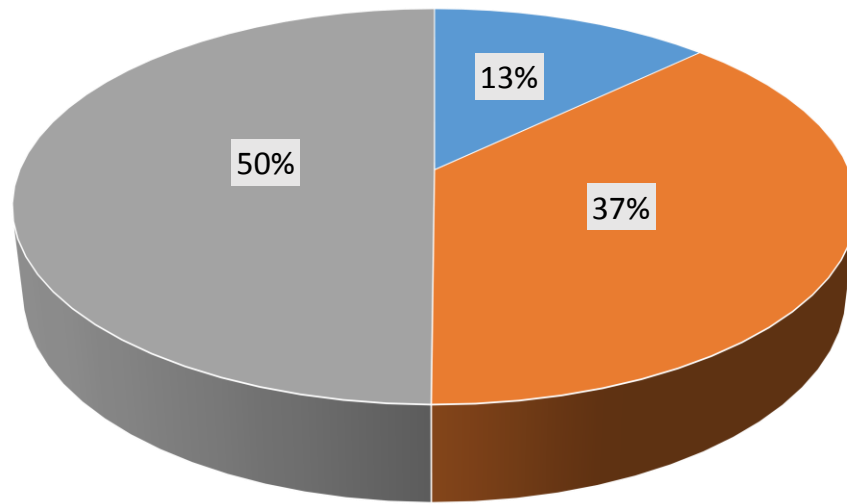
Most respondents indicated limited exposure to LGBT individuals, as three-quarters replied they have either very few or some LGBT persons that they knew or worked with. Ten percent of respondents are under the impression that none of their acquaintances or co-workers are gay or lesbian.

When it comes to politics, do you generally consider yourself to be a DEMOCRAT, a Moderate REPUBLICAN, Conservative REPUBLICAN or an INDEPENDENT?



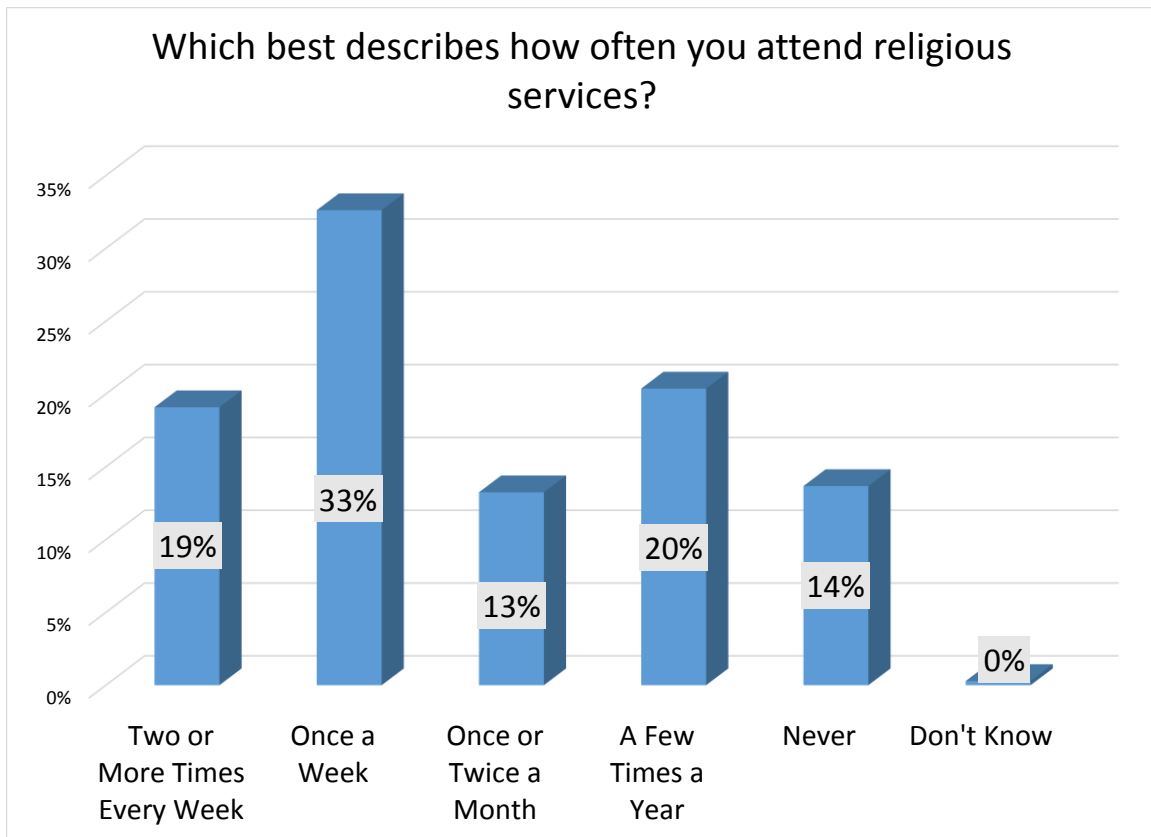
Regarding partisanship, respondents were quite evenly split, with just over one-fifth each self-identifying as Democrats or moderate Republicans, 28% as conservative Republicans, and 27% independent.

### Which of the following best describes you?



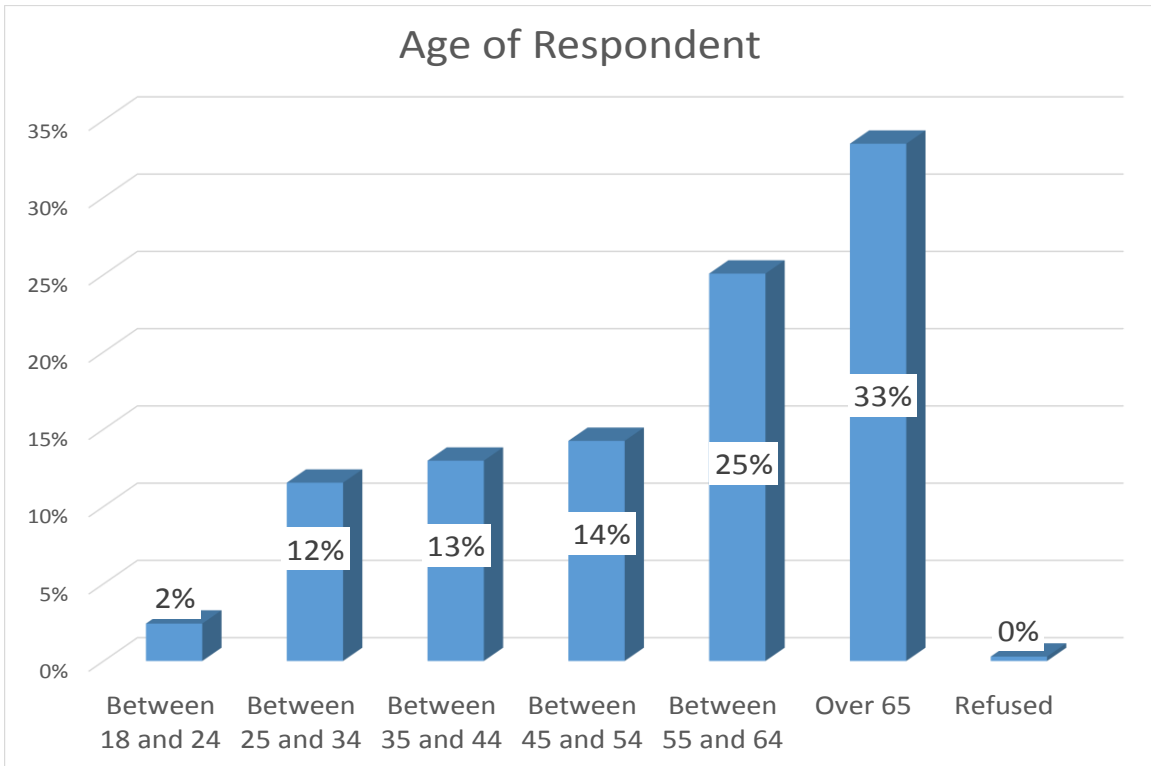
- I am completely loyal to my party and would not vote against it.
- I am fairly loyal to my party, but occasionally vote with the opposing party.
- I am not loyal to any party. I vote with the party that best supports my views.

Of the persons interviewed, nearly half indicated they have little loyalty to a party, and vote the party that closest represents their views. However, 13% were fiercely loyal to their party, leaving 37% as inconsistently loyal.

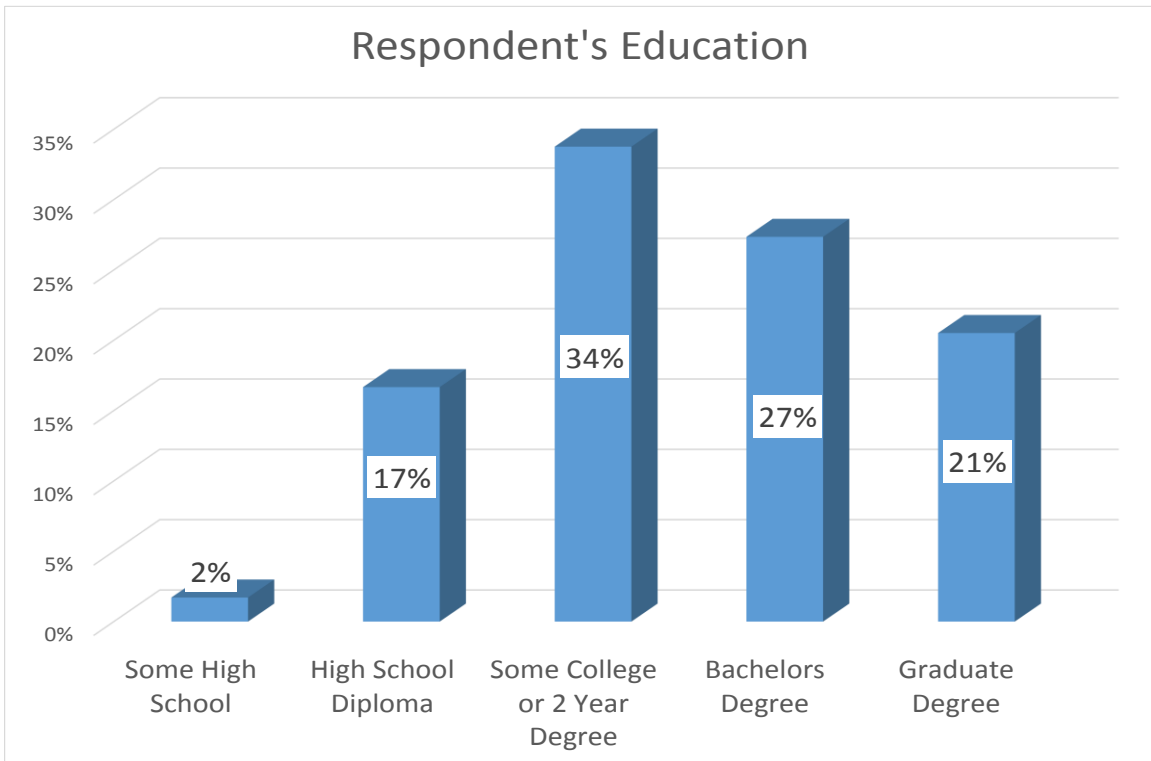


A majority of respondents attend church at least once a week, with nearly one-fifth of them going to church more than once a week. Roughly one-third attend less frequently than monthly, and 14% never attend church.



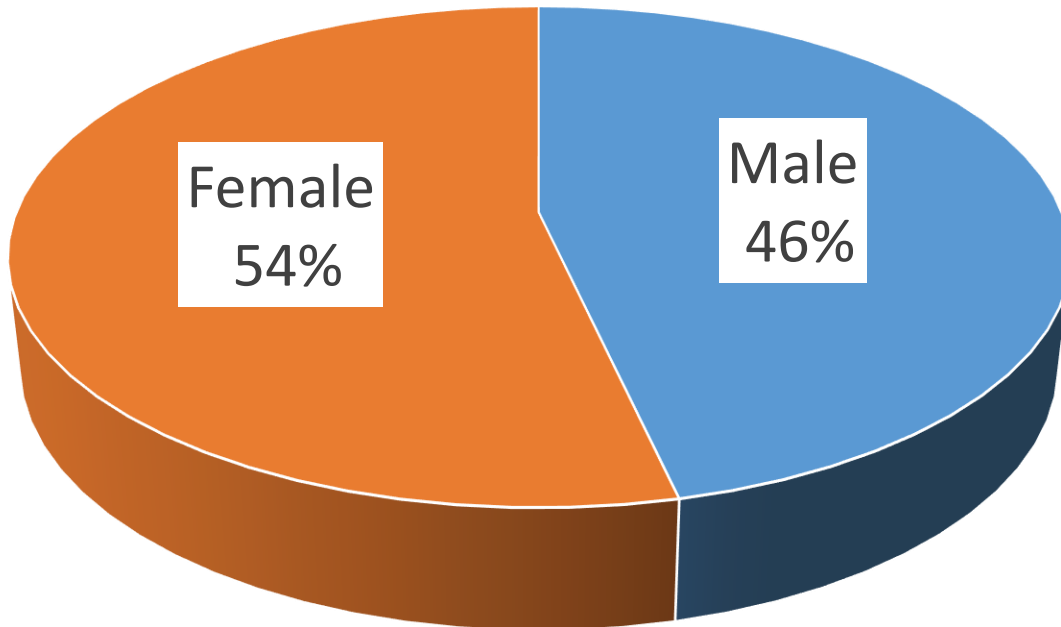


Because the target population is active voters in Kansas, the age distribution is skewed more heavily towards older Kansans.



Active voters tend to more highly educated than the general public.

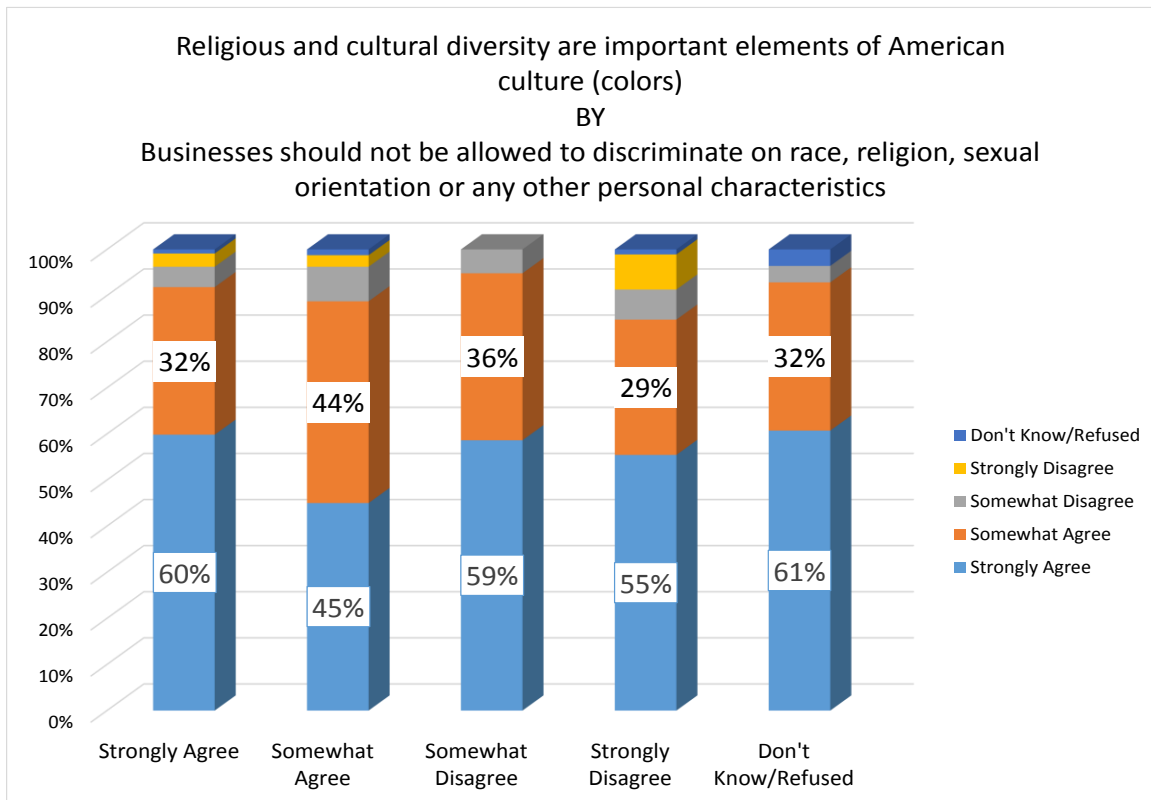
## Respondent's Sex



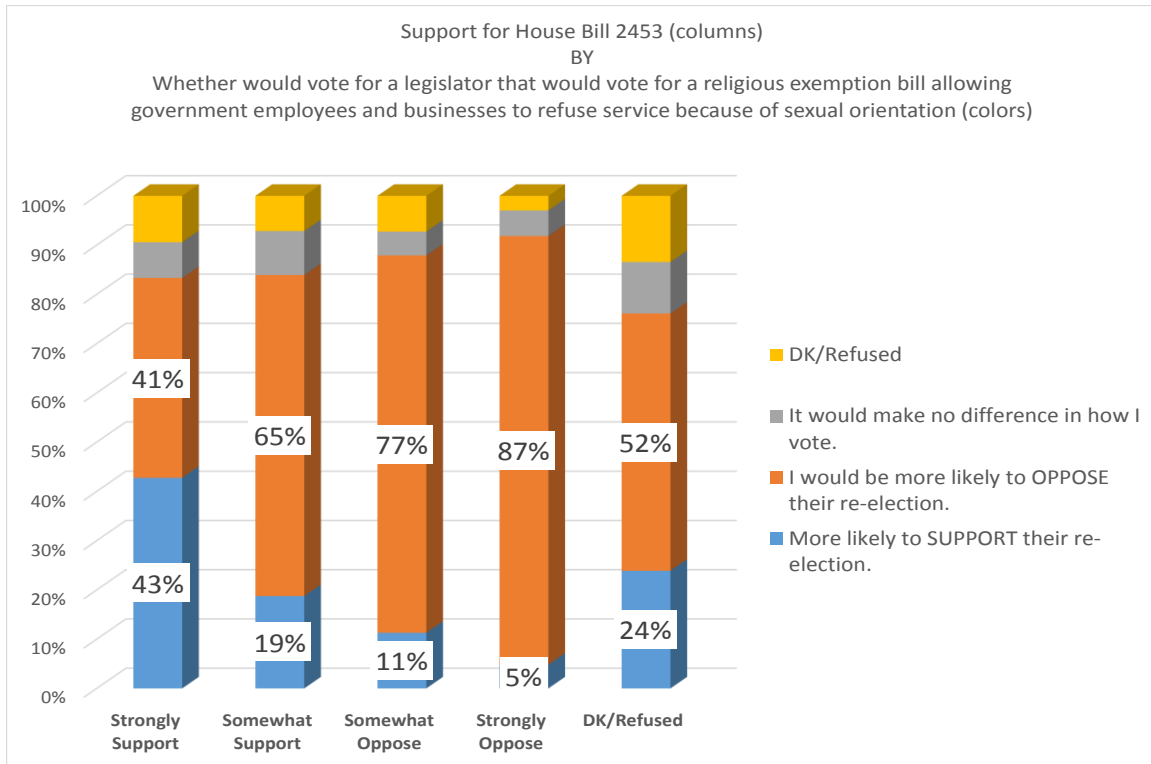
Females are slightly more likely to vote than males.

## Multivariate Analysis

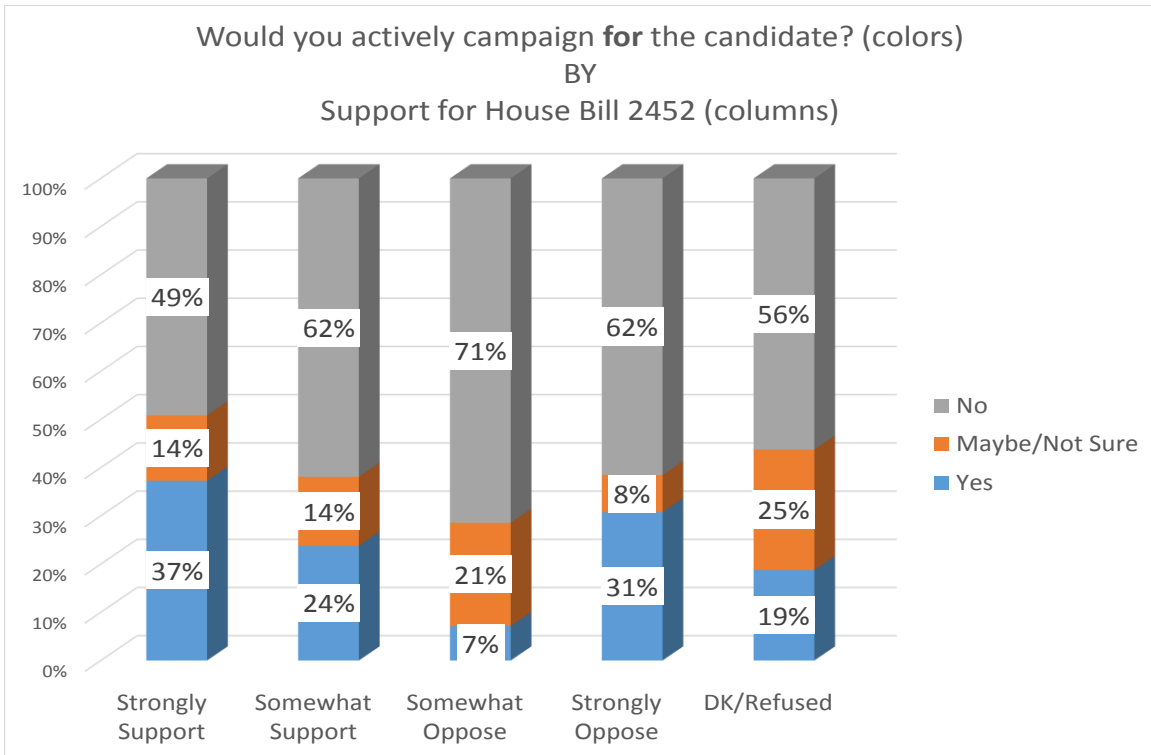
To determine relationships that underlie patterns between questions that differentiate between different sources of discrimination (private businesses, individuals, government agencies, and churches), cross-tabulation with other variables is helpful. As a result, we have cross-tabulated a number of the variables asked of respondents to the survey to further investigate the relationship between responses from question to question.



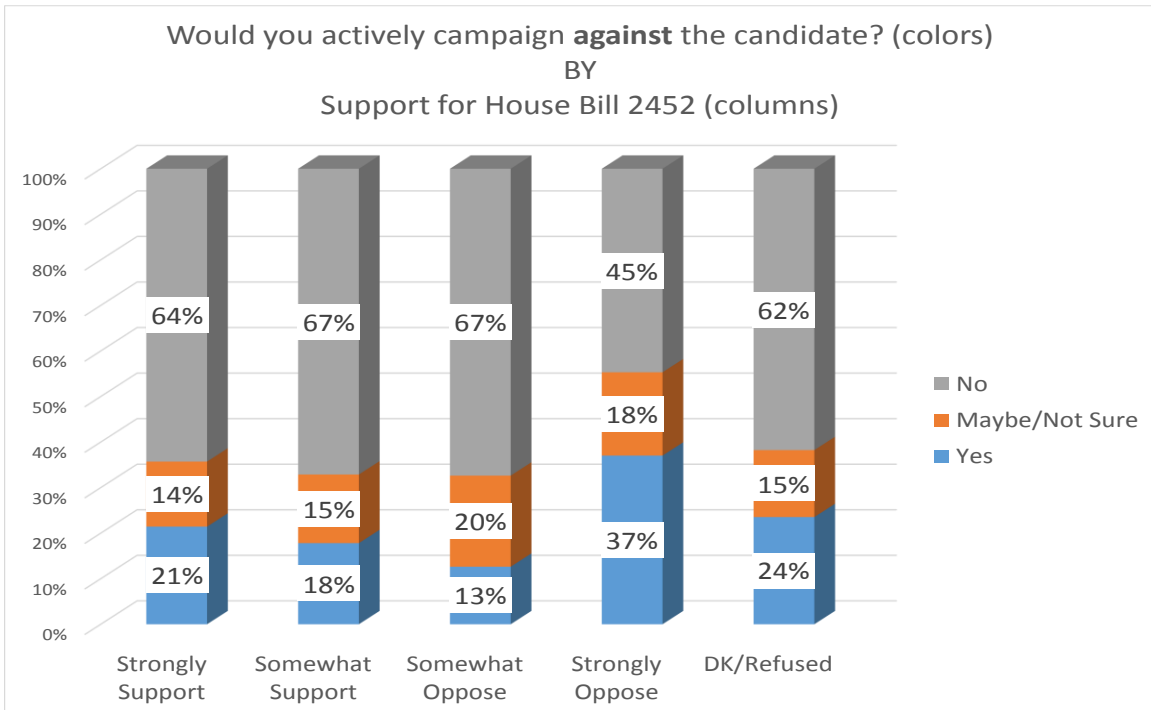
As an example, the question regarding agreement with religious and cultural diversity may elucidate the trend observed in the question regarding the freedom respondents thought private businesses should have to discriminate against LGBT individuals. We would expect to see support for business discrimination to increase as disagreement with the idea that Constitutional protection for religious and cultural diversity increases. Instead, we see respondents strongly agreeing with businesses not being able to discriminate, regardless of their thoughts on constitutional protections for religious diversity.

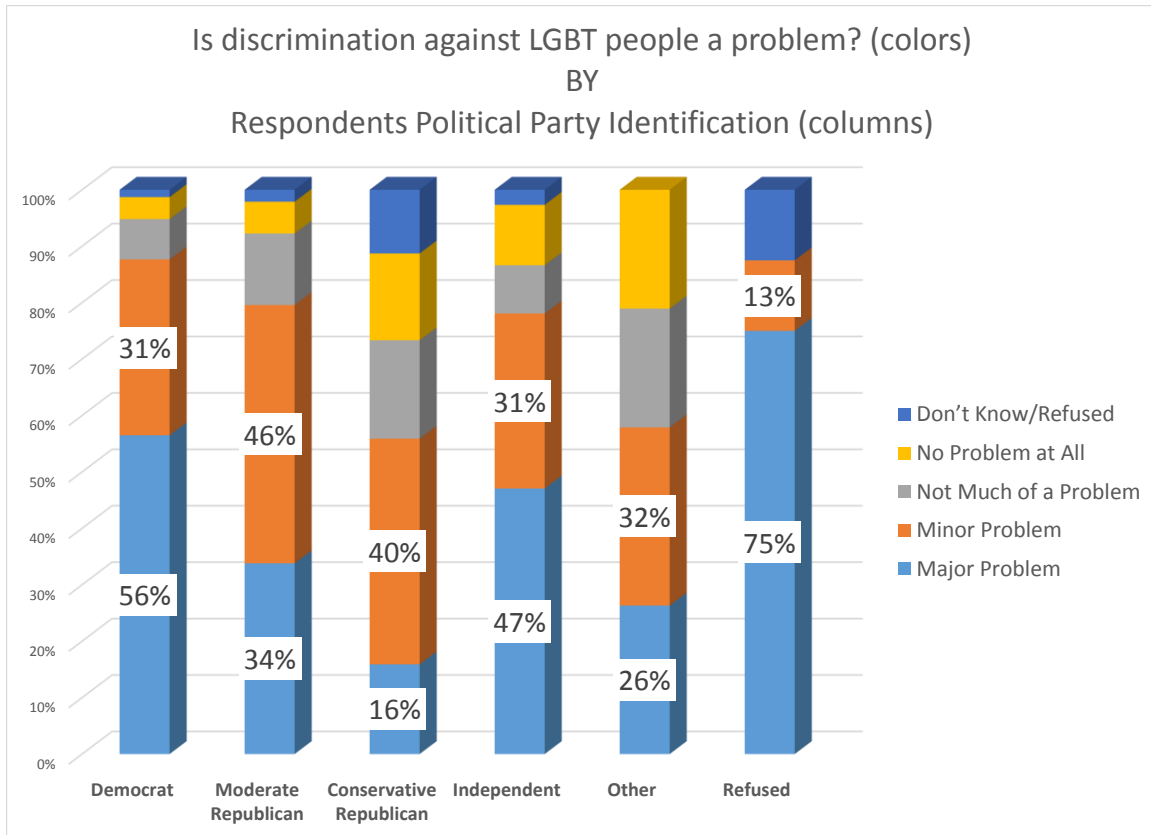


One other area of focus was on 2014's HB 2453, which would have allowed broad powers of discrimination against LGBT individuals and couples. A twenty-point difference emerged between supporters and opponents of HB 2453, which invites us to look for relationships. Would support for or opposition to HB 2453 cause an individual to become actively involved in a campaign for or against a representative who voted for such a bill? Cross-tabulating the questions on whether their representative voted for or against such a bill with the respondent's intention to act on behalf of or against their re-election yields significant results. Regarding a representative who would vote for HB 2453, only those who said that they strongly supported HB 2453 themselves were likely to support that representative's re-election effort. For those who only somewhat supported HB 2453 or opposed it, the plurality of respondents indicated that a representative's vote for HB 2453 would make them more likely to oppose their re-election, suggesting that only the most passionate opponents would be willing to activate on behalf of such a bill. All other evaluations of HB 2453 suggest that a representative should not vote for HB 2453 or a similar bill, lest they risk reaction from their constituents.

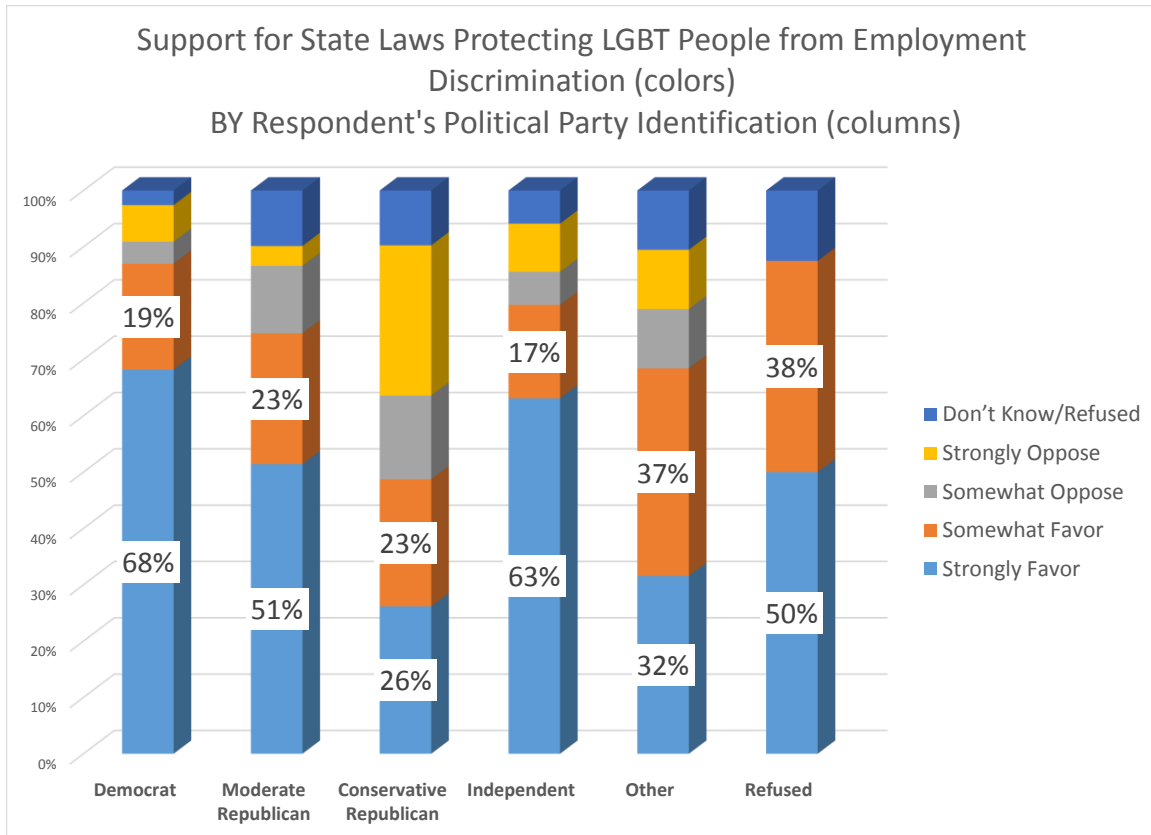


Furthermore, responses to a questions regarding actively campaigning for or against such a representative’s re-election indicate that respondents who are the most passionate about the bill are most likely to become an active participant in elections supporting representatives who would vote for or against such a bill.

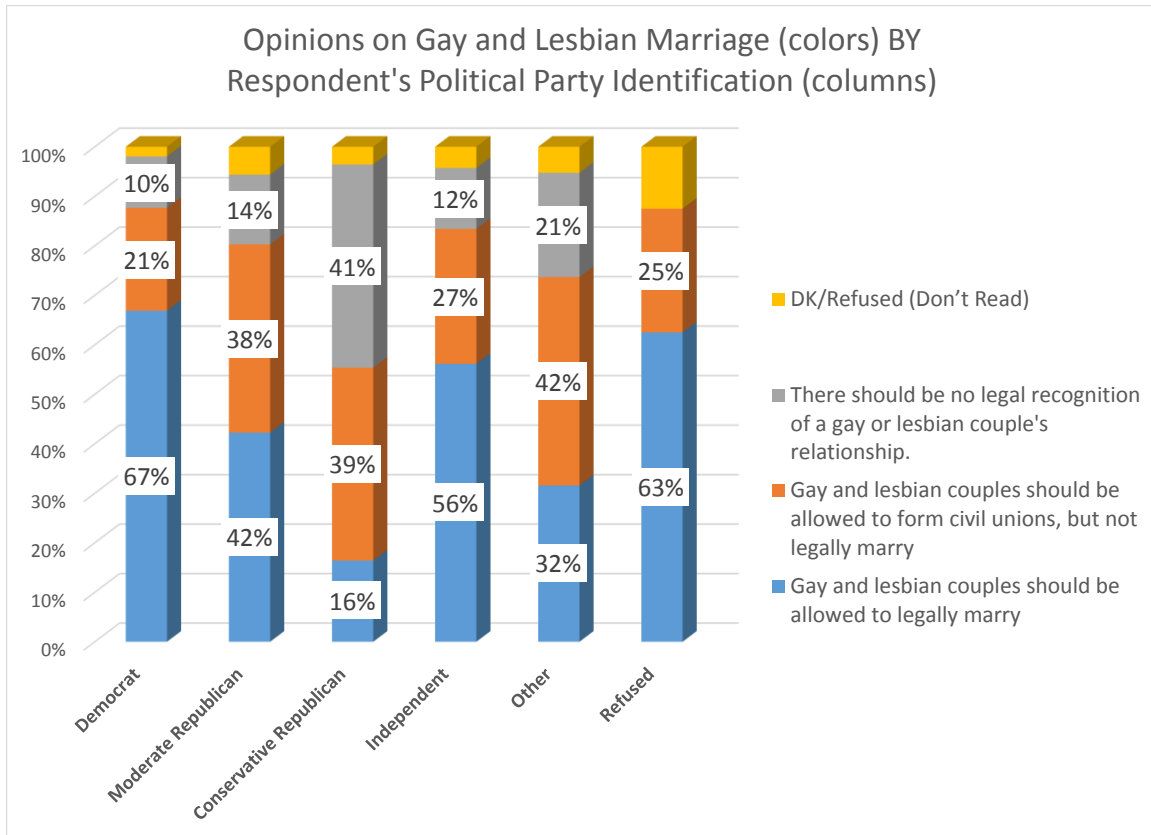




One of the major potential drivers for support or opposition to anti-LGBT discrimination laws is political partisanship. Therefore, we cross-tabulated a number of variables against respondents' self-identified party identification. As there is a strong correlation between self-identified conservative Republicans and religious values, we would expect that as we move from Democrat to conservative Republican that beliefs about LGBT discrimination being a problem to decrease significantly. Data support that hypothesis, with respondents who identify as Democrats and Independents being most likely, and conservative Republicans being least likely, to say discrimination against LGBT Kansans is a major problem. However, over half of conservative Republicans responded that LGBT discrimination was at least a minor problem.

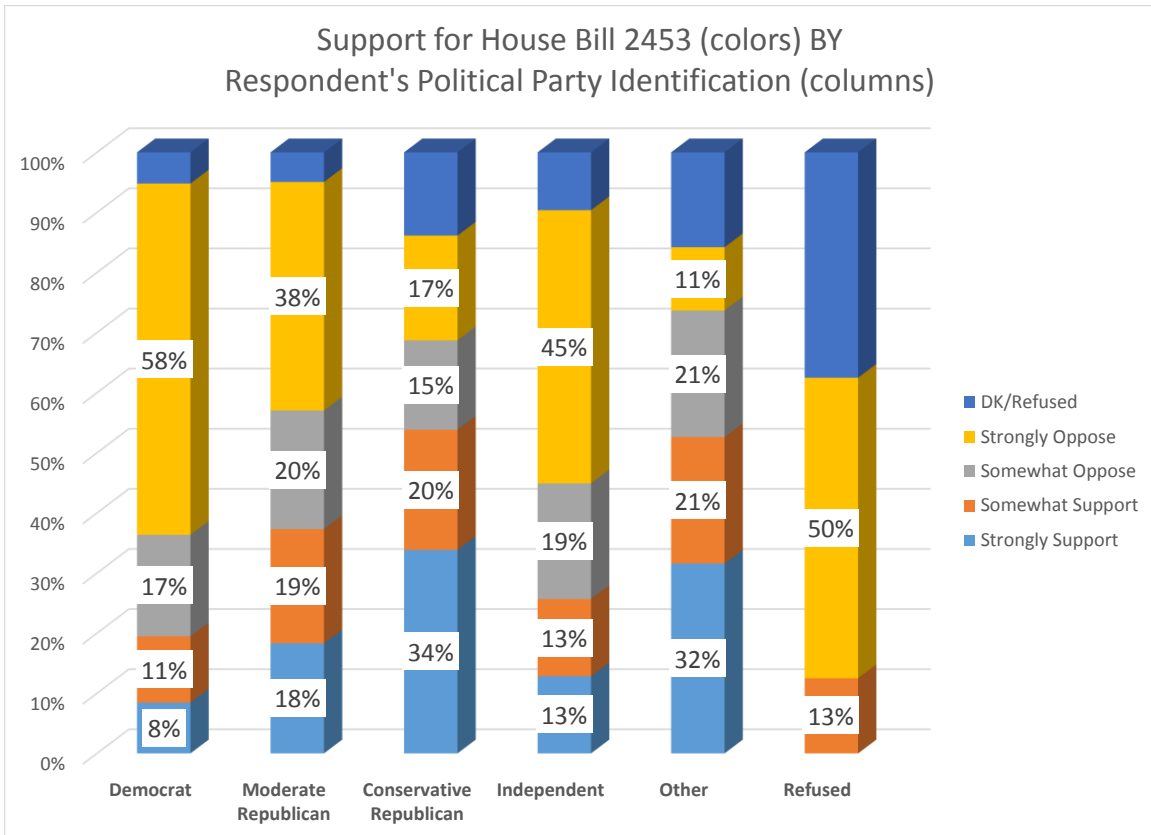


When the issue is brought to the realm of policy, conservative Republicans again produce a curious result. One survey question asked if respondents would favor or oppose a state law that protects LGBT individuals from employment discrimination. A majority of moderate Republicans, Democrats, and Independents all strongly favor the bill, with at least three-quarters favoring it to some degree. But not quite half of conservative Republicans favor laws protecting LGBT Kansans, and those favoring protection are nearly evenly split between somewhat and strongly. Just over one-fourth of conservative Republicans are strongly in favor of anti-discrimination laws for LGBT, while a slightly higher percentage strongly opposes such legislation. The split is particularly important as self-identified conservative Republicans made up the largest part of the respondent pool. Note that the relative sizes of the parties are not reflected in this graph.

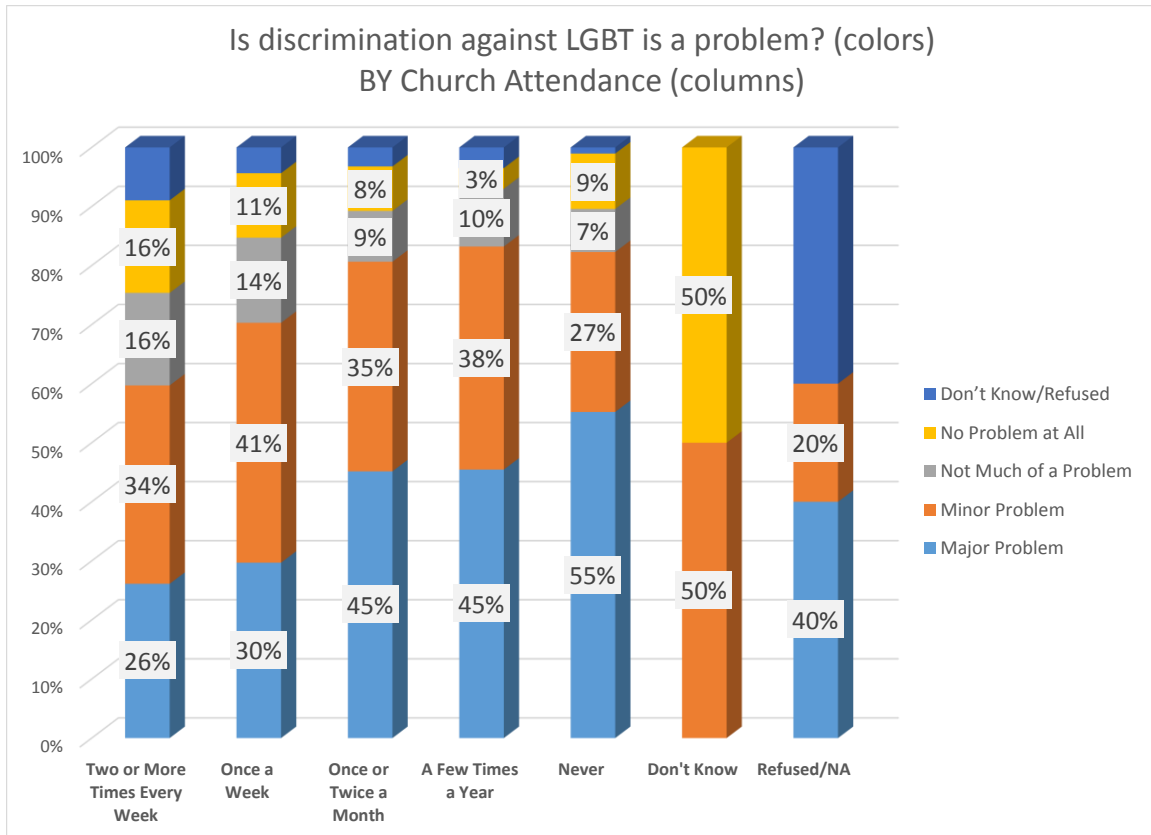


The split among conservative Republicans emerges as a true schism within the group when asked for clarification on respondents' opinions regarding gay marriage. Democrats and independents were both more likely to favor full marriage rights for same-sex couples over the other alternatives, with no more than 12% wanting to grant only legal recognition. Most moderate Republicans were split between allowing legal marriage and civil unions. Among conservative Republicans, the modal category opposes any legal recognition for same-sex marriage at all. However, almost as many conservative Republican respondents favored the creation of civil unions for gay and lesbian couples.

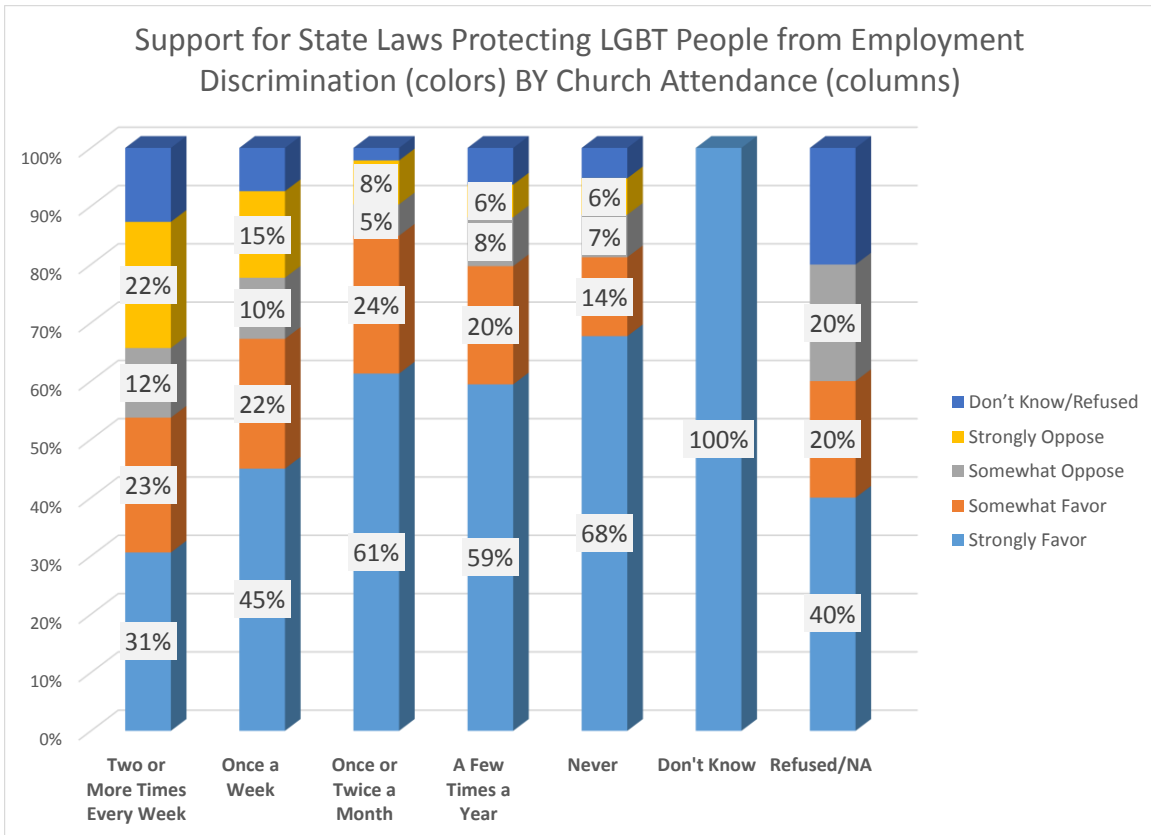




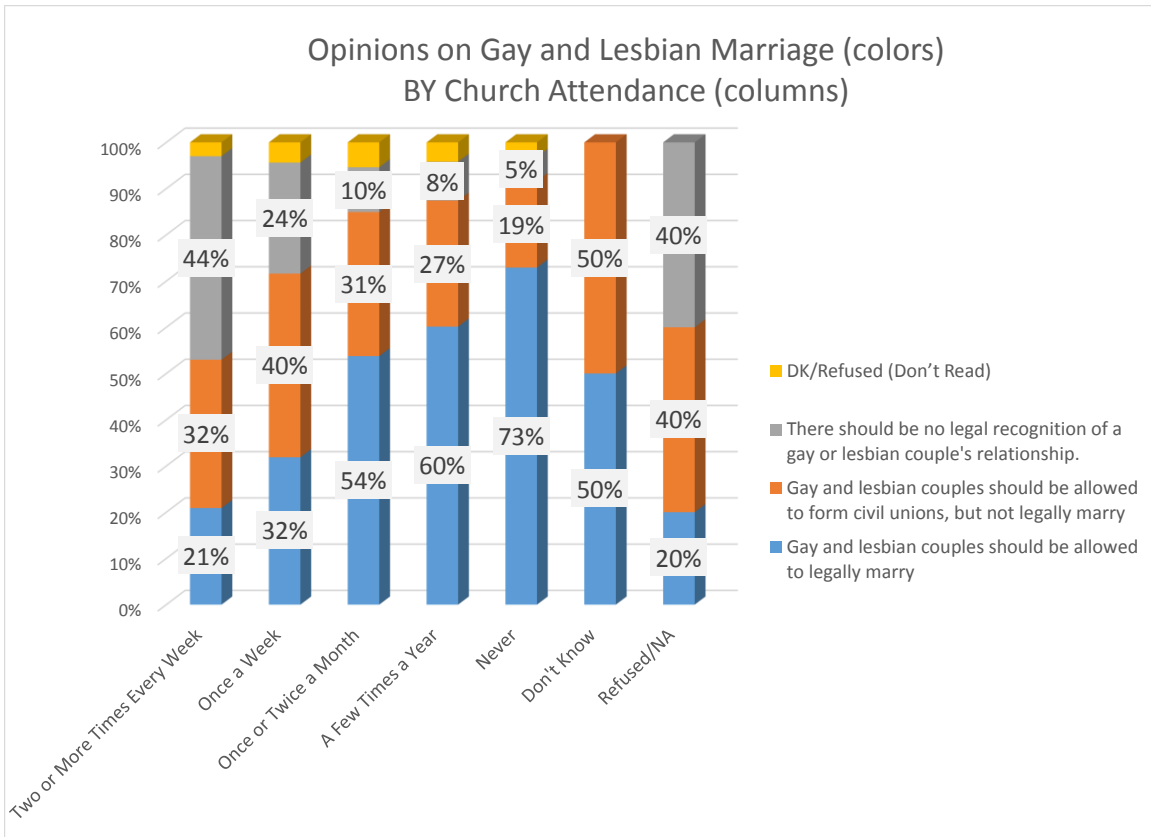
There are limits to the conservative Republican split, however. Conservative Republicans are the most likely to strongly support bills like HB 2453, but about one-third oppose House Bill 2453. But again, while all other party categories are more likely to oppose the bill and those like it, conservative Republicans make up the largest group of respondents in the poll. The results suggest that conservative Republicans are torn in their attitudes towards gay marriage and LGBT discrimination, but that split may not manifest itself as a wedge issue that would split them enough to prevent passage of such discriminatory legislation in the future.



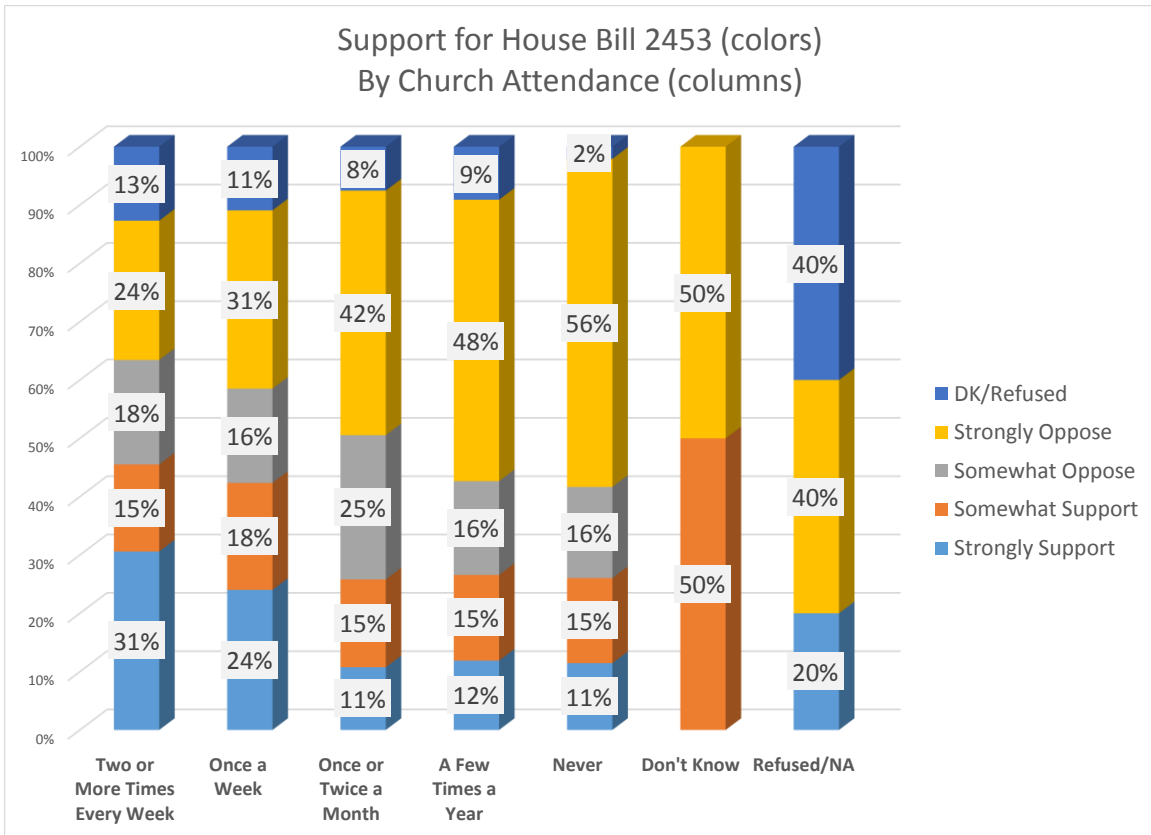
Partisanship is not the sole driver of differences on support or opposition to LGBT anti-discrimination practices, in that religious identity and practice may be another strong driver of attitudes. Therefore, we cross-tabulated frequency of religious service attendance with opinions on whether discrimination against gays is a problem. Against perceptions of discrimination as a problem, we can see that religion is not as strong of a driver as partisanship. Across all church attendance categories, most respondents indicated that they thought discrimination against LGBT individuals was either a major or minor problem. However, a strong linear relationship is evident, indicating that the more frequently respondents attend religious services, the less likely they are to say that discrimination against LGBT Kansans is a major problem.



The trend of the less religious being more likely to express support for expanded LGBT protections continues when respondents were asked if they favored or opposed laws that protect gay and transgendered persons from employment discrimination. But even among the most frequent church attenders, more than half at least somewhat favored anti-discrimination laws for LGBT persons. Still, frequent church goers are the least likely to support laws protecting gays from employment discrimination.



Support for gay and lesbian marriage is lowest among the most religious when respondents are asked if they favor full marriage rights for gay and lesbian couples, where a plurality of these respondents oppose any legal recognition of same-sex marriage. However, over half of those attending church most frequently favor at least allowing civil unions, if not full marriage. As church attendance frequency declines, support for full marriage rights increases.



Some disagreement emerges among respondents when we connect church attendance frequency with opinions about HB 2453. The most frequent attendants at church services, those who attend more often than weekly, lean only slightly in favor of HB 2453, with nearly as many opposing the bill. There is a wide split among the most frequent churchgoers, but strong opposition was, by far, the modal category for only those who never attend religious services. Support for HB 2453 generally declines as frequency of church attendance becomes less frequent.

## Conclusions

The results of the Docking Institute's poll of Kansas voters for The Reformation Project show a deeply divided and unsure Kansas electorate. While on the surface respondents support rights for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered persons, their support for those rights are limited and vary based on a number of factors. Valence issues such as non-discrimination in the workplace find support, though that support is not particularly strong. Kansans are also unsure if they want to extend full marriage rights to same-sex couples, allow civil unions, or do not want to provide any recognition of same-sex marriages at all. One definite area of agreement among respondents is that if anti-discrimination laws are passed, churches should be exempt at least in their ability to decide whether or not they will perform same-sex marriage ceremonies.

The message is less clear regarding private businesses. A strong trend of opposition to allowances for private businesses to deny services to same-sex couples emerges from the data. However, while respondents do not want businesses to discriminate, they are not as eager to want those protections codified into the law. Support for passing anti-LGBT discrimination laws drops significantly in the results, compared with opposition to private discrimination as a more abstract concept.

Church attendance frequency and political partisanship were predictors of support or opposition to LGBT rights, as well as legislation to protect them. Except for full allowance of gay marriage, even the most frequent church attendants showed support for at least limited LGBT rights. Perhaps the most significant finding in the data is that the largest response group and the group most likely to form the hardest opposition to legal protections for LGBT rights, conservative Republicans, is widely split on a number of issues. Not only do most conservative Republicans see discrimination as a problem, nearly as many oppose allowing LGBT discrimination as support it. Conservative Republicans

do not favor full marriage rights for same-sex couples, but the results suggest division on anti-discrimination policies and laws. However, many conservative Republicans also support discrimination-allowing legislation such as 2014's HB 2453. The split within conservative Republicans indicates that the monolithic opposition to LGBT rights that one might surmise is not as strong as expected.

## Appendix

### Reformation Project Survey Instrument

#### Introduction:

Hello. I'm a researcher at Fort Hays State University. You were randomly selected to participate in research designed to inform our state legislators on how Kansans feel about religious freedom.

Your participation is voluntary and your answers will remain anonymous and confidential.

#### Screener: Vote

First, we'd like to ask you if you voted in the last election, or do you typically not vote in every election?

- 1 Did Vote -> Go To Q1
- 2 Did Not Vote
- 3 Don't Know/Don't Remember/No Response

#### Screener: Not Qualified

Since the survey is meant for our state legislators, we are only surveying regular voters. Thank you for your time, have a nice \_\_\_\_\_.

#### Q1

To the best of your knowledge, is the following statement true or untrue:  
Religious freedom is protected by the U.S. Constitution.

- 1 True
- 2 Untrue
- 3 Don't Know/Refused



**Q2**

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:

*Religious and cultural diversity is an important element of American culture that has flourished because of our constitutional protection of religious freedom.*

Would you say you:

- 1 Strongly Agree
- 2 Somewhat Agree
- 3 Somewhat Disagree, or
- 4 Strongly Disagree with this statement?
- 5 Don't Know/Refused

**Q3**

Do you believe discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people is a major problem, a minor problem, not much of a problem or no problem at all?

- 1 Major Problem
- 2 Minor Problem
- 3 Not much of a problem
- 4 No problem at all
- 5 Don't Know/Refused

**Q4**

Would you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose a state law that protects gay and transgender people from employment discrimination?

- 1 Strongly Favor
- 2 Somewhat Favor
- 3 Somewhat Oppose
- 4 Strongly Oppose
- 5. Don't Know/Refused

**Q5**

Regarding your opinion of gay marriage, in general, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose allowing gay couples to legally marry?

- 1 Strongly Support
- 2 Somewhat Support
- 3 Somewhat Oppose
- 4 Strongly Oppose
- 5 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q6**

To clarify your opinion on gay marriage, which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

- 1 Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to legally marry
- 2 Gay and lesbian couples should be allowed to form civil unions, but not legally marry
- 3 There should be no legal recognition of a gay or lesbian couple's relationship.
- 4 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q7**

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with each of the following statement

	<b>1 Strongly Agree</b>	<b>2 Somewhat Agree</b>	<b>3 Somewhat Disagree</b>	<b>4 Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>5 Don't Know/Refused</b>
<b>Q7.1</b> - I may not feel comfortable with the idea of gay marriage, but at the same time, I believe in treating my neighbors as I want to be treated and I don't want to stand in the way of others' happiness.					
<b>Q7.2</b> - Gay marriage threatens religious freedom.					

**Q8**

In your opinion, which statement is more accurate according to your understanding of the law? In states like Kansas where gay marriage is legal, 1) churches and ministers still have the freedom and legal protections needed to decide whether to marry same-sex couples; or 2) churches and ministers are forced to perform marriages for gay couples even if doing so goes against their church's beliefs?

1. Freedom to decide whether to perform gay marriage ceremonies
2. Are forced to perform gay marriage ceremonies
3. DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q9**

In fact, even when gay marriage is legalized, constitutional law gives churches the same ability to choose which marriage ceremonies to perform, and churches are not required to perform ceremonies for gay couples. Knowing this, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose allowing gay couples to marry, as long as churches have the option to refuse conducting marriage ceremonies for gay couples?

- 1 Strongly Support
- 2 Somewhat Support
- 3 Somewhat Oppose
- 4 Strongly Oppose
- 5 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q10**

As you may know, the Kansas legislature considered a bill, known as House Bill 2453, last year that would have allowed anyone with religious objections to gay marriage to refuse to treat those marriages as valid, even though they are legal in Kansas. Knowing this, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose House Bill 2453?

- 1 Strongly Support
- 2 Somewhat Support
- 3 Somewhat Oppose ->Go To Q10b
- 4 Strongly Oppose ->Go To Q10b
- 5 DON'T KNOW/Refused ->Go To Q11

**Q10a**

Why do you support this?

---

**Q10b**

Why do you oppose this?

---

**Q11**

Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow government employees who claim religious objections to deny government services to gay couples?

- 1 Oppose
- 2 Support
- 3 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q12**

Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow any business or government employee to refuse to recognize lawfully married gay couples as married – including denying family leave, health insurance, pensions, and other married benefits?

- 1 Oppose
- 2 Support
- 3 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q13**

Would you support or oppose a bill in the state legislature that would allow businesses to refuse service to gay couples and other individuals, if the business owner claims that serving these individuals would violate their freedom of religion. Knowing this, would you say you SUPPORT or OPPOSE legislation like HB 2453?

- 1 Oppose
- 2 Support
- 3 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q14**

Now I'm going to read you a statement, and I'd like you to tell me whether you STRONGLY AGREE, SOMEWHAT AGREE, SOMEWHAT DISAGREE or STRONGLY DISAGREE with it: *Businesses, including small businesses like bakeries and florists, that are open to the public should be open to everyone on the same terms. They should not be allowed to discriminate against an individual based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or any other personal criteria.*

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Somewhat agree
- 3 Somewhat disagree, or
- 4 Strongly Disagree with this statement?
- 5 DON'T KNOW/Refused

**Q15**

If your State Legislator voted FOR a religious exemption bill that allowed government employees and businesses to refuse to serve someone because of their sexual orientation, would you be more likely to support or oppose their re-election to the State Legislature?

- 1 More likely to SUPPORT their re-election.
- 2 I would be more likely to OPPOSE their re-election. -> Go To Q17
- 3 It would make no difference in how I vote. -> Go To Q18
- 4 DON'T KNOW/Refused -> Go To Q18

**Q16**

Do you think you would actively campaign **for** their re-election?

- 1 Yes
- 2 Maybe/Not Sure
- 3 No
- 4 Refused

**Q17**

Do you think you would actively campaign **against** their re-election?

- 1 Yes
- 2 Maybe/Not Sure
- 3 No
- 4 Refused

**Q18**

Who do you trust **most** to provide you with information on discrimination against gays and lesbians? Would you say:

- 1 Church leaders
- 2 Gay and lesbian couples
- 3 The business community
- 4 Gay rights organizations
- 5 Republican lawmakers
- 6 our friends and family
- 7 Don't Know/Refused
- 8 Other \_\_\_\_\_

**Q19**

How many people who are gay or lesbian would you say you personally know or work with? Would you say:

- 1 None
- 2 Very Few
- 3 Some, or
- 4 A lot
- 5 DON'T KNOW/Refused



**Q20**

And now just a few more questions to make sure we are interviewing a variety of Kansans. When it comes to politics, do you generally consider yourself to be a DEMOCRAT, a Moderate REPUBLICAN, Conservative REPUBLICAN or an INDEPENDENT?

- 1 Democrat
- 2 Moderate Republican
- 3 Conservative Republican
- 4 Independent ->Go To Q22
- 5 Other \_\_\_\_\_ -> Go To Q22
- 6 Refused

**Q21**

Which of the following best describes you?

- 1 I am completely loyal to my party and would not vote against it.
- 2 I am fairly loyal to my party, but occasionally vote with the opposing party.
- 3 I am not loyal to any party. I vote with the party that best supports my views.

**Q22**

Which best describes how often you attend religious services:

- 1 Two or more times every week,
- 2 Once a week,
- 3 Once or twice a month
- 4 A few times a year, or
- 5 Never
- 6 Don't know
- 7 Refused/NA

**Q23**

Please stop me when I get to your age category...

- 1 between 18 and 24,
- 2 between 25 and 34,
- 3 between 35 and 44,
- 4 between 45 and 54,
- 5 between 55 and 64, or
- 6 over 65
- 7 Refused

**Q24**

What is the last grade of school you completed?

- 1 Some High School
- 2 High School Diploma
- 3 Some College or 2 Year Degree
- 4 Bachelor's Degree
- 5 Graduate Degree
- 6 Refused

**Q25**

That is all the questions I have for you. Thank you for your time, have a great  
\_\_\_\_\_. Was the Respondent:

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 3 Unsure

## Appendix B Narrative Question Responses

### Q10

As you may know, the Kansas legislature considered a bill, known as House Bill 2453, last year that would have allowed anyone with religious objections to gay marriage to refuse to treat those marriages as valid, even though they are legal in Kansas. Knowing this, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose House Bill 2453?

### Q10a

Why do you support this?

Don't know (10)

Never come face to face with this so it's a whole new thing for me.

Thinks gay marriage is wrong

Religious freedom, if your religion does not believe in that then you should not be forced to go against your religion.

Because I'm against gay marriage.

I think anyone should be able to do what they want to do as long as they don't step on others' toes.

I believe that from a religious stand point everyone has the right to believe what they want to believe.

Because it's the right thing.

No bias opinion on the bill or what it does.

They should be able to legal right.

I do not think gay marriage is correct or right and I don't believe ministers should be forced to marry gay couples if they don't want to.

Everybody has their own opinions.

I don't think it should be an issue.

Don't have to recognize it.

As one person has a right to choose that gay marriage is okay, another person has the right to say that it's not okay.

I believe the right to refuse service just like a business does.

It allows for personal choice.

Freedom to choose.

If you are a business, it is your religious freedom and you shouldn't be forced to recognize gay marriage if you are against it.

They should be civil unions not marriages.

Because it's against God's will.

Religions should not be forced by law to go against their values.  
Because I think churches have the right to not do that if that is not what they believe.

My religious beliefs are making a distinction between the person and the person's actions and that marriage is supposed to be between a man and a woman.

I believe that churches shouldn't be forced to do something that goes against their beliefs.

If my faith doesn't allow me to consider that as a marriage, then why should I be told I have to?

Because churches have been here the longest and gay marriage is such a new and recent thing.

People have right to not be forced to believe one or another.  
Gay marriage may be a new topic to the area, but churches have been around much longer so they deserve that right.

It's against my religious beliefs.  
Free to do so.  
Religious beliefs lead to this.  
Basis on the grounds that marriage is a religious union and the civil union is more for the state.

Because as much as I don't like it, this country has decided to allow immoral behavior. It's nice to allow people with strong religious convictions to have an option to refuse service legally.

Opposed to gay marriage, it's against nature and against the bible.  
Some religions don't believe in it and that is their choice. They can get married elsewhere.

Religious beliefs.  
Any church and what they believe the states should not be able to say what they do and can't do.

You have the right to do whatever you want to do.  
No one should be forced to be recognized.  
Everyone is entitled to their own opinions.  
No.  
"Don't know."  
Thinks they should be treated as any other couple, people should have the same rights.

My religious beliefs. Marriage is between male and female.  
The ministers should have the choice.  
God put us on earth to love each other, if two people love each other then it should be allowed.

I believe that every individual has the right to marry and sympathetic to churches to make the decision to marry.

A church shouldn't have to recognize anything they don't want to recognize.

Everybody has the right to refuse whatever they want. It's a free country.

Marriage is between a man and a woman.

Against gay marriage.

If it's a business they should be allowed to refuse business if it's a privately owned business.

Shouldn't have to recognize.

We do have a right as churches to decline what goes against god.

Because people that own their own business should have a right to determine who they do business with.

Because I believe marriage is an institution of religion that would have a mockery made of by allowing it to be a religious marriage.

Because I believe that certain places should be allowed to in a form of religious freedom that because they do not agree with this religious type they can choose to not recognize the marriage. But they need to recognize the marriage due to tax stipulations.

I'm a Christian, and the Bible says that gay marriage is not right. I believe that the more media attention it gets, the church will be taken out of society.

Oppose the idea of gay marriage being legal.

Do not go against my religious beliefs.

It ought to be up to each individual and church what they need/want to do.

I think it's reasonable and fair.

Just a feeling.

Redefines definition of marriage defined in bible.

Because I'm opposed to gay marriage.

Fine.

I don't believe in gay marriage.

They have done no wrong.

Supporting the churches stance on being able to deny gay marriage.

They have the freedom to not recognize that as a marriage.

I think people should have the opportunity to do what they want.

Because I think people have their own rights and if it's a state law, then people have to abide by the law.

Because of what is said in the bible.

They should have the right to do what they want.

I don't believe anyone to do anything they are strongly against.

People have the right to oppose gay marriage.

People are people and everybody should do their own thing. Detrimental to our Christian society. People should have the right to believe in their own faith. Just because two people want to be married, that doesn't mean I have to be happy with it.

Because it's like abortion and murder, because of religion I would never condone it. I love the people but I don't agree with it.

I think people should be treated equally. Everyone wants to point fingers but everyone does things wrong too.

Follow the law.

People should be allowed to have their own opinions and not be forced into anything.

I oppose gay marriage.

Because gay marriage doesn't affect her in any way. People should be allowed to do what they want to do.

I support gay marriage.

Think business owners have the right to do this.

Because I have family members that have changed my opinion on the matter.

Goes against natural order.

It's a recognition of the way that the culture is going, and I make a distinction between the choices that the church makes and the state makes.

Freedom of religion.

Because I believe a marriage is for one man and one woman.

Churches should the right to marry who they want.

Everyone has the right to do what they want.

Anybody has the right to get married.

Support because religion says one thing that is one thing but under government nothing should prevent a gay couple from getting married. In the legal system, no one has a right to refuse that. But if a religion is against it's not my place to tell them that it is wrong. Religion and government should not be intertwined. I think that they should be allowed to get married. Choice is important.

They can be legally recognized.

Because I don't believe in it.

Being Catholic, I am impressed with what the pope is saying; that he says we shouldn't judge someone based on how they are but on what their actions are. Being homosexual is in the eyes of the Catholic Church is a sin, but not a mortal sin.

Because the bible says "render under Cesar what is Cesar's and unto God what is God's." I will support whatever the law says.

It's not in God's word.

The church has the right to choose.

"If they are legally married, then they are legally married."

Religious beliefs that gay marriage is not right. Husband and she do not agree with it. Does not want her children to be subjected to that.

If it's my belief to not recognize them, then the government can't make me.

God's law says marriage between gays is wrong.

The church has their own entity.

Support.

If it goes against the passage of religion, you shouldn't be forced into marrying a couple that you do not agree with their sexuality.

Doesn't believe in gay marriage.

I kind of have mixed feelings both ways.

Because if you they the right to choose.

Someone shouldn't be forced to do anything that goes against their religion.

Support the fact that people can do whatever they want, I'm not happy with the legislature.

Because I believe that if we have the freedom to do what we want to do then we should have the freedom to do so.

I support their rights and beliefs.

I'm in the middle of this debate. Gay couples can go to other churches to marry.

My beliefs with church says that gay marriage should not be done.

Because it's legal.

Love is love.

I don't agree with gay marriages, should be between a man and a woman.

There should be a choice.

Middle of the road with accepting gay marriage.

I oppose gay marriage

The gay/lesbian community is forcing their beliefs on everyone else.

I believe the word of god. Our eternal life depends on it. The bible is God's word.

The bible says that a man and man and woman and woman cannot lay together.

Gays have no place in society.

If the church refuses to marry a gay then they can go to some other church.

Feels like we're all different; we all should have the freedom to do what we feel like is best for ourselves; feels like it goes against the bible, but society is changing and the law should change with it.

It's religious freedom and this is a critical element of Christianity.

I'm against gay marriage. I support their individualism, but not what they're doing.

I believe in freedom of people who have their own faith. They should be able to do that without danger.

Because I don't think gay marriage is right.  
Because they have the right to not accept gay marriage if they don't want to.  
I don't think they should be married.  
People still have the right to decide what they want.  
Anybody is entitled to his or her own opinion.  
Because of my religious beliefs.  
Because nobody's agenda should not be pushed on someone else.  
People should have the right to not perform gay marriage if they're opposed to it,  
in the name of religious freedom.  
Because I think that everyone should have choices. If gays and lesbians choose  
to marry, I would not oppose that, but I would oppose forcing a church to  
do that.  
Separation of church and state. We need to have the ability to decide this as  
individuals of the church.  
Because I think they have the right to.  
I'm not settled on gay marriages yet. Have not made up my mind.  
Treat them as illegal even though it is legal in Kansas.  
Because she doesn't believe in gay marriage.  
I feel it's an option if you're not comfortable or don't believe in it you shouldn't  
have to deal with it.  
It is the individual's right to say yes or no to performing marriages.  
Religious beliefs should not have to be changed cause of a law.  
Minister have right to refuse to marry someone on religious ground.  
They should be allowed their own choices.  
With our freedom of speech and beliefs and morals and for our own personal  
feelings involved.  
If it's going to be a law they need to be able to do it.  
The business owner can refuse to serve people based on their religious beliefs.  
Because God made the people and he told us not to judge them. It is His place  
to judge them.  
It is the choice for people to not accept it.  
Not comfortable with gay marriage.  
I think religion is being trampled on by the gay and lesbian agenda.  
Because if they want to have a civil union I'm not opposed to that but I don't  
believe in gay marriage.  
To oppose it would be to break the law.  
Everyone has a right to refuse something that they don't agree with.  
I think we should have an option, I don't believe that just because the legislature  
says that gay marriage is okay we should have it rammed down our throat.



Because I believe that gay marriage is something that people's choice, it's not a religious aspect. If it is against someone's religion they should not be forced to accept it.

I support it because there's too much government dictating what people can and cannot do, there are too many laws regarding everything, not just homosexuals and marriages, does not like the government dictating us.

Because I think that if it is against your religion you don't have to recognize it.  
Not sure.

Over time with recognition of same sex marriage there will be increasing pressure for the creation of laws to accommodate same-sex marriages. I am concerned there will be laws made eventually that will force religious institutions to comply due to discrimination.

Our religious freedom is just that.

It gives them a choice.

As a Christian, marriage is between a man and woman. If there is an objection, they should be allowed to refuse service.

Because the people of Kansas had already voted how they wanted and they should have been allowed to make that decision. It shouldn't have been overturned because that takes away the rights of the people of Kansas.

I think everyone should have the right to do as they need but, remain within the law. I don't think we should judge each other.

The ministers should have to right to say it is invalid.

Because I'm a Christian and the bible says that it is not a Christian act.

I don't support gay marriage. Civil union yes but marriage is for a man and woman.

Do not think gay marriage is ok in God's eyes.

Government doesn't need to tell people what to do. If I choose to not recognize their marriage, that's my choice. Government can't force me.

Because they have choice to choose.

We live under a rule of law, and if this were implemented as a law. We would have to follow this. I believe the bible said gays are an abomination, but it is not my business to judge. It is the lords business.

It's an abomination to have gay marriage. It's about as low as it gets.

If it's legal it's legal.

Freedom of choice of the individual, required by government. Religious beliefs leave it up to an individual to decide how he wants to react to things. I don't want anything forced on me.

Because I don't like the word marriage; applies to something different.

Because people should be happy and be able to do what they want.

Marriages are for a man and woman.

Because, I don't believe in gay marriage and I don't think that people need to provide services to gays and it is not a marriage.

I don't think anyone should be forced to support something they don't feel comfortable with.

Marriage is between a man and a woman.

Because then everyone will treat them as valid, and I think it threatens normal relationships that god ordained.

I agree with personal choice but not legal recognition.

Shouldn't have to marry someone if they don't want to.

Don't support gay marriage.

Because I believe in individual rights to be able to refuse.

People's freedom is still intact. People who don't believe in gay marriage shouldn't have to accept it.

Not sure.

I'm not for any gay marriage.

Because it's their decision.

I don't believe this is the way God intended.

I believe marriage is between a man and a woman. I think they should be able to form civil unions.

I think gay marriage is wrong.

I absolutely disagree with gay marriage.

As a Christian I know gay marriage is wrong.

Because I don't like seeing people living in sin.

I support it because biblically, gay marriage is wrong and we need to stand behind what our bible says as well as what our forefathers established.

Because personally, I do not believe in gay marriage and I have religious beliefs.

Homosexuality is a choice.

In my opinion, I think they should only be allowed a civil union.

Law.

I feel that our nation was established on Christian beliefs. The farther we get away from them, the more trouble we get in.

We shouldn't have to do something we don't want to do or believe in ourselves.

I think they should have the right to do decide if they want to do it or not.

Any person has the option to provide the service and minister are able to say this; it should be the same for everybody.

I think it's their right.

It's the same thing as having to give an abortion to someone who is working for you. I think that's crazy.

The religious freedom of those that oppose it.

Because everyone needs to be able to follow their religion without being forced to do things that are against their religion.

Religious freedom and it's a sin.

My religious back ground, it's a man and a woman.

If the bill said this then I would be okay with it.

A biblical standpoint should be taken.

Because I don't think that gays should get married. It's all strange to me.

Marriage should be between a man and a woman.

Because they should not be forced to do it.

If two people want to get married no one should get in the way of that.

It's just the way I feel about.

I don't believe the union of two men or two women can be called a marriage.

People should be able to do what they want to do.

Don't think anybody should be forced to do anything they don't believe in.

Gay marriage should not be religious only civil unions.

Everyone has a right to their opinion.

I think it should be considered.

From a religious standpoint the same right that gay and lesbians should have straight people should have the same rights.

Everybody has the right to do what they want to do.

Oppose gay marriage.

I am not a fan of gay marriages, so anything to do with that in their favor is a red flag for me.

Not opposed to live together but not marriage.

Religious beliefs.

Because of what the bible says.

Just don't believe in gay marriage.

It's alright with me.

I don't believe in gay marriages.

Everything ought to be kept private.

I don't believe in gay marriage.

I don't agree with a gay life style.

Because God didn't create two men and two women to marry.

Churches have that religious freedom.

No reason.

More based on individual choice and shouldn't be based on law.

I think it is important for each religion to choose.

I agree with it.

Because homosexuality is wrong.

No need for discrimination in any category.

Because everybody should marry/love who they want and the government has no right to tell us what to do.

### **Q10b**

Why do you oppose this?

Don't Know (13)

I think they deserve the same consideration as a regular couple.

I just think everybody has a chance to live their own life as they want to.

Because they should have the same rights and freedoms as any married couple.

People should have freedom and no one should be exempt.

It shouldn't matter.

I don't believe in gay marriage but I hate to discriminate towards them.

If they serve the public it means the whole public.

Because I think that are laws from state to federal should work together and should not oppose each other.

If it goes against religious beliefs the couple can go somewhere else and that they do have the right to marry.

Didn't wright the rules, its God's law.

The law's the law and abide the law whether you like it or not.

I believe in the bible and the foundations of a family.

Reason it's an abomination to god. They will go to hell if they don't change their ways.

Everyone has the right to choose what they believe.

There should be separation between church and state. The constitution protects the first amendment. If the state allows gay marriage, I should not be allowed to discriminate against them. Strongly disagree with anything infringing against someone else's rights.

If people are legally married, they should be given the rights of all married people.

Personal reasoning.

I think it needs to be rewritten.

I don't think just because they are gay, our officials should be allowed to interfere with something that is legal.

Legally, if it's accepted, then you need to follow the law.

I don't know, the church has the right to refuse act.

Well I can see a county clerk refusing a marriage license.

Because if it is made into the law, then it has to be recognized.

Because if it is a law that gays can marry then allowing individuals to choose to not honor that is going against human rights.

Because I don't want our state to recognize gay marriage.

I think that if the law states that it is legal, then we need to abide by that.

If they are legal, they should be treated as if it was a legal marriage.

Because a marriage is a marriage. Regardless of gender.

If it is legal to marry they should be seen as married. I disagree with what the bill is wanting to do.

If they are married under the law then no one should argue with that.

I think the government is getting into too many rules and they need to quit.

If the state has made a law if they are legal; I feel that the human right of the institution of marriage should be respected by religious entities.

Discriminatory.

Biblically, gay marriage is not biblical, but who am I to judge?

Already a law.

I think it it's legal, other people shouldn't have the ability to honor whether or not it's legal.

I don't think its right.

If it is recognized by the government then it should be recognized by the state as well.

Because it's the law and everyone should follow the law and people shouldn't be discriminated against.

Because it is hateful and un-Christian.

Goes against beliefs.

I just feel that it is wrong.

That bill doesn't seem like it is for LGBT people. They need better protection.

Churches have been around for around time and gay marriage is new.

I feel that if we are recognizing marriage, marriage should come with all of the benefits that straight couples have. It's a values decision or a business to be able to decide that, and if we are going to protect gay marriage, then we need to protect it completely and certainly make sure they have all the amenities that come with a marriage.

Didn't give a reason.

Against gay marriage.

Believe in gay marriage, federal law should be above state law.

Gay marriage doesn't hurt anyone.

Because it's law you can't create your own rules just because you're a big-get it would be like denying civil rights to people.

Everyone has a different opinion

I think that they can live together but I don't think they need to get married.

Whether or not the religious person wants to accept it, it's still valid.  
The law is the law, even if religion dictates different.  
It could be manipulated to be used to discriminate against gays/lesbians.  
Everyone should be treated fairly.  
Because law dictates it is legal and should be viewed as such.  
If it's legal it's legal.  
If it's legal it's legal, if it's illegal it's illegal. The place for the decision is in the courts not with the legislature.  
Because people can discriminate against gays and lesbians legally with that bill  
The government shouldn't be able to tell us our feelings, the state should be able to do that, the government has too much power.  
They need to obey the law.  
If they are valid then they should be treated as such.  
All people should be treated equally.  
If it is the law you can't make up your own laws.  
Under constitutional rights, that sort of discrimination shouldn't happen.  
If it's legal then it needs to be recognized as legal.  
If you're married you should be said as married.  
Separation of church and state.  
They're just people and they have the right to do as they please; it doesn't concern anybody but the two people who want to marry.  
If it's legal to get married then you should be treated fairly.  
If it's legal then it should be enforced.  
Because gay couples should be treated equally as straight couples.  
No one should be forced to go against their religious beliefs but on the other hand you have to respect everyone's wishes.  
Gay marriage should be accepted.  
There is no reason to discriminate.  
If it is legal, they should support it.  
Depends on the situation. If it is a small business, they should have the right to decide what they want to do, large corporations should not get this choice.  
We need to make sure we are agreeing with the law. If you have an objection, you are the one in the wrong.  
Don't appreciate the discrimination against those couples.  
Because it is the state law. Knows it's the separation of church and state, but it is the state law.  
I'm against gay marriage.  
Because people shouldn't be able to pick and choose laws they want to obey.  
Discrimination.  
I think everybody should have that freedom.

Believe everyone has the right to do whatever they want.  
Because if the state is allowing the marriage then they should be able to get health insurance from whatever partner has the job.  
I believe in the constitution and the declaration of independence and all men are created equal.  
It's unfair. There should be equality and fairness.  
It's the law.  
Should be left up to the churches.  
It's not normal.  
I don't get to persecute someone because of their religion, so I don't believe people should be allowed to persecute others because of the sexuality.  
Follow the law.  
Everyone needs to be happy with what is best for them.  
"That's what I agree with."  
I think that's totally objectionable to me.  
It doesn't make sense. If you create a law for all others to follow, we need to follow it. You can't make exceptions to the law once it is passed.  
Don't think it's legal to give people the option to interpret the marriage as invalid.  
For religious reasons.  
The gays should be exempt from prejudice.  
I disagree that they should tell people what they can or cannot do.  
I don't think it could be enforced.  
Oppose, because that's not right. They should be treated like everyone else.  
It doesn't seem the church should be involved in that.  
I don't believe in that kind of stuff.  
I don't believe in gay marriage.  
I don't know, if it's the law that's the way it should be.  
I feel like equal rights for everyone are important.  
It sounds like it discriminates against gay people.  
I think if it is legal that we should go along with it, unless it was something outrageous.  
Because it doesn't make any sense, if it's legal, it's legal.  
Don't think anyone should be discriminated against for any reason.  
If the minister or church that they went to felt within themselves that it was appropriate to get married then I should not judge that decision. It is up to the church to make that ruling within their own church community.  
Because I oppose gay marriage but if it is legal and there's not supposed to be any difference in the way that we treat people but we should not be able to discriminate against them.  
Because it shouldn't be illegal for someone to not recognize it.

If the state or another state recognizes the marriage, you can't discriminate.  
If it's legal it's legal.  
Because nobody should be forced to marry anyone.  
Strongly oppose because if they are legal then they should be.  
They should have the ability just like anybody else.  
If they're married and it's legal, no one should judge.  
Shouldn't be a blanket policy.  
They should be allowed to make their own choice with no discrimination.  
Marriage should be between male/female.  
If people are married you should respect that.  
Consider straight marriages as marriage why should it be different.  
I just believe it will continue on until the clergy is forced to marry them.  
Doesn't want to disrespect their rights.  
Because it sets up discrimination.  
If it's legal in Kansas its legal.  
If it's filed through the state it should be recognized.  
It's ridiculous if it's the law then people should obey it.  
Religion and politics should be separate like the founding fathers wanted.  
I don't like any of the legislature.  
If you have a valid and legal marriage then it is VALID and LEGAL period.  
In God's eyes he gave us a man and woman to create life and not for gay. I don't trust gays and lesbians to raise a child and to give them the same God give right that I have had in my life. I don't think they can provide a household for child. The child is going to become either a gay or a lesbian.  
People want to be happy let them being happy; none of my business what they are doing in their bedroom. Mind their own business.  
Because you have to follow the law.  
Christianity is a myth and I don't think much of religion.  
You should respect everyone and any individual.  
I think you should treat everyone how you want to be treated. If you don't agree with their life style you should still treat them with respect.  
I don't think anyone should be not allowed to have their rights denied if they are married.  
Government shouldn't meddle in some things. People need to be able to make their own choices and be accountable for them with their chosen deity.  
If it is legally okay to do it, we shouldn't be making exceptions.  
If the law is that they are legally married, then an individual should not be allowed to decide if they're qualified.



Fundamentally a contradiction. If it is legal; you can't have one person treating it as valid and the state to treat it as invalid. It would be a legal contradiction. It would be absurd.

Because if it's allowed under the law it should be synonymous with everyone that it is recognized.

I think that businesses and people who provide services need to abide by the law and recognize their choices as recognized by the law, but individuals have the right to their opinion.

It seems there is not a lot of logic behind these legislative moves. They are motivated by their personal agenda and try to make a name for themselves. They don't seem to be looking at issues in an unbiased way. If legislation was written with more open-minded views, we wouldn't have things like this being proposed.

I would like to treat my neighbors the same way I want to be treated. Just because I'm a strong conservative, it's still their right.

If it's legal, they shouldn't be allowed to treat them as not being legal.

Because it is bigotry.

It's not fair to deny them their natural rights as Americans.

Freedom of choice.

It doesn't exist. Marriage is between a man and a woman.

Everyone can make their own decisions.

They should still at least legally recognize the union. Just because they don't agree doesn't mean that it didn't happen. They have the right to be recognized as such.

Don't think it's a proper legislation.

If that's the law then there shouldn't be discrimination just because they don't agree with it.

I feel like if it's a legal institution, you cannot discriminate against homosexual marriage.

People ought to be free to do what they want.

If it's the law they shouldn't be able to refuse.

Religious objections.

Racism is not allowed so even if you don't support gay marriages you should still have to follow the law, you should always have to follow the laws or no one would ever pay taxes either.

It doesn't matter what gender you are, if you love each other that's all that matters.

Because you can't have something be legal and have someone be able to opt out of this law, the church can say it's against their religion but no one can deny them insurance.

If they are legal then they are legal.  
Should agree to everyone that needs help.  
Don't agree with gay marriage.  
Don't think need to make special accommodations to groups.  
You don't have the right to reject people because of their beliefs.  
Let them do what they want.  
They (anyone with religious objections) can have an opinion not refuse to treat those marriage as valid.  
Don't think that the separation between church and state is okay, the law is the law and it doesn't matter what your religious views are.  
Because I think it is an individual right and it shouldn't be depend on the state.  
If we are going to let it then let it.  
It's not right.  
Because I don't believe in gay marriage.  
It is not right to judge someone or not recognize their marriage just because of their sexual orientation. If you're married you're married.  
Because if it is law then people should have to recognize it.  
Because I don't think they should. It is a discrimination against gays.  
I think that marriage should be recognized even if they don't agree with it.  
I think you are opening yourself up to constant contradiction.  
Everyone has the right to do what they want.  
You can't pass a law that you can enforce or have a merit. It's a contradiction.  
People can use that as an out or to object the bill  
I just do.  
Because in our constitution we have the right to do what we want to do with our lives as long as it is not unlawful. Gay marriage is not against the law.  
It's not right; nothing against who they are or what they are, but it's against what the bible says.  
No way of favoring gay marriage because it is not recognized in the bible.  
Issue with gay marriage.  
Depends on the situation.  
People should abide by the law.  
It isn't right. It goes against what the bible says.  
Everyone has their own rights.  
Because I feel like if they want to get married they should be allowed to get married.  
If it is legal, we should not pass a bill to allow people to treat it as invalid.  
Too vague of a bill and it doesn't make sense.  
Discrimination.  
State gives them the right to marry who will choose different.

I think the legislature needs to stay out of this issue.  
If it's recognized as a legal union in the state then it should be recognized by all citizens.

I don't believe gay marriage should be legalized.  
Shouldn't discriminate.  
Would rather see marriage be between a man/woman.  
Personal beliefs.  
Because I am a Christian, I believe in bible front to back.  
Already against the law, why change it?  
They are my religious beliefs.  
Operate in public for no discrimination.  
I believe that if a marriage/divorce is okay in one state, how can it not be okay in another?  
Because it's discrimination.  
I think gays should have any of the rights other people have.  
I think everyone has a right to live a life that is best for them.  
If it's legal it's legal.  
It is the law so why would you go against it  
If it becomes a law then it's going to be a back and forth exchange between opposing groups. Quit giving everyone what they want.  
Businesses are separate from religious institutions.  
Because frankly, it's legal in the state of Kansas, it's not likely that people can discriminate against it.  
You are welcome to be gay.  
Because it its discrimination.  
Rabbit whole law.  
Because I don't think they should be allowed to make that decision when it is state law.  
Because the law says gay marriage is legal, and therefore should be recognized.  
They should not be discriminated.  
I don't think that they have the right to oppose the law.  
Because if it's legal it's legal.  
If there is a legal marriage then it should be legal.  
It is not right observe as one sees fit.  
Traditional marriage. Between woman and man.  
Don't believe in gay marriage.  
Even though a marriage is legal someone can treat it as not valid.  
People have a right to have a life and be happy.

Gays should be allowed to have some kind of legally protected union but church should not feel as if they should be forced to marry.

I strongly oppose gay marriages based on the bible stating that they should not marry.

Legally married should be recognized.

He is for gay marriage, if they want to get married they can.

If it's the law you have to honor it whether you agree with it or not it's the law.

Opposed to gay marriage.

Not for gay marriage period. I believe what the bible says about a man and a woman that are supposed to be in a marriage.

"If they're going to say it's legal, then everybody should acknowledge that it's legal."

Marriage is between a man and woman.

If it's legal you need to allow it.

Because I think they should be recognized.

Feels they have the right, and should not be discriminated.

Because they are legally married and that should be acknowledged and respected.

Not natural, churches shouldn't be forced into performing the ceremony.

Everyone should have the right to live their life as they please and to shop around on churches like anything else.

If it's legal it's legal.

I don't think people can help the way they are. They are born that way.

Religious beliefs.

Because if it's legal, it's legal. Doesn't matter what gender you are.

If it's recognized by law, then it doesn't matter what they think.

Complications on many levels.

I think all rights should universal.

Because I think that if you find love, it's love. It doesn't matter race, creed, religion. I believe everyone should have a partner they do love.

It allows discrimination.

They are not breaking the law. It has to be legally recognized regardless if it's illegal.

If it's legal, it should be treated as such; there should be no difference between treatments of married couples.

It's legal discrimination.

Because it's not necessary.

If it's legal then it's legal.

Required to follow the law.

Religiously.

I think equal protection of the law, if they are married they are married.

Because if it's legal it's legal.

I believe that if it is legal then they need to be recognized as married.

Because churches/pastors would refuse out of bigotry instead religious reason.

None in particular.

Insurance purposes, if it's going to happen, it needs to be supported on all platforms.

It would be against the credit of the constitution.

They should be able to marry.

Because should be free to do what they want to do.

Because if its legal then no one should say it's not.

I think it's offensive and awful. I think there is much more important state business.

Because it's not right.

I think that gay marriage should be allowed. I am not religious but I am believer in science and biology. I believe in being homosexual is a biological condition and it isn't a choice. If it's legal no one should be able to oppose it.

If it's legal then it's legal.

Because it's just trying to hide behind religion to pass through anything.

We should have to obey the laws because they are the law. If it's legal to get married they should be seen as married. We shouldn't pick and choose which laws we want to obey.

Recognition of the marriage should be based on different situations.

If it is the law, it is the law.

They shouldn't be allowed to discriminate against it or not recognize it.

If a gay couple wants to get married that's fine and legally they should be accepted as a married couple.

I feel like marriage should be between a man and a woman.

Don't think marriage should be ordained by the state.

The state allows them to be married then they should be treated as married.

Because I don't believe in gay marriage.

Oppose.

We shouldn't discriminate against those who are on their own path to find happiness.

Just what she believes in.

Every religion has its own rights.

Just the way I was raised.

People hide behind that religion stuff.

I don't like the bill.

It helps people out.

I don't see why if they wanted to get married why they should be turned away if it's legal.

Whenever you force people to do things that they are opposed then it turns into a bloody war. Live and let live. I don't want anyone to be forced to marry gay couples to make them go against their God. There are plenty of people who will marry gay couples but it needs to be recognized if they're legally married. I don't want to recognize my sister's marriage to her husband but I have to. Same goes for gay marriages.

It is unclear. Churches and religious freedoms are protected, but you can't have discrimination. It is unclear. You can't tell a florist they don't have the right to serve someone.

I believe everyone has the right to fall in love with whomever they choose.

America is supposed to be "United we stand divided we fall " but America has too many divisions. I believe people are truly born a certain way and who are we to judge. When God gives us children we will love them unconditionally. We can't be mad because they're not who we wanted them to be. And even our neighbors, we love thy neighbor and who are we to judge.

Because they shouldn't be allowed to refuse to treat them as valid.

I believe they have a right to be married if they want to be married.

It's not constitutional. If there's a law, they should follow it.

The law is the law and you cannot choose which ones you're going to follow.

Because straight couples aren't questioned so no one should question gay couples.

I don't think gays should get married. I don't think it's the best choice for them.

I think they should have the right to marry. A church minister has the right to refuse them if that doesn't follow the beliefs of their church.

It's breaking the law.

Follow the law.

If it's a "LEGAL" marriage then it should be treated as such by ALL.

If it's legal, then it's separation between church and state. Why is the church the church getting involved?

If it is legal it's legal. People may not like it but if it is the law it's the law.

That's not fair, that's discrimination. You're setting a double standard.

I don't think gay marriage agrees with Biblical teaching. Marriage is between a man and a woman.

Because everybody has the right to live as they want to. And doesn't want state legislatures telling her what to do.

I think if the marriage is legal then everyone else should be required to treat that as a marriage.

If the state passes a law, you have to allow it.

I think they should have the right to do what they want, like heterosexuals.

I think that they have their right to what they want to do. As long as it doesn't hurt anyone, it's okay. They should have the freedom to do what they want to do to be happy.

Don't want to say.

It's not fair.

Legal or illegal.

If it's legal, they should honor it.

Seem to be a lot of religious freedom, and people should be able to disagree with laws, and I don't see gay marriage being the same as a wife and husband marriage.

I think they do have the right to have legal marriage.

Because there is a little bit of discrimination.

Because if it is legal they shouldn't get to pick and choose.

It would be another form of discrimination and it's not right. If it's the law it's the law and should be followed.

He thinks that if a marriage is recognized, everyone should recognize it

If it's recognized in the state, and I think in today's world, when two people commit to each other, then it should be recognized throughout.

If it's legal they have to follow the legality.

Public employees should not have the option to who they serve.

They have the right, if it's legal in the state.

Because if they are running a business or anything, this is not a religious conviction, it is not in a church. They should not be allowed to discriminate.

I don't believe that gay marriage should be legal because of your religious beliefs. God doesn't agree with gay marriage.

Because it's legal, they should support it.

They should have equal rights.

If the state recognizes it.

I am a strong believer that everybody has the right to be who they are and they shouldn't be discriminated against. Everybody should live by the law.

LGBT community doesn't allow people their own religious beliefs.

Because I think we don't have the right to make judgments on other people. If they are not hurting anyone else then it's their decision.

Because if it's a law than you have to follow the law.

It's no different than any other discrimination that we take a stance on. It's blatant discrimination. We do not force them to accept it.  
Because if it is legal then they cannot just say that their religion forbids them to treat others equally.  
They should be allowed like the other party.  
Based on my own religious beliefs, I believe the US gave us the ability to have diversity within Christian and Judo beliefs but not others, but not to recognize other beliefs.  
They're legally married, you can't pick and choose who can serve them.  
Because if it is a state law, you should not be able to discriminate against people. It's not right.  
People should have the opportunity to marry whoever they want to.  
If their marriage is legal then it should be recognized.  
Totally against gay marriage.  
They should treat them equally.  
"Just my belief."  
I don't like it, that's their business.  
If they want to marry and can do so legally, there should be no discrimination.  
It's forcing something that's wrong onto people who believe it's wrong.  
In my religious view, I feel that everyone needs to be treated equally.  
You can't raise a family without a mother and a father.  
They are legally married.  
It's just wrong to treat any segment of the population different than any other.  
If it's a law, we should go by the law not by personal feelings.  
I think the gay couples and lesbians have the right to marry.  
Is Christian and God created man and woman as a couple and can't have it any other way.  
Right.  
Our government should stay out of personal lives, gay or otherwise.  
If they are legal they have to go by the law.  
A marriage is a marriage.  
Because I don't believe that people should treat people who are same-sex marriages refuse anything to them.  
It's the law.  
Because if people can use religious exemptions then they can get out of anything.  
Because it contradicts the legality.  
I'm not sure.  
Discrimination.  
Because I don't think that's what the bible says.



I don't believe in gay marriage, but they have the right.  
Marriage as in the bible is the union between opposite sexes, not same sex.  
Because I think that everyone has the right to choose for themselves. If it is a legal issue they must recognize it as legal. Some churches should have the right to not recognize them.  
Bible wants a man and a woman to be together.  
Everyone should be able to be happy.  
It's valid so treat it as valid.  
The whole gay thing is a farce, I don't believe in it. Too many important things to worry about, and all this attention they're giving to this whatever they are needs to not be a big issue that someone else doesn't need to deal with.  
Gay marriages shouldn't be allowed.  
Man should not marry man, and woman should not marry woman.  
Because I feel that if it's legal in Kansas they have to recognize it.  
Because the bible says it is not the right thing to do.  
No need for gays to be married.  
I don't think anyone should be able to oppose to it. They should be able to do what they want.  
I just do.  
Keep rights to themselves.  
Getting too involved in people's private lives.  
Because they shouldn't treat them differently.  
I don't think with should discriminate.  
I was thinking of medical and other things other than religious, same-sex couples have all the same rights as heterosexual couples have, or they should.

## **Q18**

Who do you trust most to provide you with information on discrimination against gays and lesbians?

All of the above (18)

The News - CNN

NPR

Myself

Press

I would want information from all of them so I can make my own decision.

Gay rights organizations and gay and lesbian couples

Personal interactions

Self-research.

God

Media

Combination. But republican lawmakers would be lowest on the list.  
 Media and politicians  
 News organizations  
 Reliable sources-data from Pew Foundation and Gay and lesbian couples  
 Multiple sources  
 National Public Radio  
 No one  
 Own research  
 Own opinion  
 Business and churches  
 Do your own research between family and churches  
 Personal research  
 Trusted resources  
 The bible, God  
 The News  
 Anything that is provided for factual bases  
 Other  
 Reputable news cast  
 News and Experience in Life  
 Literature  
 A combination of all of these above  
 My gay friends.  
 Friends and family, and the couples themselves  
 The scripture  
 Own intelligence  
 Don't know  
 News  
 NPR, news sources, non-biased news  
 Trust self  
 Articles, news  
 Jesus  
 My own observations  
 Government officials  
 A little bit of each side.  
 I don't trust anyone I take in all sides  
 Listen to everybody  
 The above options are biased  
 Everyone listed above  
 Religious organizations, legislators  
 Whoever is providing the information.  
 Do my own research  
 The churches and a mixture of different answers (Republicans, friends)  
 Multiple places (friends and family, church leaders, community)  
 Friends, family, and church  
 News/media  
 Friends and family, and the organizations fighting for rights

Fox News  
Me  
Fox News  
Someone that doesn't have vested interest  
Huffington Post  
Another source, many sources  
More than one source  
News media  
Self-research.  
NPR  
News sources  
Does not trust anyone except for the information he gets from each and every one listed above.  
None of them  
Does own research, so figure it out on their own  
God  
Mainstream press is who they would trust  
Own opinion  
Public lawmakers  
Myself  
Own Research  
The Bible  
Just my opinion... No influences  
Gay rights org and gay couples  
You need to take something from everything  
Listen to all then make own decision  
None of the above.  
Don't trust anybody  
I wouldn't trust any of those. Probably take an overview.  
Newspaper  
See it with own eyes  
Talk show hosts on the radio  
Gay rights organizations and Democrat  
My own opinion  
My own opinion  
Fox news  
Democrats  
Social Media and the News  
The News  
A mixture of the above options  
Would do personal research.  
Nobody  
Newspaper, family, the church, friends  
Personal research  
None  
People of both sexual orientations

None of the above  
 My own  
 Self  
 None of them  
 The News on TV  
 Own research  
 Self-research and opinion  
 Social media, the news  
 Look it himself  
 Certain advocacy groups outside of gay advocacy groups  
 Do research yourself  
 Personal experience  
 Broadcasters and media  
 The Holy Bible  
 Myself  
 Independent  
 News  
 Church leaders, business leaders, anyone but the media  
 Variety of news sources foreign or us  
 News  
 Self  
 Don't trust anyone  
 Gay and lesbian org and friends and family  
 Depends on who the church leaders were, you have to love people, but don't  
 have to approve of what they do.  
 Myself  
 I do my own research. Read a lot of articles, not fully informed. I trust myself and  
 my feelings. I strongly oppose my family and friends and the radicals in  
 govt. I don't agree with all gay and lesbian couples because they're not  
 more educated than I am.  
 News  
 Other  
 Takes in multiple sources  
 He doesn't have an issue with that  
 Self and research  
 I form opinions based on a little bit of everything  
 Myself  
 None of the above  
 Newspaper  
 General public  
 News/do own research/ and talk to friends and family about issues  
 A combination  
 The news  
 I do my own research  
 Trust their own brain.  
 Gay friends, gay rights organizations

Friends and family, gay and lesbian couple  
I don't trust any of them.  
Another party  
Broad reading of many news sources and opinion sources  
The Democratic Party  
Myself  
My own knowledge that I get from my daily life.  
News  
Media  
Self  
Self

## Q20

And now just a few more questions to make sure we are interviewing a variety of Kansans. When it comes to politics, do you generally consider yourself to be a DEMOCRAT, a Moderate REPUBLICAN, Conservative REPUBLICAN or an INDEPENDENT??

Did not state.  
"I am just a Republican"  
Moderate-Conservative Republican  
Vote according to individual, their statement, and they are saying (praying they don't lie in their statements)  
Conservative democrat/ modern democrat  
Libertarian  
Libertarian  
Republican  
Between democrat and independent  
Republican, no preferred side of the party  
Depends on candidate  
Constitutionalism  
I'm neither one nor the other  
Republican  
Libertarian  
Don't know  
Conservative Independent  
Conservative Independent  
Libertarian