THE AMERICAN FAMILY SURVEY

2017 Summary Report: Marriage and Family in the Age of Trump

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In July of 2017, the Deseret News and The Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy at Brigham Young University fielded a survey on the family in America. This survey was administered by YouGov[2] to a sample of 3,000 adult respondents whose characteristics mirror those of the general population. This report details the raw results of that survey and some of the key demographic breakdowns. Download the survey report at http://deseretnews.com/american-family-survey.

Deseret News

YouGov

[1]We are deeply grateful for the efforts and advice of our advisory committee, Karlyn Bowman (American Enterprise Institute), Sara McLanahan (Princeton University), Richard Reeves (The Brookings Institution), and Brad Wilcox (The University of Virginia). They provided substantial advice and comment that dramatically improved the survey and the report. Errors, of course, are our own.

[2]Please see section 9 on methodology (below) for a statement about the specific protocols for this survey.

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1 Project Overview & Summary

The 2017 American Family Survey was designed to help understand the lived experiences of Americans in their relationships and families, and how those experiences relate to their attitudes about a variety of different political and social issues, such as phones and social media usage, addiction, and health care. In previous iterations of the American Family Survey, an important finding has been that family practices, such as time spent together at dinner or in family activities, are very similar across all different kinds of families and ideological perspectives. A theme of this year's survey, by contrast, is the diversity of experiences that affect families. Though there is a great deal of talk in the country about racial, ethnic, religious, or ideological diversity, we have not always paid sufficient attention to how different life experiences related to issues like health care, addiction, or technology use affect American families.

This survey report provides the context to better understand not only how Americans see the health of their marriages and families, but also how they challenges they face affect their family lives. With respect to core questions about the state of marriage and family in America, we find substantial continuity with the previous two years in which the American Family Survey was fielded. On many core items we find little to no change at all. Survey respondents continue to have positive views of their own relationships and families, but are much more pessimistic about the state of marriages and families generally in the country.

In past iterations of the American Family Survey, we have reported that older Americans and politically conservative Americans are the most concerned about the health of marriage and family. In this year's survey—the first fielded in the age of Trump—we focus our attention on Trump voters and find that they are distinct in their concerns about many specific aspects of the culture and family life.[3] Though it remains true that respondents tend to approve of and support families, regardless of their voting behavior, we do find that there are striking differences between Trump voters, Clinton voters, and nonvoters, such as with respect to health care preferences, immigration attitudes, and social connectedness.

This report also outlines a picture of the public with a variety of different life experiences and challenges, including family life experiences. In this way, the results suggest a broader pattern about life in America. People's family and life experiences vary greatly. Some people, for example, relate primarily to parents and a few extended family members. Others have a large immediate family but look very little beyond that. Still others focus on marriage and are not nearly as engaged with children (even, in some cases, their own children). The range of experiences is wide. Summarizing such a welter of experience is difficult, but there are some emerging patterns.

> In general we see continuity, rather than change, in the public's positive perception of marriage and families, including the symbolic role of the family in society.
>
> The partial exception to that pattern is that more people believe that the most serious problems facing marriages and families are economic, and fewer believe that the challenges are primarily cultural. Since 2015, there has been an 11 percentage point increase in the people who say the top problems facing families are economic and a 17-point decrease in the percentage of respondents choosing cultural issues. In particular, the costs of raising a family and high work demands on parents seem to be a greater consideration for more survey respondents in 2017 than they were in 2015.
>
> As in past years, we also find dramatic political differences in people's perceptions of the most important problems facing families. Clinton voters tend to believe that economic issues are the biggest

[3] Rates of partisan voting for their respective party candidates were very high in 2016. Though there was a great deal of non-voting in the sample, only about seven percent of Republicans and about five percent of Democrats defected from their party's candidate to vote for another party's candidate in the sample. We tend to focus on vote choice rather than partisanship or ideology in this report, although broadly similar (if sometimes muddier) stories can be found using those related variables.

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challenges for families, while Trump voters are far more likely to identify cultural or challenges or issues related to family structure as the largest problems facing American families.[4]

Politics shape how people see the health of marriage in the United States today, and Trump voters in particular are worried about marriages getting weaker. Clinton voters, by contrast, are more likely to perceive stability.

Parents of all political stripes, however, believe that being a parent is a central part of their personal identities. Many Trump and Clinton voters also believe that a key part of parenting is taking a stand on political issues, while those who did not cast a ballot in 2016 are less likely to see political socialization as an important part of their parental duties.

Patterns of technology usage are clearly connected to relationship status. Though the direction of causality is difficult to assess, over four in ten people who use their phone multiple times a day to check social media believe their relationship is in trouble. Among those who never use social media, fewer than two in ten believe that their relationship is in trouble.

There is a clear dividing line among children in phone usage. Before age twelve, only a few (perhaps one in four) children have a phone. After age twelve, around four out of five children have a phone.

Despite this pattern, the most restrictions on phone usage are placed on those under age twelve. Older children have relatively few restrictions placed on their use of mobile technology.

Americans do see significant addiction problems in their families. When asked about "addiction" (a relatively high bar compared to asking about "use" or "problems"), people perceive heroin or opioid addiction among family members at rates that are very similar to their perception of the prevalence of alcohol addiction (though marijuana addiction substantially trails both categories). This is true whether or not we speak of personal or family addictions.

The public places the lion's share of the blame for addiction on addicts and dealers, with no more than a quarter of the population ever placing "a lot" of blame on any other institution or group. However, that blame differs substantially by vote choice. Trump voters place the most blame on dealers and addicts. Clinton voters place less and nonvoters place the least amount of blame on those groups.

American families experience a substantial need for health care. About six in ten respondents report that either they, their spouse, or their child has a serious health condition "that requires frequent medical care—for example, regular doctor visits, or daily medications," and this varies little by insurance status.

Experiencing serious health problems is not strongly related to the dollar amount of insurance premiums and out of pocket costs reported by the respondents. What matters for costs is the type of insurance that someone reports: Medicaid beneficiaries pay the least, while those with no insurance pay the most out of pocket.

When it comes to healthcare policy, Trump voters and Clinton voters differ dramatically in how they confront difficult policy tradeoffs. By large margins, Clinton voters care more about making health insurance accessible to all, guaranteeing coverage of pre-existing conditions, and helping the poor to secure insurance. Trump voters, by contrast, make different tradeoffs: they want more flexibility to opt out of insurance, favor keeping monthly insurance costs low, and emphasize tax cuts. However, both groups agree that lower deductibles are more important than having access to a wider network of doctors.

[4]Though we note that the vast majority of opinions we group under the heading of "family structure" changes have to do with discipline of children.

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The gap in health care policy preferences between Trump and Clinton voters persists even among families that are confronting serious medical challenges, though Trump voters with such challenges are substantially more likely to choose guarantees for coverage of pre-existing conditions over lower monthly costs.

There is slight evidence that government programs like food stamps and Medicaid subsidies are becoming slightly more popular, but Clinton voters are predictably more supportive than Trump voters, although Trump voters are more neutral than they are hostile to these programs.

The public favors a higher minimum wage across the board, generally favoring an average of just over $10.50 an hour, and urban-dwellers and Clinton voters are the most supportive of increases favoring averages of over $11 and $12, respectively. Trump voters do still favor an increase, but only to $8.50.

Trump voters appear to lack the same kind of social connections that Clinton voters have. In this sense they look a bit like nonvoters. It is also the case that Trump voters are much less likely to have experienced any government support from programs like Medicaid or Food Stamps among others.

The public generally does not oppose birthright citizenship, although certain demographics (such as high income, white, married citizens with children) are more likely to oppose it. The group most strongly opposed are Trump voters, of whom fully 73 percent oppose it.

Despite this opposition to immigration in some camps, in all cases, we found that reminding people that deportation could separate families lowered support for deportation. For instance, while about six in ten respondents with children favored deportation when not reminded that it would break up families, the number dropped to only about four in ten when reminded of those consequences.

For the first time, we paired our survey results with additional information about the places where our respondents live. We find some evidence that people who live in neighborhoods where more people are married also have a stronger sense of connection to their neighborhoods and that the neighborhood shares a common set of values.

Drug use is also related to perceptions of the community. For instance, only about one out of ten people who are not addicted see their neighborhood as not getting along well. Four in ten of the addicted see their neighborhoods this way.

In the closing section of our report we attempt a simple typology to show how context and experience shape a person's attitudes. Based on a pair of factor analysis models (described in a methodological appendix) we show some divisions in the public based on life experience. The findings there reflect the fact that people on different paths or at different places in their lives have different priorities, underscoring the importance of life experience. What emerges is a picture of how family choices and life experiences connect to social attitudes and behaviors.

Those most invested in families—along both the marriage and child dimensions—tend to live in suburbs and rural areas (though they exist everywhere), and in many ways display the fewest troubles like addiction or difficulty with health care costs. The most conservative group, they voted for Trump in significant numbers. In contrast, those who are simply marriage oriented—lacking much experience with raising children—tend to have higher incomes than those with more child experience and are correspondingly more stable and self-sufficient. They tend to be educated but are different from the marriage and child oriented in that they voted for Clinton more often than Trump. The child oriented (with less marriage experience but still child-rearing experinece) is actually the group most concerned about marriage and family. They split their votes relatively evenly between Clinton and Trump (although four in ten did not vote). The child oriented tend to be less educated and in far more economic distress on a range of variables. Those with the least experience with marriage or children are predictably young, urban and are the

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most supportive of Hillary Clinton, but this group is the least likely to have voted (45 percent did not) and they also tend to be slightly less educated than the average.

While differences between these groups should not be overstated—much of it is based merely on age and opportunity—there are clear differences related to family life, choices, and experience. These experiences help create the matrix of political and social conflict in American life, each section below takes up aspects of those experiences to help paint the picture of American families.

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2 The State of Marriage and Family

We begin with an overview of the experiences the 3,000 respondents to the 2017 survey have had with relationships and parenting.

Table 1 provides an initial summary of the current relationship status of our survey respondents. A little less than half are currently married, and a little over one third of the sample is not currently in a relationship. The remaining respondents reported that they are currently cohabiting or in a serious relationship. But there are also sharp differences in relationship status across demographic characteristics and political perspectives. Respondents who reported voting for Trump are somewhat more likely to be married than Clinton voters, and regardless of their preferred candidate, voters are more likely to be married than nonvoters.

Table 1: Current Relationship Status

	Married	**Cohabiting**	**In Relationship**	**No Relationship**
Overall	47	11	6	35
Trump Voter	59	6	4	32
Clinton Voter	48	11	7	35
Nonvoter	35	17	9	40
18-29	18	23	15	44
30-44	53	14	5	28
45-54	51	8	6	36
55-64	57	7	4	33
65+	57	2	2	39
High School or Less	43	12	6	39
Some College	42	13	7	38
College Graduate or More	59	9	6	26
Low Income (under $30,000)	25	15	6	54
Middle Income ($30-99,999)	55	11	6	27
High Income (above $100,000)	70	6	6	18

Some of these political differences are tied to other demographic characteristics. For example, Trump voters tended to be slightly older than Clinton voters, and as can be seen in the table, the youngest category of respondents (18-20 year olds) is also the least likely to be married and the most likely to have no current romantic relationship. Education and income are also correlated with relationship status: college graduates are substantially more likely to be married and substantially less likely to have no relationship than those who attended some college or those with only a high school education or less. Respondents with higher incomes are substantially more likely to be married than those with lower incomes: the chasm between the 25 percent of low income respondents who are married and the 70 percent of high income respondents who are married is especially important. As expected, income and age are correlated: just over one third of respondents under 30 years of age were in the lowest income category, compared to about one quarter of all other age categories.

In analysis that examines all of the factors in Table 1 simultaneously, income and age have the largest influence on whether or not a respondent is married, with the youngest and lowest income participants

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in our study being least likely to be married and substantially more likely to be cohabiting or in no relationship at all. Overall, the correlations between relationship status and demographics are very similar to the results we saw in the 2015 and 2016 American Family Surveys.

Some other important facts about the 2017 sample include the following:

For those respondents who have been married at least once, their average age at first marriage was a little over 24.

About 44 percent of all respondents and 39 percent of married respondents reported that they had lived with a romantic partner outside of marriage at least once. Among married respondents under 30, about half (51 percent) told us that they had cohabited at least once prior to marriage. For married respondents between the ages of 30 and 64, about 40 percent had cohabited prior to marriage. This number drops to 25 percent among respondents over 65. Clearly, norms about cohabitation vary across the age cohorts.

The marital histories of Clinton and Trump voters are similar, though Clinton voters report that they were slightly older (25 years old) at the time of their first marriage than Trump voters (23 years old) and nonvoters (23 years old). On average, Trump and Clinton voters report equal numbers of marriages (1.4), and the average for nonvoters is slightly higher (1.6). Partly because Trump voters tend to be older than Clinton voters, fewer report cohabiting at least once outside of marriage: 35 percent of Trump voters say they have cohabited, compared to 46 percent of Clinton voters and 51 percent of nonvoters.

About 30 percent of respondents who had been married for more than two years reported that sometime in the last two years, they had worried about their relationship being "in trouble." Among cohabiters who had been together for at least two years, nearly half (47 percent) said they had worried about their relationship being in trouble.

Just over 60 percent of the sample reported being the parent of at least one child. Among those who are currently married, nearly 85 percent have a child. Among cohabiters, just over half (56 percent) reported that they have a child. Of the women in the sample with children, 44 percent are single mothers — not currently married — though 25 percent of those single mothers are currently cohabiting with a partner. Of the single mothers in the sample, about 60 percent have cohabited with a partner at least once.

Of respondents who have children, the average age when they became parents was 24. On average, respondents in the sample have 1.7 children, though if we restrict analysis to those respondents who have at least one child, the average is 2.7.

There are some small differences in the average number of children by vote choice: Trump voters average about 1.9 children; for Clinton voters, the mean number of children is 1.5, and among nonvoters, the average is 1.7. These differences are primarily related to the fact that Clinton voters tended to be younger than Trump voters and thus less likely to have children at all. When we examine only those voters who have children, the difference in family size between Trump and Clinton voters evaporates nearly entirely (2.6 vs. 2.5), and it is nonvoters who have the most children (2.9).

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2.1 *Most Important Issues Facing Families*

What challenges confront the contemporary American family? As we have done in previous years, we asked respondents to the 2017 American Family Survey to indicate the "most important issues" facing

families today from a curated list of twelve items that we provided. Respondents were allowed to choose up to three different items, which were randomly displayed and not grouped by topic. In addition, in 2017, we also randomly assigned half the sample to receive a list of thirteen items that included a new addition: "poor quality schools in local communities." Results for the 2015, 2016, and 2017 surveys can be found in Table 2, with results clustered into three categories: economic problems, cultural problems, and problems related to family structure and stability. Bolded numbers indicate the percentage of respondents choosing at least one item from the relevant category.[5]

In every year of the American Family Survey, the most popular answer has been "parents not teaching or disciplining their children sufficiently." Perhaps this lack of discipline is related to respondents' pessimism about families generally in the United States, reported above. Though there is some fluctuation, responses in the family structure and stability category have held quite steady over the course of the past three years, though the percentage of respondents expressing concerns about single-parent homes increased slightly in 2017, and the percentage choosing the popular discipline option ticked down slightly. In addition, when the local schools option was included, about 14 percent of respondents chose it – a number equal to the percentage who worried about changes in the definition of marriage and family.

Table 2: The Most Important Issues Facing Families

	2015	2016	2017	2017 (Schools Option)
Economics	**51**	**60**	**62**	
High work demands and stress on parents	22	26	29	26
Lack of government programs to support families	8	10	9	9
The costs associated with raising a family	26	32	34	30
The lack of good jobs	19	22	21	18
Culture	**68**	**61**	**51**	
Decline in religious faith and church attendance	23	22	22	20
Sexual permissiveness in our society	25	18	14	14
The widespread availability and use of drugs and alcohol	27	22	18	20
Crime and other threats to personal safety	19	20	14	12
Family Structure and Stability	**80**	**79**	**79**	
Change in the definition of marriage and family	16	15	16	14
Parents not teaching or disciplining their children sufficiently	53	52	49	50
More children growing up in single-parent homes	25	25	28	29
Difficulty finding quality time with family in the digital age	21	21	22	21
Poor quality schools in local communities				14

Percentage choosing each item as one of their top three issues. Bolded numbers show percentage choosing at least one item from the relevant category as one of their top three issues.

We find substantially more change in the economics and culture categories. Compared to 2015, the percentage of respondents choosing at least one item from the economic category has increased by 11 points, while the percentage of respondents selecting at least one item from the culture category has dropped by 17 points. Specifically, we find significant declines in the percentage of respondents expressing concern about "sexual permissiveness in our society" (an 11 percentage point drop), about the "widespread availability and use of drugs and alcohol" (9 points), and about crime (5 points). Conversely, respondents express more concern about "high work demands and stress on parents" (a 7 percentage point increase),

[5]For purposes of comparison, the 2017 category results are limited to those respondents who did not see the schools option.

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the costs of raising a family (8 points), and to a lesser extent the lack of good jobs (2 points). We saw initial indications of these changes in 2016, but the trend has continued since then. When examining the patterns for all respondents, it appears that there has been a shift away from concerns about culture and a corresponding increase in worry about the economic stresses facing families. This change over time is especially interesting in light of the fact that the economy seems to be holding relatively steady, and perhaps even improving, over this period.

Similar to previous years, we also found meaningful age and political differences in perceptions of the most important issues facing families. For example, respondents who are 65 and older are about 12 percentage points less likely than the youngest survey participants to choose at least one of the economic items as one of their three choices, and older respondents are about 20 percentage points more likely than their younger counterparts to choose at least one item from the culture category. In the 2017 American Family Survey, we are also able to explore attitudes about marriage and family by the respondents' self-reported vote choices, which were collected by YouGov prior to our survey.[6] Age differences persist – and are sometimes quite powerful – when we further disaggregate by vote choice. For example, older Trump voters are less likely than younger Trump voters to locate family challenges in the economic category, and the same is true for the comparison of older to younger Clinton voters. The exception to this pattern is that young Trump voters are about equally likely as older Trump voters to choose the culture category, whereas young Clinton voters are much less concerned about culture than older Clinton voters. But we caution that when disaggregating by both age and vote choice, the number of respondents in any given category is relatively low.

When we set age aside and focus on vote choice alone, the patterns are pronounced, as can be seen in Figure 1. More than three quarters of Clinton voters identified at least one economic issue as among the most important challenges facing families, whereas less than half of Trump voters did so. Nonvoters are located between Trump and Clinton supporters. For cultural issues, the patterns are reversed. Nearly 70 percent of Trump voters chose at least one cultural issue, compared to less than 40 percent of Clinton voters. The percentages for the family structure category are inflated by the fact that discipline is an extremely popular answer among many respondents, but even so, the difference between the percentage of Trump and Clinton voters choosing the family structure category is greater than 20 points. Clearly, Americans of different political stripes perceive the core challenges facing families in very different ways. Clinton voters locate family challenges in the economic realm and to a lesser extent in family structures but not in cultural problems, whereas Trump voters regard the problems as primarily about family structure, substantially cultural, and to a far lesser extent economic.

Notably, these differences are not merely a function of income or other life experiences. For example, about 62 percent of respondents with family incomes above $100,000 per year chose at least one economic issue, compared to 56 percent of the poorest respondents. Nor were single mothers more likely to identify economic challenges than other respondents. People who had experienced an economic crisis in the past year (41% of the sample), such as not having the money to pay an important bill in full, not going to the doctor's office because of the cost, or going hungry because they could not afford food, were about 10 percentage points more likely to choose economic problems as those who had not experienced such a crisis. But even among the non-crisis group, more than half chose economic problems, too. All of these results point to the fact that differences in perspectives about the role of economic challenges in the lives of families are largely political and generational.

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[6]The number of respondents who chose a third-party candidate was small, so we do not include them in the analysis.

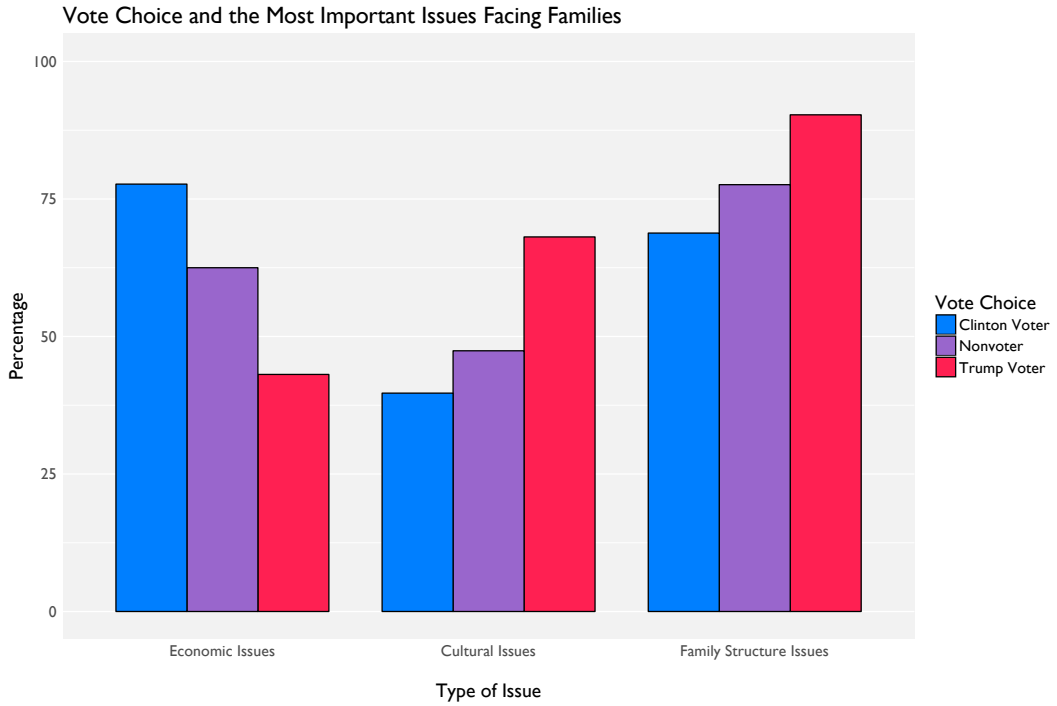

Figure 1: Respondent views about the most important issues facing families by vote choice. Bars represent the percentage of respondents selecting at least one item in the category.

2.2 *Attitudes about Marriage*

Respondents to the American Family Survey express largely positive views of marriage. Table 3 shows the percentage of respondents who "somewhat agree," "agree," or "strongly agree" with each statement for the 2015, 2016, and 2017 surveys. Solid majorities in the 2017 survey believe that marriages makes families and kids better off financially, that marriage is needed to make strong families, and that when more people are married, society is better off. In similar numbers, most reject the idea that marriage is more of a burden than a benefit or that marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-date. Respondents are split, however, over the question of whether the legal fact of marriage is more important than a personal commitment to one's partner. About half agree with that statement, and about half disagree or are unsure. Table 3 also shows that these attitudes have held stable over the past several years. If anything, a slightly higher percentage of 2017 respondents believes that marriage has economic or financial benefits and that society is better off when more people are married. At the same time, the percentage agreeing that marriage is old-fashioned has also increased slightly. But the larger story is that Americans' attitudes about marriage are, by and large, positive and holding steady.

We are also able to explore views of marriage by current relationship status. For this analysis, we focus on the difference between married and cohabiting respondents, and we also divide those who are currently married and living together from those who are married but currently separated from their spouses. Not surprisingly, respondents' relationship status matters a great deal to attitudes about marriage. In every case, those who are currently married have strongly pro-marriage attitudes. Overwhelmingly, married participants in the AFS believe that marriage has financial benefits, that marriage is needed to create strong families, and that society is better off when more people are married. They are also least likely to agree that marriage is more of a burden than a benefit and that marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-

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Table 3: Attitudes about Marriage Are Positive and Stable Over Time (Percent Agreement)

	2015	2016	2017
Marriage makes families and children better off financially	60	64	66
Marriage is needed in order to create strong families	63	61	63
When more people are married, society is better off	52	54	56
Personal commitment to partner more important than marriage	47	45	50
Marriage is more of a burden than a benefit to couples	13	13	15
Marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-date	12	13	17

date. Notably, however, married respondents who are separated are dramatically less enthusiastic about marriage. The magnitudes of these differences are large, often 20-30 percentage points. Experiencing significant marital trouble dampens attitudes about marriage.

Table 4: Differences in Attitudes about Marriage by Relationship Status (Percent Agreement)

	Married	Married but Separated	Cohabiting
Marriage makes families and kids better off financially	70	51	52
Marriage is needed to create strong families	72	44	48
Society is better off when more people are married	65	57	39
Personal commitment to partner more important than marriage	44	46	71
Marriage is more of a burden than a benefit	10	33	28
Marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-date	10	44	33

Cohabiting respondents are among the least enthusiastic about marriage. They feel strongly that personal commitment to one's partner is much more important than the legal fact of marriage; they are less likely to see marriage as leading to financial, familial, or societal benefits; and they are more likely than every group except those who are currently separated to believe that marriage is a burden and that it is old fashioned. Patterns for respondents who are in a relationship and for those who are currently single (not shown in the table) are mixed and typically land somewhere between the enthusiasm of married respondents and the comparative pessimism of cohabiters or those who are separated. While many of them see benefits to marriage, some also see marriage as an outdated institution.

Political perspectives are also correlated with views about marriage. Table 5 highlights three different groups: Trump voters, Clinton voters, and those who reported not voting in the 2016 election. As can be seen in the table, there are large differences between Trump voters and Clinton voters with respect to several of these statements, including the idea that marriage is needed to create strong families, that society is better off when more people are married, and that personal commitment to one's partner is more important than the legal fact of marriage. With respect to these questions, Trump and Clinton voters see the role of marriage in society differently.

On the other hand, these results should not be taken to mean that Clinton voters are strongly opposed to marriage. Very small percentages of Clinton voters see marriage as more of a burden than a benefit or believe that marriage is "old-fashioned" or "out-of-date," and two-thirds of Clinton voters believe that marriage brings financial benefits to families. In addition, though Clinton voters are more reluctant than Trump voters to agree with some statements about the necessity of marriage, very few Clinton voters are actively hostile to them. For example, of the Clinton voters who did not agree with the notion that society is better off when more people are married, the vast majority chose the neutral response option "neither

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agree nor disagree." While Clinton voters are somewhat less certain than Trump voters that marriage is "needed" to create strong families or improve society, relatively small percentages of Clinton voters actively disagree with those sentiments.

Table 5: Differences in Attitudes about Marriage by Vote Choice (Percent Agreement)

	Trump Voters	**Clinton Voters**	**Nonvoters**
Marriage makes families and kids better off financially	78	65	56
Marriage is needed to create strong families	85	48	58
Society is better off when more people are married	76	43	49
Personal commitment to partner more important than marriage	36	60	54
Marriage is more of a burden than a benefit	9	14	22
Marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-date	6	17	24

The most profound differences between Clinton and Trump voters can be found in the question about whether marriage is "needed" to create strong families. Figure 2 explores these differences further by disaggregating by both vote choice and age. We broke down the results in this way because age is correlated with support for Trump: in the 2017 American Family Survey, where the average age of all respondents was about 47 years old, the average age of Trump voters was over 55, compared to an average of 49 for Clinton voters and 38 for nonvoters. Figure 2 highlights two results: first, Trump supporters are more supportive of the notion that marriage is needed for strong families, no matter what the age category. Second, within both groups of voters, there are generational differences. Among both Trump and Clinton voters, support for marriage as a necessary element of strong families is greatest among older age cohorts. Thus, while younger Americans of all political stripes are less likely than older Americans to believe that marriage is needed for strong families, age cannot account for all of the differences between Clinton and Trump voters.

As we have in past years, we also asked respondents to think about changes in their own marriages (for those who are currently married) and families over the past two years and in the health of marriages and families in the United States more generally. Figures 3a and 3b show these results for each of the past three years. Several findings stand out. First, in all three years, large percentages of respondents told us that their own marriages had grown stronger over the past two years, and relatively small percentages reported that their marriages and families were growing weaker. Second, the pattern is almost exactly reversed when we ask about marriages or families more generally. For that question, substantially larger percentages of respondents viewed marriages and families in the United States as growing weaker than growing stronger. Thus, Americans appear to be fairly optimistic about the health of their own romantic and family relationships, but dramatically more pessimistic about the health of marriage and the family generally.

As with the marriage battery we discussed above, these patterns have held fairly constant over the first three years of the American Family Survey. We see some indication that the percentage of respondents indicating that marriages or families generally are growing weaker is declining (about five percentage points since 2015 for the marriage item and four percentage points for the families item), but these declines are not accompanied by any meaningful increases in the percentage of respondents claiming that marriages and families in the United States are growing stronger. Instead, whatever slight movement we can detect appears to be in the direction of feeling that the state of marriage and families is holding steady. Even with these small fluctuations, the overall story is consistent: across all three years, Americans feel much more positively about the state of their own marriages and families than they do about the marriages and families of other Americans.

For the 2017 survey, we can also break down these results by the respondents' vote choices, and the results

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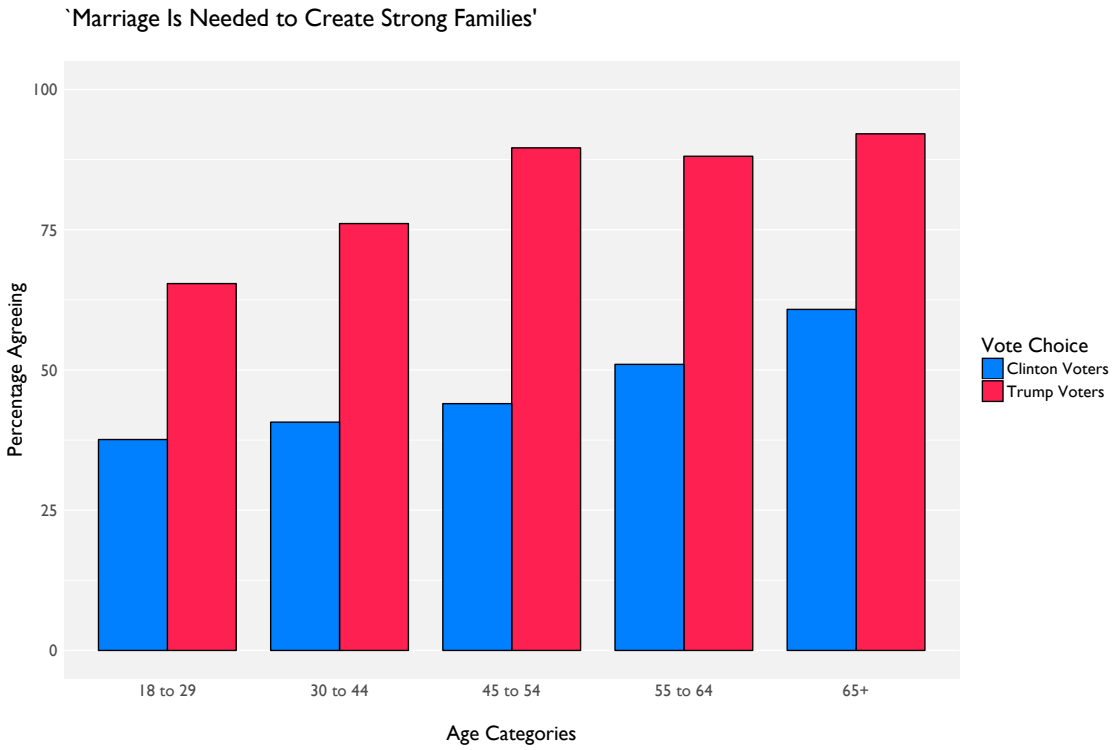

Figure 2: Bars represent the percentage of respondents agreeing that "marriage is needed to create strong families."

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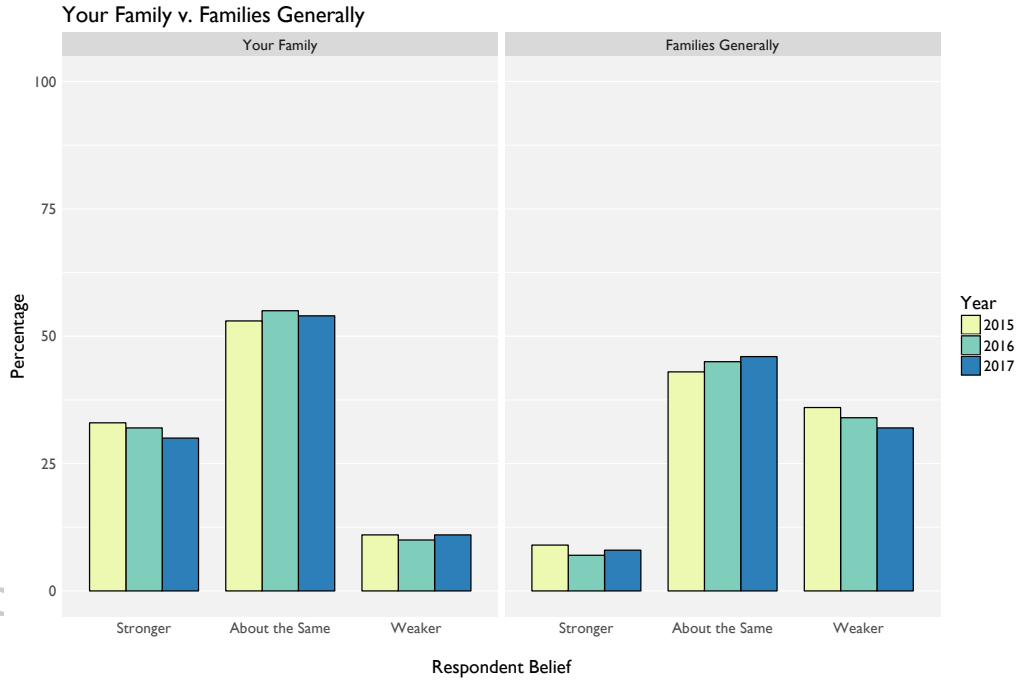
of this analysis for the questions about marriage are presented in Figure 4. Strikingly, Clinton voters and nonvoters are more likely than Trump voters to say that their own marriages have grown stronger over the past two years, while Trump voters are more likely to feel that their marriages are holding steady. Perhaps this finding is partly the result of the fact that Trump voters are older and may thus have marriages that are more established and steady. Even more striking, however, is the difference between Trump and Clinton voters' views of the health of marriages in the United States more generally. For that judgment, Clinton voters are the least pessimistic, Trump voters are the most pessimistic, and nonvoters end up somewhere in between. This result does not translate into Clinton voters being more likely than Trump voters to think that American marriages are becoming stronger: instead, Clinton voters mostly believe that marriage is mostly holding steady, while the largest group of Trump voters judges marriage as weakening.

We also dug a little deeper into respondents' views about their own marriages (for those who had been married for at least two years) and relationships (for all other respondents reporting that their current relationship was at least two years old) by asking them whether at any point in the past two years, they had worried that their marriage or relationship was "in trouble." Overall, as Table 6 reports, about one third of the respondents who qualified to answer that question reported concerns. This percentage does not vary by education, but we do find differences by marital status, political choices, and income. Specifically, married respondents are less likely to report relationship trouble than are those who are cohabiting or in some other significant relationship. In addition, about one quarter of Trump voters say they have worried about their relationships, compared to one third of Clinton voters, and nearly forty percent of nonvoters. If we restrict the analysis to married respondents only, the difference between Trump and Clinton voters persists, though when we examine respondents who are currently cohabiting, more Trump voters than Clinton voters report concerns (with the caveat that the number of respondents is relatively small). Finally, low and middle income respondents are more likely than those with high

(a) Bars represent the percentage of respondents in each category.



(b) Bars represent the percentage of respondents in each category.

Figure 3: Respondent views about the health of marriages and families in 2015, 2016, and 2017.

Figure 4: Respondent views about the strength of their marriages and marriages generally by vote choice. Bars represent the percentage of respondents in each category.

incomes to report worrying about the health of their relationship, suggesting that economic challenges can create relationship stress.

Other aspects of respondents' life experiences also matter. As can be seen in Figure 5, older respondents are less likely than younger respondents to say that they have worried about their relationships – a fact that also helps to explain the differences between Trump and Clinton voters. For example, when we compare Trump and Clinton voters by age cohorts, there are essentially no differences, suggesting that the differences we described above are primarily due to the fact that Trump voters tend to be somewhat older than Clinton voters.

But other aspects of life experience also matter. As part of our study of respondents' family experiences, we asked respondents to tell us a little about the homes in which they grew up, including whether or not their mother was continuously married to the same person throughout their childhood. Figure 5 shows that even after controlling for age effects, this life experience also matters. Those who grew up in a home in which their mother was not married or where their mother was divorced are substantially more likely to report experiencing relationship trouble of their own. Experience with family instability as a child appears to be related to the presence of relationship trouble for adults. Of course, many relationships experience trouble at various points, and the mere perception of trouble does not mean that the relationship will fail or that strong relationships cannot weather patches of trouble, so our data should not be over-interpreted. Nonetheless, respondents whose mothers were not continuously married are, on average, about 10 percentage points more likely to report recent relationship trouble.

Finally, living in places where marriage is more common also appears to confer some wider social benefits. We merged our survey data with information from the U.S. Census about the number of households

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Table 6: Relationship Trouble by Respondent Characteristics

	Percent Reporting Relationship Trouble
All	34
Married	29
Cohabiting	47
Other Relationship	39
Trump Voters	26
Clinton Voters	32
Nonvoters	41
Low Income (under $30,000)	35
Middle Income ($30-99,999)	37
High Income (above $100,000)	22
High School or Less	34
Some College	33
College Graduate or More	34

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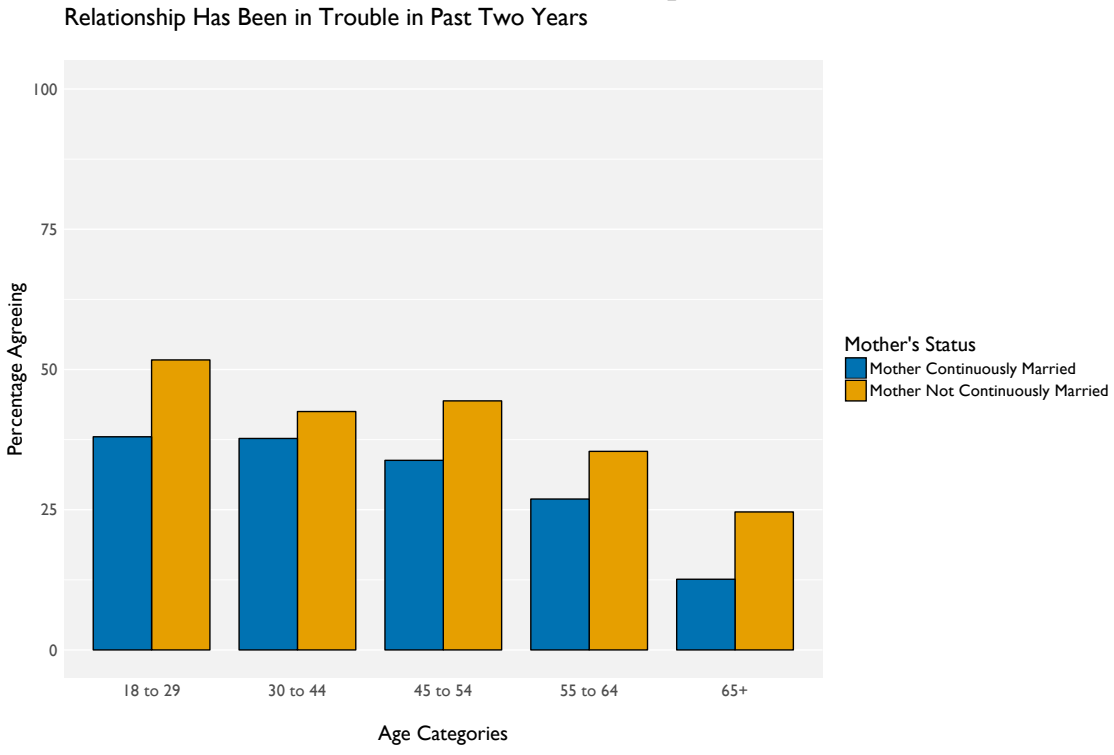

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Figure 5: Bars represent the percentage of respondents reporting that their relationship has been "in trouble" in the past two years. Responses limited to those who have been in their current relationship for two years or more.

in the respondent's zip code and the number of households that include a married couple. From this information, we computed the percentage of households in each zip code with a married couple. In places respondents described as urban, an average of 39 percent of households were married, compared to 50 percent in suburban locations and 53 percent in rural locations. Table 7 shows that respondents who live in zip codes with a higher percentage of married couples express more positive sentiments about their neighborhoods. The table presents the percentage of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing with each statement. Respondents who live in places with more married couples are more likely to feel that neighbors are willing to help each other and that the neighborhood is close-knit, and they are less likely to agree that their neighbors do not hold shared values. These findings hold even in more complex analysis that takes account of urban, suburban, and rural locations, the respondent's income, and the relative prosperity of the zip code. Even after controlling for these factors, people feel better about their neighborhoods when they live in places where more people are married.

Table 7: People Feel Better about their Neighborhoods in Places Where More People Are Married

	Zip codes where . . .		
	< 40% Married	**40-60% Married**	**> 60% Married**
People are willing to help their neighbors	50	57	60
This is a close-knit neighborhood	27	33	38
People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other	17	13	15
People in this neighborhood do not share the same values	31	24	22

2.3 *Parental Engagement & Family Communication*

In the 2017 survey, we asked respondents who have children to tell us about the role of parenting in their lives. For the vast majority of this group, being a parent is a key element of their personal identities. Less than 10 percent of parents told us that being a parent is not very important or not important at all to their sense of personal identity. And these results are essentially unchanged regardless of the respondent's political views. While we find large differences between Clinton and Trump voters in their views about the challenges facing American families, among those with children, there is near universal agreement that parenting is a critical part of their lives.

Table 8: Being a Parent Is an Important Part of Respondents' Identities Regardless of Vote Choice (Parents Only)

	Extremely or Very Important	**Somewhat Important**	**Not Very or Not At All Important**
All	72	20	7
Trump Voters	77	18	6
Clinton Voters	72	21	8
Nonvoters	73	21	7

We also asked participants in the study to tell us about the role of politics in their parenting by reacting to the following statement: "For me personally, part of being a parent is taking a stand on political issues." Considerable social science research shows that parents can have an important effect on how their children see the political system and the participants in it. The effects of such political socialization can last long

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into adulthood. Overall in our sample, a little over 40 percent of respondents say that taking a stand on political issues is part of their approach to parenting. But we also see differences by engagement in the political system. Respondents who reported voting in 2016 – regardless of whether they supported Trump or Clinton – are more likely incorporate politics into their parenting, compared to respondents who did not vote. By definition, nonvoters are less involved in the political system, and this lack of participation is reflected in the fact that they are nearly 20 percentage points less likely to make political position-taking an element of their parenting style.

Table 9: "For me personally, part of being a parent is taking a stand on political issues." (Parents Only)

	Agree	**Neither Agree nor Disagree**	**Disagree**
All	43	40	18
Trump Voters	48	35	17
Clinton Voters	50	35	15
Nonvoters	31	48	21

Another important aspect of family life involves patterns of communications within families. The questions we employed were drawn from the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire, which is a battery of questions designed to explore different family problem solving styles. Specifically, we asked about three issues: whether families plan together when confronting a problem; whether the family has a difficult time coming to decisions because of a lack of agreement; and whether family members refrain from speaking to each other when they are angry. This battery of questions thus includes one positive problem solving style (planning together) and two negative practices (failing to come to agreement and giving each other the silent treatment).

Results for the full sample and for married, separated, and cohabiting respondents are found in Table 10. Regardless of relationship status, large percentages of respondents told us that they plan together when facing family problems, though people who are currently separated from their partners are somewhat less likely to say they plan. With respect to the two negative practices, we find that married respondents are substantially less likely than cohabiters or separated respondents to tell us they have trouble coming to agreement about family problems and to give each other the silent treatment. For both of these practices, separated respondents are by far the most likely to say that negative problem-solving styles can be found in their families. We caution that we do not know whether this increased tendency to poor communication patterns is a cause or a consequence of the choice to cohabit instead of marry, only that better communication practices tend to be found among married couples.

Because stress can also be correlated with negative family communication patterns, we examined the correlation between family dynamics and important life stresses. Specifically, we divided respondents by whether they had experienced a significant economic crisis in the last year, whether a member of their immediate family has an ongoing and serious medical challenge (described in greater detail below), and whether the respondent reported concern about his or her relationship being in trouble in the past two years. As seen in Table 11, these life experiences are strongly associated with negative problem solving styles. For example, people who have experienced an economic crisis are slightly less likely to say that they plan together how to solve problems and dramatically more likely to say that they never agree (a 17 percentage point difference, compared to those who have had no economic crisis) and that they give each other the silent treatment when angry (14 point difference). The effects of serious health challenges are smaller, but still present for the two negative problem solving dynamics, and are largest of all for all three problem-solving styles among those who report experiencing relationship trouble. We want to emphasize

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Table 10: Family Problem Solving Styles (Percent Responding 'Always' or 'Often')

	All	Married	Married but Separated	Cohabiting
When we have a problem in our family, we plan together what to do about it.	67	77	72	78
In our home, it is difficult to decide how to solve a problem because we never agree about anything.	17	13	43	26
When we are angry with each other in our family, we tend not to speak to each other for a little while.	26	23	45	33

that we cannot determine causation in these analyses, and especially for the relationship trouble variable, we do not know whether the negative family dynamics caused the relationship difficulty or vice versa. Nonetheless, we see solid evidence that life stresses are reflected in the day-to-day interactions of families.

Table 11: Family Stresses and Problem Solving Styles (Percent Responding 'Always' or 'Often')

	Plan Together	Never Agree	Don't Speak
No Economic Crisis	70	10	20
Economic Crisis	63	27	34
No Serious Health Challenge	67	15	23
Serious Health Challenge	67	20	28
No Relationship Trouble	81	11	18
Relationship Trouble	64	30	42

As a final element of our focus on family communication, we probed how parents of teenagers interact with their children – specifically, what topics did they discuss? These results can be seen in Figure 6, which shows the percentage of respondents who said they discuss each topic with their teenagers "frequently." For this analysis, we also disaggregate by voting behavior.

By far the most popular topic is school and grades, though nonvoters are noticeably less likely to talk about those issues than other groups. For most topics, we find little difference between Trump and Clinton voters. Both groups talk about politics, relationships and dating, and school and grades at roughly equal rates. Consistent with our earlier finding that nonvoters are less likely to make politics a part of their parenting, we see that nonvoters are less likely to talk about politics with their children than people who made it to the polls on election day. The largest differences between Trump and Clinton voters come with respect to religious or philosophical beliefs, a subject about which Trump voters are substantially more likely to talk with their teenagers, and sex or "the birds and the bees," a topic that Trump voters are somewhat less likely to discuss. Despite these differences, the overriding impression from our respondents is that the most frequent topic of conversation between parents and teenagers is schoolwork.

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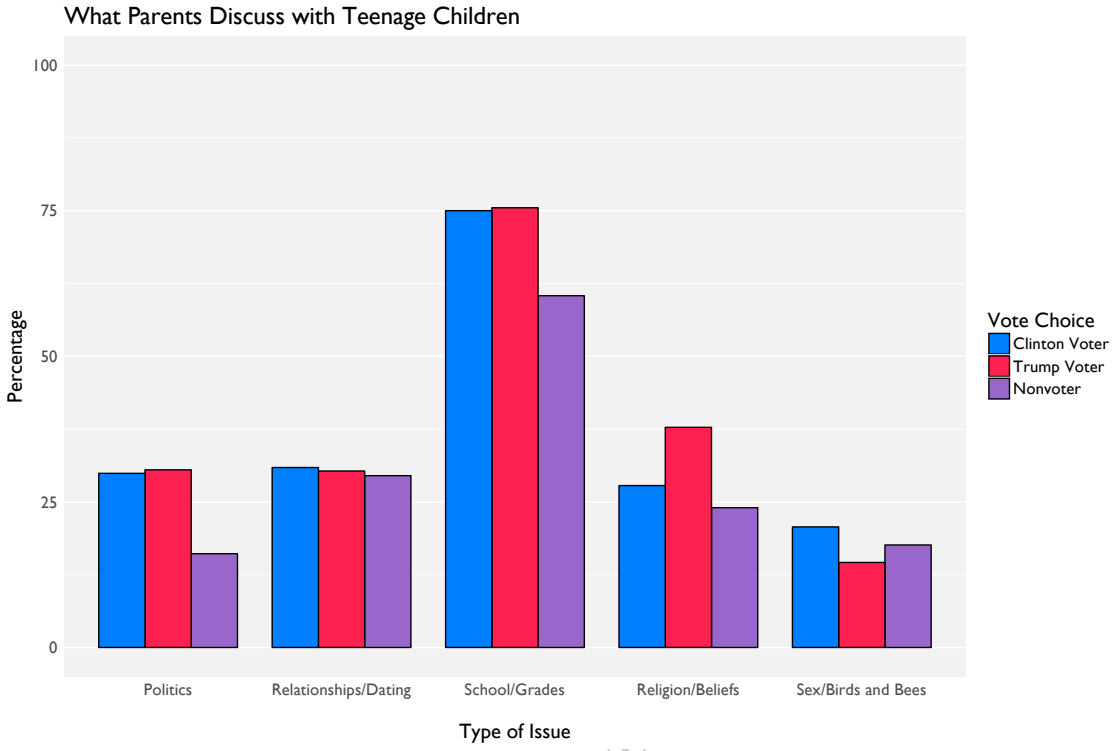

Figure 6: Bars represent the percentage of parents who talk 'frequently' with their teenage children about each topic

3 Technology and the American Family

In the 2017 American Family Survey, we explored how new communications technology is affecting family life. We asked respondents about their access to smart phones and cell phones, their patterns of communication with those devices, and how they feel about their effects on family life. In addition, we explored the access respondents' children have to cell phones or smart phones and the limits their parents impose on their use.

As can be seen in Table 12, cell phones — and especially smart phones — are now a ubiquitous part of American life. Large percentages of Americans say they own a smart phone, regardless of age, income, or political preferences. People over age 65 are somewhat less likely than other groups to say they own a smart phone, but even among that age category, nearly two-thirds have a smart phone, with another 30 percent saying they own a cell phone. Very few Americans have no access to a personal phone of any kind, including among the oldest and poorest respondents to our survey. In none of the demographic categories in the table does the percentage of people without a mobile phone of some sort rise to double digits.

How do Americans use their phones? Mostly, they tell us, for communicating with members of their families. As can be seen in Table 13, more than 8 in 10 respondents who have mobile phones and are currently in a relationship told us that they use their phones to communicate with their spouse or partner "several times a week" or more. Among respondents with children, more than half use the phone to communicate with their children regularly, and a majority also speak by phone several times a week or more with other family members. People also use their phones to speak frequently with their friends, though slightly less often than with partners or children. By comparison, just over a quarter of respondents

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Table 12: Cell Phone Possession in the AFS Sample

	Smart Phone	Cell Phone but No Smart Phone	No Cell Phone
All	79	16	5
18-29	87	11	2
30-44	85	12	3
45-54	84	12	4
55-64	74	18	8
65+	63	29	8
Low Income (under $30,000)	73	21	6
Middle Income ($30-99,999)	81	15	4
High Income (above $100,000)	86	12	3
Trump Voters	76	20	5
Clinton Voters	83	12	5
Nonvoters	78	18	4

say they use their phones to speak regularly with co-workers.

Table 13: Cell Phone Communication by Group

	Percent Reporting Communicating Several Times a Week or More
Spouse or Partner	83
Children	56
Other Family Member	51
Friends	49
Co-Workers	27

Given this frequent communication, how have mobile phones affected relationships? We asked respondents to tell us whether their phones have had a positive effect, a negative effect, or no effect at all on their relationships, social lives, and careers. In general, as Table 14 highlights, large percentages of people say that the effect has been positive or neutral, and few say that these modes of communication negatively affect any aspect of their lives. A little less than half of Americans report that phones have had a positive effect on relationships with family members, and similar percentages say that phones have had no effect. Similarly, a little more than half say that phones have not affected their social lives more generally, and just over 40 percent say that phones have improved their social lives. Fewer respondents (just over one quarter) say that phones have had a positive effect on their careers, however.

Table 14: Self-Reported Effects of Cell Phones

	Very or Somewhat Positive	No Effect	Very or Somewhat Negative
Relationships with Family Members	46	46	8
Social Life Outside of Family	43	53	5
Job	27	67	6

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But these generally positive self-reports are contradicted by other survey findings. For example, we asked respondents to tell us how much time they spend on their mobile phones each day. This may be a difficult thing to estimate, given that people may use their phones in short bursts on and off throughout the day. On average, respondents reported that they spend a little more than 2 hours per day on the phone. We correlated these estimates of phone usage with self-reports of relationship trouble, and we find that the two are positively related. Table 15 shows the percentage of respondents at each level of phone usage who have reported relationship trouble. The more time people told us that they spend on the phone, the higher the likelihood that they also reported being worried about their relationships in the past two years. (This analysis is limited to respondents who have been in a relationship for two years or more.) With cross-sectional survey data, we cannot tell whether phone use is a cause or a consequence of relationship trouble, only that those who use their phones the most are also more likely to report concern about their relationships.

Table 15: Phone Usage and Relationship Trouble

Phone Usage per Day	Percent Reporting Relationship Trouble
1 Hour or Less	28
2-4 Hours	38
5-8 Hours or More	43

Similar findings emerge when we home in on the different ways people use their phones. We asked, for example, how often people used phones to communicate via social media, to catch up with family or friends, and even to avoid others in their physical vicinity. Entries in Table 16 shows the percentages of respondents reporting relationship trouble by frequency of phone use for each activity. In every case — even when we asked about communicating with family and friends — people who report using their phone multiple times a day are more likely to report relationship trouble than people who use their phones less frequently, especially those who use phones rarely. Given that this trend is evident for many different types of activities, perhaps it is simply the time spent on the phone that detracts from time spent working on relationships. Or it could be that social media is an escape from an unhappy relationship. No matter what the specific dynamic might be, the relationship between technology use and relationships bears further investigation.

Table 16: Social Media Usage and Relationship Trouble
(Percent Reporting Relationship Trouble)

	Social Media Usage	Catch Up with Family and Friends	Avoid Others
Multiple Times a Day	43	44	50
Once a Day	33	35	43
Weekly	38	32	47
Monthly or Less	37	31	37
Never	20	25	25

In addition to reporting on their personal technology use, parents also told us about how they approach phone use for their children. Table 17 shows that phone possession becomes widespread during the teenage years.[7] Prior to age 12, very few children have access to cell phones or smart phones. For example, only about a quarter of parents allow phones for children between ages 5 and 11, and for parents with

[7]Entries in Table 17 and Table 18 are computed by respondent. If at least one of the respondent's children in each age group possessed a phone, for example, we counted the respondent as allowing phones for that age group.

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children younger than that, allowing phone access is quite rare, although the fact that one in ten parents of very young children report that those children have a cell phone may be surprising. By comparison, four out of five parents with children who are 12 or older allow those children to have mobile phones — and most of those are smart phones. Beginning in their teenage years, then, children gain personal access to the world of mobile technology.

Table 17: Children with Cell Phones by Age

Age Group	% with Any Cell Phone	% with Smart Phones
0-4 Years	11	3
5-11 Years	28	24
12-17 Years	81	70
18+ Years	84	80

Finally, we also asked about family rules for how children use their phones. Our aim was to find out whether families restrict phone usage in some way — prohibiting it after a certain time of night or during meals and family activities, for example. We also asked about whether children are required to finish homework or chores before accessing cell phones or whether the family imposes daily time limits. Notably, most respondents do not report imposing such limits, and what limits exist are more likely to apply to preteen children (Table 18).

Table 18: Child Cell Phone Restrictions by Age
(Percentage of Parents Reporting Restriction)

Age Group	Not After a Certain Time at Night	Not During Meals	Not During Family Activities	Homework or Chores First	Total Time Limits
0-4 Years	40	14	14	16	9
5-11 Years	50	36	38	41	32
12-17 Years	38	40	29	32	21
18+ Years	3	6	5	3	2

For example, half of parents with children between 5 and 11 say they restrict phone usage after a certain time of night. But other kinds of limits and limits for other age groups are far less common. During the teenage years, when phone use becomes widespread, many parents do not restrict phone usage. The most common limit — imposed by about 40 percent of parents — involves prohibiting phone use during family meals, with bedtime limits a close second. Less than a third of parents impose limits on their teenage children during other family activities or require that homework or chores be completed before their children use the phone, and only 2 in 10 parents restrict the total time their teenagers spend on the phone. And as might be expected, limits are practically nonexistent for children who have reached adulthood.

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4 Addiction in American Families

In the 2017 American Family Survey, we asked respondents a variety of questions about addiction (see Table 19). This set a relatively high bar. In other words, we did not ask about perceived "problems" or simply "use" but about "addiction." Despite this high bar, some respondents claimed to be both dealing with addiction personally and in their families.

Table 19: Reported Rates of Personal Addiction and Addiction Within Families

	Self			Family		
	Heroin / Opioids	**Alcohol**	**Marijuana**	**Heroin / Opioids**	**Alcohol**	**Marijuana**
Men	7	8	4	14	16	10
Women	3	5	4	10	14	10
White	4	5	3	12	14	10
Black	6	8	5	13	14	10
Hispanic	10	12	9	14	18	9
Trump Voters	3	5	1	9	11	8
Clinton Voters	3	6	3	11	14	8
Nonvoters	9	9	8	16	19	13
Urban	8	9	5	16	18	11
Rural	2	4	3	9	14	10
High Income	4	6	2	13	14	7
Low Income	9	8	7	13	15	12
Population Average	5	6	4	12	15	10

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Though there are some consistent patterns—men are more likely to report both personal addiction and family addictions than are women, and both Whites and Blacks report less addiction than Hispanics—it is true that only around one out of ten people or fewer report personal addiction to heroin or opioids and that this number is not really very different than the number that report addiction to alcohol (though rates of addiction to marijuana are lower). A similar pattern emerges when considering if one's family has addictions. Though alcohol addictions are reported by slightly more respondents, the differences are typically small (and, again, addiction to marijuana is slightly lower than the other two categories).

Family scholars have proposed a "success sequence" in life (first proposed by Ron Haskins and Isabel Sawhill, but also studied by Brad Wilcox and Wendy Wang) consisting of finishing a high school education (or better), getting a job, followed by marriage and only then having children. Previous studies have shown that those who follow this path tend to flourish later in life, and in our study, failure to follow the success sequence is fairly clearly connected to addiction in our study. The top half of Table 20 displays the percentage of people reporting being personally addicted to substances by success sequence. Though relatively few people claim personal addiction, the proportion who do is three to four times higher among those who have not followed the success sequence. When considering the extended family the proportions similarly double.

The table includes differences for those who have children and those who do not have children, but the clear difference is between those who have followed the success sequences and those who have not. Perhaps the most striking figure in the table is that for those unable to follow the success sequence around a quarter of them report having addiction within their extended family. This suggests either a lack of support networks within the family or, possibly, a pattern where less successful families transmit a propensity for addiction to heroin or opioids.

In general, the chart suggests that following "the rules" by getting an education, getting married before having children and doing so at a time when one is already starting a career are behaviors that are associated with avoiding addictions.

Personal success in life is far from the only variable that correlates with drug addiction. Recent economic crises—perhaps caused by the abuse or driven by the abuse (it is impossible to disentangle here)—are

Table 20: Personal Reported Rate of Addiction by Success Sequence

	Success Sequence	Sequence without Children	No Sequence
Personal:			
Alcohol	4	2	10
Prescription painkillers, heroin, cocaine, or other street drugs	2	3	13
Marijuana	2	3	7
Extended Family:			
Alcohol	7	7	15
Prescription painkillers, heroin, cocaine, or other street drugs	8	11	21
Marijuana	4	4	9

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also related to drug addiction. Figure 7 displays the percentage reporting addiction by whether or not the respondent has recently experienced an economic crisis. The results are stark. Whatever the causal relationship, those who have experienced an economic crisis are much more likely to also report an addiction, at rates that are three to six times higher than for those who report no such crisis.

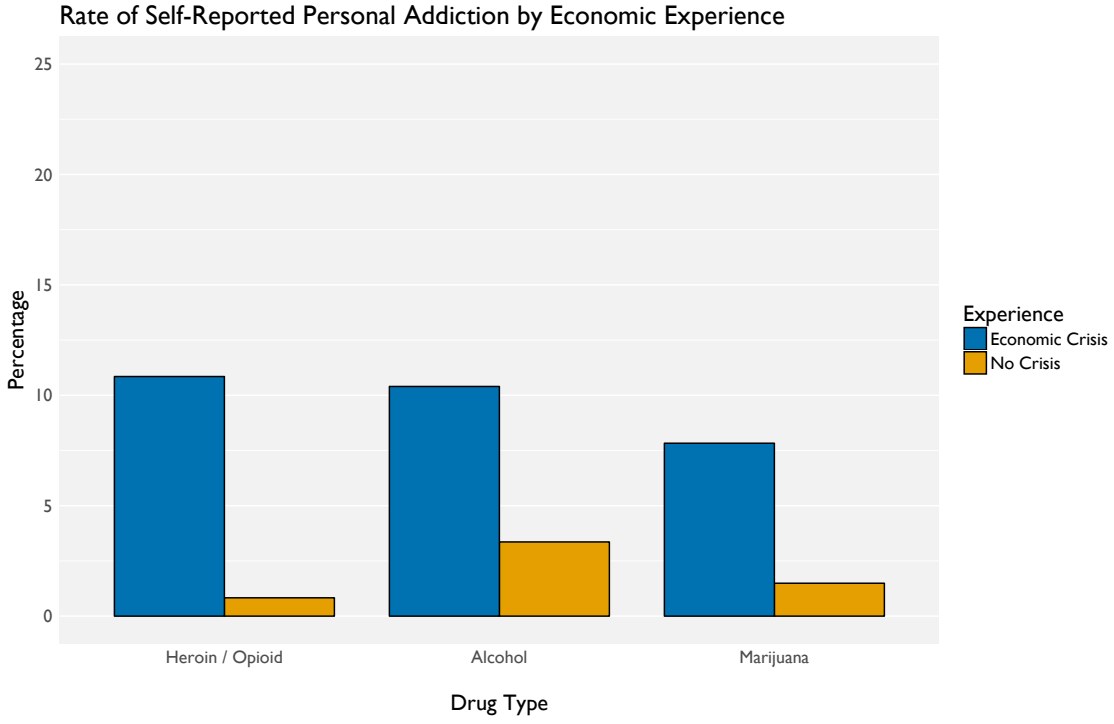

Figure 7: Bars represent the percentage reporting personal addiction by whether or not the respondent has suffered an economic crisis in the past year.

Of course, it may be the case that addiction leads to economic crises. Those who report no personal addictions averaged 0.71 economic crises. The average number of economic crises reported by those who did report addictions was over twice as high: 1.55.

When considering drug addictions, people assign the most blame to the individuals directly involved in the drug transaction. Figure 8 displays the percentage of respondents who place "a lot" of blame on the institution or person involved, broken down by reported voting behavior. The results are again striking. Clear majorities blame the person selling the drugs and the addict. Far fewer people blame the other institutions involved. There is a hint of partisan difference with respect to government policies—Republicans are slightly more likely to blame government, whereas Democrats are slightly more likely to place blame with drug and insurance companies. But those differences are small and are dwarfed by the key difference: people place most of the blame at the feet of those selling the drugs and those buying them. Trump voters place generally more blame at the feet of both sellers and addicts, while Clinton voters and Nonvoters are somewhat more forgiving on this front, although a majority of Clinton voters still did place a lot of blame on drug dealers.

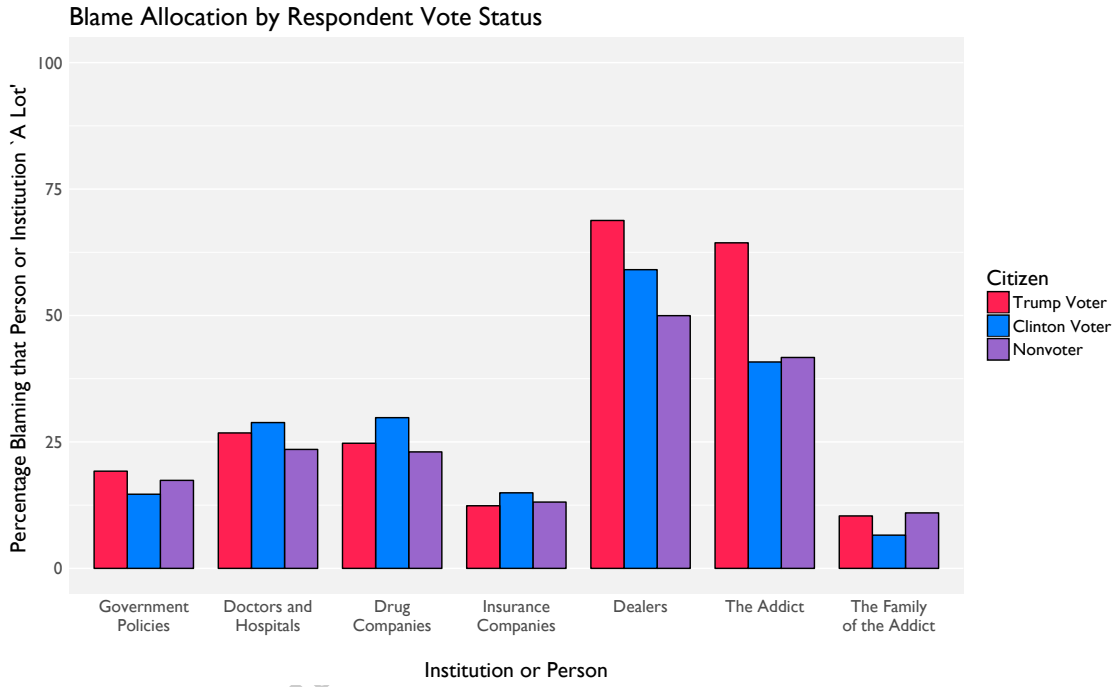

Figure 8: Bars represent the percentage blaming the institution 'a lot' for the addicition.

Large numbers of respondents to the American Family Survey regard drug addiction as a problem in their communities. More than one quarter told us that drug addiction is a "very big problem" and another 40 percent said it is at least "somewhat of a problem." But we also find that addictions, in turn, shape how people see their communities. People who report addictions to heroin or opioids view their neighborhoods somewhat differently than do respondents who report no such addictions.

Table 21: Neighborhood Evaluations by Addiction Status (Percent Agreement)

	Addicted to Heroin or Opioids	**No Such Addictions**
People in this neighborhood do not share the same values	43	25
People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other	41	13
This is a close-knit neighborhood	36	32
People around here are willing to help their neighbors	55	56

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Table 21 displays the percentage who agreed with each of the described statements about their neighborhoods broken out by those who have an addiction to opioids or heroin and those who do not. In general, people like their neighborhoods, but the addicted are far less positive, seeing their neighborhoods as being places of far more conflict where people do not share the same values and where people are far less likely to get along. The obvious concern is the support network available to those suffering from such problems, though it should be noted that addicts described their neighborhood as close-knit and helpful at rates similar to those found in other neighborhoods.

The rate at which addicts receive help, or at least reach out for it, may also be related to the addiction. Those reporting any addiction reached out to help from neighbors or friends on 2.2 out of 6 issue areas.[8] Those without any reported addictions reached out on 3.5 out of the same 6 issue areas. Social connections fray around addictions.

5 The Health Care of American Families

Before investigating the specifics of health care policy, it is important to get a sense of how people perceive their own health and their family's health. Table 22 displays the percentage of the public that says they have a serious health problem that is "ongoing or serious ... that requires frequent medical care—for example, regular doctor visits, or daily medications." As the table indicates, a little under half of the population sees themselves or their spouse as fitting that category. A quarter report that is true for their child and close to six in ten people say that description fits fits themselves or someone in their immediate family.

Table 22: The Health of Respondents and their Families

	Percentage with a Serious Health Condition
Self	44
Spouse	43
Child	24
Within the Immediate Family	58

Table 23 examines the percentage of the population that has health insurance of five types, including those who have no insurance at all. The second column of that table displays the percentage who report having a particular plan, but only among those who described some member of their immediate family as being sick, as defined in the previous table. In general, the two populations match relatively closely, although it is true that among the "sick" population, a slightly smaller proportion had an employer plan while slightly larger numbers were on Medicaid and Medicare.

What do people pay depending upon their health status and their health insurance? Figure 9 displays the reported premium costs for people in the healthy and sick categories by the type of insurance. As the figure makes clear, what matters is not whether one has a serious ongoing medical issue, but where one gets insurance. The most expensive insurance is for those self-insuring, while the most economical insurance type is Medicaid (followed closely by Medicare).[9]

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[8] The six areas that are discussed in the topline are help with childcare, advice about children, advice about a relationship, financial help, taking care of a house or other property and transportation to an important appointment

[9] The reader should bear in mind that these responses are are self-reported and, to some degree, self-defined. While Medicaid is designed to have no premiums, respondents perceive themselves as paying money in premiums. We elected not to omit that from the chart. See the topline for the full question wordings.

Table 23: Health Insurance Plan by Perceived Health Status

	Percentage in the Population	Percentage in the Sick Population
Employer Plan	38	33
Self-Purchased Plan	12	14
Medicaid	18	22
Medicare	25	31
No Health Insurance	8	6

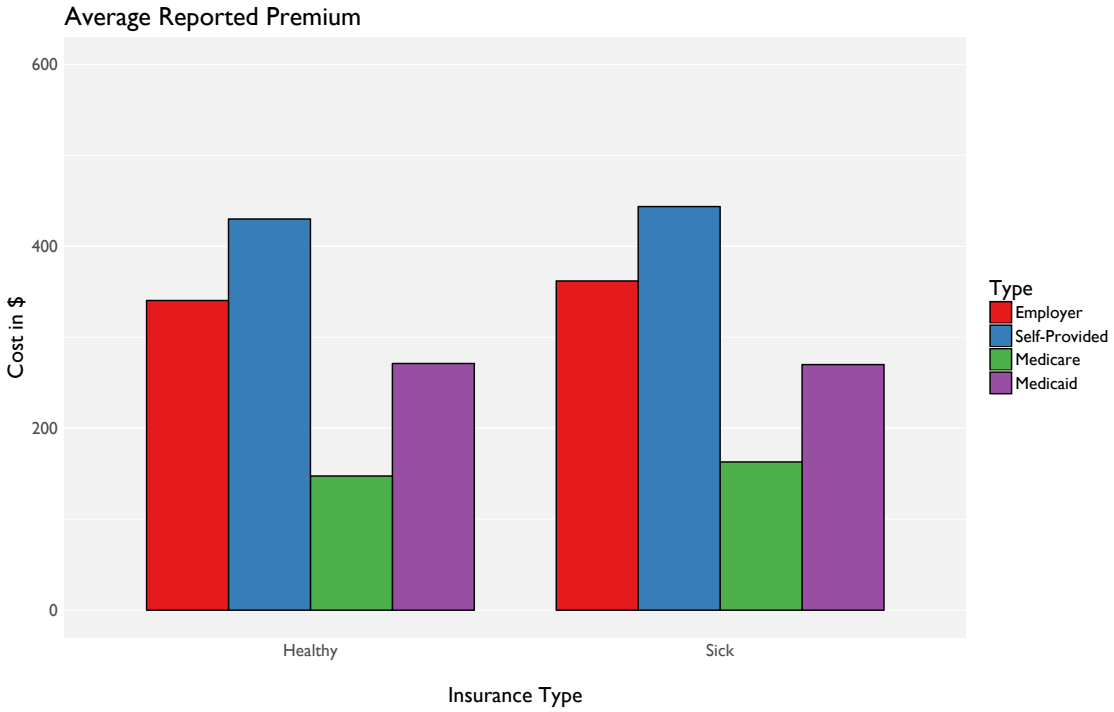

Figure 9: Bars represent the average cost reported by health status. Averages include guesses and are capped at $10,000 premiums and $5,000 out of pocket costs which roughly represents trimming the top half of 1 percent of the distribution.

Figure 10 displays a similar calculation for the out of pocket expenses of people on each of the different types of insurance. In this case we add a bar for those who are without insurance and they clearly pay the most, especially if they are sick.

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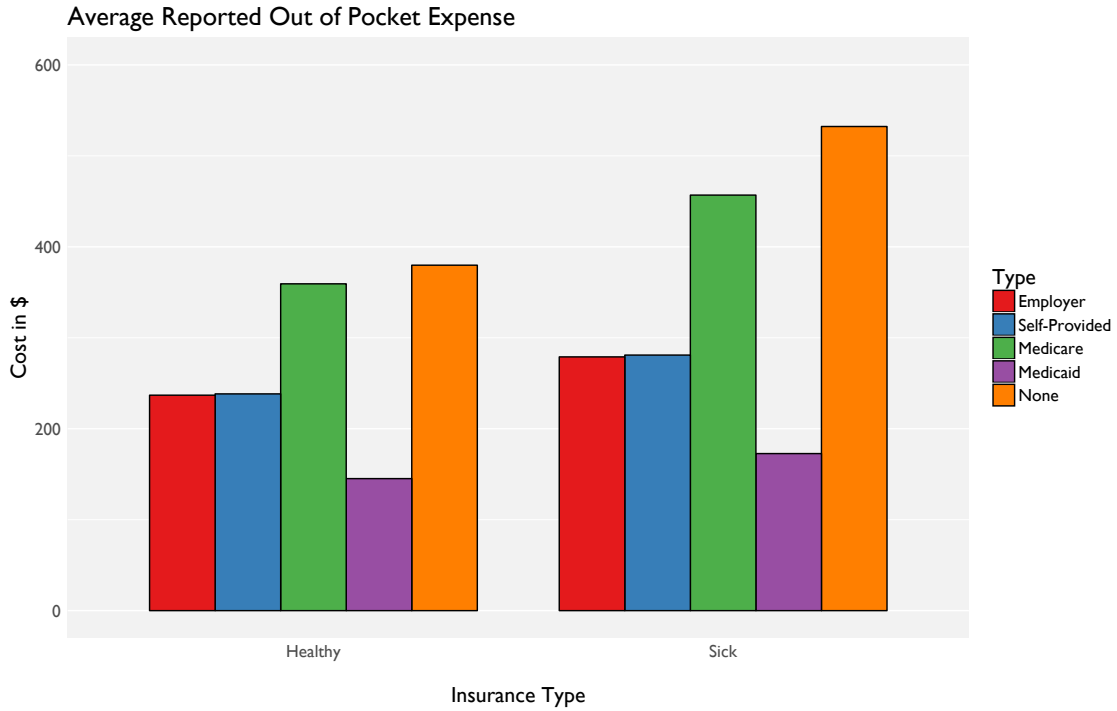

Figure 10: Bars represent the average out of pocket cost reported by Health Status. Averages include guesses and are capped at $10,000 premiums and $5,000 out of pocket costs which roughly represents trimming the top half of 1 percent of the distribution.

Because health care reform is a difficult policy challenge that has been at the top of the political agenda for a number of years, we asked respondents to confront four different tradeoffs that might be involved in crafting an effective healthcare policy. These tradeoffs are hardly comprehensive: many more and different policy tradeoffs are possible. However, the questions we included prompted respondents to think about two competing policy values and to choose one over the other. Specifically, we asked respondents whether they would prefer "lower deductibles" or a "wider network of doctors"; whether they prioritize "making sure that health insurance is accessible to everyone" or "more flexibility to choose not to buy insurance"; whether to guarantee "coverage of pre-existing conditions" or to "lower monthly costs"; and whether it was more important to focus on "helping those who struggle to pay for it afford insurance" or to instead work to "lower tax burdens for most Americans." Aggregate results for these tradeoff questions are found in Table 24.

Table 24: Health Care Trade-Offs

Lower Deductibles	**72**	28	*Wider Network of Doctors*
Insurance Accessible to All	**67**	33	*More Flexibility to Opt Out of Insurance*
Coverage of Pre-Existing Conditions	**57**	43	*Lower Monthly Costs*
Helping the Poor to Afford Insurance	**56**	44	*Lower Tax Burdens for Most Americans*

Nearly three quarters of Americans prefer lower monthly deductibles over a wider network of doctors, and two thirds prefer guaranteeing access to insurance for all over the flexibility not to buy insurance. Opinion is somewhat more closely divided on the remaining two tradeoffs, but most AFS respondents want to guarantee that insurance companies would cover pre-existing conditions over lower monthly

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costs, and most are also willing to live with slightly higher tax burdens in order to focus on helping the poor to afford insurance. Overall, Americans seem to want insurance to be accessible and affordable, though they are willing to live with somewhat higher monthly costs if doing so means that insurance companies do not turn them away because of pre-existing conditions.

At the same time, these aggregate findings obscure considerable political variation in policy choices. Figure 11 shows the same results broken down by respondent vote choice. There is one area of agreement: about three quarters of Clinton voters, Trump voters and nonvoters prefer lower deductibles over a wider network of doctors. After that, however, the consensus breaks down. Nine out of ten Clinton voters want to prioritize making sure than insurance is accessible to everyone, but only four out of ten Trump voters embrace that goal; the other six in ten want to allow individuals to choose not to buy insurance if they prefer. Similarly, three quarters of Clinton voters want to guarantee coverage of pre-existing conditions, but less than half of Trump voters do; a majority of Trump voters prefer working to lower costs instead. Finally, 80 percent of Clinton voters want to help those who struggle to pay, while nearly that percentage of Trump voters wants lower tax burdens for Americans instead. When it comes to health care, Clinton and Trump voters prioritize dramatically different policy values. Trump voters want lower costs, lower taxes, and more individual freedom, including for those who prefer not to buy insurance, while Clinton voters want access, coverage guarantees, and help for the poor.

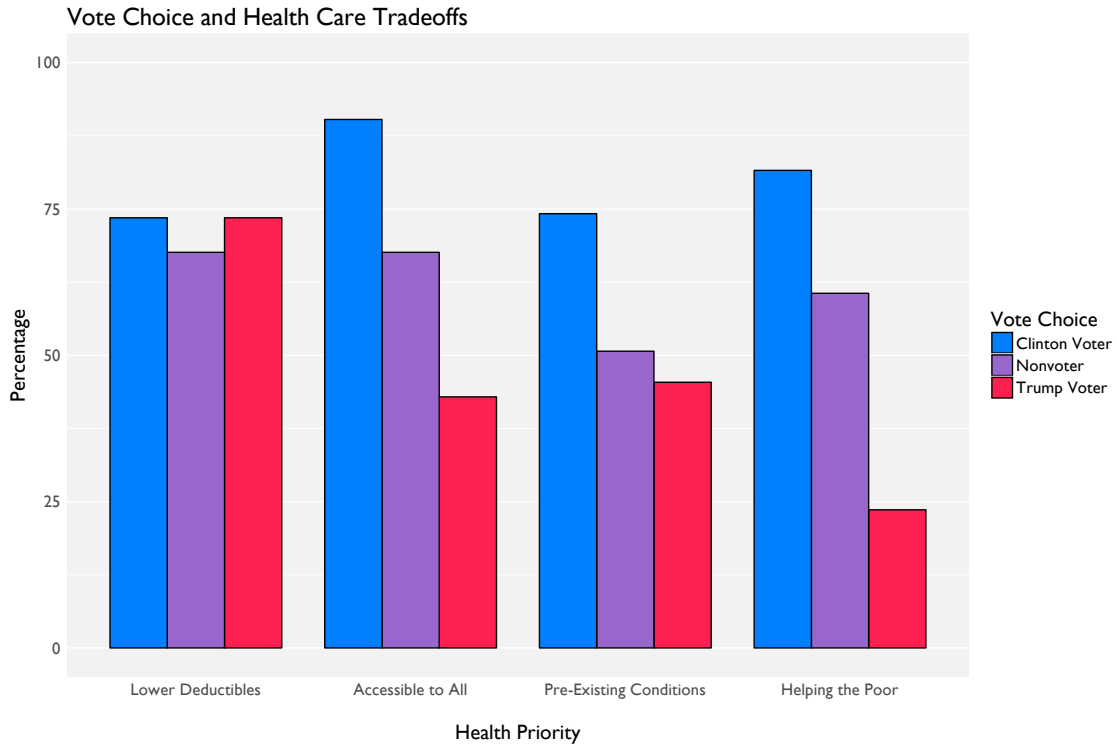
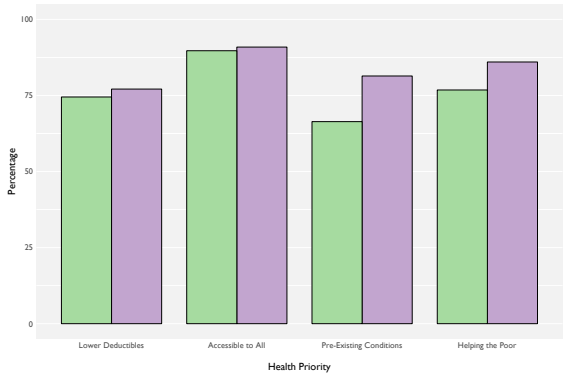


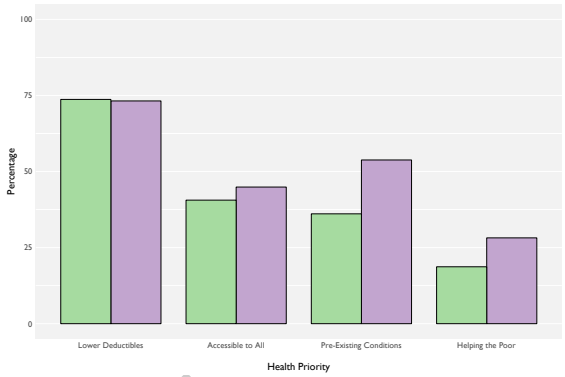
Figure 11: Bars represent the percentage choosing the health care priority listed on the x-axis, as opposed to the tradeoffs listed in the right-hand column of Table 24.

Can anything be done to close the political gap on the contentious issue of health insurance policy? One possibility might be a person's life experiences, including whether or not the respondent, his or her spouse, or a child has experienced a serious medical challenge. Figure 12 highlights the effects of those family medical difficulties on the healthcare tradeoff questions. Panel A presents the results for Clinton voters; Panel B shows the effects among Trump voters; and Panel C displays the findings for the full sample.

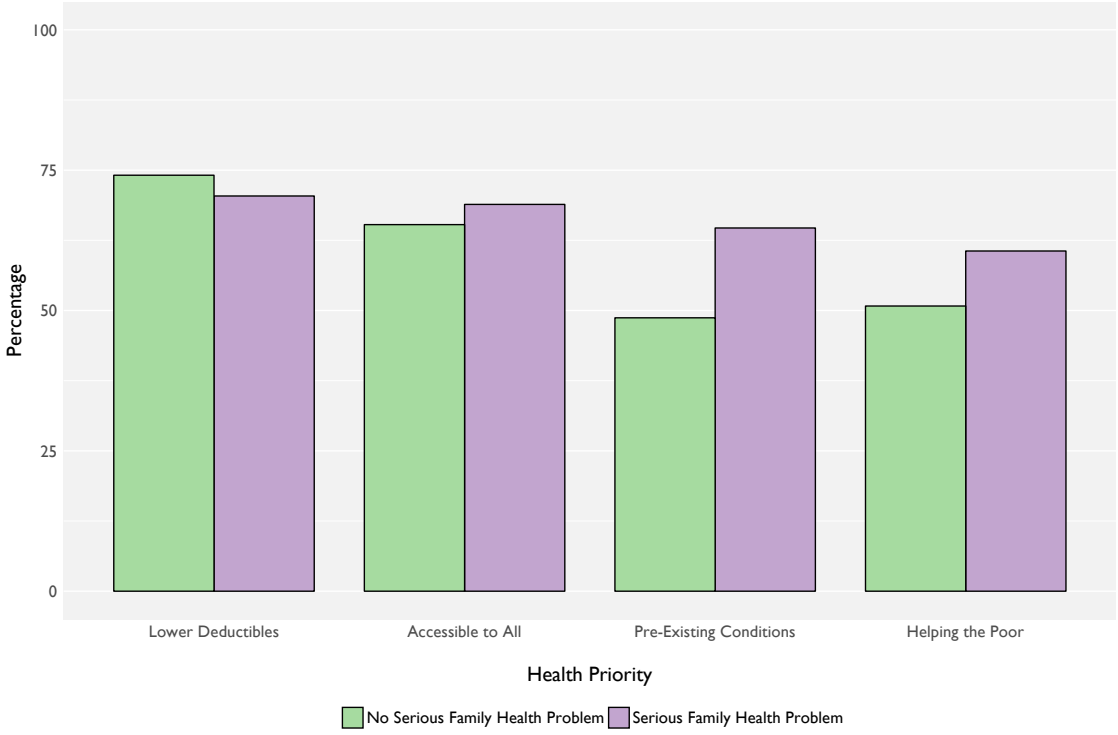
For the lower deductibles/wider network of doctors tradeoff, family experiences with medical challenges makes little difference for any group, primarily because most respondents prefer lower deductibles, no matter their political preferences. Among Clinton voters, a family medical challenge has little effect on a preference for making insurance accessible, again because nearly all Clinton voters embrace that goal. Among Trump voters, those with a family medical issue are slightly more likely to prefer insurance accessibility over the flexibility to opt out, though the effect is small (about 4 percentage points).



(a) Clinton Voters



(b) Trump Voters



(c) All Respondents

Figure 12: Family Health Context, Vote Choice, and Healthcare Tradeoffs

For both Trump and Clinton voters, family challenges are associated with significantly greater support for the principle of guaranteeing coverage of pre-existing conditions, even if that means sacrificing lower monthly costs. Among Trump voters, the effect is nearly 18 percentage points: only about one third

of Trump supporters without a family medical challenge prioritized covering pre-existing conditions, but among Trump supporters whose families have serious medical challenges, more than half support covering pre-existing conditions. Among Clinton voters, the effect is similarly large: about 15 percentage points, though fully two-thirds of Clinton voters whose families are not facing a serious medical challenge prefer covering pre-existing conditions over lowering monthly costs. Thus, the presence of serious medical issues does not substantially narrow the gap between Clinton and Trump voters, but it does make both groups more supportive of ensuring that pre-existing conditions are covered.

A similar, though slightly smaller effect can be seen for the trade-off between helping the poor to be able to afford insurance and lowering tax burdens for most Americans. For both Clinton and Trump voters, support for helping the poor is about 10 percentage points higher among respondents whose families have experienced serious medical challenges. The vast majority of Trump supporters still choose lower tax burdens, and overwhelming numbers of Clinton voters choose the opposite, but the results nonetheless provide some evidence for the notion that experiencing an ongoing medical difficulty that requires regular medical care boosts concern for the plight of the poor in obtaining health insurance.

The effects of political differences and of experience with serious medical problems are often larger than the effect of income. Table 25 shows the tradeoff preferences of low income (family incomes below $30,000), middle income (between $30,000 and $99,999), and high income (over $100,000) survey respondents. As can be seen in the table, there are income differences in tradeoff preferences, but these tend to range between 6 and 8 percentage points. The exception is for aid to the poor, where we see a 13-point difference. Nearly two-thirds of low income respondents prefer a focus on aid to the poor over lowering tax burdens, but only about half of the wealthiest respondents to our study want to help the poor, while the other half want to cut taxes.

Table 25: Health Care Trade-Offs by Respondent Income

	Low Income	Middle Income	High Income
Lower Deductibles	72	73	68
Insurance Accessible to All	70	67	64
Coverage of Pre-Existing Conditions	54	58	62
Helping the Poor to Afford Insurance	65	53	52

Finally, we also asked respondents to tell us how they felt about different elements of the Republicans' American Health Care Act, which passed the House of Representatives in May of 2017. We asked about four different elements of the plan: first, eliminating the requirement for nearly all Americans to have health insurance; second, allowing "states to decide if health insurance companies can charge sick people more than healthy people if they haven't had continuous coverage"; third, cutting federal funding for Medicaid, and fourth, allowing "a wider variety of plans for Americans to choose from." Limitations of the survey format made it impossible to ask about the variety of plans in greater detail, including the fact that greater diversity might mean that some insurance plans cover substantially less than the plans offered under current regulations from the Affordable Care Act (also known as Obamacare).

Consistent with other surveys, many elements of the Republican plan proved highly unpopular, regardless of income or family medical challenges (see Table 26, which shows the percentage supporting each element of the Republican bill). Few respondents to our survey wanted to give states control over the choice to cover pre-existing conditions, and even fewer wanted to cut federal funding for Medicaid. A little less than half of respondents wanted to eliminate the insurance mandate. The only exception to this unpopular slate of reforms is allowing for a greater variety of plans, though again, we did not offer respondents any detail about what that diversity of insurance offerings might look like. Though the differences tend to be modest, lower income respondents tend to be less supportive of the Republican plan than middle- or upper-income

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Table 26: Support for Elements of the Republican Health Care Plan Passed by the House

	Eliminate Insurance Mandate	State Control Over Insurance Rules	Cut Federal Funding for Medicaid	Greater Variety of Plans
All	45	25	19	72
Trump Voters	72	45	36	90
Clinton Voters	18	8	4	63
Nonvoters	46	22	18	64
Low Income	43	20	15	65
Middle Income	47	27	20	75
High Income	41	26	23	72
No Serious Family Health Problem	44	25	19	71
Serious Family Health Problem	46	24	19	73

As with the other aspects of health insurance policy that we have explored, we again find substantial differences when we disaggregate by respondents' political views. Though very few Clinton voters or nonvoters wanted state control over insurance rules, nearly 45 percent of Trump voters wanted to empower the states – still not a majority, but much greater support than we find among other respondents. Similarly, about one-third of Trump voters wanted to cut federal funding for Medicaid. This, too, is far short of a majority, but far more than the 4 percent of Clinton voters and 18 percent of nonvoters. Still, because these core elements of the plan did not garner majority support even among Trump supporters, these results may provide some insight as to why the House bill did not ultimately become law. Other elements of the plan were, however, highly popular among Trump voters, including ending the insurance mandate and providing a larger variety of plans. The idea of eliminating the mandate was extremely unpopular among Clinton voters, and nonvoters were evenly split. Finally, clear majorities of all different political perspectives supported the idea of greater diversity in insurance plan offerings.

6 Supporting Families: Public Policies and Private Connections

6.1 Public Policies

The survey has consistently asked a few questions about policies related to families. Three of which we focus on this year: food stamps, Medicaid and other health subsidies, and the minimum wage. In general, we see a great deal of continuity over time. Food stamps and health subsidies have become slightly more popular since 2015, although there are deep differences between the supporters of Trump and Clinton (see Table 27).[10]

Another policy currently under debate that affects families is the minimum wage. But there are relatively

[10]For 2016, our measure is of self-reported vote intention, and for 2017, the measure is of self-reported vote.

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Table 27: Average Rating of Government Programs, Overall and by Reported Vote Choice for 2016 / 2017 Surveys

	2015	2016			2017		
	Overall	*Overall*	*Clinton*	*Trump*	*Overall*	*Clinton*	*Trump*
Food Stamps	59	61	70	48	64	75	50
Medicaid and Health Subsidies	59	60	69	49	63	76	52

few differences across type of family in the average desire for the minimum wage. What is true is that people of literally all stripes believe that the wage should increase. On average, people want to see it rise to a bit over $10 an hour. However, some groups do stand out (see Table 28). It is not the rich, or the poor, or men or women, or those of different family backgrounds. It is the location and the vote choice of the person that makes the largest difference.

Table 28: Reported Preferred Minimum Wage, Overall and by Group

	Average Minimum Wage
Overall	$10.56
Men	$10.32
Women	$10.78
Married	$10.36
Never Married	$10.73
Children under 18 at Home	$10.60
Urban	$11.22
Suburban	$10.56
Rural	$9.86
Trump Voter	$8.47
Clinton Voter	$12.27
Nonvoter	$10.92
Income Under $30,000	$10.84
Income Above $100,000	$10.51

Urban voters are a little under $1 higher in their desired minimum wage than the average, presumably because of the high cost of living. Rural voters are a little less than $1 lower in their desired minimum wage than the average. Clinton voters want a wage that is almost $2 higher than the average while Trump voters want one that is over $2 lower than the average. Although, even in the case of Trump voters, they still prefer a minimum wage more than a dollar higher than the current $7.25 per hour. A higher minimum wage is among the most popular policies available in the mass public, though there is little evidence that it is strongly connected to family background.

6.2 Social and Governmental Connections

As we have noted, Trump voters and Clinton voters do appear to be different on a number of fronts. While many hypotheses have been put forward to explain these differences (including racial and gender attitudes), one element we can explore in this survey is social connectedness. Trump voters are simply less socially connected than are Clinton voters. On the survey we asked a series of questions about whether or not people turned to others for help with things like childcare, child rearing advice, relationship advice, help with finances, taking care of property or transportation. Though this data can be cut in several

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different ways, for those who reported only one such connection the probability of voting for Trump was higher than for those who reported three or more such connections, as seen in Figure 13.

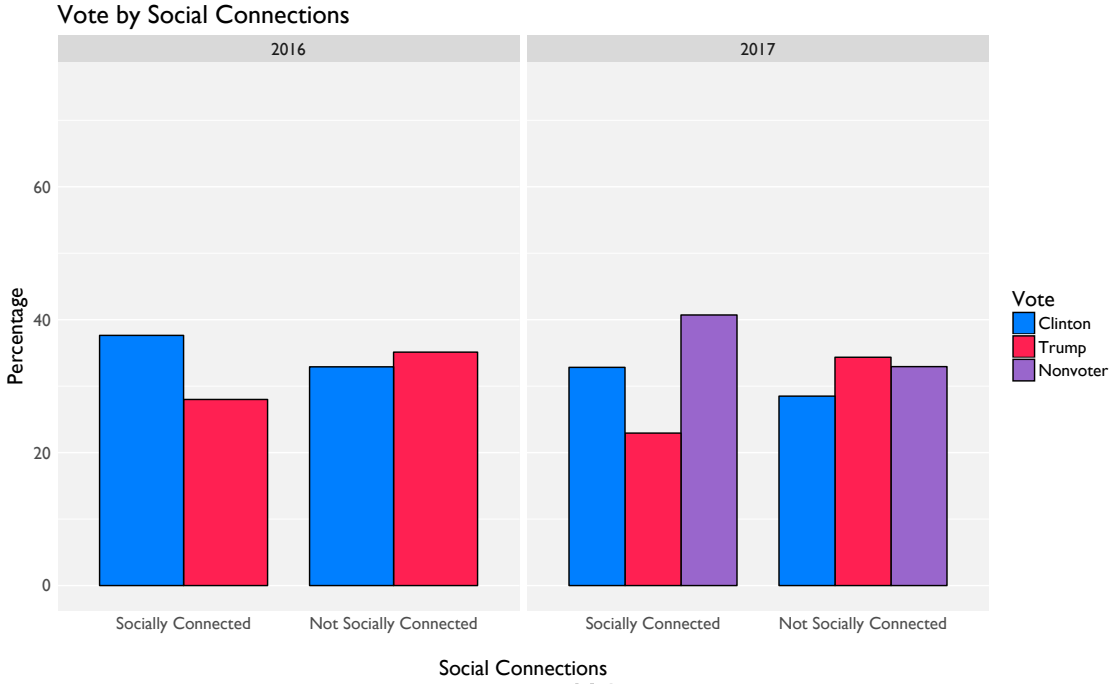

Figure 13: Bars represent the percentage of the vote for a given candidate by level of social connections; "no social connections" represents respondents who reported no requested assistance from any of the sources described in the text. The others represent those who reported at least one such connection.

The data for 2016 are based on reports that a respondent planned to vote for the candidate and so omit nonvoters. The data for 2017 are based on retrospective reports and so include nonvoters.

It is not simply the case that social connections alone matter, as connections to government programs also made a difference. In our sample, for the two-party vote (ignoring nonvoters and third-party candidates), among those who had never reported benefitting from food stamps, child care support, or Medicaid and other health insurance subsidies, 54 percent of the respondents reported voting for Trump, while among those who reported any such connections to those programs only 42 percent voted for Trump. However, a lack of connections to government programs also predicts not voting at all. When we consider those who have benefitted from such programs, fully 44 percent of those voters did not vote (while only 25 percent did not vote among those who had never benefitted from those programs).

Though the question is different ("Thinking about a typical Thanksgiving holiday, who do you usually spend Thanksgiving dinner with?"), Trump voters do appear somewhat distinct here as well. As shown in Table 29, Trump voters appear to be more or less like Clinton Voters in terms of spending Thanksgiving with their immediate families (the same was true of other options like friends or being alone), but they look much more like nonvoters when it comes to spending time with extended family. Neither group is as likely to get together with extended family as are the Democratic voters.

The inescapable conclusion is that support for Trump is related to social connectedness. His voters have relatively fewer connections outside of their immediate families, fewer connections to the welfare state and even tend to look more like nonvoters with respect to Thanksgiving plans and extended families.

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Table 29: Thanksgiving Plans

	Immediate Family	Extended Family
Overall	73	36
Trump Voters	77	34
Clinton Voters	77	40
Nonvoters	67	32

6.3 Immigration

This year, a key theme has been how supporters of Donald Trump think about families and family policy, and one of the key issues President Trump emphasized during his campaign and since taking office is immigration. How do people feel about immigration, and is that related to family? We asked two questions about this issue. First, we asked AFS participants whether or not they favor or oppose birthright citizenship—when a person is automatically a citizen if he is she is born on American soil. Table 30 describes opposition to that policy by income, race or ethnicity, and vote choice. In total, a bit over a third of the country opposes that policy. White respondents and Trump voters are most likely to oppose this policy. Those least likely to oppose it are lower income, Black or Hispanic respondents, and Clinton voters.

Table 30: Percentage Opposing Automatic Citizenship if Children are Born in the Country

	Oppose
Overall	36
Income Under $30,000	31
Income Above $100,000	38
White	43
Black	16
Hispanic	20
Trump Voters	73
Clinton Voters	14
Nonvoters	25

As a further check on how people react to immigration policy, we also asked a second question: whether or not respondents favor or oppose "deporting unauthorized immigrants [even when it separates family members]." However, we varied whether or not the respondent was shown the text in brackets. Essentially, this question tests how much people favor deportation of immigrants when they are reminded that it may break up families. Table 31 displays the results for the simple experiment. The family reminder drops the percentage who favor the policy by about 18 percentage points and raises opposition by the same amount. Respondents clearly change their opinion when faced with the reminder of how immigration impacts families (at least potentially).

Are voters of different stripes affected? Figure 14 displays the effects by reported vote status. Here the results are exactly what we would expect, but the effects of the experiment are overwhelmed by the electoral choices of the respondents. Some Trump voters are moved by the plight of immigrant families, but by more than three out of four of them still favored deportation when shown the text about separating

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Table 31: Experiment Results When Respondents Are Reminded It Could Separate Families

	Reminded	Not Reminded
Oppose a great deal	21	8
Oppose moderately	19	14
Neither favor nor oppose	22	22
Favor moderately	19	22
Favor a great deal	19	34

families. In contrast the number of Clinton voters who favor deportation drops from about three in ten to about one in ten when they see the text. Nonvoters are the most affected by the reminder. About half of them favor the policy when it is shown without context. Adding the text cuts that proportion in half.

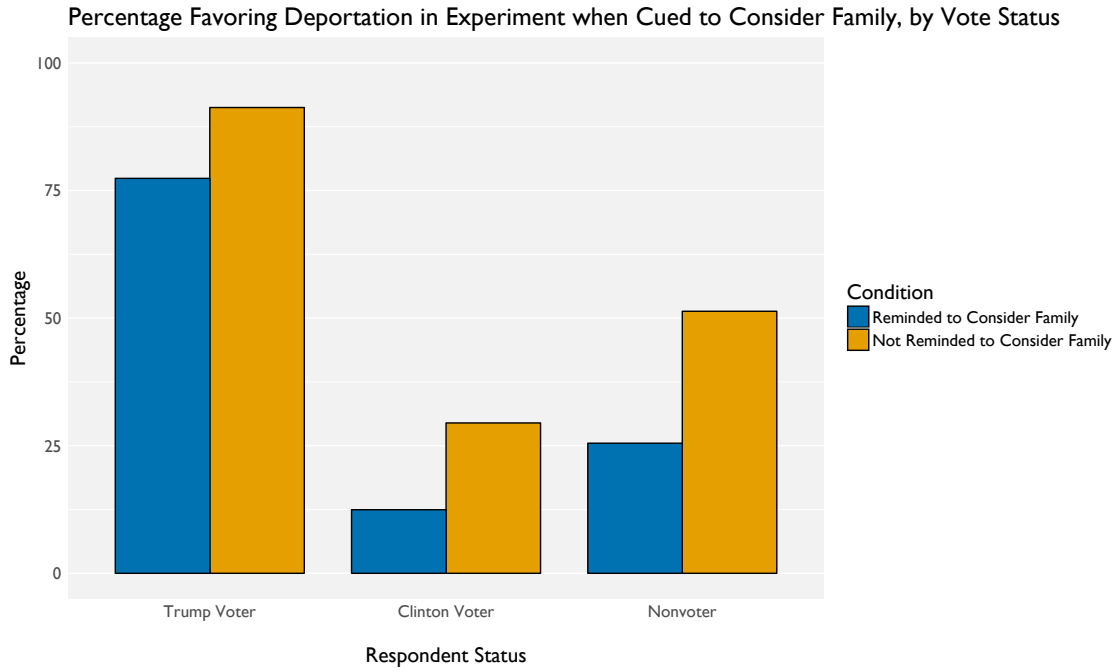

Figure 14: Bars represent the percentage favoring deportation. Gold bars represent the result with no cue about family. Blue bars represent respondents cued to think about family.

6.4 Spousal Partisanship

Another claim often suggested about marriages is that they are all sorted by partisanship. Republicans marry one another and so do Democrats as the saying goes. Of course fully sorting out the partisan commitments of spouses would take in-depth interviews of couples. However, Table 32 displays in each row the percentage of Democrats who perceived their spouse as a Democrat (82 percent for women) an Independent (10 percent for women) and a Republican (9 percent for women), and so on.

The pattern is relatively clear and partially supports the conventional wisdom of sorting. Somewhere between seven in ten or nine in ten spouses are perceived as claiming the same partisan affiliation. However,

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Table 32: Spouse's perceived partisanship: rows indicate the percentage of each party labels claim about their spouse's partisanship, split by women and men

	Women's Claim about their Spouse			Men's Claim about their Spouse		
	Democrat	**Independent**	**Republican**	**Democrat**	**Independent**	**Republican**
Democratic Respondents	82	10	9	87	8	5
Independent Respondents	12	75	12	19	70	11
Republican Respondents	3	6	91	11	11	78

this does mean that there is a substantial minority that do not perceive that. Women tend to claim that their spouses are similar at slightly higher rates than do men—and this does follow a bit of a gender gap pattern. For instance, 82 percent of Democratic women claim their spouse is a Democrat. Women are more likely to be Democrats and men are more likely to be Republicans, so the comparable figure is the percentage of men who claim their spouse as a Republican. That figure is slightly lower at 78 percent. Switching to the other side of the partisan split, 91 percent of Republican women say are married to a Republican while only 87 percent of Democratic men say they are married to a Democrat. The difference is consistent and suggestive, but is usually small. Overall, most married people see their spouse as similar in their partisan attachments.

Are those who perceive a difference distinct in some way? Again, there are small and suggestive differences. For instance, men who perceive their partisanship differently are about eight percentage points more likely to say that their marriage is in trouble. This is a borderline statistically significant result, but not very large and not completely convincing. The figure for women is exactly the same (although women perceive their marriages to be in trouble more often than do men). It also tends to be the case that men and women who perceive their partisanship as being different are less satisfied with their marriages, but, in both cases, the difference amounts to 2 tenths of a point on a five point scale. It may be statistically significant but it is not a really meaningful difference. And it is worth noting that what differences exist are driven by the more politically engaged citizens who respond that they follow the news all the time. If we examine the group that follows the news relatively less there are no differences at all.

The most reasonable conclusion to draw is that there are, in some cases, marital problems due to a mismatched partisanship. It happens. However, it is probably isolated and not a consistent pattern that holds in the population at large.

6.5 Work and Home

Americans are increasingly concerned about the economic challenges facing families, and meaningful percentages of respondents to our survey also told us that they experienced at least one economic crisis in the past twelve months. But how do Americans feel about work? Specifically, what are their preferences for jobs and careers outside the home? To answer these questions, we replicated a question that is frequently used by survey researchers: "If money were not an issue, what would be the ideal situation for you — working full-time, working part-time, or not working at all outside the home?" While often asked, this question is beyond the experience of most Americans, for whom money is often an issue. For that reason, we randomly assigned half of the sample to be asked about their "ideal situation" with no reference to money, while the other half received the more traditional version of the question.

As Figure 15 shows, the preferences of men and women are highly influenced by the question context. When men are primed to think about an ideal situation in which money is not an issue, about 30 percent

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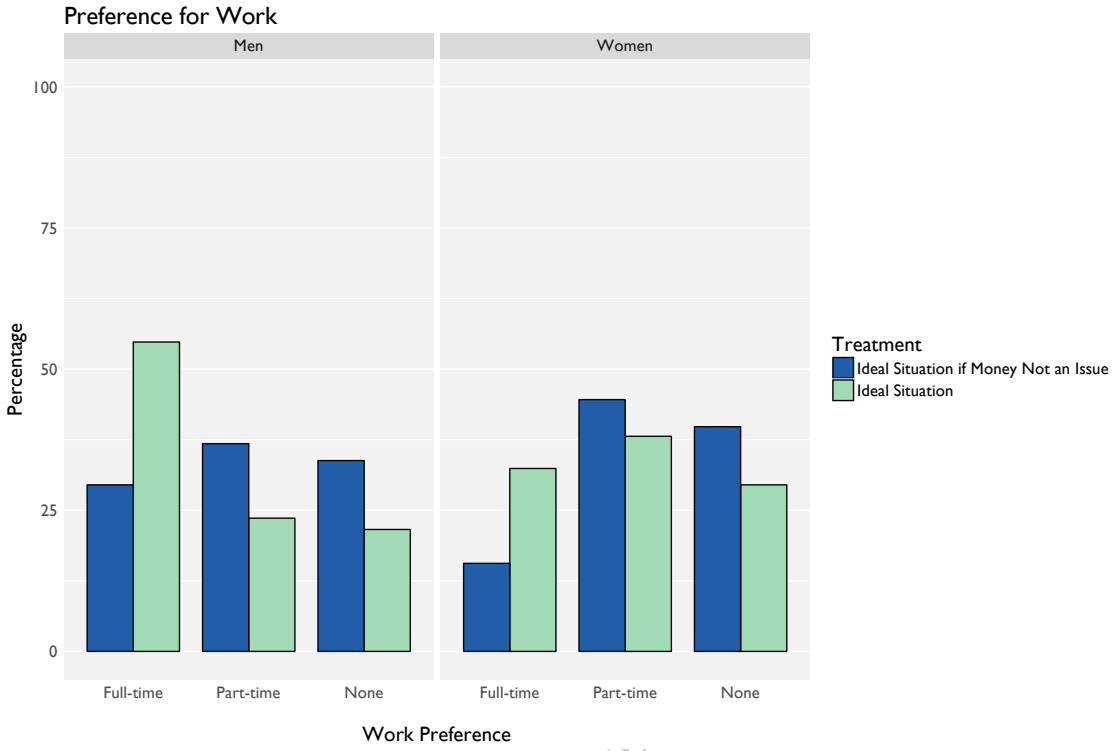

Figure 15: Bars represent the percentage choosing each type of work.

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say they prefer full-time work, one-third choose no work at all, and about 37 percent say they have a preference for part-time work. When men receive no cue to set aside concerns about money, well over half say they want a full-time job, with the rest split about evenly between part-time work and no work.

Among women, the cue about money also makes a meaningful difference. When women are primed to set financial concerns aside, only 16 percent choose full-time work, 45 percent want part-time work, and 40 percent say they want no work at all. In the absence of such a cue, about one-third of women prefer full-time work, almost 40 percent choose part-time work, and another 30 percent say they do not prefer to be in the workforce at all. For both men and women, then, work preferences are shaped by financial needs. When they are prompted to set aside financial concerns, large percentages of both men and women say they want part-time jobs or to stay at home (though there are still gender differences in these preferences). When they are not prompted to ignore the need for money, however, both men and women express a desire for work, including full-time work (though again, gender differences are evident).

The survey also allowed us to focus on a set of respondents who are not currently working outside the home: those who choose "homemaker" when asked about their occupation.[11] In the 2017 American Family Survey sample, about 12 percent of the respondents with children (just over 200 respondents total) reported their occupation as homemakers. These are predominantly women, though a small number of men fall into this category, too. Table 33 highlights some characteristics of this sample, contrasting homemakers with parents in all other occupation categories. The columns in the table show the percentage of homemakers who fall into each demographic category. For example, 33 percent of homemakers are in the lowest income category, 60 percent are classified as middle income, and only 8 percent have high

[11] Response options included the following: employed "full-time", employed "part-time", "temporarily laid off," "unemployed," "retired," "permanently disabled," "homemaker," "student," and "other."

family incomes.[12] This compares to non-homemaker parents, of whom 31 percent are low income, 54 percent middle income, and 15 percent high income. Thus, few homemakers have high incomes, while a substantially larger percentage of non-homemakers make more than $100,000. These income differences make sense, given that homemakers are, by definition, not two-income families. In addition, homemakers are more likely than non-homemaker parents to live in rural places and are slightly less likely to have a college education.

Table 33: The Characteristics of Homemakers
(Parents Only)

	Homemakers	**Non Homemakers**
Low Income	33	31
Middle Income	60	54
High Income	8	15
Urban	20	23
Suburban	45	51
Rural	35	26
High School or Less	51	48
Some College	30	28
College Graduate or More	19	24
Trump Voters	24	36
Clinton Voters	25	30
Nonvoters	49	30
High Parental Identity	86	71

Two other characteristics of homemakers stand out. First, they are politically diverse. Contrary, perhaps, to stereotypes, about as many homemakers voted for Clinton as voted for Trump, though the largest group did not vote at all in 2016. Similar results can be see for party identification: similar percentages of homemakers in our sample self-identify as Democrats and Republicans (not shown in the table). Homemakers are slightly more likely to call themselves conservatives than liberals, but that difference is even greater among non-homemaker parents. It is not the case that homemakers favor one party over another or, in the context of the 2016 election, that they favored one major party candidate over the other. A meaningful percentage did not make it to the polls in 2016, but those homemakers that did split their votes evenly between Clinton and Trump.

Second, what distinguishes homemakers is not their political views, but their commitment to being parents. As we discussed above, large percentages of parents in our sample told us that being a parent is "extremely" or "very" important to their personal identities. But among homemakers, that percentage is even higher. As can be seen in Table 33, a little over 7 in 10 non-homemaker parents expressed high levels of parental identity, and among homemakers, that number rises to more than 8 in 10.

[12] As elsewhere in the report, low incomes are those below $30,000; middle incomes range between $30,000 and $99,999, and high incomes are above $100,000.

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7 Family Experience in Context

One of the enduring lessons of this project—over several years—has been the importance of a person's family and life experience. Whether it is about a person's childhood family support or adult economic crises or even levels of experience with government programs, we have consistently seen differences in attitudes and behavior that are obviously tied to life experience. In this final section of the report we turn to a person's specific patterns of life experience and investment in types of family. Obviously, while some people have experienced marriage, others have not. And while some people have experienced parenthood, others have not. These two experiences are correlated but not necessarily simply connected. Indeed, there is no necessity that marriage has to be connected to a wider family of children.

In our investigations we have found that there are essentially four categories of life experience that are defined by those two experiences: marriage and children. Table 34 presents the percentage of the population defined by those experiences. The underlying basis for this typology is described in a methodological appendix at the end of this section. In brief, persons who are married and who have been in their most recent marriage longer are likely to score highly on this measure. Those who have been through divorce also score higher on this experience measure as it is not solely an indicator of whether or not someone has successful and stable marriages, but also an indicator of one's attempts to commit to the institution.

Persons who have spent more time as a parent (especially of more than one child), had their children within wedlock, and self-classified as having a strong parental identification[13] had higher parental experience scores. The table simply categorizes those who are above average on each factor as being in each category.

Table 34: Table of Family Experiences

	Percentage of the Population
Neither Marriage nor Child Experience Oriented	34
Marriage Experience Oriented	10
Child Experience Oriented	16
Marriage and Child Experience Oriented	41

The largest group of the population has experiences oriented toward both marriage and children (41 percent), but following close on their heels are those who are not oriented toward marriage or family (34 percent). The remaining quarter are divided between those who are oriented toward marriage only (10 percent) and those who are oriented toward children but not marriage (16 percent).

Table 35 describes what percentage of each of the category are described by each of the categories in the table. The non-marriage and child oriented tend to be a bit more male than average, are more likely to have only a high-school education or only some college, voted for Hillary Clinton—although they were most likely to not vote—and are not very likely to report weekly church attendance. The most distinctive characteristic of this group is their average age: only 35 years old. They are young because part of this group will eventually exit this group and gain children or marriages. This group reported a median income for between $30,000 and $40,000.

The marriage oriented are split pretty evenly between genders, are more likely to have a college degree, and were most likely to have voted for Hillary Clinton. They are are similar to the non-marriage and child oriented on the percentage living in urban areas and on church attendance. Older than the non-marriage and child oriented, this group's average age is 45 years old and more settled in life. They are, perhaps

[13] Respondents were asked, "Thinking about yourself, how important, if at all, is being a parent to your personal identity? Would you say it is . . ." and then rated their commitment on a five point scale running from extremely important to not at all important.

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Table 35: Descriptors of Family Experience Orientation

	Non-Marriage & Child Oriented	Marriage Oriented	Child Oriented	Marriage and Child Oriented
Female	44	51	65	53
High School or Less	39	30	58	43
Some College	38	31	30	27
College or More	23	39	13	30
Trump Voters	19	28	26	40
Clinton Voters	32	37	30	30
Nonvoters	45	31	41	25
Urban	31	28	33	17
Weekly Church Attenders	21	21	16	29
Average Age	35	45	53	55

consequently, the group that reports the highest income with an income between $60,000 and $70,000 (the wealthiest of all of the groups).

The child oriented are extremely likely to be female (at almost a 2:1 ratio), and far less likely to be educated, but this is not due to age as the group's reported average age is 53 years old. Among those who voted, this group split fairly evenly between Trump and Clinton (26 to 30 percent), but they were most likely to have not voted. They are slightly more likely to be urban than are the marriage-oriented but are quite a bit less likely to report weekly church attendance. Their reported median income was the lowest of all the groups at $20,000 - $30,000.

The final group, whose experiences have oriented them both to marriage and family, are slightly more likely to be women than men and are also not as likely to have a college degree as are the marriage oriented (though a healthy 30 percent of this group have that credential). They are the oldest group in that their average age is 55 years old. This is the only group that was most likely to vote for Trump (only a quarter of them reported not voting), but they are different on the final two variables in the table. They are far less likely to report living in an urban area and are much more likely than the other groups to report weekly church attendance. Their income was somewhat lower than the marriage oriented, with a median of $50,000 - $60,000.

7.1 Views of Marriage and Family

How do these different groups feel about the health of marriage and family? Figure 19 reports the percentage believing that things were generally getting worse for each of these groups. That is a minority opinion in each group, but the relationship that stands out is that those who are only child oriented are the most worried about marriage (though all groups are slightly more worried about marriage than they are about families). People in this group are more likely to be divorced and to have experienced marital trauma, so this does make a great deal of sense.

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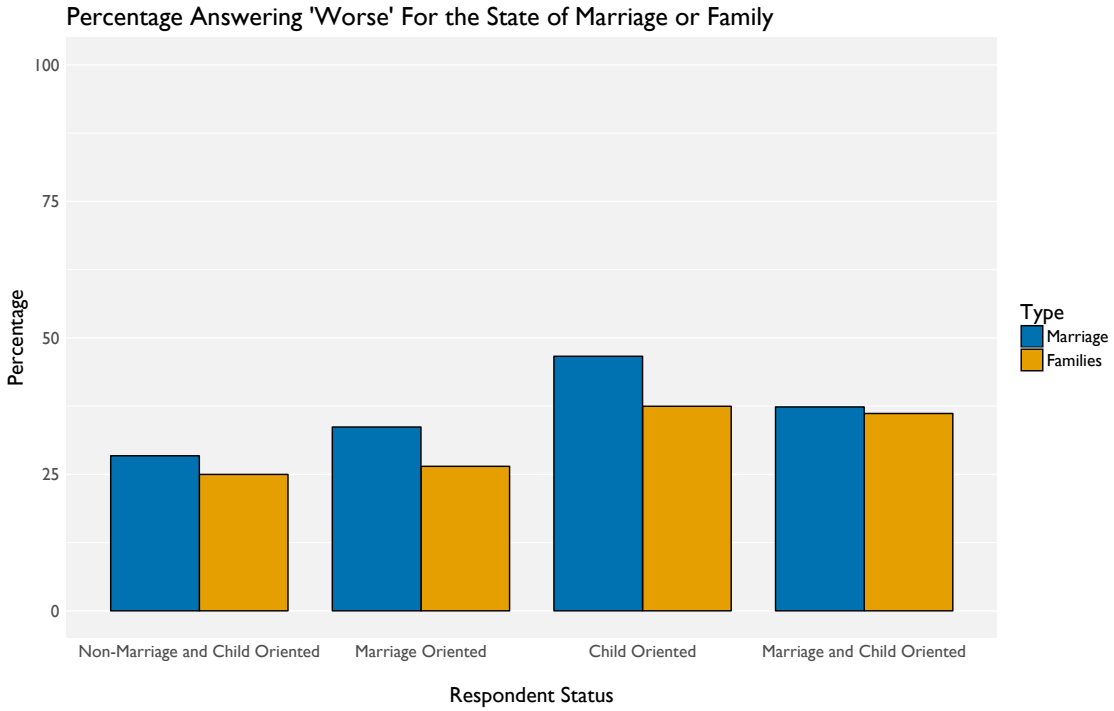

Figure 16: Bars represent the percentage believing that families or marriages are generally getting "worse."

7.2 *Residency*

Another way of putting marriage and family into societal context is location. Where are different types of people and families? Figure 17 displays the percentage of each of our various family experience orientations—not marriage or child oriented, marriage oriented, child oriented and marriage and child oriented—by self-reported residency. Do they live in urban, suburban or rural locations? There are patterns, as can be seen in the figure. Those who are not marriage or child oriented are the most likely to report living in an urban location. In contrast, the marriage and child oriented are much more likely to see themselves as rural or suburban than as urban. Without disputing that fact, the figure also shows how there is variation in all groups and across all three locations. Though a marriage and child oriented person is least likely to see himself or herself as urban, a strong minority do see themselves that way. And while that group may be less likely to see themselves as urban, a large fraction do identify with that category.

There is a tendency in modern life to draw boundaries and distinctions from relatively small differences. While those distinctions are important, they are not all consuming. In this context, the point is that persons with all kinds of family backgrounds and experiences live in all sorts of places.

7.3 *Problem-Solving*

Family problem solving appears to differ substantially by experience and orientation. The non-marriage and child oriented simply have different experiences within their families. They are quite a bit less likely to plan together how to solve problems. They are about twice as likely as most other groups to say that problem solving is difficult and they are more likely to say that they do not speak to each other for a time.

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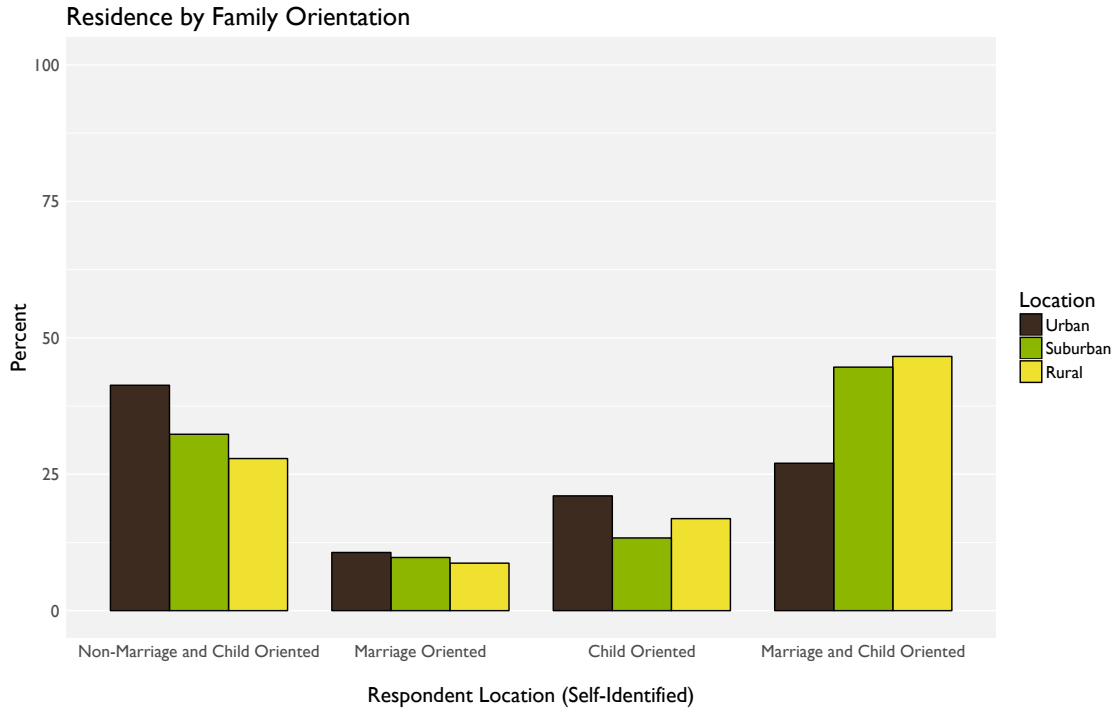

Figure 17: Bars represent the percentage living in a given area by family orientation.

Table 36: Family Orientation and Problem Solving Styles (Percent Responding 'Always' or 'Often')

	Non-Marriage & Child Oriented	Marriage Oriented	Child Oriented	Marriage & Child Oriented
When we have a problem in our family, we plan together what to do about it.	56	79	63	77
In our home, it is difficult to decide how to solve a problem because we never agree about anything.	24	11	15	13
When we are angry with each other in our family, we tend not to speak to each other for a little while.	31	23	23	23

7.4 *Addictions*

How does family experience orientation interact with drugs? Figure 18 shows the percentage reporting addiction by family orientation. Those oriented to marriage and children are the least likely to report addiction of any type. It tends to be the child oriented and the non-family oriented who report relatively higher levels of addiction across all substances. Again, we remind the reader that understanding causality in this area will be difficult. It may be the case that addictions inhibit the formation of family relationships, but it could be the case that strong family relationships deter addictions of various kinds. What we can say is that there is clearly a relationship. The people least likely to report addictions are those with the

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most experience in a marriage with children. The people most likely to report addictions are those who are experienced with children, but far less experienced with marriage.

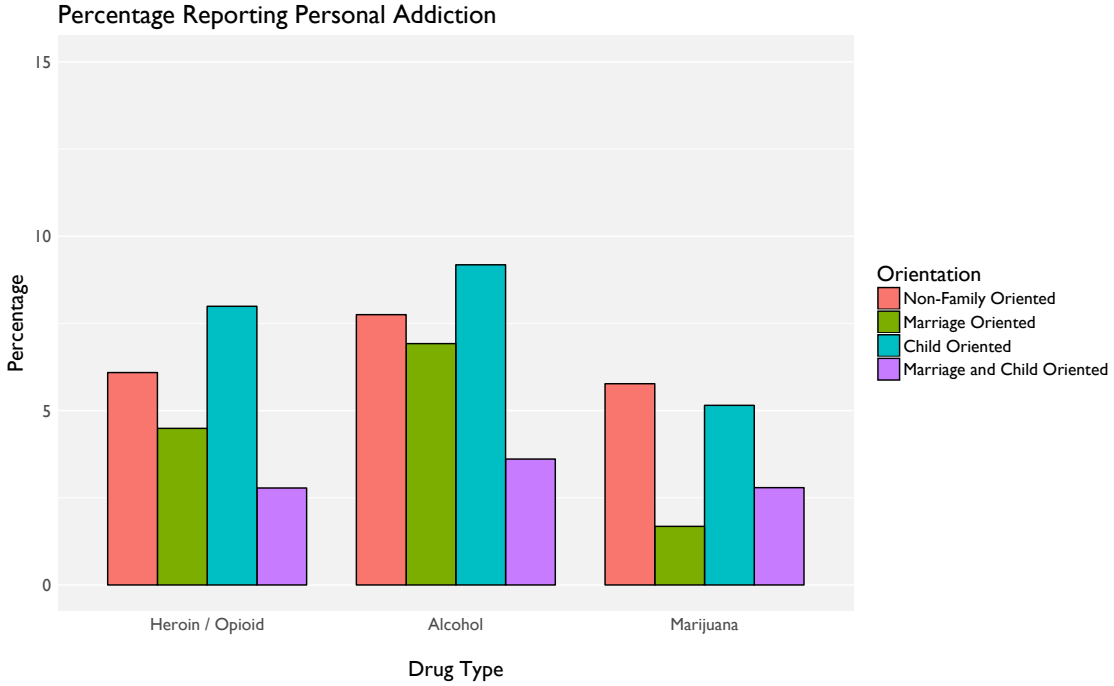

Figure 18: Bars represent the percentage reporting personal addiction by family orientation

7.5 Health Care

How does family experience relate to health care? In this case, the results are profound and they highlight the different nature of the experience with children and the experience with marriage. Figure 19 shows the relationship between family experience orientation and average reported premiums and out of pocket expenses. There is little difference in these two numbers for those not oriented to marriage and children. However, the other groups experience very different arrangements. Those who are oriented only to marriage pay relatively higher premiums (perhaps because of greater economic success and the ability to pay for insurance or receive it through an employer), but pay relatively little out of pocket. Those who experiences have been rooted in children but not marriage have exactly the opposite pattern. They pay relatively less in premiums (often because they are on medicaid or other premium support programs), but pay the most of any category in out of pocket expenses. Those who are oriented to both marriage and children look very similar to the marriage oriented, but generally pay slightly more.

The implications are that health care needs differ by experience. If we are planning on helping children, the most significant costs are probably those being borne by those with relatively little marriage experience. Figure 20 shows exactly how government support bears out that pattern. It shows the relationship between family experience and the percentage of the group receiving insurance subsidies. Among the child oriented, over fifty percent of the respondents reported receiving such subsidies. Though the percentage was also high among those not oriented to marriage and children, it was not over fifty percent. In stark contrast, those with greater marriage experience are far less likely to have needed this support—though, again, we emphasize that different types of family experience exist in all categories.

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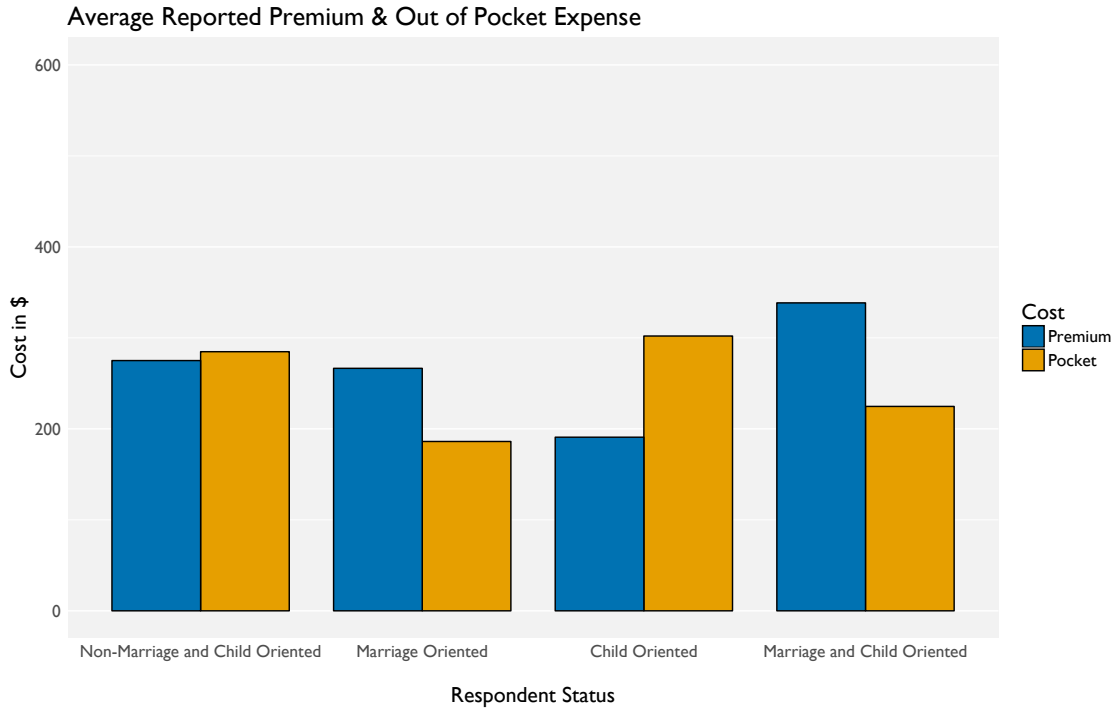

Figure 19: Bars represent the average cost reported by family orientation. Averages include guesses and are capped at $10,000 premiums and $5,000 out of pocket costs which roughly represents trimming the top half of 1 percent of the distribution

Intriguingly, this pattern of need does not perfectly predict one's interest in taxes to help support insurance programs. Those who are the most interested in helping those who struggle to pay for insurance are not the child oriented, but those not oriented to either marriage or children (see Figure 21). It is those with marriage and children experience who are the most likely to favor lower taxes in this tradeoff.

Family experience has significant effects on how people experience health care needs and delivery. Though this has some influence on how they perceive a need for government intervention it is not a perfect predictor.

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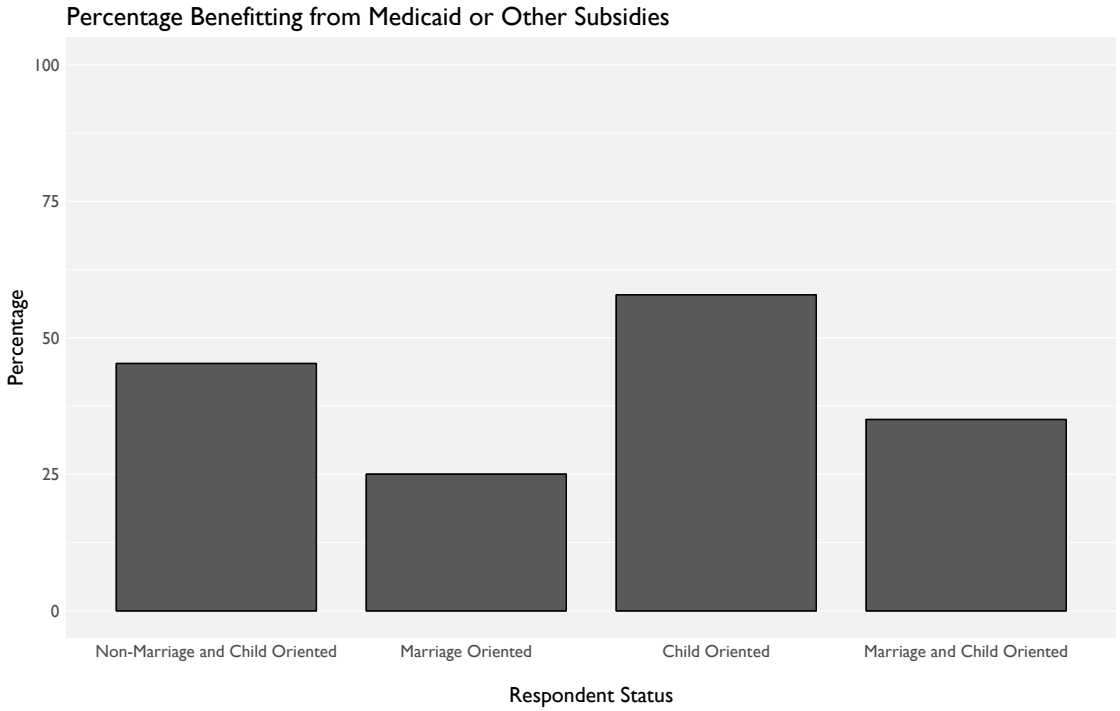

Figure 20: Bars represent the percentage reporting to have benefitted from Medicaid or other health subsidies.

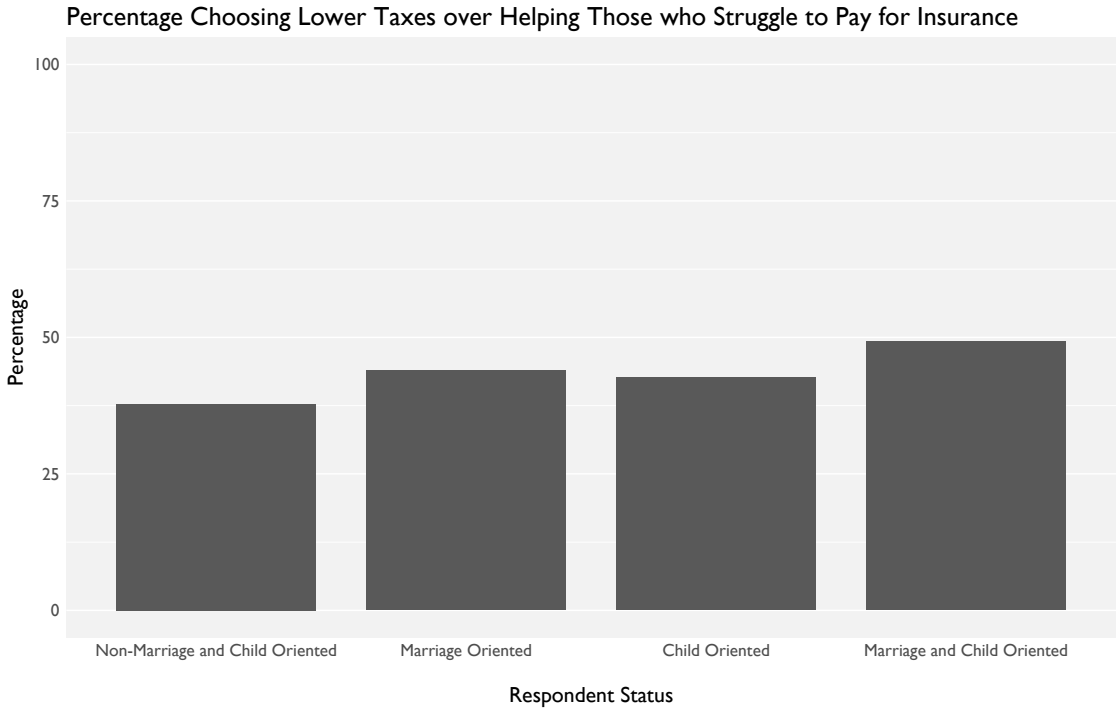

Figure 21: Bars represent the percentage choosing lower taxes over helping those who struggle to pay for insurance

7.6 Immigration Attitudes

Table 37 breaks down the immigration question about birthright citizenship (details discussed above) by family experience. Those who are most likely to favor birthright citizenship are those who are marriage and child oriented, while those most likely to oppose are respondents who are neither marriage nor child oriented.

Table 37: "Do you favor or oppose the following policy? Children of unauthorized immigrants should automatically get citizenship, if the children are born in this country?"

	Oppose
Overall	36
Not Marriage or Child Oriented	25
Marriage Oriented	30
Child Oriented	37
Marriage & Child Oriented	47

Figure 22 displays the results of the deportation experiment discussed earlier by family orientation. When we did not show respondents the text about keeping families together, every group is much more likely to favor deportation, and when respondents did see the text, they stopped favoring the policy as much in every single group. Most affected are the child oriented and the marriage and child oriented: in those two groups, a majority favored deportation when they did not see the text, but when randomly assigned to be reminded about families, the opposition falls well beneath the majority threshold. Clearly those who have children respond strongly to the reminder about keeping families together.

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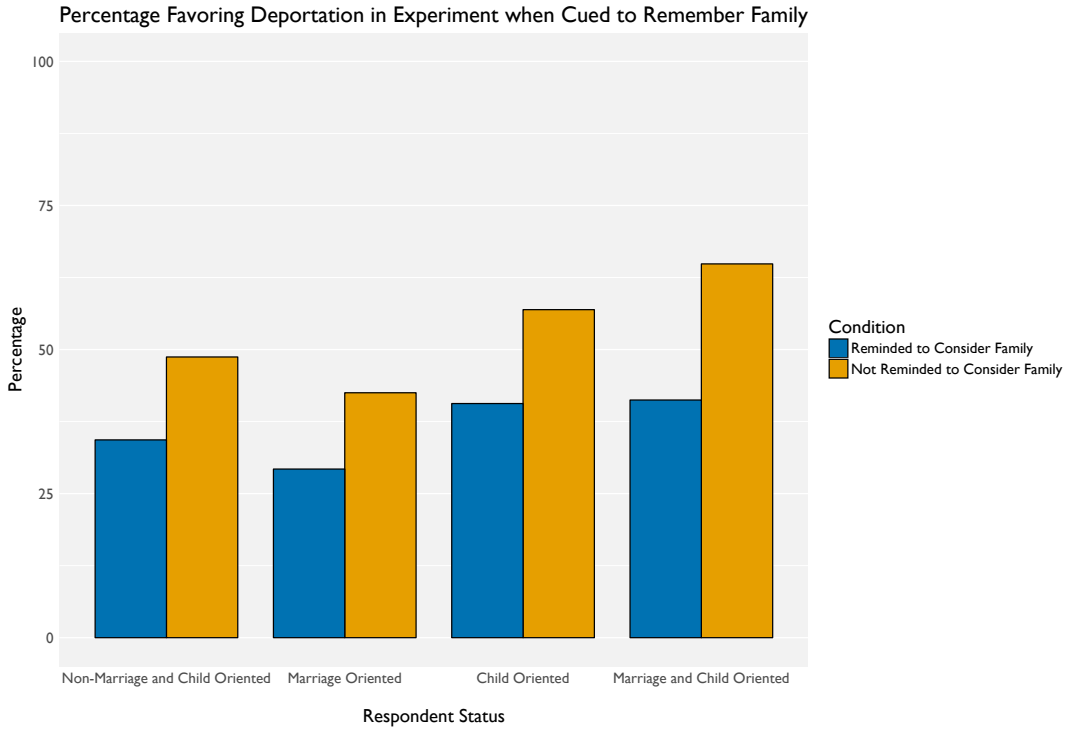

Figure 22: Bars represent the percentage favoring deportation. Blue bars represent the responses with a cue to think about family. Gold bars represent respondents receiving no cue at all.

7.7 Methodological Appendix

Analysis of the available behavioral and, in the case of parents, attitudinal measures about family broke down into two general categories: marriage and child orientations. Below we present the relevant variables and their correlations with each factor. The child model displayed in Table 38 is better behaved and captures fully seventy percent of the variation in the indicators. Those who score above average on this measure are considered high in child experience and orientation.

Table 38: Factor Correlations for the Child Model

	Correlation
Having a Child	0.49
Having More Than One Child	0.45
Time Spent as a Parent	0.45
Having a Child out of Wedlock	-0.43
Parental Identification	0.41

The marriage model displayed in Table 39 is less well-behaved, perhaps because we lack an attitudinal measure in this iteration of the survey about one's commitment to marriage as part of an identity. However, despite this limitation, the model still captures almost half (48 percent) of the variation in the indicators. Those who score above average on this measure are considered high in marriage experience and orientation.

The typology is created by taking those who score high in both measures and labelling them as marriage

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Table 39: Factor Correlations for the Marriage Model

	Correlation
Being Currently Married	0.64
Having Ever Been Divorced	0.24
Having Been Married More than Once	0.40
Time in One's Current Marriage	0.61

and child oriented, those who score low in both measures as not marriage or child oriented and those who score high in only one of the two measures as either marriage or child oriented. The measure is simply meant to capture a type of family experience and does not capture a respondent's personal beliefs about the importance of family or extended family. We do, however, plan to explore this in detail in future iterations.

8 Conclusions

If the state of marriage in American society seems largely consistent with past survey results that should not fool us into believing that what we observe is stasis or homogeneity. While people clearly like marriage and family—or at least rarely dislike these states—it is not the case that everyone partakes equally of the benefits and burdens of marriage and children. In contrast, what we see is that there are many different types of family relationships leading to a wide range of experiences that, in turn, play into a variety of attitudes about family, politics and policy.

One of the major items changing may be a shift away from the importance of cultural threats to the family and towards perceived economic threats to the family. What makes this the most striking is that families are experiencing this in a time of economic opportunity. Perhaps those opportunities are simply not widespread enough. Whatever the cause, stability and security, in the form of health insurance or avoiding addictions, among other things, is not evenly spread across the population. The heterogeneity described above matters a great deal in people's life experiences and opportunities.

We also find significant political differences in how Americans think about families and policies that affect families. While very few people are overtly hostile to marriage and family, we do find meaningful differences in how Americans view the symbolic role of marriage and family life in contemporary society. Sometimes, these differences are explained by other demographic characteristics, such as age or income. Sometimes other patterns or life experiences matter. Confronting a serious medical challenge or facing an economic crisis substantially affects attitudes, for instance. But the most enduring political differences are between Trump voters, Clinton voters, and nonvoters.

Even after we acknowledge those differences, what should remain clear is that people (at least some people) do achieve extraordinary happiness and stability in families—though not necessarily with their own marriages or children. This should underscore the value of marriage and children for society. Consistently, we have found that those who enjoy marriage and children—though the latter only inside of marriage—seem better off in a host of ways, even if they perceive economic threats looming for families. It is the aim of future iterations of this survey to better understand both the benefits and the challenges associated with marriage and children in America.

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9 Appendix: Statement on Methodology

Between August 1 and August 7, 2017, YouGov interviewed 3264 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 3000 to produce the final dataset. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, education, party identification, ideology, and political interest. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2010 American Community Survey (ACS) sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacements (using the person weights on the public use file). Data on voter registration status and turnout were matched to this frame using the November 2010 Current Population Survey. Data on interest in politics and party identification were then matched to this frame from the 2007 Pew Religious Life Survey. The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and ideology. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles.

10 Appendix: Topline Report

What follows is a topline report of all survey questions asked in the 2017 American Family Survey. This topline report was generated by YouGov. Any questions about the survey or the topline should be directed to BYU's Center for the Study of Elections and Democracy (csed@byu.edu).

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BYUC0014

August 2017

Sample	3000 Internet Using Adults (18+)
Conducted	August 01 – 07, 2017
Margin of Error	±2.5%

1. Which best describes your current relationship status?

(N = 3000)

Married	45%
Married, but currently separated from spouse	2%
Not married but living with a partner	11%
Currently in a committed relationship but not living with partner	6%
Not currently in a relationship	35%

2. How long have you been in a relationship with your current spouse?

(N = 1435)

1 year or less	2%
2 to 5 years	9%
6 to 10 years	14%
11 to 15 years	12%
16 to 20 years	12%
21 to 30 years	17%
31 to 40 years	18%
41 to 50 years	11%
More than 50 years	5%

3. How long have you been married to your current spouse?

(N = 1431)

1 year or less	7%
2 to 5 years	13%
6 to 10 years	14%
11 to 15 years	11%
16 to 20 years	10%
21 to 30 years	16%
31 to 40 years	16%
41 to 50 years	10%
More than 50 years	5%

4. Have you ever been divorced or widowed? Check all that apply.
(N = 1431)

Divorced	27%
Widowed	3%
None of the above	70%

5. What year did you most recently get divorced?
(N = 387)

2010-now	11%
2000-2009	23%
1990-1999	22%
1980-1989	27%
1970-1979	14%
1960-1969	2%
1950-1959	-
1940-1949	-
1930-1937	-

6. How long have you been in a relationship with your current partner?
(N = 339)

1 year or less	15%
2 to 5 years	42%
6 to 10 years	22%
11 to 15 years	7%
16 to 20 years	7%
21 to 30 years	6%
31 to 40 years	1%
41 to 50 years	-
More than 50 years	-

7. How long have you been living with your current partner?
(N = 340)

1 year or less	27%
2 to 5 years	39%
6 to 10 years	15%
11 to 15 years	7%
16 to 20 years	4%
21 to 30 years	7%
31 to 40 years	1%
41 to 50 years	-
More than 50 years	-

8. Have you ever been divorced or widowed? Check all that apply.
(N = 340)

Divorced	31%
Widowed	11%
None of the above	59%

9. What year did you most recently get divorced?
(N = 100)

2010-now	40%
2000-2009	27%
1990-1999	25%
1980-1989	5%
1970-1979	2%
1960-1969	-
1950-1959	-
1940-1949	-
1930-1937	-

10. How long have you been in a relationship with your current partner?
(N = 203)

1 year or less	48%
2 to 5 years	34%
6 to 10 years	12%
11 to 15 years	3%
16 to 20 years	2%
21 to 30 years	1%
31 to 40 years	1%
41 to 50 years	-
More than 50 years	-

11. Have you ever been divorced or widowed? Check all that apply.
(N = 203)

Divorced	20%
Widowed	1%
None of the above	79%

12. What year did you most recently get divorced?
(N = 40)

2010-now	26%
2000-2009	23%
1990-1999	36%
1980-1989	13%
1970-1979	3%
1960-1969	-
1950-1959	-
1940-1949	-
1930-1937	-

13. Have you ever been divorced or widowed? Check all that apply.
(N = 1028)

Divorced	28%
Widowed	13%
None of the above	63%

14. What year did you most recently get divorced?
(N = 258)

2010-now	19%
2000-2009	20%
1990-1999	29%
1980-1989	23%
1970-1979	7%
1960-1969	1%
1950-1959	-
1940-1949	-
1930-1937	-

15. How many times have you been married?
(N = 1945)

0	1%
1	70%
2	22%
3	4%
4	1%
5	1%
6	-
More than 6	1%

16. How old were you when you first married?
(N = 1945)

10 to 19 years old	24%
20 to 29 years old	60%
30 to 39 years old	13%
40 to 49 years old	2%
50 to 59 years old	1%
60 to 74 years old	0%

17. Which of the following best describes you at the time of your first marriage?
(N = 1944)

I had not yet graduated from high school	13%
I had graduated from high school	87%

18. Which of the following describes your status at the time of your first marriage? (Check all that apply.)
(N = 1945)

I was working full time	73%
I was attending college or vocational school full time	11%
I was working part time	16%
I was attending college or vocational school part time	6%

19. How many partners have you lived with outside of a marriage?
(N = 3000)

0	56%
1	20%
2	12%
3	5%
4	2%
5	2%
6	1%
More than 6	2%

20. How old were you when you first lived with someone as part of a committed relationship?
(N = 1300)

10 to 19 years old	35%
20 to 29 years old	49%
30 to 39 years old	12%
40 to 49 years old	3%
50 to 59 years old	1%
60 to 65 years old	0%

21. How many children do you have (please include biological, adopted, or step-children)?
(N = 3000)

0	37%
1	15%
2	22%
3	12%
4	7%
5	3%
6	1%
7	1%
8	0%
9	0%
More than 9	1%

22. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 1 - Age
(N = 1820)

0-4	13%
5-11	11%
12-17	11%
18+	65%

23. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 1 - Living in your home or not
(N = 1812)

Yes	42%
No	58%

24. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 1 - Biological, step-child, or adopted?
(N = 1785)

Biological with current partner	49%
Biological with previous partner	41%
Step-child	8%
Adopted	2%

25. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 1 - Gender
(N = 1824)

Male	53%
Female	47%

26. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 2 - Age
(N = 1397)

0-4	9%
5-11	12%
12-17	9%
18+	70%

27. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 2 - Living in your home or not
(N = 1392)

Yes	36%
No	64%

28. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 2 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 1372)

Biological with current partner	51%
Biological with previous partner	38%
Step-child	10%
Adopted	2%

29. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 2 - Gender
(N = 1399)

Male	51%
Female	49%

30. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 3 - Age
(N = 745)

0-4	9%
5-11	12%
12-17	8%
18+	70%

31. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 3 - Living in your home or not
(N = 746)

Yes	31%
No	69%

32. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 3 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 734)

Biological with current partner	44%
Biological with previous partner	35%
Step-child	18%
Adopted	3%

33. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 3 - Gender
(N = 748)

Male	55%
Female	45%

34. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 4 - Age
(N = 370)

0-4	5%
5-11	14%
12-17	6%
18+	75%

35. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 4 - Living in your home or not
(N = 367)

Yes	34%
No	66%

36. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 4 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 362)

Biological with current partner	33%
Biological with previous partner	39%
Step-child	23%
Adopted	4%

37. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 4 - Gender
(N = 369)

Male	49%
Female	51%

38. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 5 - Age
(N = 179)

0-4	6%
5-11	15%
12-17	6%
18+	74%

39. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 5 - Living in your home or not
(N = 178)

Yes	34%
No	66%

40. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 5 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 174)

Biological with current partner	26%
Biological with previous partner	41%
Step-child	31%
Adopted	2%

41. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 5 - Gender
(N = 179)

Male	61%
Female	39%

42. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 6 - Age
(N = 98)

0-4	4%
5-11	12%
12-17	19%
18+	65%

43. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 6 - Living in your home or not
(N = 99)

Yes	34%
No	66%

44. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 6 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 97)

Biological with current partner	19%
Biological with previous partner	37%
Step-child	42%
Adopted	3%

45. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 6 - Gender
(N = 99)

Male	59%
Female	41%

46. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 7 - Age
(N = 51)

0-4	6%
5-11	32%
12-17	5%
18+	57%

47. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 7 - Living in your home or not
(N = 51)

Yes	21%
No	79%

48. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 7 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 49)

Biological with current partner	18%
Biological with previous partner	36%
Step-child	31%
Adopted	15%

49. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 7 - Gender
(N = 50)

Male	61%
Female	39%

50. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 8 - Age
(N = 25)

0-4	35%
5-11	27%
12-17	5%
18+	33%

51. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 8 - Living in your home or not
(N = 25)

Yes	57%
No	43%

52. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 8 - Biological, step-child, or adopted
(N = 25)

Biological with current partner	15%
Biological with previous partner	50%
Step-child	35%
Adopted	-

53. Please tell us about each of your children: Child 8 - Gender
(N = 25)

Male	71%
Female	29%

54. How old were you when you first became a parent?
(N = 1212)

15 to 19 years old	17%
20 to 29 years old	56%
30 to 39 years old	22%
40 to 49 years old	4%
50 to 59 years old	1%
60 to 69 years old	-
70 to 80 years old	-

55. And when you first became a parent, what was your relationship status?
(N = 1823)

Married	70%
Unmarried but in a committed relationship	22%
Unmarried and not in a committed relationship	7%
Unsure	1%

56. Was your mother married or single when you were born?
(N = 3000)

Married	86%
Single	12%
Don't know	2%

57. Which of the following **best** describes what you experienced between birth and age 18?
(N = 2579)

My mother was continuously married to the same person	77%
My mother divorced and then remarried	13%
My mother divorced and never remarried	10%

58. Which of the following **best** describes what you experienced between birth and age 18?
(N = 358)

My mother never married	46%
My mother married after I was born	33%
My mother married after I was born and then was divorced	21%

59. Other than a spouse or your own children, what other relatives currently live with you? Check all that apply.
(N = 3000)

Grandparent	3%
Parent	17%
Sibling	11%
Niece/ nephew	2%
Son or daughter in law	2%
Grandchild	3%
Other	3%
None of the above	73%

60. How satisfied are you with your...?

	Completely satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Don't know / Neutral	Somewhat dissatisfied	Completely dissatisfied	Not applicable	
Job	18%	23%	9%	8%	4%	37%	*(N = 2999)*
Family	49%	31%	8%	7%	3%	1%	*(N = 2999)*
[Marriage | Relationship]	57%	27%	7%	6%	2%	1%	*(N = 1974)*
Life	32%	41%	10%	12%	4%	0%	*(N = 2999)*

61. How likely is it that you will still be in the same marriage or relationship two years from now?
(N = 1974)

Very likely	74%
Likely	11%
Somewhat likely	5%
Neither likely or unlikely	4%
Somewhat unlikely	1%
Unlikely	0%
Very unlikely	2%
Don't know	3%

62. How likely are you to have a child in the next two years?
(N = 1682)

Very likely	11%
Likely	5%
Somewhat likely	6%
Neither likely or unlikely	7%
Somewhat unlikely	5%
Unlikely	9%
Very unlikely	53%
Don't know	5%

63. At any point in the last two years, have you thought that your marriage or relationship was in trouble?
(N = 1973)

Yes	34%
No	66%

64. Would you say that your marriage or relationship is stronger, weaker or about the same as two years ago?
(N = 1859)

Stronger	49%
About the same	42%
Weaker	7%
Don't know	2%

65. Turning to marriage generally, do you feel that marriages in the United States are stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago?
(N = 3000)

Stronger	8%
About the same	41%
Weaker	37%
Don't know	14%

66. How much do you agree or disagree with the following:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
When more people are married, society is better off.	21%	20%	15%	31%	5%	5%	4%	*(N = 2975)*
Marriage is more of a burden than a benefit to couples.	4%	5%	6%	23%	15%	22%	25%	*(N = 2977)*
Marriage is needed in order to create strong families.	27%	20%	16%	17%	8%	7%	5%	*(N = 2969)*
Being legally married is not as important as having a personal sense of commitment to your partner.	17%	17%	16%	19%	10%	10%	11%	*(N = 2976)*
Marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-date.	4%	5%	7%	16%	15%	20%	32%	*(N = 2973)*
Marriage makes families and children better off financially.	24%	23%	19%	24%	4%	4%	2%	*(N = 2979)*

67. Would you say that your family relationships are stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago?
(N = 2997)

Stronger	30%
About the same	54%
Weaker	11%
Don't know	4%

68. Turning to families generally, do you feel that family relationships in the United States are stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago?
(N = 3000)

Stronger	8%
About the same	46%
Weaker	32%
Don't know	14%

69. What are the most important issues facing families today? Pick up to three items.
(N = 3000)

High work demands and stress on parents	27%
Lack of government programs to support families	9%
The costs associated with raising a family	32%
The lack of good jobs	19%
Decline in religious faith and church attendance	21%
Sexual permissiveness in our society	14%
The widespread availability and use of drugs and alcohol	19%
Crime and other threats to personal safety	13%
Change in the definition of marriage and family	15%
Parents not teaching or disciplining their children sufficiently	49%
More children growing up in single-parent homes	28%
Difficulty finding quality time with family in the digital age	21%
Poor quality schools in local communities	7%
Other	2%

70. The following statements are about decision making in your family. Please rate each item as to how often it typically occurs in your home.

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Never	
When we have a problem in our family, we plan together what to do about it.	32%	35%	24%	9%	*(N = 3000)*
In our home it is difficult to decide how to solve a problem because we never agree about anything.	6%	12%	45%	37%	*(N = 3000)*
When we are angry with each other in our family, we tend not to speak to each other for a little while.	9%	17%	51%	23%	*(N = 3000)*

71. There are many different partnership arrangements. We want to know your opinion about the arrangements listed below. Please tell us how much you approve or disapprove of each of the following individual situations:
Respondent in treatment Group 1

	Strongly approve	Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	
Being married and living with a spouse	48%	35%	14%	1%	1%	*(N = 1494)*
Not being married but living with a partner in a committed relationship	14%	35%	30%	14%	7%	*(N = 1494)*
Being divorced	5%	22%	49%	17%	7%	*(N = 1494)*
Never getting married	9%	25%	42%	16%	8%	*(N = 1494)*

72. There are many different partnership arrangements. We want to know your opinion about the arrangements listed below. Please tell us how much you approve or disapprove of each of the following individual situations:
Respondent in treatment Group 2

	Strongly approve	Approve	Neither approve nor disapprove	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	
Being married and living with a spouse	51%	32%	15%	2%	1%	*(N = 1506)*
Not being married but living with a partner in a committed relationship	17%	34%	31%	12%	6%	*(N = 1506)*
Being divorced	6%	22%	52%	12%	7%	*(N = 1506)*
Never getting married	13%	23%	49%	10%	5%	*(N = 1506)*

73. Thinking of your vacations, are they mostly to visit family or mostly for some other purpose?
(N = 2998)

Mostly to visit family	47%
Mostly for some other purpose	53%

74. Different couples organize family and home responsibilities in different ways. What kind of marriage do you think is the more satisfying way of life?
Respondent placed item on scale from 0 - "One where one spouse provides for the family and the other takes care of the house and children" to 100 - "One where both spouses have full-time jobs and both take care of the house and children". (N = 2991)

0-25	17%
26-50	23%
51-75	26%
76-100	34%

75. Thinking about a typical Thanksgiving holiday, who do you usually spend Thanksgiving dinner with? Check all that apply.
(N = 3000)

Immediate family members	73%
Extended family members	36%
Friends	23%
Volunteering	3%
I usually work on Thanksgiving day	4%
Alone	6%

76. As children grow older, parents have different kinds of conversations with their children. Think about times when you had children at home between the ages of 12 and 18. How often did you talk about the following topics with your children?

	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	
Things that are going on in politics or society	29%	43%	19%	9%	*(N = 951)*
Relationships and dating	29%	53%	14%	5%	*(N = 950)*
School and grades	73%	20%	3%	4%	*(N = 950)*
Religious or philosophical beliefs	31%	41%	20%	8%	*(N = 950)*
Sex / the birds and the bees	15%	47%	29%	9%	*(N = 950)*

77. Thinking about yourself, how important, if at all, is being a parent to your personal identity? Would you say it is...
(N = 1823)

Extremely important	41%
Very important	32%
Somewhat important	20%
Not too important	4%
Not at all important	3%

78. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: For me personally, part of being a parent is taking a stand on political issues.
(N = 1822)

Strongly Agree	14%
Agree	28%
Neither Agree nor Disagree	40%
Disagree	13%
Strongly Disagree	5%

79. Would be the ideal situation for you – working full-time, working part-time, or not working at all outside the home?
Respondent in treatment Group 1 (N = 1503)

Full-time	23%
Part-time	41%
Not at all	37%

80. Would be the ideal situation for you – working full-time, working part-time, or not working at all outside the home?
Respondent in treatment Group 2 (N = 1497)

Full-time	43%
Part-time	31%
Not at all	26%

81. Does anyone in your immediate family have an **ongoing or serious** health problem that requires frequent medical care—for example, regular doctor visits, or daily medications? Check all that apply.

	Mental Health	Physical Health	Neither	
Self	16%	35%	56%	*(N = 3000)*
Spouse	7%	38%	57%	*(N = 1431)*
Children	9%	18%	76%	*(N = 1823)*
Other	7%	14%	82%	*(N = 3000)*

82. What type(s) of health insurance do you currently have? Check all that apply.
(N = 3000)

A health insurance plan offered through my employer or a union	38%
A health insurance plan that I bought myself	12%
Medicaid	18%
Medicare	25%
A health insurance plan through any other source (such as military or veteran's coverage or a state insurance plan)	7%
A health insurance plan purchased by my parents	6%
I do not have health insurance	8%
I don't know the source, but I know I have health insurance	2%
I don't know if I have health insurance or not	2%

83. For what reasons do you not currently have health insurance? Check all that apply.
(N = 244)

It is too expensive	74%
I can't find a plan that fits my insurance needs	10%
I do not feel like I need any insurance	12%
The process for getting insurance is too complicated	13%
I can't get coverage or I was refused insurance due to poor health or age	5%
Other	11%

84. Is your spouse or partner on the same insurance plan as you are?
(N = 1605)

Yes	62%
No, my spouse or partner is on a different policy	33%
No, my spouse or partner does not have insurance	4%
I don't know	1%

85. Does your spouse or partner have insurance?
(N = 166)

Yes	46%
No	48%
I don't know	6%

86. What insurance do your children have? If no option fits perfectly, please select the one that BEST describes your situation.
(N = 1810)

They are on the same insurance plan as me	34%
They are on an insurance plan from another parent or step-parent	10%
They are on an insurance plan from some other source like CHIP (Children's Health Insurance Program), Medicaid or another similar plan	32%
They are not on an insurance plan	25%

87. Last month, how much did your immediate family spend on your monthly health insurance premium (not counting doctor's visits or other out of pocket costs)?
(N = 1605)

mean	305

88. Health Care Premium Guess - Please give your best guess.
(N = 1066)

mean	311

89. Last month, how much did your immediate family spend on out-of-pocket health care costs (not counting your regular monthly premium)?
(N = 2045)

mean	319

90. Health Care Cost Guess - Please give your best guess.
(N = 942)

mean	426

91. Your Health Care Needs
(N = 2680)

mean	77

92. Spouse's or Partner's Health Care Needs
(N = 1605)

mean	74

93. Your Children's Health Care Needs
(N = 1660)

mean	57

94. Think about the health insurance policies that cover the people in your immediate family. In the last two years, has your coverage gotten better, worse, or stayed the same?
(N = 2681)

Better	15%
Worse	25%
Stayed the same	60%

95. Below are some characteristics of health care that are important to people. For each pair of characteristics, please indicate which one is MORE important to you. You may feel that both are important, but please choose the one that is MORE important to you.
(N = 3000)

Coverage of pre-existing conditions	Lower monthly costs
57%	43%

96. Below are some characteristics of health care that are important to people. For each pair of characteristics, please indicate which one is MORE important to you. You may feel that both are important, but please choose the one that is MORE important to you.
(N = 3000)

Wider network of doctors	Lower deductibles (the amount you have to pay before insurance covers costs)
28%	72%

97. Below are some characteristics of health care that are important to people. For each pair of characteristics, please indicate which one is MORE important to you. You may feel that both are important, but please choose the one that is MORE important to you.
(N = 3000)

More flexibility to choose not to buy insurance	Making sure that health insurance is accessible to everyone
33%	67%

98. Below are some characteristics of health care that are important to people. For each pair of characteristics, please indicate which one is MORE important to you. You may feel that both are important, but please choose the one that is MORE important to you.
(N = 3000)

Lower tax burdens for most Americans	Helping those who struggle to pay for it afford insurance
44%	56%

99. Please indicate which members of your family have a smart phone, a cell phone that is not a smart phone, or no cell phone at all.

	A smart phone	A cell phone that is not a smart phone	No cell phone	
Self	79%	16%	5%	*(N = 3000)*
Spouse or partner	77%	17%	6%	*(N = 1770)*
Child 1	61%	7%	33%	*(N = 1816)*
Child 2	63%	7%	30%	*(N = 1398)*
Child 3	62%	6%	32%	*(N = 749)*
Child 4	62%	6%	32%	*(N = 373)*
Child 5	59%	9%	32%	*(N = 183)*
Child 6	65%	16%	20%	*(N = 104)*
Child 7	70%	18%	12%	*(N = 55)*
Child 8	28%	23%	48%	*(N = 29)*

100. Take a moment and think about how often you use your phone for any purpose. How many hours on a typical Wednesday do you use your cell phone?
(N = 2859)

30 minutes or less	28%
30 minutes – 1 hour	21%
2 hours	17%
3 hours	10%
4 hours	8%
5 hours	6%
6 hours	3%
7 hours	1%
8 hours or more	6%

101. How often do you use your phone to communicate with the following people?

	Several times a day	Daily	Several times a week	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly or less	
Children	17%	20%	19%	17%	9%	17%	*(N = 1737)*
Spouse or partner	33%	34%	16%	8%	5%	5%	*(N = 1698)*
Other family members	9%	16%	26%	19%	17%	13%	*(N = 2861)*
Friends	9%	15%	26%	20%	17%	14%	*(N = 2862)*
Co-workers	5%	9%	13%	12%	12%	49%	*(N = 2857)*

102. How do you feel about the amount of time you spend on your phone?
(N = 2862)

I spend too much time	23%
I spend about the right amount of time	70%
I spend too little time	7%

103. What limitations do you put on your own personal phone usage? Check all that apply.
(N = 2862)

I put no limits on the amount of time I spend on my phone	49%
I don't use my phone after a certain time at night	22%
I don't use my phone during meals	31%
I don't use my phone during family activities	25%
I limit the total amount of time I spend on my phone	15%

104. What limitations do you put on your children's phone usage? Check all that apply.

	No phones after a certain time at night	No phones during meals	No phones during family activities	No phones until homework or chores are done	Limits on the total amount of time spent on the phone	I put no limits on their cell phone usage	
Child 1	30%	33%	25%	22%	15%	48%	*(N = 388)*
Child 2	33%	32%	27%	25%	16%	46%	*(N = 243)*
Child 3	22%	36%	27%	29%	12%	51%	*(N = 104)*
Child 4	7%	24%	26%	24%	16%	53%	*(N = 59)*
Child 5	23%	24%	14%	32%	13%	45%	*(N = 32)*
Child 6	27%	38%	23%	18%	29%	35%	*(N = 26)*
Child 7	6%	18%	7%	38%	3%	18%	*(N = 12)*
Child 8	12%	18%	2%	13%	2%	42%	*(N = 9)*

105. How often are you able to enforce these limitations?
(N = 308)

Always	57%
Sometimes	36%
Rarely	6%
Never	0%

106. All things considered, what kind of effect does your cell phone have on the following areas of your life?

	A very positive effect	A somewhat positive effect	No effect	A somewhat negative effect	A very negative effect	
Your relationships with family members	22%	24%	46%	7%	1%	*(N = 2862)*
Your social life outside of your family	17%	26%	53%	4%	1%	*(N = 2862)*
Your job	13%	14%	67%	4%	2%	*(N = 2860)*

107. In which of the following situations do you think is it appropriate to use your cell phone?

	Not appropriate	Appropriate	Not sure	
At a family dinner	82%	10%	7%	*(N = 2862)*
At a work meeting	79%	12%	9%	*(N = 2861)*
At lunch with friends	60%	29%	10%	*(N = 2861)*

108. How often do you do the following things on your cell phone?

	Multiple times a day	Once a day	Weekly	Monthly or less	Never	
Avoid interacting with people around you	9%	10%	14%	15%	51%	*(N = 2858)*
Communicate or catch up with family and friends	19%	20%	36%	17%	8%	*(N = 2861)*
Use a social media app like Facebook or Instagram	36%	16%	12%	8%	27%	*(N = 2859)*
Play video games	13%	12%	12%	11%	51%	*(N = 2861)*
Take pictures or record videos of your family	10%	12%	31%	30%	17%	*(N = 2860)*

109. The current federal minimum wage is $7.25 per hour. What do you think the minimum wage should be? Please enter an amount below.
(N = 3000)

$0-$7.25	7%
$7.25-$10	56%
$11+	37%

110. Do you support or oppose increasing the amount of taxes paid by the wealthy?
(N = 3000)

Strongly Support	46%
Support	19%
Neutral	20%
Oppose	10%
Strongly Oppose	6%

111. Do you support or oppose federal funding for Planned Parenthood?
(N = 2999)

Strongly Support	31%
Support	20%
Neutral	20%
Oppose	10%
Strongly Oppose	20%

112. Below are several specific elements included in the health care plan that recently passed in the House of Representatives. Please indicate whether you support or oppose each element of the new plan or if does not make much of a difference to you.

	Strongly Support	Support	Neutral	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	
Eliminates the requirement for nearly all Americans to have health insurance	26%	19%	25%	14%	16%	*(N = 2998)*
Allows states to decide if health insurance companies can charge sick people more than healthy people if they haven't had continuous coverage	10%	14%	20%	21%	34%	*(N = 2999)*
Cuts federal funding for state Medicaid programs that cover lower-income people	8%	11%	23%	16%	42%	*(N = 2998)*
Allows for a wider variety of plans for Americans to choose from	39%	33%	24%	2%	2%	*(N = 2999)*

113. Do you favor or oppose the following policy? Children of unauthorized immigrants should automatically get citizenship, if the children are born in this country.
(N = 3000)

Favor a great deal	24%
Favor moderately	20%
Neither favor nor oppose	19%
Oppose moderately	13%
Oppose a great deal	24%

114. Do you favor or oppose the following policy? Deporting unauthorized immigrants even when it separates family members
Respondent in treatment Group 1 (N = 1525)

Favor a great deal	19%
Favor moderately	19%
Neither favor nor oppose	22%
Oppose moderately	19%
Oppose a great deal	21%

115. Do you favor or oppose the following policy? Deporting unauthorized immigrants
Respondent in treatment Group 2 (N = 1475)

Favor a great deal	34%
Favor moderately	22%
Neither favor nor oppose	22%
Oppose moderately	14%
Oppose a great deal	8%

116. How would you rate government programs - food stamps on a scale?
Respondent placed item on scale from 0 - "Not at all good for families with children" to 100 - "Very good for families with children". (N = 2633)

0-25	12%
26-50	20%
51-75	29%
76-100	40%

117. How would you rate government programs - child care assistance on a scale?
Respondent placed item on scale from 0 - "Not at all good for families with children" to 100 - "Very good for families with children". (N = 2615)

0-25	9%
26-50	19%
51-75	33%
76-100	39%

118. How would you rate government programs - medicaid and other health insurance subsidies on a scale?
Respondent placed item on scale from 0 - "Not at all good for families with children" to 100 - "Very good for families with children". (N = 2590)

0-25	13%
26-50	20%
51-75	24%
76-100	42%

119. Have you or your family ever directly benefitted from the following programs?

	Yes	No	Don't Know	
Food stamps	38%	58%	4%	*(N = 2999)*
Child care assistance	14%	80%	6%	*(N = 2999)*
Medicaid and other health insurance subsidies	41%	52%	6%	*(N = 2999)*

120. In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following because there wasn't enough money? Check all that apply.
(N = 3000)

Were you ever hungry, but didn't eat because you couldn't afford enough food?	15%
Did you not pay the full amount of an important bill (like rent, mortgage, or a utility bill)?	21%
Did you borrow or receive money from friends or family to help pay the bills?	19%
Did you move in with other people even for a little while because of financial problems?	7%
Did you stay at a shelter, in an abandoned building, an automobile or any other place not meant for regular housing, even for one night?	2%
Was there anyone in your household who needed to see a doctor or go to the hospital but couldn't go because of the cost?	16%
None of the above	59%

121. Thinking about the neighborhood you currently live in, please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
People around here are willing to help their neighbors	16%	40%	29%	11%	4%	*(N = 3000)*
This is a close-knit neighborhood	8%	24%	36%	24%	7%	*(N = 3000)*
People in this neighborhood generally don't get along with each other	5%	9%	30%	42%	14%	*(N = 3000)*
People in this neighborhood do not share the same values	7%	18%	44%	24%	6%	*(N = 2998)*

122. Outside of your family, who would you turn to first if you needed help with each of the following issues?

	Nearby neighbors	Religious orgs	Community orgs	Co-workers	Other friends	I generally just rely on myself	
Help with childcare	7%	5%	8%	3%	21%	56%	*(N = 2999)*
Advice about children	3%	7%	5%	5%	27%	52%	*(N = 3000)*
Advice about my relationship	3%	7%	3%	3%	31%	52%	*(N = 3000)*
Financial help	3%	6%	9%	3%	14%	66%	*(N = 3000)*
Taking care of my house or other property	13%	2%	4%	3%	20%	57%	*(N = 3000)*
Transportation to an important appointment	7%	3%	6%	4%	29%	50%	*(N = 3000)*

123. Which of the following best captures how recently your family came to the United States?
(N = 2996)

I was born somewhere else and neither of my parents were born in the U.S.	11%
I was born in the U.S., but one or both of my parents was not born in the U.S.	12%
I was born in the U.S., and both of my parents were born in the U.S.	74%
I was born outside of the U.S., but both of my parents were born in the U.S.	3%

124. Is your spouse or partner a man or a woman?
(N = 1974)

Man	57%
Woman	43%

125. Have you been unemployed in the past 2 years?
(N = 3000)

Yes	46%
No	54%

126. Has your spouse or partner been unemployed in the past 2 years?
(N = 1973)

Yes	36%
No	64%

127. In an average weekday, how many hours are you solely responsible for the care of your children?
(N = 1822)

0	58%
1	2%
2	4%
3	2%
4	1%
5	2%
More than 5	30%

128. Do you pay child support?
(N = 185)

Yes	21%
No	79%

129. How much do you actually pay per month?
(N = 36)

mean	355

130. Do you receive child support?
(N = 184)

Yes	22%
No	78%

131. How much do you actually receive per month?
(N = 35)

mean	465

132. How many sexual partners have you had in the previous two years?
(N = 2993)

0	32%
1	56%
2	4%
3	2%
4	1%
5	1%
More than 5	3%

133. Which of the following best describes your voting behavior?
(N = 3000)

I did not vote in the election this past November	25%
I thought about voting, but did not	5%
I usually vote, but didn't this time	3%
I attempted to vote, but did not or could not	2%
I definitely voted in the general election this past November	65%

134. For whom did you vote for President of the United States in the most recent election?
(N = 2212)

Donald Trump	46%
Hillary Clinton	48%
Other	6%

135. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
(N = 2999)

Republican	27%
Democrat	34%
Independent	38%
Other:	2%

136. Would you call yourself a strong [Republican | Democrat] or a not very strong [Republican | Democrat]?
(N = 1781)

Strong	57%
Not very strong	43%

137. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?
(N = 1038)

Republican Party	20%
Democratic Party	23%
Neither	57%

138. Generally speaking, does your spouse or partner consider themselves a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
(N = 1973)

Republican	30%
Democrat	34%
Independent	33%
Other:	3%

139. Would they consider themselves a strong [Republican | Democrat] or a not very strong [Republican | Democrat]?
(N = 1261)

Strong	57%
Not very strong	43%

140. Would they consider themselves closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?
(N = 609)

Republican Party	19%
Democratic Party	20%
Neither	61%

141. To the best of your knowledge, who (if anyone) in your family abuses or is addicted to alcohol or other substances? Check all that apply.

	Self	Someone in my immediate family	Someone in my extended family	
Alcohol	6%	9%	11%	*(N = 3000)*
Prescription painkillers	3%	5%	6%	*(N = 3000)*
Heroin, cocaine or other street drugs	3%	4%	6%	*(N = 3000)*
Marijuana	4%	7%	6%	*(N = 3000)*

142. To the best of your knowledge, who (if anyone) in your family abuses or is addicted to alcohol or other substances?
(N = 3000)

No one in my family is addicted to any of these substances	80%

143. How confident are you that you could recognize that one of your family members has a prescription painkiller addiction?
(N = 3000)

Not confident at all	15%
Somewhat confident	40%
Pretty confident	27%
Certain	18%

144. How has substance abuse by members of your family affected you in the following areas?

	Major negative effect	Minor negative effect	No effect	Minor positive effect	Major positive effect	
Your physical or mental health	21%	33%	41%	2%	3%	*(N = 586)*
Your relationships with family members	24%	29%	40%	5%	2%	*(N = 585)*
Your job	10%	15%	68%	3%	4%	*(N = 586)*

145. If alcohol or substance abuse has been a problem in your family, how have you dealt with it? Check all that apply.
(N = 586)

I confronted the abuser	36%
I confided in trusted friends or my spouse or partner	28%
I educated myself on the subject	35%
I sought counseling	20%
I staged an intervention	7%
I called the police	9%
I took them to the hospital or called a doctor	12%
I let the family member face the legal consequences	22%
I did not intervene at all	24%
Other	5%

146. From what you know, how big of a problem is drug addition in your community?
(N = 3000)

A very big problem	27%
Somewhat of a problem	40%
Not a problem at all	13%
I don’t know	20%

147. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
"It is safer to get high on prescription painkillers than street drugs."	5%	11%	28%	24%	31%	*(N = 3000)*
"People should be allowed to take any drug they want so long as they don't hurt someone else."	6%	12%	23%	26%	33%	*(N = 3000)*
"Possessing prescription medications (that are not prescribed to you) should carry the same legal penalties as possessing drugs such as crack or heroin."	20%	29%	27%	15%	9%	*(N = 3000)*

148. Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal, or not?
(N = 2997)

Marijuana should be made legal for any reason	46%
Marijuana should be made legal, but only for medicinal purposes	34%
Marijuana should not be made legal	20%

149. How much, if at all, do you hold responsible each of the following for prescription painkiller addictions?

	A lot	Some	Not too much	Not at all	I don't know	
Government policies	17%	27%	23%	17%	16%	*(N = 2997)*
Doctors and hospitals	26%	37%	17%	10%	10%	*(N = 3000)*
Drug companies that manufacture painkillers	26%	25%	19%	19%	11%	*(N = 2999)*
Insurance companies	14%	24%	24%	23%	16%	*(N = 2998)*
People who sell painkillers illegally	59%	19%	7%	6%	9%	*(N = 2997)*
The person addicted to prescription painkillers	48%	29%	9%	5%	9%	*(N = 2998)*
The family of the person addicted to prescription painkillers	9%	23%	29%	27%	12%	*(N = 2999)*

150. How much would you support the following actions to reduce the abuse of prescription painkillers?

	Strongly oppose	Somewhat oppose	Neither support nor oppose	Somewhat support	Strongly support	
Increasing funding for addiction treatment programs and clinics	5%	8%	26%	35%	26%	*(N = 1516)*
Monitoring doctors' prescriptions of painkillers	6%	8%	20%	29%	36%	*(N = 1516)*
Increasing pain management training and research for medical students and doctors	3%	5%	20%	37%	36%	*(N = 1516)*
Legal limits on the amount of drugs that can be prescribed to a person	7%	12%	24%	28%	30%	*(N = 1516)*
Support and treatment education programs for family members of addicted people	4%	5%	22%	38%	31%	*(N = 1516)*

151. Age
(N = 3000)

18-29	22%
30-44	26%
45-64	35%
65+	17%

152. Gender
(N = 3000)

Male	48%
Female	52%

153. Race
(N = 3000)

White	67%
Black	12%
Hispanic	14%
Other	7%

154. Education
(N = 3000)

HS or Less	43%
Some College	32%
College Grad	17%
Post Grad	9%

155. Census Region
(N = 3000)

Northeast	19%
Midwest	22%
South	38%
West	22%

156. Ideology
(N = 3000)

Very liberal	6%
Liberal	19%
Moderate	34%
Conservative	28%
Very Conservative	5%
DK	8%

157. What is your present religion, if any?
(N = 3000)

Protestant	33%
Roman Catholic	21%
Mormon	1%
Eastern or Greek Orthodox	1%
Jewish	2%
Muslim	2%
Buddhist	0%
Hindu	1%
Atheist	5%
Agnostic	6%
Nothing in particular	23%
Something else	4%

158. To which Protestant church or group do you belong?
(N = 1209)

Baptist	32%
Methodist	11%
Nondenominational or Independent Church	19%
Lutheran	9%
Presbyterian	5%
Pentecostal	8%
Episcopalian	3%
Church of Christ or Disciples of Christ	4%
Congregational or United Church of Christ	2%
Holiness	1%
Reformed	1%
Adventist	1%
Jehovah's Witness	1%
Something else	4%

159. Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not?
(N = 3000)

Yes	28%
No	72%

160. Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?
(N = 2999)

More than once a week	8%
Once a week	16%
Once or twice a month	7%
A few times a year	14%
Seldom	23%
Never	31%
Don't know	2%

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161. How important is religion in your life?
(N = 3000)

Very important	37%
Somewhat important	28%
Not too important	14%
Not at all important	21%