

THE AMERICAN FAMILY SURVEY

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THE AMERICAN FAMILY SURVEY

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY TEN YEARS OF DATA ON AMERICAN FAMILIES

Events of the past decade have significantly affected the lives of American families, but there are opportunities for bipartisan action on the challenges they face.

This year marks the tenth fielding of the American Family Survey, a collaborative effort between the Wheatley Institute and Center for the Study of Elections and Democrat at Brigham Young University and the Deseret News. Each year for the past decade, we have asked samples of 3,000 Americans about their own relationship and family experiences as well as their impressions of the health of American marriages and families more generally. The sample is matched to a sampling frame from the U.S. Census and weighted to reflect the population of the United States. The overall survey has a margin of error of +/- 2%. In this year's report, produced as a series of discrete fact sheets highlighting key survey results on such matters as the coalitions for pro-family policies, patterns of family life, and more, we step back to consider what we have learned over the past decade, reflect on new insights from the 2024 AFS, and consider the possibilities and challenges for creating a broad-based political coalition to support American families. Our aim in this report is to provide constructive in-depth analysis of the social and political state of the American family, with additional fact sheet releases scheduled for the coming months.

What has changed over the past decade? For one, the AFS has marked a significant increase in economic concerns and a corresponding decline in worries about cultural concerns that might affect families.

- In 2024, 71% of respondents identified economic challenges as one of the most important issues affecting American families, an increase of approximately 20 percentage points since 2015. One out of two Americans say the cost of raising a family is one of the top three challenges for families today.
- + By contrast, in 2024, fewer than half of Americans cited cultural issues, such as a decline in religious faith or an increase in sexual permissiveness, as a concern, down from 70% in 2015.
- + Concern about structural issues, such as single-parent homes or a lack of parental discipline, have also declined somewhat. The 2024 AFS marked the first time that more Americans chose economic concerns than structural concerns as the most important issue facing American families.



Signal events of the past decade, such as the pandemic or the post-pandemic inflation, have substantially affected the economic lives of American families.

- + Though the actual rate of inflation has cooled in the past two years, it remains a key concern for most Americans. 55% of 2024 respondents say inflation is their top economic worry, and among middle- and lower-income Americans, approximately 6 in 10 worry about inflation. It is a far higher concern than any other economic issue and shows no sign of abating.
- With the substantial government aid distributed during the pandemic years of 2020–2021, many Americans reported a temporary drop in economic crises, such as an inability to pay key bills, a lack of access to medical care because of an inability to pay, or

⁶⁶Among low-income Americans, 56% report that they have experienced an economic crisis in the past year, up from 40% in 2021.⁹⁹

food insecurity. However, by 2024, economic crises rebounded to pre-pandemic levels. Among lowincome Americans, 56% report that they have experienced an economic crisis in the past year, up from 40% in 2021.

Change is not always the main feature of this survey's findings. We also see considerable consistency over the past decade. For one, Americans evaluate their personal relationships very positively but express widespread pessimism about the state of marriage as an institution in the United States. In addition, we find few partisan divisions in Americans' reports of their day-to-day family life, but much larger partisan gaps in attitudes about the importance of marriage and family.

- + In 2024, 47% of married respondents said their own marriage has grown stronger in the past two years, and only 5% say it has grown weaker. But when it comes to evaluating marriages generally, 34% of married respondents say that marriage as an institution has grown weaker in the past two years, while only 11% say it has grown stronger. For reasons that are still not well understood, Americans maintain a great deal of personal optimism side by side with widespread pessimism about the state of marriage as an institution in the United States. And this pattern has held constant over the past 10 years.
- + Close to 9 in 10 parents, whether Democrats or Republicans, believe that "raising children is one of life's greatest joys." Both Republicans and Democrats who are married and have children value their roles as parents and partners much more than other identities, including career, religion, and political party.
- + The day-to-day lives of Democrats and Republicans are very similar in many ways, and they appear to have been that way for some time. Large percentages of all Americans say they eat dinner together as a family at least weekly, do chores together, or regularly spend time doing activities together at home. As worries about partisan polarization increase, it is worth noting that conversations around the dinner table, playing games together, and working together are not the province of one party more than another.



+ When we ask respondents to think about the challenges facing their families, we find few partisan differences. Much larger gaps between Republicans and Democrats emerge when we ask them to think about the challenges facing families generally. For example, Democrats and Republicans are equally concerned about the costs of raising a family when prompted to think about their own families, but when prompted to think about families generally, Democrats are far more likely than Republicans to identify it as a challenge. Similarly, there are few differences between Republicans and Democrats in their concerns about children in their own families growing up without two parents in the home, but Republicans are much more likely than Democrats to name this issue as a problem for American families more broadly.

While precious few Americans are actively hostile to marriage, Republicans strongly support marriage as a cornerstone of strong families, while Democrats tend to prioritize personal commitment over legal status.

+ A majority of Americans believe that marriage makes families better off financially and that it is needed to create strong families. However, Republicans and Democrats disagree about the importance of marriage. For example, nearly 8 in 10 Republicans believe that marriage is needed to create strong families, compared with just 4 in 10 Democrats. While precious few Americans are actively hostile to marriage, Republicans strongly support marriage as a cornerstone of strong families, while Democrats tend to prioritize personal commitment over legal status. Republicans are also more likely to report being currently married than are Democrats, regardless of age. One area of common ground is that majorities of both Democrats and Republicans believe that marriage helps children and families financially.

In light of the partisan similarities and differences in the experience of family life and attitudes about marriage, what are the possibilities for a bipartisan political coalition to support American families? We find some possibilities for common ground, but ideological disagreements mean that Democrats and Republicans each have significant blindspots that complicate the creation of such a coalition.

Republican Blindspots:

- + Republicans are far less supportive than Democrats of government programs designed to help families, even in the face of clear evidence that many Americans feel their families would benefit from them. Programs to expand access to affordable housing, food, and healthcare garner substantial support. Most Americans believe they would be "very helpful" for families in general, and substantial percentages report that they would be helpful for their own families, too. Other programs like private school vouchers or student loan assistance are substantially less popular. Low-income parents are enthusiastic about a variety of different programs and believe that they would be very helpful to their own families.
- + Republicans are also hesitant to support policies aimed at unmarried parents, despite the fact that Republicans tend to worry more about the lack of committed married families. The irony is not lost on us that while wanting people to marry, Republicans are hesitant to give people the support they claim to need.



Democratic Blindspots:

- + Democrats tend to simply be reluctant to privilege marriage as an institution. The research on how families help ameliorate inequality and make the poorest among us better off is quite compelling. The American Family Survey, too, shows that married couples are far less likely to find themselves in the lowest income categories, which means the children of married parents are far less likely to experience substantial economic vulnerability as they grow up. But Democrats seem hesitant to support marriage as an institution or two-parent households as important familial structures that benefit children.
- + Democrats seem to worry about being judgmental or restrictive of diverse family forms, despite evidence that marriage helps families financially and shields children from economic hardship.

Ideological divisions thus complicate the creation of a bipartisan family coalition. Republicans tend to emphasize strengthening cultural and structural aspects of families (such as the need for marriage), while downplaying the need for important social programs that could benefit families. Democrats focus on expanding those social programs, but are comparatively reluctant to embrace traditional family structures like marriage that can provide important benefits to children. Republicans want the institution to be widely accepted but are reluctant to help make the institution attractive. Democrats want the benefits of the institution, but are reluctant to commit to the institution of marriage itself. In our view, this is a problem. Because the U.S. constitutional system requires long-term majority support for policies to endure, the key point for those who want to support families is to convince Democrats and Republicans to move past their blindspots. The obvious obstacles to a bipartisan coalition could well mean that the nation fails to take action that would support families and children.

Republicans want the institution to be widely accepted but are reluctant to help make the institution attractive. Democrats want the benefits of the institution, but are reluctant to commit to the institution of marriage itself.

What are the possibilities for creating such support for American families? While ideological differences are likely to be a barrier, focusing on economic concerns — which are recognized by both Democrats and Republicans as key challenges for families — may provide a common foundation for bipartisan collaboration. In addition, data from this survey suggests that moderate Republicans and Democrats, especially those in both parties who attend religious services regularly, could serve as pivotal players in bridging partisan gaps. This group tends to value traditional family structures and simultaneously express openness to government policies designed to assist struggling families of many different varieties.

Finally, in 2024, we also asked about support for various state-level policies, including bans on social media, gender-affirming care for minors, and abortion policy. We find a great deal of complexity and uncertainty in patterns of support for these policies. To the extent that disparate views across the parties exacerbate social and political divisions, these issues also may hinder the ability to forge broad coalitions to support American families.



Many Americans believe that social media is a problem, but there is little consensus on what to do about it. About 46% of Americans support a ban for children under the age of 16, while 31% oppose such a policy. Nearly a quarter of Americans say they don't know whether they support or oppose. Republicans (53%) are slightly more likely than Democrats (41%) to support a ban. Those who attend church frequently (54%) are also more likely than those who rarely or never attend church services (41%) to support a ban. The bottom line is that even though many people

66 Many Americans believe that social media is a problem, but there is little consensus on what to do about it.??

- favor a ban, equal or larger percentages of Americans say they don't know or oppose it.
- + Public opinion about gender-affirming care for young people experiencing gender dysphoria is evenly divided, and there is much still to learn about public opinion on this issue. About 40% support laws preventing hormone therapy for minors, but 36% oppose. One-quarter of Americans say they don't know, presumably wanting to learn more about the options and the consequences. The distribution of opinion is similar in states that currently have bans and in states that do not. Republicans (59%) are much more likely than Democrats (23%) to support bans, but close to one-third of Democrats say they don't know. Parental status also matters, with parents of children under 18 more likely to support bans than those who are not currently parenting young children. Democratic parents of young children (36%) are twice as support to bans than Democrats who do not currently have young children (18%), though in no case does support come close to majority levels among Democrats.
- + Opinion about abortion policy remains nuanced, with most Americans supporting access within certain timeframes but favoring at least some restrictions and time limits. The extremes of opinion about this issue do not garner much public support. Only 4% of Americans consistently oppose all access to abortion, while only 7% consistently want abortion to be fully legal. Pro-choice advocates are right to say that the public wants women to have access to abortion, but pro-life advocates are also right to say that the public favors limits. The specific limit seems to vary according to the baseline circumstances respondents have in mind when they answer the survey question. As we ask different types of questions and offer different response options, it becomes clear that abortion is a complex and cross-cutting issue for many voters.

It is difficult to keep up with family policy when ideas, proposals, and possibilities are often changing. But a few things seem clear after ten years of this project. People worry about families generally, but they are happy with their own family. People want the government to help families, though building the kind of coalition necessary to do so is likely to be difficult and require people to remove some partisan blinders. And people are concerned about how their kids are doing, but they are not really sure what types of policies will help those kids out. Family life and family policy do not offer simple answers to these types of questions, but in our view, the family and its power to help people remains a very important institution, even an answer, for many of society's problems.



THE MOST IMPORTANT CONCERNS FOR FAMILIES

Over the past ten years, Americans have grown increasingly concerned about the economic challenges facing families.

1 out of 2 Americans say the cost of raising a family is

today.

one of the top three challenges for families

Most Important Issues Facing Families

	Issues	% choosing each item as one of the top 3 issues
Economic	The costs associated with raising a family	50%
	High work demands and stress on parents	33%
	Lack of government programs to support families	16%
	The lack of good jobs	14%
Cultural	Decline in religious faith and church attendance	20%
	The widespread availability and use of drugs and alcohol	15%
	Crime and other threats to personal safety	15%
	Sexual permissiveness in our society	13%
Family Structure	Parents not teaching or disciplining their children sufficiently	40%
	More children growing up in single-parent homes	25%
	Difficulty finding quality time with family in the digital age	21%
	Change in the definition of marriage and family	12%

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: What are the most important issues facing families today? Pick up to three items.

Since 2015, the American Family Survey has assessed Americans' views about the most important issues facing American families by presenting respondents with a curated list of 12 potential items, from which they could choose up to three. The list can be organized under three broad topics — economic issues, cultural issues, and family structure. Survey respondents saw the items only, not the topic labels, in random order.

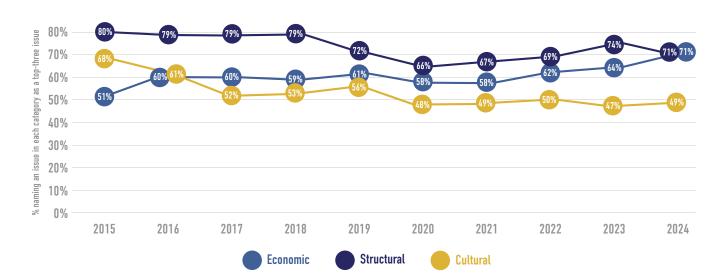
For most of the past ten years, structural issues have outpaced economic or cultural concerns, driven primarily by the large percentage of Americans who express worry about "parents not teaching or disciplining their children sufficiently."



But the past decade has seen important changes in the issues Americans identify as the most important concerns facing families. For one, cultural concerns have declined significantly. In the first year of the American Family survey, nearly 7 in 10 respondents selected at least one item in that category. In 2024, fewer than half of respondents chose an item in that category, and no single item in the list of cultural concerns was chosen by more than 20% of respondents.

By contrast, more American families now worry about economic issues. In 2015, just over half of survey respondents chose an item in that category. But economic stresses steadily increased in the ensuing decade. In 2024, for the first time, more Americans selected at least one economic concern (71.4%) than a structural concern (70.6%), with both the costs of raising a family and high work demands and stress on parents counting as especially important worries. Evidently, many Americans have concluded that the dynamics of the current economy are not especially family-friendly.

When COVID was dominating the news and people were concerned about jobs and putting food on their tables, it was possible to see this trend as a reaction to that crisis. But we are now so far from that event that it is clearly not the main reason economics dominates the thinking of more and more Americans. For all the attention to social and "culture war" issues, fewer and fewer Americans see those issues as key concerns for American families.



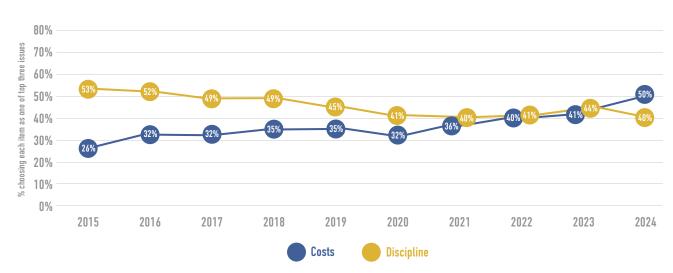
Most Important Issues Facing Families 2015-2024

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: What are the most important issues facing families today? Pick up to three items. Curated list of 12 response options listed above.



The decade's changing patterns of concern can be seen more clearly by focusing on two discrete issues from the curated list: "the costs associated with raising a family" and "parents not teaching or disciplining their children sufficiently." As the figure below demonstrates, about one-quarter of 2015 AFS respondents identified costs as one of the most pressing issues facing American families. By 2024, that number had nearly doubled, with exactly half of respondents choosing the item — by far the most of any item on the list. By contrast, worries about parental discipline have steadily declined, from a high of 53% in 2015 to 40% in 2024. Discipline is still the second most frequently selected item, but it is now a full 10 percentage points behind worries about costs.



Most Important Issues Facing Families: Costs vs. Discipline 2015-2024

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: What are the most important issues facing families today? Pick up to three items. Curated list of 12 response options listed above.

Increasing concerns about economic issues also have a partisan dimension. Democrats consistently express more concern about the economic challenges facing families than do Republicans. In 2015, for example, we found a 25 percentage-point gap between Republicans and Democrats. Though this gap remains in 2024, both Democratic and Republican levels of concern have increased over time. In 2024, for the first time ever, majorities of both parties said economic concerns are one of the most important issues facing families.

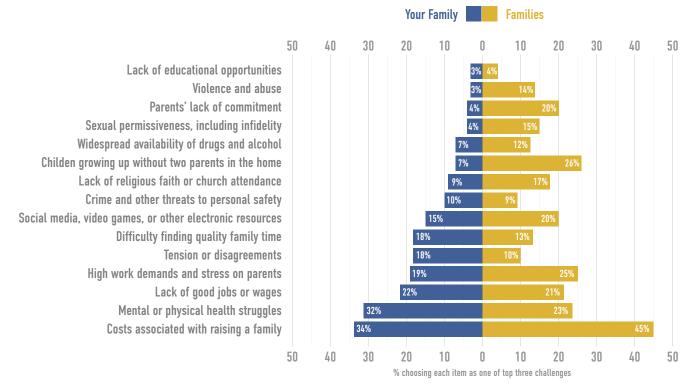
Beginning in 2023, the American Family Survey introduced an updated list of response options to include new challenges facing families today. In both 2023 and 2024, we randomly assigned 1,000 respondents to answer the traditional question analyzed above and 2,000 respondents to choose from new set of 15 potential family challenges, allowing them to choose up to three. We asked half of these respondents to identify the most important challenges facing **your family** today and the other half to identify the challenges facing **families** today. Thus, one randomly chosen set of respondents focused on their own families, while the other considered the challenges of American families more broadly.



The new curated list of potential challenges introduced a variety of new potential family concerns not present on the traditional list, including mental or physical health struggles, tensions or disagreements between family members, parents' lack of commitment to each other, and violence and abuse within the family. The items on the new list can be roughly divided into three categories: structure and relationships (children growing up without two parents in the home; violence and abuse within the family; tension or disagreements between family members; parents' lack of commitment to each other; and difficulty finding quality family time), economics (high work demands and stress on parents; the costs associated with raising a family; the lack of good jobs or wages; lack of educational opportunities; crime and other threats to personal safety), and culture (lack of religious faith or church attendance; the widespread availability of drugs and alcohol; social media, video games, or other electronic resources; mental or physical health struggles; sexual permissiveness, including infidelity).

Most importantly, this new approach, with its random assignment to two different questions, allows us to distinguish between the concerns family members have about their own families and the concerns they have about the health of the American family more broadly.





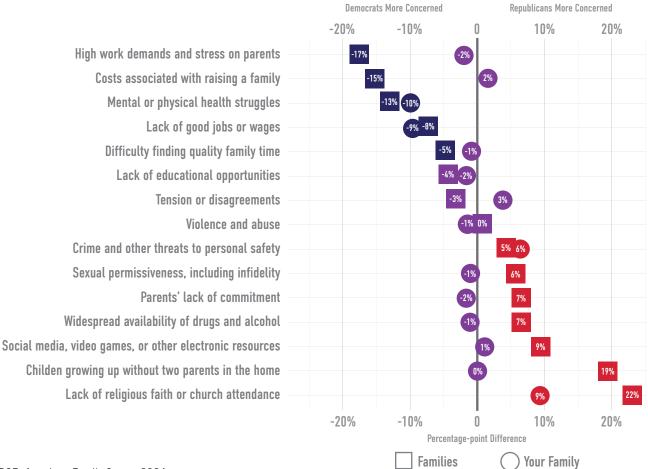
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024. QUESTION WORDING: What are the most important challenges facing [your family/families] today? Pick up to three items.



Large percentages of Americans identified the high cost of raising a family as a key challenge, whether they are reflecting on families generally (45%) or on their own family (34%). Similarly, about 1 in 5 Americans chose the lack of good jobs or wages, regardless of the question wording. If we aggregate the statements by the categories indicated above, two-thirds of Americans chose at least one item in the economics category. These concerns reflect the high level of worry that was also evident in the responses to the traditional question we analyzed earlier. Notably, such widespread economic concern exists even though very few respondents pointed to a lack of educational opportunities as an issue for families.

Question wording also matters a great deal. The pattern of responses varies substantially, depending on whether respondents focus on their own family or families generally. Americans do not tend to see issues like violence and abuse, parents' lack of commitment to each other, infidelity, drugs or alcohol, and children growing up without two parents in the home as key challenges for their families, but they do regard them as problems for families in the United States more generally. In other words, Americans see these as concerns, but more for other people's families than for their own. At the same time, respondents who received the "your family" question were somewhat more likely than those who received the "families" question to emphasize difficulty finding quality family time, tensions or disagreements between family members, and mental or physical health struggles as being important. Americans tended to perceive these as important issues for their own family, but were slightly less likely to identify them as broader challenges facing families across the United States.

Party Differences in Perceptions of Family Challenges



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: What are the most important challenges facing [your family/families] today? Pick up to three items.

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Aggregating responses by category, 64% of respondents chose at least one of the items in the economic list as an important challenge for their family. By contrast, 43% chose at least one element of family structure and relationships and 54% identified cultural issues, driven primarily by mental and physical health struggles. Among those assigned to think about families more generally, 70% chose at least one economic issue; 63% identified a structural issue, and 66% selected at least one cultural issue.

Finally, some important partial differences emerged in these assessments, but those differences are mostly among those who received the question asking them to reflect on families generally. The partial divides are substantially smaller among respondents asked to think about their own families.

In the figure above, the gray line indicates no partisan differences in responses to the question. Blue points to the left of 0 indicate issues where more Democrats than Republicans expressed concern, while red points to the right of the line indicate greater concern among Republicans. Purple points are those where the partisan difference is small — less than 5 percentage points.

The key finding to emerge from this analysis is that there are very few partisan differences among respondents asked to reflect on their own families' challenges. Democrats report more concern than Republicans about their family's mental or physical health struggles and about a lack of good jobs or wages for their family members. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to emphasize a lack of religious faith or church attendance in their family and are slightly more worried than Democrats about crime and other threats to personal safety. But for all other challenges in our curated list, the partisan differences among those who received the "your family" version of the question are small to nonexistent. Even where we do find differences, they never exceed 10 percentage points. When we examine partisan differences in the three categories of potential challenges, no difference exceeds 2 percentage points.

These relatively small gaps are dwarfed by the partisan differences among respondents asked to think about families generally. When asked to think globally, not personally, Democrats express substantially more worry than Republicans about families' economic and health challenges. Republicans express more worry than Democrats about social and cultural issues, such as a lack of religious faith, single-parent homes, and the effects of social media, video games, and other electronic resources. To a lesser extent, they are also more worried than Democrats about the availability of drugs and alcohol, parents' lack of commitment to their families, and parents' lack of commitment to each other.

Analysis of the aggregate categories shows that more than three-quarters of Democrats assigned to think about families generally named an economic challenge, compared with two-thirds of Republicans. By contrast, 70% of Republicans named a structural challenge, and 75% chose at least one cultural challenge. The corresponding percentages for Democrats are 57% (structural) and 59% (cultural) — still majorities, but substantially smaller than among Republicans.



The 2024 patterns that we report here are very similar to what we found when we first introduced this new approach in 2023. In both years, we see far more agreement than disagreement among Americans asked to consider the challenges facing their own families. This is consistent with our finding that the day-to-day family life of Americans does not differ much across party lines. But when prompted to think about American families more broadly, these similarities disappear. Partisans focus on different sets of challenges and concerns, with Democrats pointing to economic challenges and Republicans emphasizing social and cultural issues. As we wrote in 2023, these findings do not mean that anyone is wrong to be concerned about any of these issues; it is, rather, that people's views of the American family — but not their concerns about what they see in their own homes and personal experiences — are refracted through partisan lenses.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope with research assistance by Ellie Mitchell



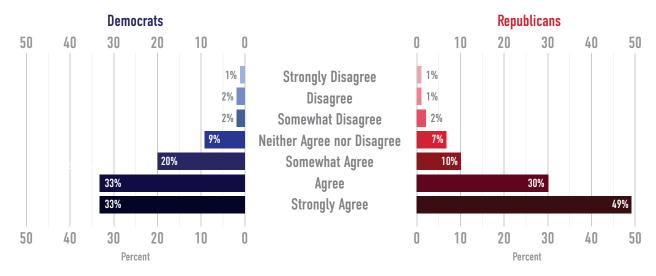
FAMILY LIFE IN RED & BLUE

There are very few partisan differences when it comes to day-today family activities.

of Democrats of Republicans

say they eat dinner together with their families at least once a week.

Both Democrats and Republicans Agree that "Raising Children Is One of Life's Greatest Joys"



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with the statement "Raising children is one of life's greatest joys? Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree.

Much of the political and media discourse today emphasizes the stark political divide between "red" and "blue" America, but when it comes to day-to-day family life, we find few differences between Democrats and Republicans. Over the past decade of the American Family Survey, our consistent finding is that "red" and "blue" families describe their lives at home and their commitments to their families in remarkably similar ways.

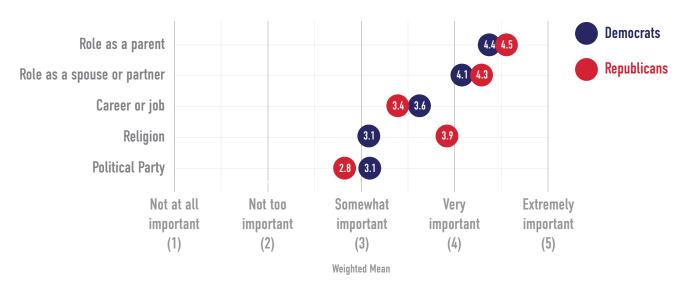
Both Democrats and Republicans with young children say family life brings them a great deal of satisfaction. For example, in the 2024 American Family Survey, among parents with children under 18, 86% of Democrats and 89% of Republicans agree that "raising children is one of life's greatest joys." (Among married respondents, even higher percentages of both groups agree.) Republicans are more likely than Democrats to "strongly agree" with this statement, but overall, the evidence is overwhelming that both are committed to their children and find raising children, even with its stresses and challenges, to be a source of happiness.



Similarly, among married respondents who have children under 18, 87% of Democrats and 85% of Republicans say they are "somewhat" or "completely" satisfied with their relationships. And in 2024, when asked to rate the strength of their relationships, about half of both married Republicans (45%) and married Democrats (50%) say their marriage is stronger (as opposed to the same or weaker) than two years ago. This result is consistent with previous years. In none of the past 10 years of the American Family Survey has there been there a large divide in partisans' evaluations of the strength of their own marriages.

Such satisfaction may emerge in part because both groups report spending time working on their relationships. In the 2024 data, 69% of married Democrats and Republicans with children reported that they "discuss their relationship with each other" at least monthly. Similarly, 66% of Democrats and 60% of Republicans who are in a relationship (whether married or not) say they go out with their partners at least a few times a month. In other words, both Republicans and Democrats report that they enjoy their relationships and spend time attending to them.

Additional evidence of the importance of relationships and children for both Republicans and Democrats can be seen in how they evaluate the importance of different identities in their lives. We asked about a wide variety of potential identities, and we focus here on family, career, religious, and partisan identities. In the analysis below, we focus on Republicans and Democrats who are married and have children under 18, given that those questions were asked only of respondents who had children or were in a relationship.



How important is each of the following to your identity?

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How important are the following things to your personal identity? Based on Republicans and Democrats who are married and have children under 18.



Both Republicans and Democrats value their identities as parents and spouses a great deal. (Independents, not shown in order to highlight partian similarities, tend to be very similar to Democrats in these assessments.) In fact, these family-based identities are the only identities that average above 4 (very important) on the 5-point scale. The differences between partiasns in their rating of the importance of these family identities are very small. Much larger differences occur with respect to religious identities, which is not surprising, given that Republicans tend to attend religious services more often than Democrats. Importantly, for both Republicans and Democrats, partiasn identities turn out to be far less important than identities connected to family roles.

In other words, both "red" and "blue" Americans who are married and have children value their family-related identities as parents or partners much more than other identities, including the religious or partisan identities that are so often the focus of the nation's public discourse.

Over most of the past 10 years, the American Family Survey has also included questions about activities families might do together. This battery of questions has been an attempt to understand day-to-day life in American homes. The figure below shows the percentage of Americans who report doing each activity at least weekly. Here our analysis includes all survey respondents, not just those who are married and have children.



Frequency of Family Activities 2015-2024

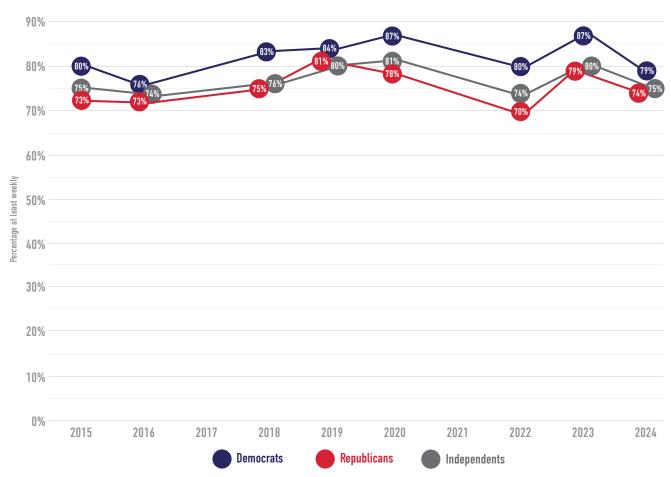
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How often does your family...? Numbers indicate the percentage of respondents who report doing each activity at least weekly. *Response options: Never, Yearly or less, A few times a year, About once a month, Weekly, A few times a week, Daily. *Note: In 2024, response options changed to include "a few times a month." These are included in the "weekly" count for that year. Based on all Americans.



The clear take-home over a decade of asking these questions is that large majorities of Americans say they eat dinner together, spend time at home watching TV or a movie or playing games, and doing household chores at least weekly. By contrast, fewer Americans say they worship weekly, argue, or go out to events or activities for a family member. For the latter two activities, the lower levels may be because such events or activities do not occur every week.

There are very few partisan differences when it comes to these activities. We find no distinct "red" or "blue" family tendencies in how often they eat together, work together, or spend time together at home, and these similarities have been consistent over the past decade. The vast majority of American families, whether Democrats, Republicans, or Independents, devote time to family activities at least once a week or more. In this sense, the dayto-day life of the family is something Americans really do have in common.



Eating Dinner Together as a Family 2015-2024

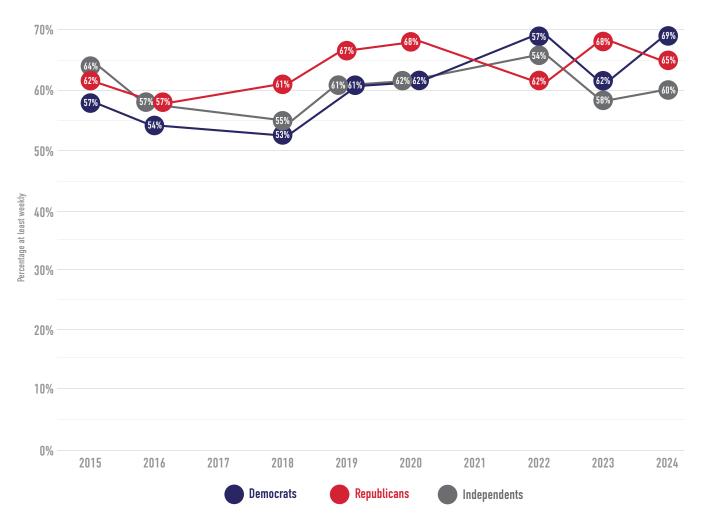
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How often does your family eat dinner together? Numbers indicate the percentage of respondents who report doing each activity at least weekly. *Response options: Never, Yearly or less, A few times a year, About once a month, Weekly, A few times a week, Daily. *Note: In 2024, response options changed to include "a few times a month." These are included in the "weekly" count for that year.



Doing Chores Together

2015-2024



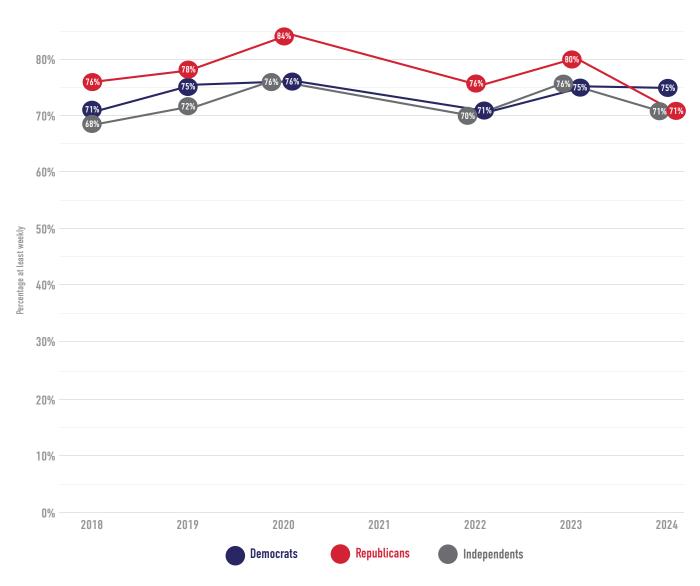
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How often does your family do household chores together? Numbers indicate the percentage of respondents who report doing each activity at least weekly. Response options: Never, Yearly or less, A few times a year, About once a month, Weekly, A few times a week, Daily. *Note: In 2024, response options changed to include "a few times a month." These are included in the "weekly" count for that year.



Watching TV or Movie or Playing Games as a Family





SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

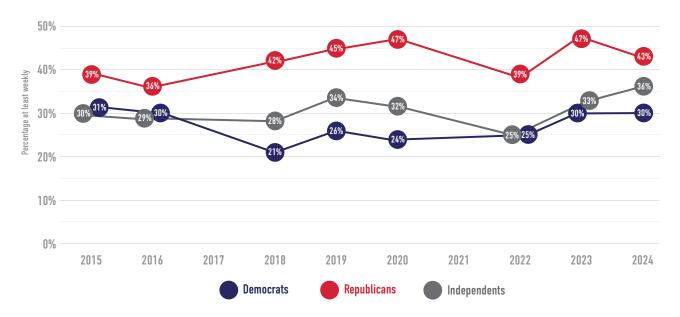
QUESTION WORDING: How often does your family participate in activities together at home (watch TV, watch a movie, play games, etc.)? Numbers indicate the percentage of respondents who report doing each activity at least weekly. Response options: Never, Yearly or less, A few times a year, About once a month, Weekly, A few times a week, Daily. *Note: In 2024, response options changed to include "a few times a month." These are included in the "weekly" count for that year.



Of course, these results do not mean there are no partisan differences in family life. The most glaring has to do with frequency of worship. Just as we saw in the partisan gap in the importance of religious identities, Republicans are substantially more likely than Democrats to say that they worship together at least weekly. (We did not ask about any specific form of worship or inquire whether such worship occurred in a formal church denomination or informally at home.)

As the figure below shows, the size of the gap has varied from year to year, but in some years, it has exceeded 20 percentage points. More recently, it has ranged between 13 and 17 percentage points. Notably, less than a majority of both Republicans and Democrats say they worship weekly as a family. Still, in the 2024 data, about 3 in 10 Democrats say they worship as a family on a weekly basis, and nearly half say they never worship together. Among Republicans, about 4 in 10 worship at least weekly, and only 3 in 10 say they never worship together.

It is easy for the occasionally breathless coverage of things like religion and politics to make it seem like the parties are monolithic, though that is far from the case. Democrats are not uniformly secular: 27% of them attend services at least a couple of times a month, and the higher number of Republicans who do this (45%) does not negate the importance of that quarter of the party. Indeed, since 42 percent of Black Democrats report going to religious services that often, the segment of the party that is quite "churched" is quite important.



Worshipping as a Family 2015-2024

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How often does your family worship together? Numbers indicate the percentage of respondents who report doing each activity at least weekly. Response options: Never, Yearly or less, A few times a year, About once a month, Weekly, A few times a week, Daily. *Note: In 2024, response options changed to include "a few times a month." These are included in the "weekly" count for that year.



We also find important differences in the attitudes partisans have about the meaning of the family or the importance of marriage (see "<u>Attitudes About Marriage and Family</u>"). And there are important differences in the extent to which Republicans and Democrats get married. In the 2024 data, for example, 42% of Democrats reported being currently married, compared to 54% of Republicans, and these differences are not merely a function of age.

But amid persistent "culture war" disputes, many aspects of family life are not a function of partisanship. Perhaps it should go without saying that both Republicans and Democrats care for their romantic partnerships and children, but as worries about partisan polarization increase, finding some points of common interest and value strikes us as worth emphasizing. Both Democrats and Republicans love their children and find joy in raising them, value family-based identities like being a parent or a partner much more than partisan identities, and spend time each week in meaningful family activities. Conversations around the dinner table, playing games together, and working together are not the province of one party more than another. Ten years of the American Family Survey have shown us that when it comes to the day-to-day life of partners, parents, and children, there is precious little evidence of a dramatic partisan divide.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope with research assistance by Ellie Mitchell



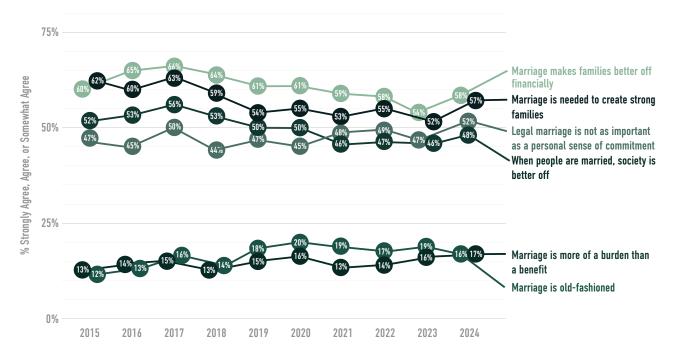
ATTITUDES ABOUT MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Republicans and Democrats disagree about the importance of marriage to creating strong families and healthy societies, but most agree it helps families financially.

8 in 10 vs. 4 in 10 Republicans

believe that marriage is needed to create strong families.

Attitudes About Marriage 2015-2024



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree. Percentages indicate any level of agreement, including somewhat agree, agree, or strongly agree.

Despite the striking similarities in the day-to-day family lives of Republicans and Democrats (see "<u>Family Life in</u> <u>Red and Blue</u>"), American attitudes about family and especially marriage are not shared across party lines. The experience of marriage also differs between Republicans and Democrats, with 42% of Democrats in the 2024 AFS reporting that they are currently married, compared with 54% of Republicans. These differences are not merely the result of differences in age. When we restrict the sample to those over 30, 50% of Democrats report being currently married, compared with 60% of Republicans.



Over the past 10 years, the American Family Survey has also included a battery of questions designed to measure Americans attitudes about marriage, its importance, and its role in promoting positive social outcomes. Specifically, we asked survey respondents how much they agree or disagree with the following statements:

- When more people are married, society is better off
- Marriage is more of a burden than a benefit to couples
- Marriage is needed in order to create strong families
- Being legally married is not as important as having a personal sense of commitment to your partner
- Marriage is old-fashioned and out-of-date
- Marriage makes families and children better off financially

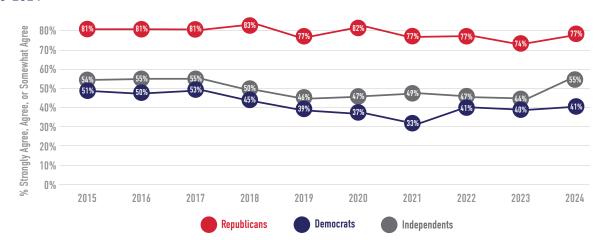
Respondents indicated their level of agreement on a 7-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, and in the analysis below, we report the percentage of respondents who strongly agree, agree, or somewhat agree with each statement.

The findings reveal majority support for many elements of marriage, though in recent years, such support never exceeds 60%. Most Americans believe that marriage has financial benefits for families and that it is needed to create strong families. Slightly less than a majority agree that society is better off when more people are married. But Americans also value a personal sense of commitment to a relationship, and a majority believe that such personal commitment is more important than legal marriage.

At the same time, highly negative statements about marriage do not garner much support. Fewer than 1 in 5 Americans believe that marriage is more of a burden than a benefit or that marriage is old-fashioned and out of date. However, support for those opinions has risen by about 5 points since 2015 — and more in some years.

The majority support for many of the statements about marriage masks substantial partisan divisions in public opinion. For example, close to 8 in 10 Republicans believe that marriage is needed to create strong families, compared with 4 in 10 Democrats. One-third of Republicans strongly agree with the statement, while only 9% of Democrats do. And among Democrats, agreement of any kind with this statement has declined by about 10 percentage points in the last decade. (Support among Republicans has also declined slightly, but the decline is less dramatic.) Put simply, the vast majority of Republicans believe that marriage is essential to healthy family bonds, while far fewer Democrats believe the same thing.



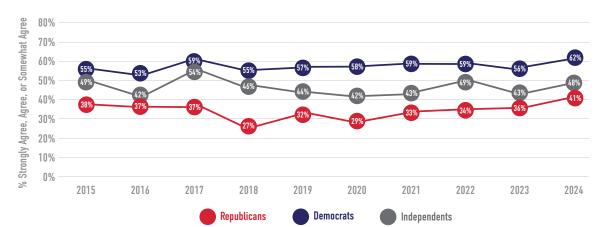


Agreement that Marriage is Needed to Create Strong Families 2015-2024

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Marriage is needed in order to create strong families. Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree. Percentages indicate any level of agreement, including somewhat agree, agree, or strongly agree.

This lack of support among Democrats does not mean that they care little for healthy relationships or that they do not support those who choose to get married. Rather, Democrats are simply less willing to say that marriage is necessary or that the legal contract of marriage is critical. When asked to choose which is more important, legal marriage or a sense of personal commitment, most Democrats emphasize personal commitment. Most Republicans, by contrast, choose the opposite. One interpretation of these findings is that Democrats want to avoid being judgmental about those who choose different relationship paths, whereas Republicans see marriage as being a goal toward which relationships should strive.



Agreement that Commitment to Partner is More Important than Legal Marriage 2015-2024

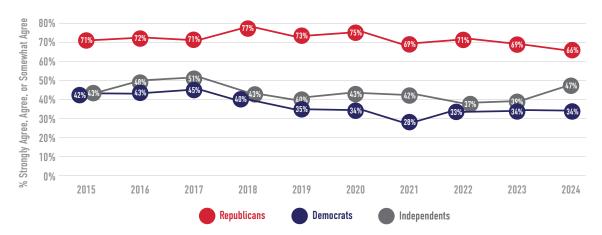
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Being legally married is not as important as having a personal sense of commitment to your partner. Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree. Percentages indicate any level of agreement, including somewhat agree, agree, or strongly agree.



In recent years, we have also asked Americans whether marriage is "for life, come what may." Again, the partisan divide is large. Nearly three quarters (73%) of Republicans agreed with that statement in 2024, compared with less than half (47%) of Democrats. A little less than 30% of Republicans strongly agree with the statement; about 13% of Democrats share such strong agreement.

These differences have implications for partisans' visions of what makes for healthy societies. About two-thirds of Republicans agree that when more people are married, society is better off. In contrast, only one-third of Democrats agree with the statement, down from over 40 percent in the first few years of the American Family Survey. (Agreement has also declined somewhat among Republicans, though less so.) If we limit the analysis to only those who are currently married and have children at home, the gaps persist, though are not quite as large: in 2024, a little more than 70% of married Republicans with children agreed that society is better off when more people are married, compared with 46% of married Democrats with children. By contrast, only about one quarter of unmarried Democrats without children agreed with the statement. Married Democrats with children, then, are about 20 percentage points more supportive of marriage as an important part of a thriving society than Democrats who are single and do not have children, but on the Democratic side, support among married parents still does not cross the majority threshold.



Agreement that Marriages Make Society Better Off 2015-2024

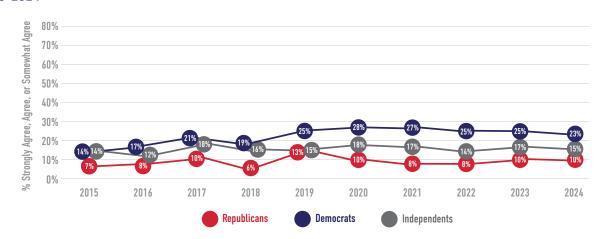
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following? When more people are married, society is better off. Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree. Percentages indicate any level of agreement, including somewhat agree, agree, or strongly agree.

Republicans are also more likely to prioritize marriage over career as a key to happiness. In 2024, we introduced a new item to our marriage attitudes index: "Marriage is more important than a career to finding happiness." Overall, a little more than 4 in 10 Americans agree with that statement, and about 10% strongly agree. About 6 in 10 Republicans agree, with nearly 20% strongly agreeing. In contrast, about one-third of Democrats agree, and fewer than 6% strongly agree. If we focus on the attitudes of those who are currently married, agreement among Republicans remains at about 60%, while support among Democrats increases to a little more than 4 in 10 – still less than a majority.



Does this mean that Democrats are actively hostile to marriage? Not quite. In 2024, for example, only 20% of Democrats agreed that marriage is more of a burden than a benefit, compared with 14% of Republicans. Fewer than one quarter of Democrats believe that marriage is old-fashioned and out of date, compared with about 10% of Republicans. We might add that 4 in ten Democrats are currently married, suggesting that the institution has a certain appeal regardless of how people answer these questions. Nonetheless, concerns about the contemporary relevance of marriage has increased among Democrats by nearly 10 percentage points (and more than that in some years) since 2015.



Agreement that Marriage is Old-fashioned and Out of Date 2015-2024

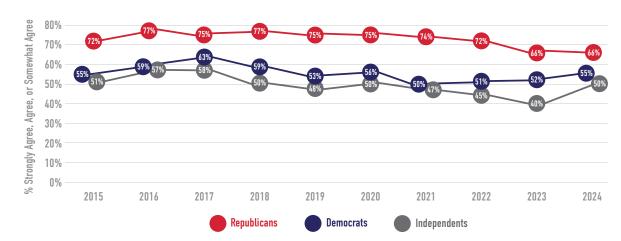
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Marriage is old-fashioned and out of date. Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree. Percentages indicate any level of agreement, including somewhat agree, agree, or strongly agree.

In 2024, we also asked for the first time whether Americans believe "there are more advantages to being single than to being married." Only 22% of Republicans agreed with the statement, with less than 4% strongly agreeing. About 30% of Democrats agreed, and less than 5% strongly agreed. Large percentages of both Democrats (35%) and Republicans (27%) said they neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement, however.

Do Democrats and Republicans share any beliefs about marriage? The one place where we see majority support among partisans on both sides of the aisle is the idea that marriage has financial benefits for families and children. In the 2024 data, two thirds of Republicans agree, and 55% of Democrats also agree. A gap persists, but it is substantially smaller than for the other marriage attitudes. In every year of the American Family Survey, a majority of Democrats have expressed support for the idea that marriage strengthens the economic foundation for families and children.





Agreement that Marriage Helps Children and Families Financially 2015-2024

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How much do you agree or disagree with each of the following? Marriage makes families and children better off financially. Response options: Strongly disagree, Disagree, Somewhat disagree, Neither agree nor disagree, Somewhat agree, Agree, Strongly agree.

A decade of American Family Survey data highlights stark partisan divides in perceptions of the importance of marriage to creating strong families, healthy societies, or even personal happiness. Marriage is seen by the vast majority of Republicans as a social good that should be a key relationship milestone. While most Democrats are not actively hostile to marriage, they are more likely to embrace a variety of different approaches to relationships, with a sense of personal commitment being far more important than the legal status of the relationship. At the same time, majorities of both Democrats and Republicans do agree that marriage has some financial benefits that may be important for children. This area of agreement could be especially important for policymakers concerned about protecting children from poverty or other forms of economic distress.

 $-By\ Christopher\ F.\ Karpowitz\ and\ Jeremy\ C.\ Pope\ with\ research\ assistance\ by\ Ellie\ Mitchell$



EVALUATIONS OF MARRIAGE

Married Americans tend to feel that their own marriages are growing stronger, but they are far more pessimistic about the trajectory of marriages generally in the United States.

of married respondents say their own marriage is growing stronger.

47%

of married respondents say the same of marriages generally.



Views of Own Marriage 2015-2024

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Would you say that your marriage or relationship is stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago? Based on those who are currently married, including those who are separated from their partners.

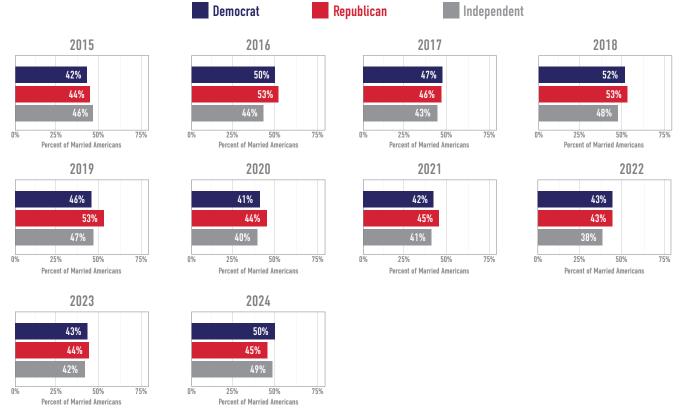
Over the past decade of the American Family Survey, we have asked married Americans to evaluate the strength of their own marriages and of marriage in America more generally. When asked to evaluate the trajectory of their own marriages over the past two years, Americans tend to offer positive evaluations. The vast majority report that their marriages are either about the same or stronger, with between 4 and 5 in 10 respondents saying that their relationships are growing stronger. At no time in the past decade did more than 8 percent of respondents say their marriages had grown weaker.

We find little evidence of partisan disagreement in these evaluations. In nearly every year of the survey, the percentage of Republicans and Democrats saying their marriages had grown stronger in the past two years was nearly identical.



Views of Own Marriage

Percent who say their marriage is stronger 2015-2024



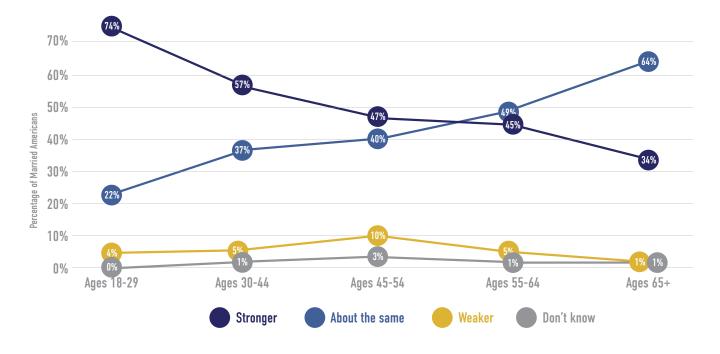
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Would you say that your marriage or relationship is stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago? Based on those who are currently married, including those who are separated from their partners.

To the extent that assessments of marital strength differ, it is primarily by age. In 2024, for example, 75% of married respondents under 30 felt their marriages had improved in the past two years, but only one-third of those over 65 reported stronger marriages. This does not mean that older Americans believe their marriages are growing weaker. Instead, they are much more likely to feel that their marriages have remained "about the same" over the past two years. In other words, young respondents, who are more likely to be at the beginning of their relationships, see a more positive trajectory when they evaluate the past two years. Older Americans, who are more likely to be settled in long-term marriages, are more likely to feel that their marriages are holding steady. Outright pessimism about marriage trajectory is rare, though it is highest among married respondents between 45 and 54.







SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Would you say that your marriage or relationship is stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago? Based on those who are currently married, including those who are separated from their partners.

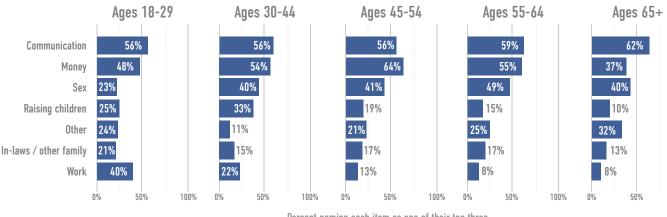
These generally positive assessments also emerge when we ask whether respondents think their marriage has been "in trouble" at any point in the last two years. In 2024, three-quarters of married respondents said no, and only one-quarter said yes.

We followed up with those who said their marriage has been in trouble by asking about the biggest stressors in their marriage, allowing them to select up to three items from a list of seven. By far the most common stressors were communication (58%), money (53%) and sex (41%). Raising children (21%), other (21%), in-laws or other family (16%), and work (16%) were chosen less frequently.



Marriage Stressors Among Those Worried About Their Marriage

Percent naming each item as one of their top three



Percent naming each item as one of their top three

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: What have been the biggest stressors in your marriage? Select up to three. Based on married Americans who say their marriage has been in trouble during the last two years.

Again, partisan differences tend to be small to moderate. A lower percentage of Republicans (50%) than independents (62%) or Democrats (63%) chose communication as a stressor, and Republicans were somewhat more likely than independents and Democrats to identify sex as a relationship stressor (46% vs. 31% and 41%, respectively).

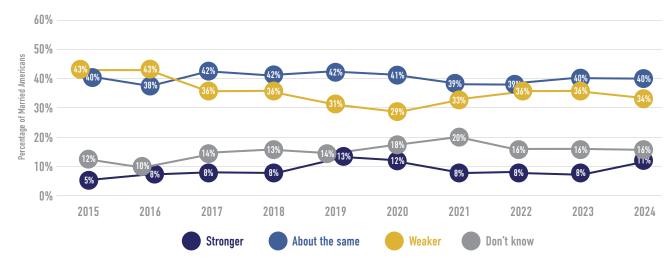
Instead of partisan differences, we mostly find life cycle differences in the challenges that stress marriage. For example, worries about money peak in middle age and are somewhat lower among both young and older couples. Fewer young marrieds worry about sex, but those concerns increase by age, peaking in late middle age. Relationship stresses associated with work and raising children are more common among younger couples and decline significantly in middle age. The exception to this pattern is communication. Across all age groups, majorities of respondents who worry about their marriage being in trouble cite communication as a key stress.

In addition to their own marriages, we also asked respondents to evaluate the trajectory of marriages generally in the United States. And across a decade of the American Family Survey, we find a very different pattern when Americans look outside of their own relationships to the state of marriage as an institution. Whereas a high percentage of married respondents think their own marriage has become stronger in the past two years and very few feel it has become weaker, the pattern is exactly the opposite when those same people evaluate marriage generally. Around 4 in 10 judge marriages generally to be growing weaker over the past two years, and only a small percentage - often in single digits - believe the institution of marriage is growing stronger.



Views of Marriages Generally

2015-2024



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Turning to marriage generally, do you feel that marriages in the United States are stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago? Based on those who are currently married, including those who are separated from their partners.

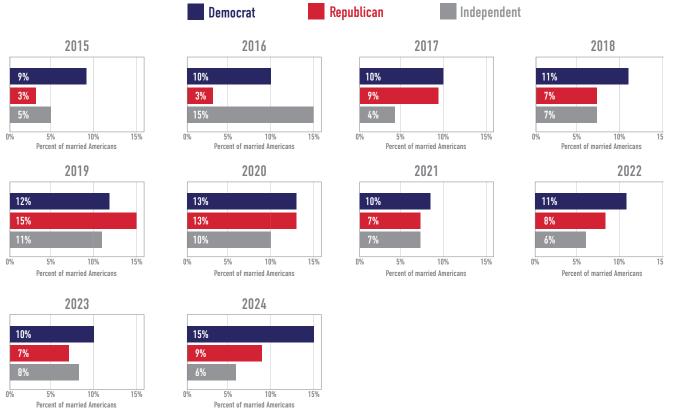
The most optimistic married respondents are younger, but even among those between 18-29, fewer than 1 in 5 say that marriage is growing stronger, while more than one-third believe it is growing weaker. Older Americans are especially pessimistic. Among married Americans over 55, only 4% believe that marriage is growing stronger, while about 4 in 10 believe it is growing weaker.

Both Republicans and Democrats express pessimism about the strength of marriages generally. However, Democrats tend to be slightly more optimistic than Republicans. Across the past decade, in only one year (2019) were Republicans slightly more optimistic than Democrats. Even so, the partisan differences tend to be small in magnitude — at most 6-7 percentage points.



Views of Marriages Generally by Partisanship

Percent who say marriage generally is stronger 2015-2024



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Turning to marriage generally, do you feel that marriages in the United States are stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago? Based on those who are currently married, including those who are separated from their partners.

The striking finding is the difference in Americans' evaluations of their own marriages, compared to marriages generally. Widespread pessimism about the state of marriage as an institution in the United States is simply not reflected in Americans' evaluations of the relationships they know best. This feature of public opinion — more optimism about things that are close to home and more pessimism about global evaluations — is not unique to evaluations of marriage, and the result does not mean that the institution of marriage does not need strengthening in important ways. Nor does it mean that every marriage is a success, given that one-quarter of marriade respondents say they have worried about their marriage's survival in the past two years. And given that some marriages don't end up surviving, perhaps when married people evaluate the strength of marriages, they are thinking about those that end in divorce. Still, this pattern does mean that there are reasons for optimism that are not always reflected in headlines about marriage as an institution.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope with research assistance by Ellie Mitchell



ECONOMIC WORRIES & BIASES

There is a reason Republicans spent so much time talking about inflation in 2024: Though it may have slowed, it is still the top worry for Americans, with a majority "very worried" it will affect their family finances.

Personal Finances & Economic Worries

In 2024 the American Family Survey continued a practice of asking about people's economic worries. The pattern of worries reflects events of recent years well. Inflation is unquestionably the largest worry on the horizon with 55% of the public saying they are "very worried." No other category tops a majority.

they are "very worried' about inflation.

Economic Issue	Percent "Very Worried"
Inflation	55%
Rising Tax Bills	43%
Interest Rates	35%
National Debt	33%
Unemployment	25%
Lack of Government Assistance	25%

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How worried are you that each of the following will affect your family finances in the coming year? (Response options: very worried, somewhat worried, not worried. Asked of all Americans.)

In fact, if you combine the "very worried" and "somewhat worried" categories, 88% of the public is worried. This is as close to universal as things get in survey research. The other issues just do not see the same level of concern. This is, in most respects, a reflection of the actual economy. Though the rate of inflation has decreased substantially, prices are still high. Other concerns like interest rates and unemployment are less likely to be areas of concern, and public attitudes reflect that.

Inflation is also generally a universal concern. Race, church attendance, gender, family status and other variables tend not to affect the percentage worrying — though there are two exceptions to this general pattern. First, it is worth knowing that though all income categories are concerned about inflation, the relatively well-off (incomes over \$100,000 per year) are the least worried.





Worry About Inflation by Income Level

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

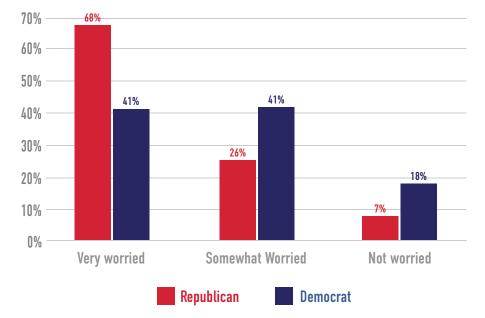
QUESTION WORDING: How worried are you that each of the following will affect your family finances in the coming year? (Response options: very worried, somewhat worried, not worried. Asked of all Americans.)

Thus, while it is everyone's concern, the groups feeling most affected tend to be middle- and low-income groups. This is intuitive as resources to deal with inflation are ready to hand for those in the top income category. Rising ground beef prices are harder to absorb on an income of \$35,000 per year.

There is one other demographic that affects worries over inflation, and it is slightly different: partisanship. A strong majority (68%) of Republicans are very worried, while only 41% of Democrats fit this description. It is not that inflation is somehow targeting Republicans; they are just more motivated to give this response. And it is clear that the GOP was responding to this in the election by harping on inflation at a record pace. The Wesleyan Media Project reported that inflation was among the most talked about issues: "[Trump] has mentioned the economy, inflation, and gas prices in nearly all of his 40,000 ad airings (as of early September)." That was a far higher rate than he discussed immigration, as a point of comparison.

One well-known theory of survey responses is that people give answers that are near the "top of their head" — a metaphor for people picking relatively simple and easy-to-consider answers. And that is probably what is happening here. Republicans, who have thought a lot about ways in which the country is going wrong (under Democrats, naturally), have inflation as a problem near the top of their minds. Democrats, who are far less likely to worry about the state of the country right now, are simply less likely to be concerned about this problem and therefore less likely to give a response concerned with inflation. With Donald Trump now in the White House, we could expect the pattern to flip.





Worry About Inflation by Political Party

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: How worried are you that each of the following will affect your family finances in the coming year? (Response options: very worried, somewhat worried, not worried. Asked of all Americans.)

While it is important to understand the bias in people's responses, we note for the record that Democrats still clearly think inflation is the most important economic problem out there. For instance, only 22% are "very worried" about unemployment. Only 27% are similarly worried about interest rates, and just 20% are similarly concerned about the national debt. Whatever biases exist in the responses, inflation unambiguously remains the top economic concern for most Americans.

Political scientists will debate the causal impact of this inflation over the next few years. Measuring just how much it may have swung the election is no simple matter, but there is little doubt that it was far from ideal for the Harris campaign, and Democrats generally, in 2024.

As a check on the issue, we also asked the question in a slightly different way: "During the next year or two, do you expect that your household income will keep up with prices or fall behind prices?" People could answer that they expected their incomes to keep up with prices, they expected them to fall behind, or they didn't know. Their answers were quite similar in tone to their answers about what worries them. Just 23% of Americans think their income will keep up. In contrast, 51% of Americans think their personal income will fall behind.

We wondered if the answers would vary by marital status or family arrangements, but found only weak evidence of that. Fifty-four percent of parents think they will fall behind, and 46% of non-parents think the same. This difference of 8 points bears watching. It may be the case that families are slightly harder hit by inflation, but the difference not only disappears when one controls for income, it actually reverses: 53% of low-income parents think their income will fall behind prices, and 59% of people without kids have the same fear. Income is what matters here.



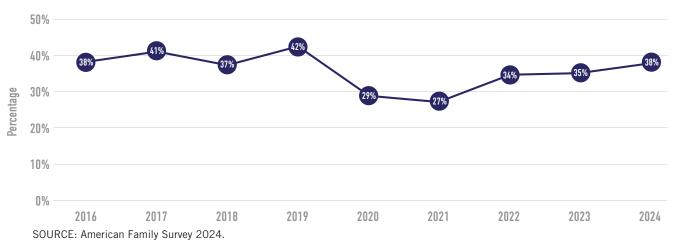
There is a lesson here for anyone running in the future: Politicians who are not worried about inflation — even though the rates of change are down — are a bit out of step with their constituents. It is tempting to believe this is a problem we are past, but the public does not agree. True, there are partisan biases in this data (as in many other forms of data), but the sentiment is a near-universal one and the savvy consumer of public opinion data knows this is an issue that should not be ignored — in 2024 and likely in the future as well.

 $-By\ Christopher\ F.\ Karpowitz\ and\ Jeremy\ C.\ Pope\ with\ research\ assistance\ by\ Emma\ Thomas$



The percentage of Americans experiencing an economic crisis has returned to pre-pandemic levels after dropping dramatically in 2020 and 2021. 4 in 10 people say they have experienced an economic crisis in the last 12 months.

Individuals Experiencing an Economic Crisis 2016-2024



QUESTION WORDING: In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following because there wasn't enough money? Check all that apply. (See response options in the text.)

Since 2016, the American Family Survey has included a series of questions exploring Americans' experiences with significant economic challenges. Specifically, we asked whether, in the past 12 months, the respondent has experienced any of the following economic crises:

- Were you ever hungry, but didn't eat because you couldn't afford enough food?
- Did you not pay the full amount of an important bill (like rent, mortgage, or a utility bill)?
- Did you borrow or receive money from friends or family to help pay the bills?
- Did you move in with other people even for a little while because of financial problems?
- 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?
- 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?

In many years, as many as 4 in 10 Americans have experienced at least one of these crises. Perhaps surprisingly, the percentage experiencing crisis dropped dramatically in 2020 and 2021, though these pandemic years were also accompanied by substantial aid to families. As such aid subsided, the percentage of respondents reporting a crisis increased again, and in 2024, the percentage returned to a level roughly on par with pre-pandemic patterns.



Economic Crises by Income Group 2016-2024



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following because there wasn't enough money? Check all that apply. (See response options in the text.)

Not surprisingly, the experience of economic crisis varies considerably by income group, though all income groups experienced the pandemic decline followed by a subsequent rebound. Still, Americans making less than \$40,000 per year appear to be dramatically more likely to experience a crisis than those whose annual household incomes exceed \$80,000. In 2024, for example, 56% of low-income respondents reported experiencing at least one crisis, compared to only one-quarter of the high-income group — a difference of more than 30 percentage points.

Family structure and the presence of children also affect Americans' levels of economic vulnerability. In the 2024 data, married respondents were nearly 20 percentage points less likely to experience a crisis than nonmarried respondents, regardless of whether or not they were parents of young children. Still, the presence or absence of children also matters: whether among married or unmarried respondents, having children increased the likelihood of experiencing a crisis by approximately 17 percentage points. The group least likely to have experienced a crisis, then, is married Americans without children, while the group most likely to report a crisis is unmarried respondents with young children in the household. Nearly 60% of those respondents said they had experienced a crisis in the past year. Clearly, the economic life of this group is quite precarious.

However, among the lowest-income Americans with young children, being married makes little difference to the experience of economic challenge: approximately two-thirds of those respondents told us they had experienced one of the economic crises on our list, regardless of marital status. Even so, married respondents are simply far less likely than unmarried respondents to find themselves in the lowest household income category. Among respondents with children, only 13% of married respondents reported being in the lowest income category, compared to 52% of unmarried respondents. Conversely, nearly 6 in 10 married respondents reported household incomes above \$80,000. In other words, while both married and unmarried parents of young children in the lowest income category experience economic crises at similar rates, marriage is also strongly correlated with higher household incomes.



Marriage, Children, and Economic Crises

Percent experiencing an economic crisis

	Children under 18 in household	No children under 18 in the household
Married	40%	23%
Not Married	59%	42%

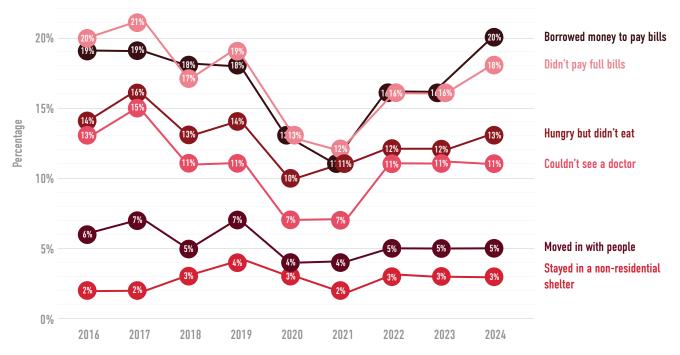
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following because there wasn't enough money? Check all that apply. (See response options in the text.)

What specific types of economic crises are most common for respondents in our sample? Around 1 in 5 respondents in the full sample said they had to borrow money to pay bills or did not pay the full amount of a bill they had received. A little over 1 in 10 Americans said they were hungry but could not afford food or were unable to see a doctor because of the cost. A smaller percentage – though still as many as one in twenty – struggled with housing and had to either move in with friends or family or (less commonly) stay at a shelter. Notably, the pandemic aid that many Americans received in 2020 and 2021 appears to have made a significant difference in Americans' ability to pay bills and eat sufficiently. Those indicators of crisis dipped substantially during the pandemic and have since returned to pre-pandemic levels.

Prevalence of Economic Crises

2016-2024



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following because there wasn't enough money? Check all that apply. (See response options in the text.)



Ten years of monitoring self-reports of significant economic challenges yields several important insights. First, economic crises are common: in most years, approximately 4 in 10 Americans report experiencing at least one of the challenges on our list, with an inability to pay bills being the most frequent concern.

Second, government support for families makes a meaningful difference: during the years of pandemic assistance, levels of economic crisis dipped substantially, returning to their former levels after the assistance ended.

Third, marriage appears to insulate families from these crises, in part because marriage is associated with higher incomes — and high-income Americans are better able to pay their bills and have access to housing and health care. Among parents with young children in the home, marriage is associated with a nearly 20-point difference in the experience of crisis. In this sense, marriage is an institution that shields young children from economic vulnerability.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope with research assistance by Ellie Mitchell



GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS FOR FAMILIES

Most Americans think government programs would be more helpful for families generally than for their family in particular, but they rate housing, food, and healthcare programs consistently higher than others.

of low-income parents say affordable housing would be "very helpful" for their family

Support for Family Policies For families in general For my family 40 60 70 90 Access to affordable housing 39% Free or reduced-cost healthcare for kids 35% Expanded access to mental health services for children and families **Increased Social Security benefits** Free or reduced-cost preschool access for young children 30% Increase in the minimum wage More government-funded support for healthcare 38% Tax credits to help those with low income Child tax credits Medicaid expansion for moms 29% Expanded financial assistance to help people attend college 28% Increased spending to help with apprenticeships for a vocation or trade Increased access to food stamps Student loan forgiveness Government-funded assistance to help families pay for private school 0 90 40 60 70

Percent saying each policy would be very helpful to their family

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Consider the policies below. In your opinion, how helpful would each policy be for family well-being in the United States if it were passed? / Consider the policies below. In your opinion, how helpful would each policy be for your family's well-being if it were passed? Response options: Very helpful, Helpful, Neither helpful nor unhelpful, Unhelpful, Very unhelpful

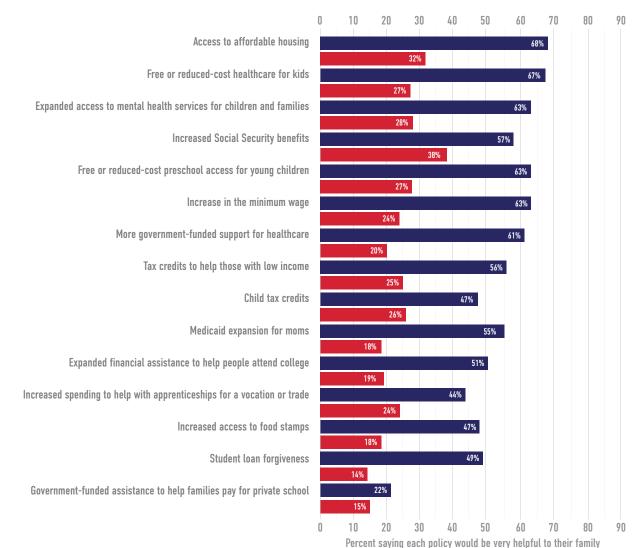


One of the consistent aims of the American Family Survey has been to better understand policy — both what people support and also what policies benefit their own personal situations. And we note at the outset of this brief description of how people perceive family policy that those two factors are not the same. One asks for a global assessment, and one asks the respondent to consider their own personal family — a self-assessment.

Here, we look at the overall percentage of respondents who say a program is "very" helpful. Setting the standard a bit higher than simply "somewhat helpful" is a bit of a hedge against people simply thinking a program would probably do some good. By focusing on people who respond a program is "very" helpful, we aim to get a better picture of just how much people think it would help families generally or their personal situation. By and large, the numbers are not terribly far apart — though it is clear that people think programs would be more helpful generally than in their specific, personal case.

Democrats

Republicans



Support for Family Policies by Party

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Consider the policies below. In your opinion, how helpful would each policy be for family well-being in the United States if it were passed? Response options: Very helpful, Helpful, Neither helpful nor unhelpful, Unhelpful, Very unhelpful

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A few particular policies stand out: affordable housing (the most popular), free or reduced-cost health care for kids, expanded mental health access, and preschool access for young children are the policies with the widest gaps between what would help a person's specific case and what people tend to see as good for society.

Still, even though there is a gap, those programs tend to be the most popular whether we make the question general or specific. (In fact, the correlation between responses to the general and specific questions is above 0.8, suggesting that the public's views on these questions are relatively tightly connected.)

Are the programs consistently popular? Given the political nature of these programs, it is worth investigating potential partisan divides.

The results disaggregated by partisanship reveal just how much less sympathetic to these programs Republicans tend to be (note: we have reported the percentage for families overall here, though the graphic is not wildly different if it is reported for specific families). In some ways, this graphic might make Republicans it appear less sympathetic to these programs than they actually are. Setting the level at "very helpful" pushes Republicans against the programs, and if we report the percentage for any "helpful" response, Republicans go up quite a bit. For instance, affordable housing is "very helpful" in the eyes of 32% of Republicans, but it is "helpful" in the eyes of 71% of Republicans. Other questions make similar jumps.

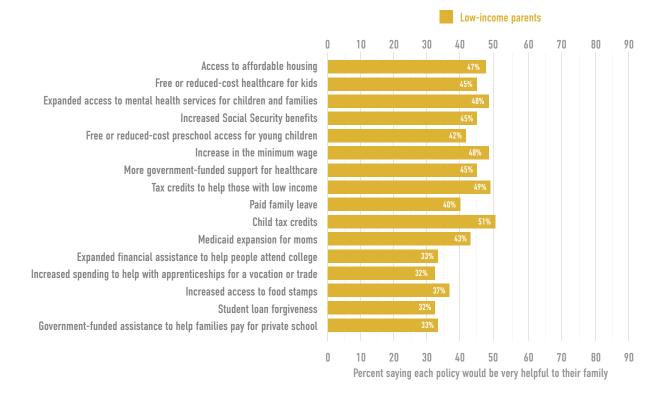
Still, even with the focus on the "very helpful" policies, Democrats simply are much more positive about all of these programs, and they are consequently much more likely to support the programs. Republicans do not believe that the programs are unhelpful, but they are far less likely to rate them at the high end of the "helpfulness" scale.

But what about the people these programs are designed to assist? What do they think? We can explore this by focusing on parents who make less than \$40,000 per year.

Here, we report the question regarding one's personal circumstances. The most popular programs tend to be child tax credits, tax credits for low-income families, expanded mental health care, an increased minimum wage, and affordable housing. But the pattern is essentially that while a few are rated somewhat higher (and things like college, student loan forgiveness and trade schools are all rated somewhat lower), among those who are the targets of this aid, about half (or just a bit lower than half) would find any of the programs very helpful.



Support for Family Policies Among Low-income Parents



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Consider the policies below. In your opinion, how helpful would each policy be for your family's well-being if it were passed? Response options: Very helpful, Helpful, Neither helpful nor unhelpful, Unhelpful, Very unhelpful. Based on parents who make less than \$40,000 per year.

Stepping back from the specific numbers, are there big-picture lessons here? We see a few.

First, while we make no claim that these programs are efficient or clearly worth the tax expenditures, the public broadly favors most of these programs and believes that they help people. Some things help less. People are less enamored with things like private school vouchers or student loan assistance, but they are fans of almost everything else. Indeed, if we loosened our standards slightly, supermajorities of both political parties would respond that these programs are at least helpful much of the time.

On a related note, it is worth noting that the public does prioritize certain things over others: housing, food, and health care all score quite high among the policies we asked Americans to rate. Things like paid family leave, preschool access, and the minimum wage are in a middle-ground area where they are fairly popular but not quite as respected as the basic services. Then a few things — private school vouchers and student loan forgiveness, for instance — are just not as helpful in the eyes of the public. They are not worthless or wildly unpopular ideas. Perhaps they are worth doing in some circumstances, but they are not what the public sees as the bread and butter of family assistance.



Finally, relatively poor families favor any kind of help. This is probably in part because money is fungible. If it is hard to pay for health care, it is probably also hard to pay for housing. Money spent on schooling cannot also go to groceries, and so forth. While policymakers should obviously be wise about which programs would make the most difference, we think the testimony of the low-income families here should be taken seriously. When they say these programs would be very helpful to them, it is probably because they would most of the time. In our view, a time of increasingly difficult budgets requires lawmakers who will choose between these programs and prioritize the people who need help the most. But it is clear the public wants significant government support for some of their fellow Americans.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope



THE COALITION FOR FAMILIES: GOP BIASES AND BLINDERS

Republicans are very sympathetic to the concept of marriage, but less sympathetic to the spending, programs, and policies that most families claim to want.

Republicans are

1/2 as likely as Democrats to favor supporting unmarried parents.

NOTE: A longtime theme of the American Family Survey has been a focus on policies proposed to help families. Some are popular, some are not. This year, as we look back on a decade's worth of data, we look at what policies each party is most likely to support or oppose. While we note common ground, both parties seem to approach family policy with certain blinders and biases prominently displayed. Our discussion of Democrats can be found <u>here.</u>

Support for Family Policies by Party

POLICY	ALL	GOP	DEMS
Encouraging two-parent homes for children	53%	69%	40%
Providing more support for education and vocational training	70%	72%	70%
Providing more support for education of all types of people	74%	62%	87%
Providing more support to parents who are unmarried	47%	33%	60%
Providing more support to parents who are married	57%	57%	58%
Spending more on government and community programs to help	63%	44%	82%
Providing more support to low-income families	64%	45%	82%
Providing more support to all families	63%	54%	74%
Encouraging marriage	49%	67%	34%
Encouraging people to have more children	23%	28%	19%

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Many people favor different ways for the government and society to help families. How much would you favor or oppose government spending money to promote each of the following actions to help families, even if it meant paying slightly more in taxes?

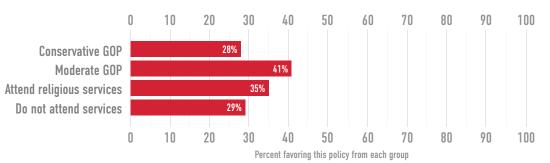
The 2024 American Family Survey data make clear that while Americans do not want the government encouraging more children — and by the standards of building a political coalition the fact that fewer than 3 in 10 support something makes it indistinguishable from nonexistent — every other proposal ranges from near majority support to super-majority support. Promoting marriage is popular (in contrast to encouraging kids).



But Republicans are simply not as interested in some of these programs — especially certain types of Republicans. Three areas of reluctance stand out: supporting unmarried parents, spending more on government and community programs, and providing more support to low-income families. The latter two ideas have clear super-majority support among the public (63% and 64%, respectively). Supporting unmarried couples is more controversial, though support is still near a majority — and studies have shown that this group needs more support and could benefit from support more than married couples.

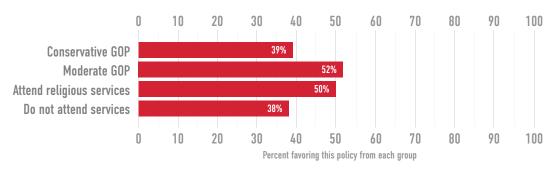
However, despite general levels of support for these ideas, there is unlikely to be the political will to do any of these useful things — even the ones that have super-majority support — without some significant Republican support. Are there Republicans who can be talked into these ideas? The data suggest some subgroups may be more likely to support these policies.

Republican Reluctance to Support Family Policies

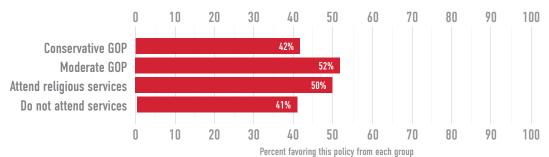


Providing more support to parents who are unmarried

Spending more on government and community programs to help



Providing more support to low-income families



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Many people favor different ways for the government and society to help families. How much would you favor or oppose government spending money to promote each of the following actions to help families, even if it meant paying slightly more in taxes?

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While self-described conservative Republicans like the idea of helping unmarried parents only slightly more than they like the idea of government encouraging of offspring, self-labeled moderate Republicans (about 30% of the party with another 4% of Republicans describing themselves as "liberal") like the idea quite a bit more. Obviously, helping unmarried parents is still not a terrifically popular idea with even the moderate Republicans, but this group is far more sympathetic to the idea. And if someone (J.D. Vance, for instance?) wanted to put together a coalition that really helped families of all stripes, this would be the place to look.

In slight contrast, support for spending more on programs and on support for low-income families is clearly stronger — even among the more conservative Republicans. But here the moderate and churchgoing Republicans (defined as attending church at least a couple of times a month) are much more likely to want to help. In fact, 52% of moderate Republicans favor spending more on government and community programs and a similar number favor more support to low-income families. Similar jumps can be found among the Republicans who attend church.

What is the lesson from all of this?

Family policy is an increasing area of partisan interest. In late 2024, Republican Senator Josh Hawley of Missouri proposed a \$5,000 tax credit for families. (For their part, Democrats across the board had run on a series of programs to reform and expand various educational and welfare programs.) It was an interesting proposal, though clearly one that would have important implications for the budget deficit. Noting the data in the chart, such a policy might run into trouble with more conservative-minded Republicans (though we note that our poll never specifically tested Hawley's proposal). It would likely be more popular with moderate Republicans, who would definitely favor a range of policies.

The problem facing pro-family policymakers is that the enthusiasm for policy to help families is clearly divided across the parties, and the goal of helping families will require a coalition that brings together moderates and church-going partisans to help families in a full-spectrum fashion. What would this full-spectrum support for families entail? Not merely rhetorical support for the idea of families or appeals to family values, but also a commitment to programs and spending that will help families flourish.

To get the requisite group of Republicans into a broad-based coalition that supports institutions and spending on families requires reaching out to a particular set of Republicans who prioritize such institutions. These tend to be Republicans who style themselves as moderate and attend church.

When we asked Americans about the most important issue facing families in 2024, 16% said a "lack of programs" was among the most serious problems. This group was overwhelmingly Democratic (72%). But a single party's support in politics is far from enough. The constitutional system requires large majorities in favor of a policy that persist over time. Without that kind of broad-based and consistent support, policies languish. The 13% of the public that both thinks a lack of programs is important and also are Republican is critical. Without their support, and perhaps the support of other moderate and church-going Republicans that can be won over, the idea of programmatic and institutional support for families will likely wither on the vine. This is not merely an opinion about politics; it is the pattern that exists for any policy.



The United States faces increasing budget crunches in future years as spending on health care, social security, and other such programs grows. Helping families, whether through tax credits or programs, is going to be more and more difficult without that broad based coalition. The argument that helping families is just not the responsibility of society is likely to win the day in the face of such headwinds. The path to a full-spectrum coalition that both rhetorically and substantively supports families lies — at least in part — through the moderate and church-going Republicans (and Democrats) that show up in our American Family Survey data.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope



THE COALITION FOR FAMILIES: DEMOCRATIC INATTENTION

Democrats are very sympathetic to government assistance, but far less willing to admit the positive benefits of marriage and two-parent homes for society.

34% VS. 67% of Democrats of Republicans favor policies encouraging marriage.

NOTE: A longtime theme of the American Family Survey has been a focus on policies proposed to help families. Some are popular, some are not. This year, as we look back on a decade's worth of data, we look at what policies each party is most likely to support or oppose. While we note common ground, both parties seem to approach family policy with certain blinders and biases prominently displayed. Our discussion of Republicans can be found <u>here</u>.

Support for Family Policies by Party

POLICY	ALL	GOP	DEMS
Encouraging two-parent homes for children	53%	69%	40%
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SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

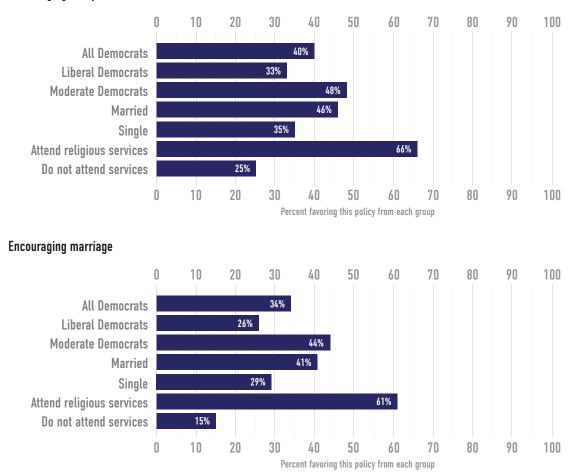
QUESTION WORDING: Many people favor different ways for the government and society to help families. How much would you favor or oppose government spending money to promote each of the following actions to help families, even if it meant paying slightly more in taxes?

The survey finds that while there is very little support for the government encouraging people to have more children, every other proposal ranges from near majority support to super-majority support. While there are key partisan differences, promoting marriage is popular (in contrast to encouraging kids).



Democrats have different blind spots and biases than do Republicans, however. Their reluctance hinges on an unwillingness to promote marriage and two-parent families as important concepts. Both self-identified liberal Democrats and moderate Democrats fail to reach majority support for "encouraging two-parent homes for children" and encouraging "marriage" more generally. These differences are instructive. Among those on the political left, moderates are more willing to support marriage and family as are Democrats who are married.

Democratic Reluctance to Support Some Family Policies



Encouraging two-parent homes for children

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Many people favor different ways for the government and society to help families. How much would you favor or oppose government spending money to promote each of the following actions to help families, eve if it meant paying slightly more in taxes?



However, the impact of ideology and family status pales in comparison to the key differentiator among Democrats: church attendance. Among those who attend church at least once or twice a month, 66% favor encouraging two-parent homes and 61% favor encouraging marriage (non-attenders clearly oppose such actions). Admittedly, the fraction of Democrats who attend church this often is not enormous -27% in our data, as opposed to the 58% of Democrats who seldom or never attend church - but it does represent over a quarter of the party, and the support for encouraging families is strong among this group.

Parties — and this is true of both major ones in the U.S. — are not monolithic coalitions, no matter how much they may appear to be such (and even though we often lump people together under the label "Democrat" or "Republican"). There is clear variation among Democrats on what they are willing to support and promote. The idea that rhetorical encouragement of bourgeois values is unwise or even oppressive may be current among a certain set of Democrats, but it is not true of the whole party. And if the party — even the liberal wing of it — is to achieve its goals, it is likely to need to find ways to support families rhetorically.

The Democratic Party has several ideas for future programs and policies to help families. Some of them essentially recall the increased child tax credits during the COVID pandemic, but others involve much larger amounts of "social infrastructure," as Eric Klinenberg puts it. And as seen above, Democrats are very sympathetic to the idea of promoting programs to help families. Their reluctance has more to do thinking that promoting a particular version of family can be seen as oppressive.

Democrats are being short-sighted about the infrastructure that traditional families produce. Family scholars like Melissa Kearney, for example, have shown that two-parent families produce a host of benefits, including reduced inequality, better average educational outcomes for children, and a clear hedge against poverty and all of its attendant ills. Liberal Democrats are clearly reluctant to support a certain version of support for parents, but this reluctance misses an important piece of the infrastructure that helps families and children.

For instance, when we asked about the most important problems for families, 26% of respondents said singleparent homes were a major problem for families. But 57% of this group was Republican, while only 25% identified as Democrats. Lots of Republicans are willing to offer rhetorical support for traditional family structures, but Democrats are reluctant. Still, that 25% is important, especially as soon as one considers the politics of family.

The problem facing pro-family policymakers is that enthusiasm for policy to help families is clearly divided across the parties, and the goal of helping families will require a coalition that brings together moderates and church-going partisans to help families in a full-spectrum fashion. What would this full-spectrum support for families entail? Not merely a commitment to programs and spending, but also a willingness to provide rhetorical and public support for the idea of two-parent families and the benefits that such families bring to help children flourish.

To arrive at this full-spectrum support for families will require not just marshaling the support of liberal Democrats but finding ways to put together moderate Democrats and moderate Republicans together into a broad-based coalition. The American constitutional system requires large majorities in favor of a policy that persist over time. Without that kind of broad-based and consistent support, policies languish. The 25% of the public that both thinks two-parent families are important and are also self-identifying Democrats is critical. Without their support, and perhaps the support of other moderate and church-going Democrats that can be won over, the idea of full-spectrum support for families will likely wither on the vine. This is not merely an opinion about politics; it is the pattern that exists for any policy.



Building a coalition requires sacrifice. People are required to admit that their preferred ideal option may not be what produces the coalition necessary for real change. Helping families — by whatever means — will require that Democrats make sacrifices to join that broad-based coalition. The path to a full-spectrum coalition that both rhetorically and substantively supports families lies — at least in part — through the moderate and church-going Democrats (and Republicans) that show up in our American Family Survey data.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope

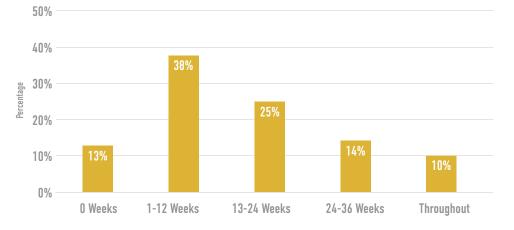


THE COMPLEXITY OF VIEWS ON ABORTION POLICY

Public opinion on abortion policy is nuanced, with very few Americans taking an extreme view in either direction. 4% & 7 consistently cons oppose all wan access to fully abortion

consistently want abortion fully legal

Views on When Abortion Should Be Legal



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Different states are debating when, if at all, abortion should be legal. A typical pregnancy could go up to as many as 40 weeks. Until what point in a pregnancy do you think a person should be legally allowed to obtain an abortion? Response options: 0-40 weeks

One of the most significant challenges in public opinion research is explaining the nuances, complexity, and seeming inconsistency of people's issue positions. The desire for a tidy, hoped-for binary story of simplicity is strong. It dominates media and is an even stronger feature of social media. But human opinions tend to be complicated in ways that defy simple classification. Probably the best example of this is abortion.

Though abortion tends to be seen through a binary lens of pro- and anti-abortion viewpoints, the actual range and nuance of public opinion on the question is quite complicated. The first point in any abortion story is that the public generally wants abortion to be available, but with some limits on the timing. When asked up until which week should a woman be able to obtain an abortion, just under a quarter of the sample takes one of the two extreme positions: 13% want abortion effectively outlawed, while 10% want to see it available through the entire pregnancy (36-40 weeks, the highest category possible).

Things get more complex when we examine the number of people who respond to a different question with an extreme opinion. This question — one frequently asked by pollsters — asks about how often abortion should be legal or illegal, with 23% saying it should be legal in all cases and 7% saying it should be illegal in all cases.



Views on When Abortion Should Be Legal



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Do you think abortion should be \ldots

But what does "all cases" mean? The wording of this traditional question allows for multiple interpretations. Is it the case of a given pregnancy? Is it time? Is it a window of opportunity for a given woman? Is it some other standard?

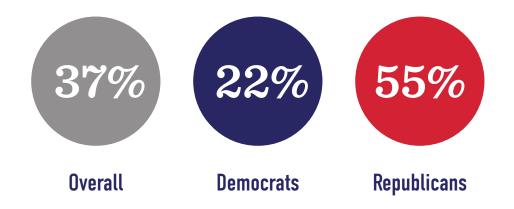
When we cross the two questions described here, the issue of nuance emerges more clearly. Presumably if someone responds to the question of weeks with "0" they should want abortion to be illegal in all circumstances, but of those who responded "0" just 34% believed that abortion should be illegal in all circumstances. Why? Presumably the first question suggested typical situations or cued something like "any reason" in the mind of the respondent. Just 4% of our respondents were consistently in favor of both 0 weeks and abortion being illegal in all cases. Just 7% of our respondents consistently wanted abortion legal throughout the entire range of weeks and in all circumstances.

One common response to data like this is to suggest that public opinion is simply mushy and unreasonable — a function of people paying little attention to the issue or feeling ambivalent. Perhaps that is true for some people, but there are ways to harmonize all of these responses. A person might believe that any given woman should be able to obtain an abortion for any reason but that she should only be able to do so until a certain week in the pregnancy. A person might believe that any given pregnancy should not be aborted until they are told that there are extenuating circumstances. In both cases, the person thinks of a baseline case (though in different ways) and then reasons through a specific question wording based on assumptions they bring to the questionnaire. This is part of why abortion responses are so difficult to reconcile.

Some of the most current pressing abortion issues involve drugs shipped through the mail or travel to obtain an abortion. Our findings show that Republicans are fairly sympathetic to letting states ban abortion drugs, while Democrats are obviously less so.



Views on Banning Access to Abortion Pills Across State Lines



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: One method of abortion is medication abortion, or the abortion pill. This pill can be ordered online and taken at home without an in-person visit to the doctor. Should states that limit or ban abortions also be able to prohibit residents from purchasing abortion pills from out of state?

As for travel, we asked, "Which of the following groups should be allowed to travel to another state to receive an abortion if they live in a state where abortion services are not legal?" Around a third of Americans (36%) indicated that anyone should be able to travel out of state, including 49% of Democrats and 20% of Republicans (people obviously can think of exceptions to the general rule). However, just 32% of the sample was willing to let anyone travel and also opposed banning the mailing of pills.

There is not a simple way to characterize abortion opinions, try what you will.

So is there anything that we can say about abortion opinions? A few things do seem true.

First, the public does want limits of various kinds. Pro-choice advocates are right to say that the public desires access to abortion, and a healthy minority wants the kind of access that the pro-choice side envisions: women empowered to choose abortion at all stages if they deem it necessary. But this is not the broad position of the public. Most people would clearly limit it based on stage of pregnancy. Others would limit tools or methods. The idea of a full-spectrum right to abortion at all stages and with no limits is not popular.

Second, when the public is asked about women having access to an abortion procedure, different respondents seem to have different baseline cases in mind. This is why people can say abortions should be legal in many circumstances but also favor time limits. A woman who has been given the option of an abortion in the early months of a pregnancy does have a choice in the eyes of some members of the public. The idea of unfettered choice early in a pregnancy but with increasing limits placed later on in the pregnancy is clearly a position that many hold.

On top of the time limits, it is also clear that the public is occasionally warm to limits on drugs in the mail or limits on travel. But these limitations tend to be favored only by subsets of the population and are not majority positions.



We would add that abortion clearly influences but does not control people's voting. Among those who responded that abortion should not be available during any weeks of a pregnancy (13% of the public), 1 in 10 voted for Democratic candidate Kamala Harris, and another 13% didn't vote at all. If we look at the people who responded that abortions should be limited to the first 12 weeks of a pregnancy, 25% voted for Harris. Similar figures obtain for those on the left of this issue, with 1 in 10 of those who favored abortion throughout a pregnancy voting for Donald Trump.

The implication of this final point is that abortion remains both complex and a cross-cutting issue for many voters — enough voters that should a candidate choose to compromise on the issue the public would not penalize them. Movement leaders might want to do so, but the vast majority of the public has no problem with every woman having a right to an abortion that is limited by both time and method.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope



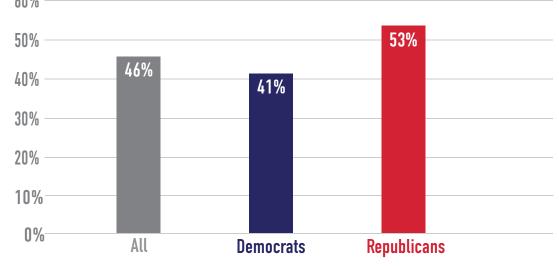
SOCIAL MEDIA POLICY

Americans believe social media is a problem, but many are unsure whether banning it for children under 16 would help.

54% VS. 41% of those who

of those who frequently attend religious services support a ban. of those who never attend religious services support a ban.

Support for Banning Social Media for People Under 16



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state banning social media for people under the age of 16?

Americans are highly concerned about social media. In response to the question of "banning social media for people under the age of 16," 46% of Americans support and just 31% oppose it. A relatively high percentage of 23% do not know. To be fair, 46% may not look like a high number, and it is not a majority. However, the prompt is strong in that it proposes a "ban." How specific and detailed people might make this ban is questionable, but the public is clearly concerned enough that almost half of the country will entertain a ban on social media for children and early teenagers of some kind.

Often in social science research, the goal is to identify which groups are most interested in or most supportive of a policy, program, or political figure. And oftentimes there are deep fissures and divisions in the public that can explain why some favor a policy and some oppose it. But in the case of social media bans — a policy that many states are currently considering — it is not obvious which groups support and which oppose a policy. About 4 or 5 out of of every 10 Americans prefer a ban, but there are few clear social or political dividing lines between those who favor and oppose it.



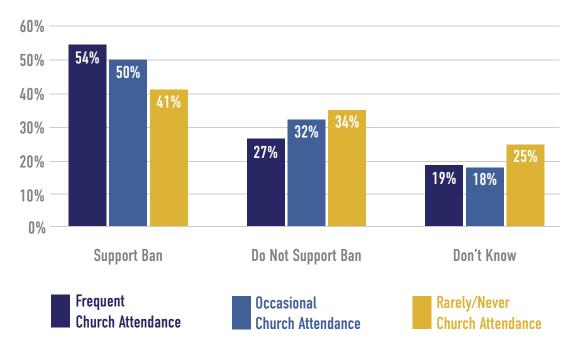
For instance, among those who have the experience of being a parent, 49% support a ban, but among those who have never been parents the figure is 42%. That seven-point difference is not trivial, but it is not exactly dramatic, either.

The same can be said of race: 45% of whites favor the ban; 49% of blacks favor it; and 50% of Hispanics favor it.

Parents of girls do not appear to be disproportionately concerned, though that garners a great deal of media attention: Among those who report daughters, 47% favor a ban.

There are small partial differences: 41% of Democrats favor a ban, while 53% of Republicans favor it -a difference of 12 percentage points, or about twice as much as the difference by parental status.

Religious attendance is also correlated with increased concern about social media. Of those who attend frequently (once a week or more often), 54% support a ban. Occasional attenders (a few times a month to a few times a year) also favor it at 50%. Those who rarely or never attend only support it at a rate of 41%.



Support for Banning Social Media for People Under 16 by Religious Attendance

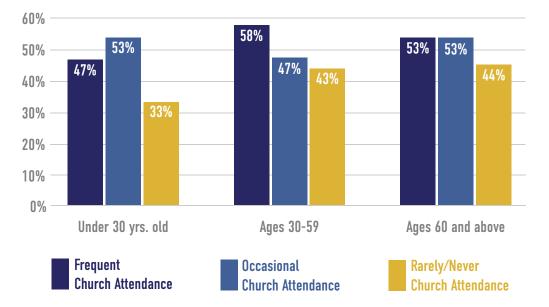
SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state banning social media for people under the age of 16?



Still, it is worth noting that even among those who never attend religious services, the plurality opinion is to favor the ban. Just 1 in 3 Americans who never attend oppose the ban. Part of the reason this appears to be tied more closely to attendance than simple partisanship is that the 53% of Democrats who attend frequently also support the ban — a number indistinguishable from the percentage overall or among Republicans who attend (56% of whom support the ban).

Perhaps we have to look at age crossed with another variable to find the most intense support for a ban on social media. The figure below displays the proportion of those who support the ban by both age and church attendance. But even though this analysis cuts the data quite finely, the broad pattern of support for a ban remains. For instance, of those under 30 who attend religious services frequently, 47% support the ban. The number among older groups is certainly higher but not overwhelmingly so: 58% of those age 30-59 and 53% of those above 60.



Support for Banning Social Media for People Under 16

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state banning social media for people under the age of 16?

The bottom line is that for many social and political groups, there is a pattern of support for a ban that is generally between about 4 or 5 out of every 10 Americans. This number is obviously about enough to make it politically plausible, but it is, frankly, not necessarily enough to make it certain that such a ban would remain popular or that it would not lead to a backlash against the idea. There is no clear demographic that unambiguously supports the ban overwhelmingly — the closest thing to that is mid-life Republican parents who attend religious services frequently, but even that group tops out at just over majority support, depending on how one defines the group.



Policymakers are left with a situation where the public is unambiguously saying they believe social media is a problem, but there is clear ambivalence about how to deal with it and a great deal of metaphorical shouldershrugging. As seen above, typically about 2-3 in 10 Americans say they "don't know" whether a ban is a good idea or not. Perhaps they could be won over, perhaps not. In all likelihood, the details and the specifics of the policy are likely to matter, and many questions about how to implement such a ban remain. As parents and schools try to figure out what to do about social media, there is a great deal of uncertainty.

Americans clearly want a solution. When we asked about the most important problems facing families, about 15% of Americans said this was among the three most serious problems. That is a sizable number that indicates quite clearly that people believe in the problem and worry about it.

But the bottom line on policy is that even though a sizable group may favor a ban, an equal or larger group of people either do not know what to do about a ban or simply oppose it. Public opinion does not give any clear guidance to lawmakers on this question. It suggests that the public perceives a serious problem and is open to government solutions, but it does not suggest that the public has an overwhelmingly strong sense of what to do. Perhaps that is why the problem continues to persist.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope



VIEWS ON BANNING HORMONE THERAPY FOR MINORS

Public opinion about gender-affirming care for young people experiencing gender dysphoria is divided, with many Americans expressing uncertainty about the issue.

of parents with children under 18 support banning hormone treatments that would delay puberty among minors of people who are not currently parenting minors support banning hormone treatments that would delay puberty among minors

Opinion on Laws Preventing Hormone Therapy

	SUPPORT	OPPOSE	DON'T KNOW
All Americans	40%	36%	25%
Residents of States with No Ban	38%	36%	26%
Residents of States with Ban ¹	41%	36%	23%

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state passing laws preventing hormone therapy that delays puberty for minors experiencing gender dysphoria?

NOTE: Of the 3,000 survey respondents, 1521 live in states with no ban, and 1479 live in states that have passed a ban.

An issue that has occupied increasing attention at the state level in recent years is care for young people who are experiencing gender dysphoria. According to a <u>report from the Kaiser Family Foundation</u>, 26 states have passed laws limiting access to gender-affirming care for transgender and nonbinary young people, and 24 states impose penalties on medical professionals who provide such care. (About half of our respondents live in a state that has passed a ban.) All of these state-level laws have been adopted since 2021, though the specific details vary from state to state. Currently, 17 states face lawsuits challenging their policies. Our aim in the American Family Survey is not to comment on the wisdom or efficacy of any specific state-level policy, but rather to better understand public opinion about this issue, which affects both transgender children and their families.

We asked respondents whether they support or oppose their state "passing laws preventing hormone therapy that delays puberty for minors experiencing gender dysphoria." Opinion on this issue is divided. Overall, 40% support such a ban, but 36% oppose. One-quarter of respondents say they don't know. Notably, the distribution of opinion is roughly similar whether or not the respondent lives in a state that has passed a ban on gender-affirming care, and even in those states, nearly one-quarter of respondents say they don't know.

¹ States that have passed bans include Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Mississippi, Montana, North Carolina, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Nebraska, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia, and Wyoming. (Source: Kaiser Family Foundation)

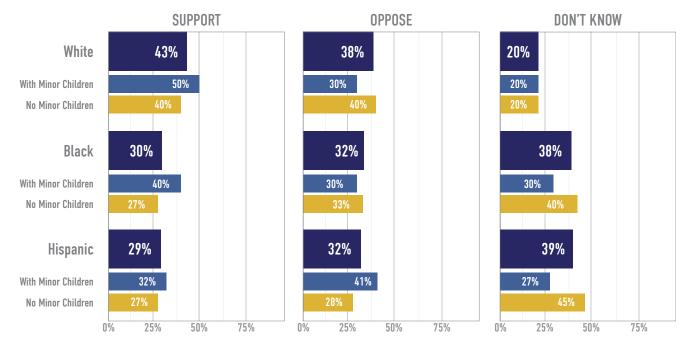


The high level of uncertainty in the responses could be partly because respondents don't understand the term "gender dysphoria," which we did not define for them, or don't know enough about the issue to have a meaningful opinion. "Don't know" responses could also occur because respondents are genuinely ambivalent, seeing both reasons to support and reasons to oppose such laws. Another possibility is that respondents are hesitant to disclose their attitudes about this sensitive issue. In addition, we asked about only one type of gender-affirming care: hormone therapy that delays puberty for minors. The broader category of gender-affirming care includes a spectrum of "medical, surgical, mental health, and non-medical services," according to the Kaiser Family Foundation. It is possible that opinions about other aspects of gender-affirming care would be different or include more definitive views.

Though young people are sometimes assumed to be more supportive of transgender rights, we find few differences in attitudes about this policy by age. Young people between the ages of 18-30 express the lowest levels of support for laws banning hormone therapy for minors (36%), but that is not much different from the level of support among those 51-64 (37%) or those over 65 (39%). The age group with the highest support level turns out to be people between 31 and 50, of whom 44% express support for hormone therapy bans. This group is also the set of respondents who are the most likely to be parents of children under the age of 18, with more than half the respondents in that age group currently parenting minor children. Among respondents between 31-50 years old, 48% of parents with minor children support the ban, while 40% of respondents who do not have children under 18 favor such a ban. Of all parents with minor children, no matter what their age, 46% support state-level bans, compared to 37% of respondents with no minor children. Thus, while support does not quite reach a majority, the group most friendly toward a state ban on hormone therapy is parents of children under 18. We do not have an indicator of whether or not these respondents have children who are experiencing gender dysphoria, so we cannot say how parents whose families might be directly affected by such a ban view the policy.

We find some evidence of racial or ethnic differences in attitudes about this issue, though again across all groups, support for hormone therapy bans is highest among parents. Whites are considerably more supportive of bans than Black or Hispanic respondents, and half of white parents of minor children support such policies. Among Black and Hispanic respondents not currently parenting minor children, we find especially high levels of uncertainty. About 45% of Hispanics and 40% of Blacks who are not parenting minor children say they don't know.





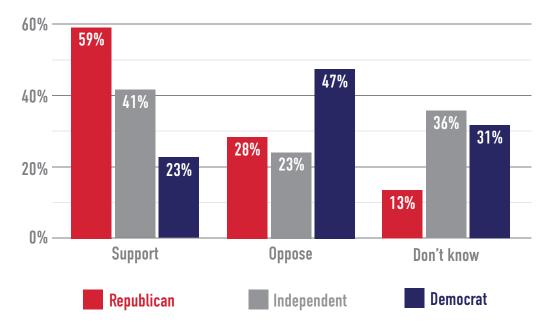
Opinion on Laws Preventing Hormone Therapy

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state passing laws preventing hormone therapy that delays puberty for minors experiencing gender dysphoria?

Not surprisingly, given the ways in which this issue has been politicized, with nearly all the state-level bans occurring in red states, we also find a substantial partian divide. Nearly 6 in 10 Republicans support the bans, compared to 23% of Democrats. By contrast, a little over one-quarter of Republicans and a little less than one-quarter of independents oppose banning hormone therapy treatments for minors, while close to half of Democrats oppose them. Still, among both independents and Democrats, about one in three respondents say they do not know. A far smaller percentage of Republicans choose the "don't know" option.





Support for Hormone Therapy Bans by Party

SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

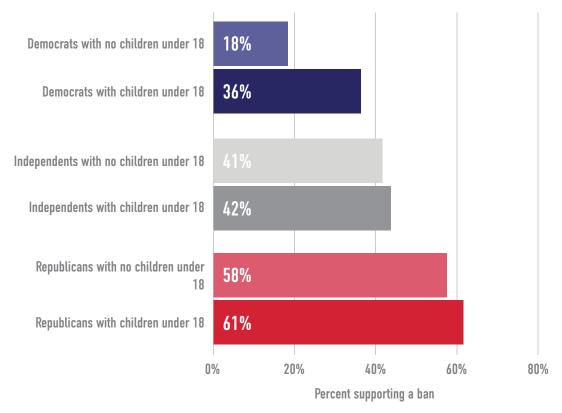
QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state passing laws preventing hormone therapy that delays puberty for minors experiencing gender dysphoria.

Parental status also interacts with partisanship to shape opinions about this issue, but primarily among Democrats. While parents of children under 18 are consistently more supportive than non-parents, the gap among Democrats is substantially larger than for the other partisan categories. Support among Democrats with minor children is double that of Democrats who do not have minor children. By contrast, parental status makes a much smaller difference among both independents and Republicans.

Both partisanship and parental status shape attitudes about hormone therapy policy. It is not surprising that legal bans on gender-affirming care can be found primarily in red states, because the highest levels of support are found among Republicans. In this sense, Republican legislators are responding to the preferences of those most likely to vote for them and not to the broad distribution of public opinion, where support never reaches a majority, even in states that have already enacted a ban. At the same time, large percentages of Americans are not yet ready to take a stand on the issue one way or the other.



Support for Hormone Therapy Bans by Party and Child Status



SOURCE: American Family Survey 2024.

QUESTION WORDING: Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about your own state adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state passing laws preventing hormone therapy that delays puberty for minors experiencing gender dysphoria?

A great deal remains to be learned about this issue. How do Americans view other aspects of gender-affirming care? Are the high levels of "don't know" responses a function of lack of information, unwillingness to weigh in on a sensitive issue, or genuine ambivalence? How should we interpret the comparatively higher level of opposition among parents who are currently parenting minor children? And how might opinion change as medical experts study these issues more? Our data provide just a glimpse at the contours of public opinion on an issue that has only recently emerged onto the political scene.

-By Christopher F. Karpowitz and Jeremy C. Pope



METHODOLOGY NOTE

Between August 22-29, 2024, YouGov interviewed 3,245 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 3,000 to produce the final dataset. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. 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 weights were then post-stratified on 2020 presidential vote choice as well as a four-way stratification of gender, age (4 categories), race (4 categories), and education (4 categories), to produce the final weight. The overall margin of error is +/- 2%.

APPENDIX: Topline Report

BYUC0036

August 2024

Sample3000 Adults (18+)ConductedAugust 22 - 29, 2024Margin of Error $\pm 2\%$

1. What are your expectations for marriage in the future of your current relationship?

Haven't really thought about it.	12%
No expectations or plans beyond living together.	34%
Expect to eventually marry, but no specific plans yet.	35%
Planning to get engaged	. 7%
Engaged	11%

2. Do you favor or oppose the following government programs related to child care, even if they would mean an increase in taxes?

	Support	Oppose	Don't know
A voucher parents can use to pay for child care at local approved			
organizations	64%	15%	22%
Government funding to organizations that			
offer free childcare	66%	17%	17%
A voucher parents can use as they see fit (including paying a parent who stays			
home)	50%	26%	24%

3. How did the relationship we've asked you to think about end?

We got married and we're still together
We got married but we're not together anymore
We stopped cohabiting, but we're still together
We stopped cohabiting, and we're not together

YouGov

BYUC0036 August 2024



4. Why did your relationship with this partner end? Select all that apply:

Cohabitation ending - Money disagreement
Cohabitation ending - Different career goals14%
Cohabitation ending - Different family goals
Cohabitation ending - Moved cities
Cohabitation ending - Infidelity
Cohabitation ending - High conflict levels
Cohabitation ending - Met someone else
Cohabitation ending - Family and friends pressure
Cohabitation ending - Commitment issues
Cohabitation ending - Sexual difficulties
Cohabitation ending - Something else

5. What was the most important reason this relationship ended?

Disagreed about money	.3%
Different career goals	. 8%
Different family goals	.8%
Moved to another city	. 6%
Infidelity	23%
High levels of conflict	23%
Met someone else	. 5%
Pressure from family or friends	. 3%
One partner not sufficiently committed2	20%
Sexual difficulties	. 2%

6. When you first moved in with this partner, what were your expectations for marriage in the future of the relationship? *Asked of those not currently living with a partner outside of marriage but indicated they previously had*

No expectations or plans beyond living together	6
I expected to get married eventually, but no specific plans were made449	6
We were already engaged, but we never ended up getting married69	6
We were already engaged, and we ended up getting married	6



7. When you first moved in with this partner, what were your expectations for children in the future of the relationship?

No expectations or plans beyond living together	
I expected to have a child together eventually, but no specific plans were made.	
I expected to have a child together eventually, and I or my partner was pregnant.	
I expected to have a child together eventually, and we had specific plans7%	
We already had a child together	

8. When reflecting on when you first married, do you feel that you: Asked of those who have been married at least once

Got married too young	%
Got married at about the right time	%
Got married too late	%



9. When reflecting on when you first married, what age would have been the ideal age to get married?

Asked of those who have been married at least once

Younger than 18
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
310%
32
33
34
35
36
370%
38
39
40
Older than 40

10. Do you personally hope or desire to marry in the future? Asked only of non-married people

Yes, definitely	27%
Yes, probably	19%
No, probably not	17%
No, definitely not	22%
Not sure	15%



11. A blended family household is a family where one or both parents have children from a previous relationship, and they have combined to form a new family. Do you *currently* live in a blended family household?

Family Roster-Blended Family - Yes parent1	1%
Family Roster-Blended Family - Yes child	3%
Family Roster-Blended Family - No 8	7%



12. How often does your family...? Asked of those married or in a relationship

	Never	Yearly or less	A few times a year	About once a month	A few times a month	Weekly	A few times a week	Daily
Eat dinner together	5%	3%	11%	5%	10%	11%	16%	40%
Attend the activities of a family member (recitals, sporting,								
events, etc.) Do household chores	16%	13%	29%	10%	17%	8%	4%	2%
together	16%	4%	8%	6%	13%	22%	16%	15%
Go out to movies, museums, sporting events, or parks								
together	12%	12%	31%	13%	19%	8%	4%	1%
Worship together	39%	9%	11%	3%	8%	16%	4%	8%
Have an argument	13%	18%	25%	12%	14%	8%	7%	3%
Participate in activities together at home (watch TV, watch a movie, play								
games, etc.)	7%	3%	10%	6%	12%	14%	18%	29%
Socialize with friends Discuss political and social issues as a	7%	5%	18%	12%	24%	17%	12%	5%
family Have family meetings or discussions about	17%	7%	12%	7%	17%	13%	16%	11%
family plans Ignore or avoid one	21%	10%	20%	10%	16%	11%	8%	4%
another	54%	11%	12%	5%	7%	4%	4%	3%
Socialize with extended family	8%	12%	30%	11%	19%	11%	6%	4%



13. How satisfied are you with your...? 1=Completely dissatisfied, 2=Somewhat dissatisfied, 3=Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 4=Somewhat satisfied, 5=Completely satisfied, 6=Not applicable, 7=Total Dissatisfied, 8=Total Satisfied

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Job	6%	9%	12%	22%	16%	35%	15%	38%
Family	4%	7%	11%	30%	47%	2%	11%	77%
Life	5%	13%	14%	39%	28%	1%	17%	68%
Community	4%	11%	23%	37%	22%	3%	15%	59%
Sex Life	10%	11%	17%	19%	26%	17%	20%	45%
Relationship	3%	6%	8%	27%	55%	1%	9%	82%

14. At any point in the last two years, have you thought that your marriage or relationship was in trouble?

Asked of those who are married or in a relationshp longer than 2 years

Yes	 6
No	 6

15. What have been the biggest stressors in your marriage? Select up to three: Asked only of those who are married or in a relationship longer than 2 years and indicated the relationship was in trouble over the last 2 years

Marriage in trouble - Sex	41%
Marriage in trouble - Money	54%
Marriage in trouble - Rising children	19%
Marriage in trouble - In-laws/other family	16%
Marriage in trouble - Communication	58%
Marriage in trouble - Work	17%
Marriage in trouble - Other	19%

16. Would you say that your marriage or relationship is stronger, weaker or about the same as two years ago? Asked of those who are married or in a relationshp longer than 2 years

Stronger46°	%
About the same459	%
Weaker	%
Don't know	%



17. Turning to marriage generally, do you feel that marriages in the United States are stronger, weaker, or about the same as two years ago?

Stronger	%
About the same	%
Veaker	%
Don't know	%



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

	Neither agree								
	Strong	ly	Somev	•	Somev	vhat	Strong	lyTotal	Total
	disagre	eDisagr	e d isagre	eedisagre	eægree	Agree	agree	Disagr	e & gree
When more people are married, society is better off. Marriage is more of a	5%	7%	6%	33%	17%	17%	14%	18%	49%
burden than a benefit to couples.	22%	22%	15%	24%	9%	5%	3%	59%	17%
Marriage is needed in order to create strong families. Being legally married is not as important as having a personal	9%	9%	9%	17%	18%	19%	20%	26%	57%
sense of commitment to your partner. Marriage is old-fashioned and	10%	9%	9%	21%	19%	18%	15%	28%	51%
out-of-date. Marriage makes	31%	20%	13%	19%	9%	4%	3%	64%	17%
families and children better off financially. Marriage is for life,	3%	5%	5%	29%	22%	20%	16%	13%	58%
come what may. Marriage is more important than a	6%	8%	8%	19%	18%	20%	20%	23%	58%
career to finding happiness in life There are more advantages to being single than to being	9%	10%	10%	29%	15%	16%	11%	28%	43%
married	11%	16%	13%	33%	13%	9%	5%	40%	27%



19. How often do you do each of the following with your spouse or partner? asked only of those married or in a relationship

	Never	Yearly or less	A few times a year	About once a month	A few times a month	Weekly	A few times a week	Daily
Go out together, just						,		5
the two of you	5%	3%	15%	14%	24%	21%	13%	5%
Have a serious argument	15%	26%	26%	11%	11%	5%	3%	2%
Discuss your								
relationship with	00/	00/	170/	100/	000/	1.40/	1.00/	00/
each other Discuss finances	9%	8%	17%	12%	20%	14%	12%	9%
with each other	4%	2%	8%	12%	26%	21%	17%	10%
Sleep in different								
rooms because you were upset with one								
another	64%	12%	9%	4%	4%	3%	2%	3%
Talk about political or								
social issues with each other	10%	4%	6%	8%	17%	16%	20%	19%
Pray together as a	1070	170	070	070	17 /0	1070	2070	1070
couple, outside of	4.40/	70/	00/	50/	100/	00/	00/	440/
meals Have sex with each	44%	7%	8%	5%	10%	9%	8%	11%
other	12%	5%	8%	9%	20%	18%	23%	5%
Do nice things for								
each other, such as making coffee,								
putting gas in the car,								
etc.	2%	1%	3%	5%	16%	19%	24%	29%
Hide finances or purchases from each								
other	65%	9%	8%	4%	7%	3%	2%	2%



20. Before getting married, how important is it for someone to...

				Neithe					
				unimp	ortant		Not		
	Very		Somev	vhantor	Somev	vhat	at all	Total	Total
	importa	anhnnport	ainthporta	aimnport	andnimpo	orttanitnp	o intapoo rta	anhnport	alutnimportant
Own a home	15%	13%	15%	29%	9%	11%	8%	43%	28%
Finish college	14%	16%	16%	28%	6%	9%	11%	46%	26%
Have a stable job	42%	30%	16%	8%	2%	1%	1%	88%	4%
Live together with his									
or her future spouse	16%	19%	19%	22%	6%	8%	11%	53%	24%
Have had several									
serious relationships	6%	10%	16%	32%	10%	13%	12%	33%	35%
Have some savings									
or be paying off debt	30%	29%	22%	13%	2%	2%	1%	81%	6%
Have significant									
childcare experience	9%	12%	15%	32%	9%	11%	12%	36%	32%
Have sex with his or									
her partner	22%	20%	16%	20%	5%	7%	10%	57%	23%
Develop good									
communication skills	55%	27%	11%	5%	1%	0%	1%	93%	2%

21. How many of these did you complete before getting married? Select all that apply: asked of half of those who said they had been married at least once

Owned home	21%
Finished college	37%
Stable job	.69%
Lived together	47%
Several serious relationships	.31%
Savings or paid off debt	45%
Childcare experience	22%
Had sex	69%
Good communication skills	.53%
None	. 4%



22. Are there any of these that you wish you had done but did not do prior to getting married? Select all that apply: asked of half of those who said they had been married at least once

Own home	20%
Finish college	20%
Stable job	17%
Live together	7%
Several serious relationships	
Savings or pay off debt	
Childcare experience	6%
Have sex	
Good communication skills	
None	



23. Before having a child, how important is it for someone to...

				Neithe unimp			Not		
	Very		Somev	-	Somev	vhat	at all	Total	Total
	importa	anhnnport	ainthport	aimtnport	andinimpo	orttanitnp	ointappoort	anhnnport	a ht nimportant
Have an established									
career	22%	26%	26%	16%	4%	3%	3%	74%	9%
Be married	27%	18%	15%	21%	5%	7%	6%	60%	18%
Be financially stable	42%	29%	18%	8%	1%	1%	1%	89%	3%
Own a home	15%	17%	19%	29%	8%	7%	6%	51%	21%
Graduate from									
college	14%	14%	16%	30%	6%	9%	12%	44%	27%
Travel to different									
places	8%	12%	14%	30%	8%	15%	15%	33%	37%
Be in a committed									
relationship	45%	24%	14%	11%	2%	2%	2%	83%	6%
Have a good health									
insurance plan	35%	29%	19%	11%	2%	2%	2%	84%	5%
Live together with									
their partner	24%	21%	16%	20%	4%	6%	8%	61%	19%
Have had several									
serious relationships	6%	8%	13%	32%	11%	14%	16%	27%	41%
Have significant									
childcare experience	10%	15%	20%	30%	9%	8%	7%	45%	24%



24. How many of these did you complete before having a child? Select all that apply: asked of half of those who said they had at least one child

Established career	45%
Be married	61%
Financially stable	43%
Own home	37%
Graduate college	
Travel	37%
Be in committed relationship	66%
Good health insurance plan	53%
Live with partner	50%
Several serious relationships	24%
Childcare experience	
None	11%

25. Are there any of these that you wish you had done but did not do prior to having a child? Select all that apply: asked of half of those who said they had at least one child

Established career	21%
Be married	11%
Financially stable	37%
Own home	
Graduate college	
Travel	23%
Be in committed relationship	
Good health insurance plan	17%
Live with partner	
Several serious relationships	
Childcare experience	
None	33%



26. How long were you in a relationship with your spouse prior to your marriage? asked of those who have been divorced or widowed

0 months	
1 month	1%
2 months	1%
3 months	2%
4 months	1%
5 months	2%
6 months	7%
7 months	0%
8 months	
9 months	
10 months	
11 months	
1 year	
2 years	
3 years	
4 years	
5 years	
6 years	
7 years	
8 years	
9 years	
10 years	
More than 10 years	



27. What are the most important issues facing families today? Pick up to three items. Asked of 1/3 of all respondents

Work demands	
Lack of programs	
Costs	50%
Lack of jobs	14%
Decline in faith	
Sexual permissiveness	
Drugs/alcohol	15%
Crime	15%
Definition of marriage	
Parents not teaching/disciplining	
Single-parent homes	
Digital age	
Other	2%

28. What are the most important challenges facing YOUR family today? Pick up to three items. *Asked of 1/3 of all respondents*

Children growing up without two parents in the home	7%
Violence and abuse within the family	
Tension or disagreements between family members	18%
lack of commitment to each other	
Difficulty finding quality family time	18%
High work demands and stress on parents	19%
The costs associated with raising a family	34%
The lack of good jobs or wages	22%
Lack of educational opportunities	
Crime and other threats to personal safety	10%
Lack of religious faith or church attendance	9%
The widespread availability of drugs and alcohol	
Social media, video games, or other electronic resources	15%
Mental or physical health struggles	32%
Sexual permissiveness, including infidelity	4%
Other	



29. What are the most important challenges facing families today? Pick up to three items. Asked of 1/3 of all respondents

Children growing up without two parents in the home
Violence and abuse within the family14%
Tension or disagreements between family members
lack of commitment to each other
Difficulty finding quality family time
High work demands and stress on parents
The costs associated with raising a family45%
The lack of good jobs or wages
Lack of educational opportunities4%
Crime and other threats to personal safety
Lack of religious faith or church attendance
The widespread availability of drugs and alcohol
Social media, video games, or other electronic resources
Mental or physical health struggles23%
Sexual permissiveness, including infidelity
Other

30. How important are the following things to your personal identity?

	Not at all important	Not too important	Somewhat important	Very important	Extremely important
My role as a spouse					
or partner	2%	4%	18%	40%	35%
My role as a parent	5%	3%	12%	34%	46%
My religion	23%	12%	19%	22%	24%
My race	29%	21%	21%	15%	13%
My political party	26%	21%	27%	16%	10%
My career or job	16%	14%	29%	28%	13%
My community	11%	19%	38%	24%	9%
My gender	16%	14%	24%	26%	21%



31. Consider the policies below. In your opinion, how helpful would each policy be for family well-being in the United States if it were passed?

			Neither helpful				
	Very		nor		Very	Total	Total
	helpful	Helpful		I Unhelpf	ulunhelpfu		Unhelpful
Paid family leave	41%	35%	17%	4%	3%	75%	7%
Child tax credits	36%	38%	18%	4%	3%	75%	7%
Medicaid expansion							
for mothers	37%	34%	18%	6%	4%	71%	10%
Increase in the							
minimum wage	44%	24%	17%	8%	7%	68%	15%
Access to affordable							
housing	51%	29%	13%	3%	3%	80%	7%
Expanded access to							
mental health							
services for children							
and families	47%	34%	15%	3%	2%	80%	5%
Free or reduced-cost							
healthcare for							
children	48%	30%	14%	4%	4%	78%	8%
Student loan							
forgiveness	32%	24%	19%	7%	17%	56%	25%
More							
government-funded							
support for							
healthcare	42%	28%	15%	7%	7%	70%	14%
Increased social							
security benefits	47%	31%	15%	4%	3%	78%	7%
Expanded access to							
food stamps	33%	30%	20%	9%	7%	63%	17%
Expanded financial							
assistance to help							
people attend college	35%	30%	19%	7%	8%	66%	15%
Increased spending							
to help with							
apprenticeships for a	0.404		0 / 0 /	40/	0 0/		
vocation or trade	34%	39%	21%	4%	2%	72%	7%
Tax credits to help							
those with low	440/	000/	100/	<u>co</u> /	F 0/	70 0/	440/
income	41%	32%	16%	6%	5%	73%	11%
Free or reduced cost							18
preschool access for	450/	010/	100/	40/	40/	700/	00/
young children	45%	31%	16%	4%	4%	76%	8%



32. Consider the policies below. In your opinion, how helpful would each policy be for *your* family's well-being in the United States if it were passed?

			Neither helpful				
	Very		nor		Very	Total	Total
	helpful	Helpful	unhelpfu	Unhelpf	ulunhelpfu	ıl Helpful	Unhelpful
Paid family leave	33%	32%	25%	4%	5%	65%	10%
Child tax credits	29%	31%	28%	5%	6%	60%	12%
Medicaid expansion							
for mothers	29%	28%	29%	7%	7%	57%	14%
Increase in the							
minimum wage	36%	24%	25%	7%	8%	59%	15%
Access to affordable							
housing	39%	30%	21%	5%	5%	69%	10%
Expanded access to							
mental health							
services for children							
and families	35%	36%	21%	4%	4%	71%	8%
Free or reduced-cost							
healthcare for	0 5 0 (00 0/	0 0/	T o (• • • • •	400/
children	35%	29%	23%	6%	7%	64%	12%
Student loan	000/	000/	000/	70/	100(100/	000/
forgiveness	28%	20%	26%	7%	19%	49%	26%
More							
government-funded							
support for healthcare	38%	29%	20%	5%	8%	67%	13%
	50 /6	2370	20 /0	J /8	0 /0	07 /0	13/0
Social security benefits	50%	30%	15%	2%	3%	79%	5%
	5078	50 /8	1070	2 /0	U /0	13/0	J /0
Expanded access to food stamps	25%	27%	30%	9%	9%	52%	18%
Expanded financial	2070	2770	0070	070	070	5 2 /0	10 /0
assistance to help							
people attend college	28%	31%	25%	8%	9%	59%	16%
Increased spending							
to help with							
apprenticeships for a							
vocation or trade	26%	34%	30%	5%	4%	60%	9%
Tax credits to help							
those with low							
income	32%	32%	23%	6%	7%	64%	13%
Free or reduced cost							19
preschool access for							19
young children	30%	28%	27%	7%	8%	58%	14%



33. Do you personally hope or desire to have a child someday? Asked of those under 50 years old who do not have a child

Yes, definitely	32%
Yes, probably	21%
No, probably not	11%
No, definitely not	16%
It depends	13%
Don't know	.6%

34. Do you and/or your partner have any plans to have children in the next two years? Asked of those under 50 years old who do not have a child but indicate they have a desire

Yes	
No	



35. Apart from physical ability to conceive a child, how important are each of these factors for your decisions about having children in the future? *Asked of those under 50 years old*

	Not at all important	Somewhat important	Extremely important
The difficulty of	·		•
balancing family and			
career	12%	42%	46%
The cost of raising a			
child	7%	29%	64%
The desire to raise a			
child of my own	13%	36%	51%
My current			
relationship status	13%	35%	52%
The need to have a			
baby before I'm too			
old to parent	28%	39%	33%
The expectations of			
my family	36%	35%	28%
My religious or			
philosophical beliefs	39%	35%	26%
The state of the			
world today	14%	42%	44%
The availability of			
child care	16%	42%	42%
Worries about the			
physical challenges			
of being pregnant or	0.40/	400/	050/
giving birth	24%	42%	35%
How my partner feels	110/	000/	
about children	11%	32%	57%
The effect it will have			
on my current lifestyle	16%	41%	43%
mestyle	1070	TI /0	-10 /0



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

				Neithe	r				
	Strong	ly	Somev	agree vhantor	Somev	vhat	Strong	lyTotal	Total
	-	-	e d isagre	eedisagre	eægree	Agree	agree	•	e & gree
The cost of raising a child/children is affordable for most									
people Children are better off if they have two	19%	22%	18%	17%	13%	8%	4%	58%	25%
married parents It is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard	4%	6%	5%	21%	17%	19%	28%	15%	64%
spanking It is important for parents to pass on their political values	16%	11%	10%	18%	17%	15%	12%	37%	44%
to their children Parents should set boundaries on media consumption for their	14%	14%	11%	31%	14%	10%	6%	39%	30%
children Children need both a male and a female role model in the	1%	1%	2%	9%	17%	29%	40%	4%	86%
home Raising children is one of life's greatest	9%	6%	5%	15%	15%	19%	30%	21%	64%
joys It's morally wrong to have a child outside	3%	4%	3%	17%	15%	25%	32%	10%	73%
of marriage	22%	15%	8%	22%	11%	12%	9%	46%	32%



37. The CDC defines loneliness as feeling like you don't have meaningful or close relationships or a sense of belonging. Over the past year, how often have you felt lonely?

Every day	, 0
A few times a week	' 0
Weekly	' 0
A few times a month	' 0
A few times a year	' 0
Less than once a year	' 0
Never	6

38. Outside of your family, who would you turn to first if you needed help with each of the following issues? *Asked of half of all respondents*

	Nearby neighbors	0	Community o os ganizatio n	Co- sorkers	Other friends	l generally just rely on myself
Help with childcare	6%	4%	7%	2%	23%	59%
Advice about children	3%	7%	5%	4%	30%	52%
Advice about my relationship	2%	7%	4%	3%	31%	53%
Financial help	2%	4%	8%	3%	14%	70%
Taking care of my house or other property	13%	3%	4%	2%	18%	60%
Transportation to an important appointment	8%	3%	5%	4%	25%	55%



39. Among the following, who would you turn to first if you needed help with each of the following issues? *Asked of half of all respondents*

	My immediate family	My extended family	People outside of my family	l generally just rely on myself
Help with childcare	49%	12%	6%	33%
Advice about				
children	42%	12%	12%	34%
Advice about my				
relationship	29%	8%	21%	42%
Financial help	47%	8%	7%	39%
Taking care of my house or other				
property	47%	6%	10%	37%
Transportation to an important				
appointment	46%	7%	9%	37%

40. How often do you do each of the following?

	Never	Less than once a year	A few times a year	A few times a month	Weekly or more
Volunteer in the community Attend town council,	42%	20%	24%	9%	5%
school board or other community meetings Volunteer with a	60%	17%	15%	6%	2%
political campaign or party	71%	14%	10%	4%	2%

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41. How many close friends would you say you have outside of your family?

10	+

42. How many close family relationships would you say you have?

0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10+



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

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total Disagree	Total Agree
Our family helps and receives help from our neighbors	15%	17%	27%	33%	7%	33%	67%
Our family feels close with people in our neighborhood	13%	18%	29%	31%	8%	31%	69%
We don't generally get along with our neighbors	26%	37%	25%	9%	4%	63%	37%
We have different values from others in our neighborhood	7%	20%	43%	23%	6%	27%	73%

44. How do you provide care for your children during the work day? Check all that apply. Asked of those who work full or part-time and have a child 12 years or under living in the home

Childcare during work day - Self/spouse
Childcare during work day - Extended family
Childcare during work day - Friends
Childcare during work day - Sitter/nanny
Childcare during work day - Daycare/nursery
Childcare during work day - Older siblings
Childcare during work day - Children care for themselves
Childcare during work day - Other

45. Are you primarily responsible for the care of any elderly members of your family?

Yes	 3%
No	 ?%



46. How do you provide care for those for whom you are responsible? Check all that apply: Asked of those who indicated they are responsible for the care for an elderly family member

Elder care how - Self/spouse	59%
Elder care how - Extended family	33%
Elder care how - Care Facility	14%
Elder care how - In-home Nurse	11%
Elder care how - Informal help	10%
Elder care how - Other	10%

47. How important do you think the following are when creating a successful marriage?

	Not at all importal	Somewl ntunimpor		Somewh	•	Total ntUnimpor	Total t ami portant
Having shared							
interests	1%	4%	11%	48%	36%	5%	84%
Satisfying sexual relationship	2%	2%	12%	36%	48%	4%	84%
Sharing household chores	1%	3%	12%	42%	42%	3%	84%
Having adequate	170	070	1270	12 /0	12 /0	0,0	0470
income	1%	2%	11%	38%	49%	2%	87%
Having shared							
religious beliefs	9%	6%	24%	29%	32%	16%	60%
Having children	15%	7%	33%	25%	21%	22%	45%
Having shared							
political beliefs	8%	9%	27%	36%	20%	16%	57%
Being good friends	0%	1%	7%	25%	67%	1%	92%
Spending quality							
time together	0%	1%	6%	22%	71%	1%	93%



48. How important is it to you personally that the following tasks in a relationship are divided equally?

	Not at		Neither unimpoi	rtant			
	all	Somewh	nat nor	Somewh		Total	Total
	importa	ntunimpor	ta n tporta	ntimportar	ntimportar	ntUnimpoi	rt armi portant
Housework	3%	5%	19%	42%	32%	8%	73%
Childcare	5%	4%	21%	33%	37%	9%	70%
Yard work	9%	11%	29%	32%	18%	20%	50%
Car maintenance	12%	13%	34%	25%	17%	25%	42%
Making money	5%	7%	22%	36%	31%	11%	67%
Cooking	5%	9%	26%	36%	23%	14%	59%



49. How often, if ever, would you say the following activities would count as cheating on a spouse or partner?

	Always cheating	Sometimes cheating	Never cheating
Having sexual			
relations with			
someone other than			
your partner	70%	11%	19%
Romantically kissing			
someone other than			
your partner	68%	16%	17%
Going out to dinner			
with a			
[friend/colleague] you	• • • /		
are attracted to	36%	38%	26%
Sending flirtatious			
messages to			
someone other than	56%	26%	17%
your partner	50%	20%	17%
Being emotionally involved with			
someone other than			
your partner	59%	25%	16%
Following an ex on	0070	2070	1070
social media	21%	36%	44%
Actively maintaining			
an online dating			
profile	60%	23%	17%
Watching			
pornography without			
your partner	28%	23%	50%
Being close friends			
with someone of the			
same sex as your			
partner	13%	31%	56%



50. Have you ever attended therapy...

	Yes	No
For yourself	42%	58%
For your relationship	19%	81%

51. Did you see a therapist or seek other mental health services in the last year?

és2	21%
lo7	'9%

52. Do you feel like you and your family have received the physical health care you needed in the past year?

Yes		60%
No		
My f	family did not need physical health care	

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53. Consider the experiences below. Indicate the level to which each statement was true for you **as a teenager**:

	Never	Sometimes	Often
l had a			
boyfriend/girlfriend	26%	49%	25%
I worked a part time			
job	22%	42%	36%
I attended therapy for			
emotional or mental			
health issues	76%	17%	7%
I attended religious			
services	25%	41%	34%
l drank alcohol	41%	46%	13%
I smoked cigarettes	59%	24%	17%
l smoked marijuana	66%	23%	11%
I spent time with			
friends	5%	39%	56%
I felt lonely or			
isolated	33%	45%	22%

54. Where was your wedding held? (If you have been married multiple times, please think about your first wedding.) *Asked of those who have been married at least once*

A church or religious location	%
A courthouse	%
Outdoors	%
In your home	%
Other	%



55. About how many people attended your wedding? (If you have been married multiple times, please think about your first wedding.) Asked of those who have been married at least once

0	%
1-10	
10-50	
50-100	
100-200	
200-300	
300+	%

56. Which of the following best describes your current employment status?

Working full time	38%
Working part time	12%
Temporarily laid off	1%
Unemployed	9%
Retired	21%
On leave (maternity, paternity, etc.)	0%
Permanently disabled	8%
Taking care of home or family	7%
Student	5%

57. Has your financial situation gotten worse, better, or stayed the same in the last year?

It got worse	35%
It stayed the same	46%
It got better	19%



58. In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following because there wasn't enough money? *Check all that apply.*

Not enough money - Not eat	13%
Not enough money - Not pay full bill	. 18%
Not enough money - Borrow or receive money	20%
Not enough money - Move in with others	5%
Not enough money - Stay at shelter	3%
Not enough money - Not see doctor	. 11%
Not enough money - None of the above	. 62%

59. In the past 12 months, did you do any of the following? Check all that apply.

Economic crisis - Bought house	3%
Economic crisis - Bought second house	1%
Economic crisis - Bought car1	4%
Economic crisis - Bought household appliance1	7%
Economic crisis - Major renovation1	3%
Economic crisis - Major travel excursion1	5%
Economic crisis - None of the above	7%

60. How worried are you that each of the following will affect your family finances in the coming year?

	Somewhat					
	Very worried	worried	Not worried			
Inflation	55%	33%	12%			
National Debt	33%	37%	29%			
Unemployment	25%	32%	43%			
Lack of government						
assistance	25%	31%	44%			
Interest rates	35%	40%	25%			
Rising tax bills	43%	38%	20%			



61. During the next year or two, do you expect that your household income will keep up with prices or fall behind prices?

Income will keep up with prices	\$%
Income will fall behind prices51	%
Don't know	\$%

62. Rate the level to which you agree with the following statement: Graduating college is necessary to get ahead in life.

Strongly disagree	. 17%
Somewhat disagree	18%
Neither agree nor disagree	28%
Somewhat agree	. 25%
Strongly agree	.11%

63. On average, how many days per week do you work remotely? Asked of those who work full or part-time

None
1 day
2-3 days
4 or more days

64. How frequently do you miss a family dinner or event because of work?

Never	.39%
Yearly or less	. 13%
A few times a year	. 20%
About once a month	7%
A few times a month	. 12%
Weekly	4%
A few times a week	4%
Daily	2%



65. How frequently do you spend quality one-on-one time with your partner? asked only of those married or in a relationship

Never	. 3%
Yearly or less	. 2%
A few times a year	. 5%
About once a month	.5%
A few times a month	14%
Weekly	14%
A few times a week	22%
Daily	35%

66. How frequently do you spend one-on-one time with your children? Asked of those who have at least one child

Never	9%
Yearly or less	
A few times a year	13%
About once a month	7%
A few times a month	15%
Weekly	13%
A few times a week	16%
Daily	23%

67. Consider the following and indicate the extent to which they make [men/women] happier:

		Much					
	Much	Somewh	Somewhat No Somewhatmore				Total
	happier	happier	impact	unhappie	erunhappy	Happier	Unhappier
Marriage	26%	42%	23%	7%	2%	69%	9%
Parenthood	29%	43%	22%	5%	2%	72%	7%
Work	17%	42%	27%	11%	2%	59%	14%
Personal freedom	47%	37%	12%	3%	1%	84%	4%



68. Next, we will ask about several policies being considered by some states. As you consider the answers, please respond based on what you think about **your own state** adopting that policy. Do you support or oppose your state...

	Support	Oppose	Don't know
Banning social media for people under the			
age of 16.	46%	31%	23%
Banning abortion in all cases except to			
save the life of the [patient/woman/mother].	32%	54%	14%
Establishing			
mandatory state paid family leave systems,			
which allow people to receive			
compensation for			
taking extended time off work to care for a			
new child or family member.	68%	15%	17%
Passing laws	0078	1378	17 /6
preventing hormone			
therapy that delays puberty for minors			
experiencing gender	40%	36%	25%
dysphoria.	4070	30%	20%



69. Who should be primarily responsible for covering the costs of each of these types of family leave – the government, employers, or the individual and their family?

	The government	Employers	Self/family
Maternity Leave	34%	69%	22%
Paternity Leave	31%	65%	27%
Care of a child	32%	20%	75%
Care of adult family members	41%	15%	69%
Care of a close friend or neighbor Any personal leave	28% 17%	13% 53%	73% 55%
Any personal leave	1770	5578	5578

70. Do you favor or oppose giving parents of any newborn a \$6,000 tax credit?

Strongly support	31%
Somewhat support	29%
Neither support nor oppose	21%
Somewhat oppose	9%
Strongly oppose	10%
Total Support	60%
Total Oppose	19%

71. Different states are debating when, if at all, abortion should be legal during a woman's pregnancy. A normal pregnancy could go up to as many as 40 weeks. Until what point in a pregnancy do you think a woman should be legally allowed to obtain an abortion? For reference, the first trimester is from 0-12 weeks, the second trimester is from 13-26 weeks, and the third trimester is from 27-40 weeks.

mean16



72. Do you think abortion should be ...

Legal in all cases	23%
Legal in most cases	32%
Illegal in most cases	29%
Illegal in all cases	.7%
I don't wish to answer	. 8%

73. One method of abortion is medication abortion, or the abortion pill. This pill can be ordered online and taken at home without an in-person visit to the doctor. Should states that limit or ban abortions also be able to prohibit residents from purchasing abortion pills from out of state?

Yes	
No	

74. Regardless of whether you favor or oppose abortion, which of the following do you prefer?

A single national policy on abortions that is consistent across the states . 60% Allow variation in abortion policy, with each state developing its own policy 40%

75. Which of the following groups should be allowed to travel to another state to receive an abortion if they live in a state where abortion services are not legal? Select all that apply.

Abortion—State lines - Under age 18 21%	, 0
Abortion—State lines - Severe medical distress	, 0
Abortion—State lines - Victim of incest or rape	, 0
Abortion—State lines - Choose child gender	, 0
Abortion—State lines - Anyone	, 0



76. Do you support or oppose the government making it easier for pregnant women to afford the cost of childbirth by helping pay for the costs of having a child, including prenatal and postpartum care?

Strongly support	35%
Somewhat support	26%
Neither support nor oppose	23%
Somewhat oppose	. 7%
Strongly oppose	. 9%
Total Support	61%
Total Oppose	17%

77. Do you favor or oppose the following statements about immigration?

	Favor	Neutral	Oppose
The immigration system should give a			
higher priority to			
reuniting families than to helping			
people who have job skills that are in			
demand.	30%	48%	22%
We should deport illegal immigrants			
even when it			
separates parents from children who			
are natural-born citizens.	27%	29%	44%

78. Some people believe families with children should receive special tax relief. Other people believe that all households should be taxed the same, whether they have children or not. Where do you stand on this issue?

Special tax relief for households with children.			Tax all house	holds the sam	e.
1	2	3	4	5	Not sure
14%	22%	18%	12%	15%	-



79. Would you rather the government...

Help families by giving money directly to the parents (e.g. tax breaks, chi allowances, etc.)	
Help families by spending money on programs and institutions (e.g. child care schools, etc.)	e,
Both	%
Neither	%

80. How would you rate each of the following government programs on a scale? Place each item along the scale where items on the left mean they are not at all good for families with children and items on the right mean they are very good for families with children. *Respondent placed item on scale from 0 - "Not at all good for families with children" to 100 - "Very good for families with children".*

Food stamps	66
Housing assistance	66
Head Start	66
Medicaid and other health insurance subsidies	74
Home mortgage tax deduction	64
Tax deduction for charitable giving	54
Child tax credit	72
Childcare assistance	70



81. Many people favor different ways for the government and society to help families. How much would you favor or oppose government spending money to promote each of the following actions to help families, even if it meant paying slightly more in taxes?

			Neither favor				
	Strongly Favor	Somewl Favor	hat nor oppose	Somewh Oppose	attrongly	Total Favor	Total Oppose
Encouraging two-parent homes as the best option for children	30%	23%	30%	8%	9%	53%	1 7 %
Providing more support for education and vocational training of young men so they are better potential husbands and							
fathers Providing more support for education	35%	34%	23%	5%	4%	69%	8%
of all types of people Providing more support to parents	47%	26%	18%	5%	3%	74%	8%
who are unmarried Providing more support to parents	23%	24%	34%	11%	7%	47%	19%
who are married Spending more on government and community programs to help parents of children from disadvantaged	28%	29%	33%	6%	4%	57%	10%
backgrounds Providing more support to	33%	30%	24%	7%	6%	62%	13%
low-income families Providing more	36%	28%	23%	8%	5%	64%	13%
support to all families Encouraging	34% 27%	30% 22%	25%	7% 9%	5%	63% 49%	12% 18%
marriage Encouraging people to have more children	10%	12%	33% 32%	9% 20%	9% 26%	49% 23%	41 46%



82. If the presidential election were held today, which of the following candidates would you vote for?

Donald Trump	
Kamala Harris	
Someone else	
I don't plan to v	ote this year or am not eligible to vote10%

83. Which of the following do you believe is necessary experience for a candidate for Congress or the presidency to have? Select all that apply.

Prerequisites for office - Experience in business
Prerequisites for office - Served in military15%
Prerequisites for office - Currently married
Prerequisites for office - Has children
Prerequisites for office - Elected office experience
Prerequisites for office - College degree
Prerequisites for office - Worked with other political party
Prerequisites for office - Time aborad
Prerequisites for office - Experienced divorce
Prerequisites for office - None

84. Are you or is anyone in your family married to or in a committed relationship with someone of another [race/religion/party]? (Select all that apply)

Relationship with someone of another race/religion/party - Yourself15%
Relationship with someone of another race/religion/party - Immediate family
Relationship with someone of another race/religion/party - Extended family
Relationship with someone of another race/religion/party - None



85. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

Republican2	9%
Democrat	6%
Independent	0%
Other	5%

86. Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat or Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat or Republican]?

Strong [Democrat or Republican]		 	 62%
Not very strong [Democrat or Repub	lican]	 	

87. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

Republican Party	 3%
Democratic Party	 3%
Neither	 3%

88. Generally speaking, does your spouse or partner consider themselves a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? *Asked of those who are married or in a relationship*

Republican	36%
Democrat	34%
Independent	26%
Other:	4%

89. Would they consider themselves a strong [Democrat or Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat or Republican]? *Asked of those who are married or in a relationship*

Strong [Democrat or Republican]		 63%
Not very strong [Democrat or Rep	ublican]	



90. Would they consider themselves closer to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party? Asked of those who are married or in a relationship

Republican Party	 21%
Democratic Party	 26%
Neither	 53%

91. Generally speaking, how would you describe your spouse or partner's political viewpoints? Asked of those who are married or in a relationship

Very liberal	9%
Liberal	18%
Moderate	32%
Conservative	
Very conservative	13%
Not sure	8%

92. Are you raising your [child/children] in: Asked of those who have at least one child

A religion	49%
More than one religion	
No religion	
Depends on which child	
Don't know	13%

93. Do you consider yourself to be:

Heterosexual or straight	.89%
Gay or lesbian	4%
Bisexual	5%
Other	2%

94. Is your spouse or partner... Asked of those who are married or in a relationship

Male	 	 	 54	1%
Female	 	 	 	3%

BYUC0036

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95. Have you been unemployed in the past 2 years?	
Yes	
96. How many hours per week do you typically work?	
mean	
97. How many hours per week does your spouse or partner typically work? Asked of those who are married or in a relationship	
mean	
98. Has your spouse or partner been unemployed in the past 2 years? Asked of those who are married or in a relationship	
Yes	
99. Gender	
Male	
100. Age	
18-29	

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August 2024



101. Race

White	69%
Black	14%
Hispanic	18%

102. Education

HS or Less	%
Some College	%
College Grad +	%

103. Income

LT \$40k	6
\$40k-\$80k	6
\$80k+	6

104. Employment Status

Employed	%
unemployed	%
retired	%

105. Census Region

Northeast18	3%
Midwest	}%
South	}%
West	3%

106. Political Party

Democrat	.38%
Republican	. 30%
Independent	. 31%

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107. Ideology

Liberal	. 30%
Moderate	. 37%
Conservative	33%

108. Religious Affiliation

White evangelical Protestant	13%
White non-evangelical Protestant	10%
Black Protestant	5%
Catholics	22%
White non-hisp Catholic	15%
Hisp Catholic	4%
Unaffiliated	29%
Other	22%

109. Religious Attendance

Weekly+	28%
Monthly	21%
Seldom/never5	51%

110. Marital Status

Married		 	 	 	 	 • •	 	 	 	 	 	 	 	 	 		46 [°]	%
Unmarrie	d	 	 	 	 	 	 • •	 	!	54°	%							

111. Children

Children at home	37%
Children not at home	30%
No children	33%