

ONLINE APPENDIX

TABLE A. Survey Question Wording

Survey	Question	Years	Sample Size
Pew Research Center	Now, I am going to read you a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today: Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally (strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose)	1996	1,975
	Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?	2004, 2006-2010, 2012-2013	1,501 – 3,484
	Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?	2008	2,413
ICR Survey Research Group	In general do you think gays and lesbians should or should not be allowed to be legally married? (should, should not)	2000	1,012
Gallup Organization	Do you think marriages between homosexuals should or should not be recognized by the law as valid, with the same rights as traditional marriages? (should be valid, should not be recognized as valid)	2003	1,003

FIGURE A. Support for Same-Sex Marriage, 1996-2013: Midwestern States

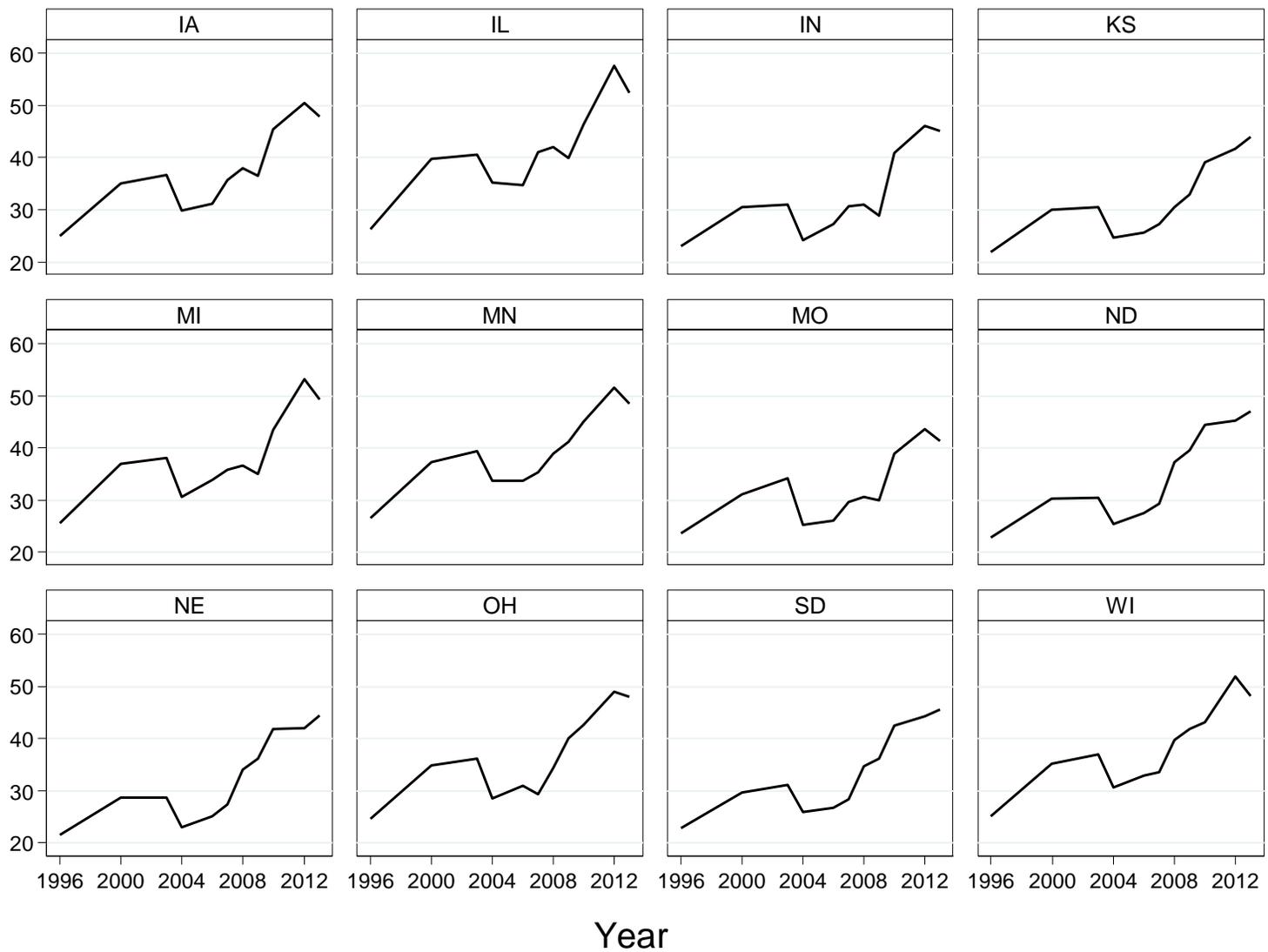


FIGURE B. Support for Same-Sex Marriage, 1996-2013: Northeastern States

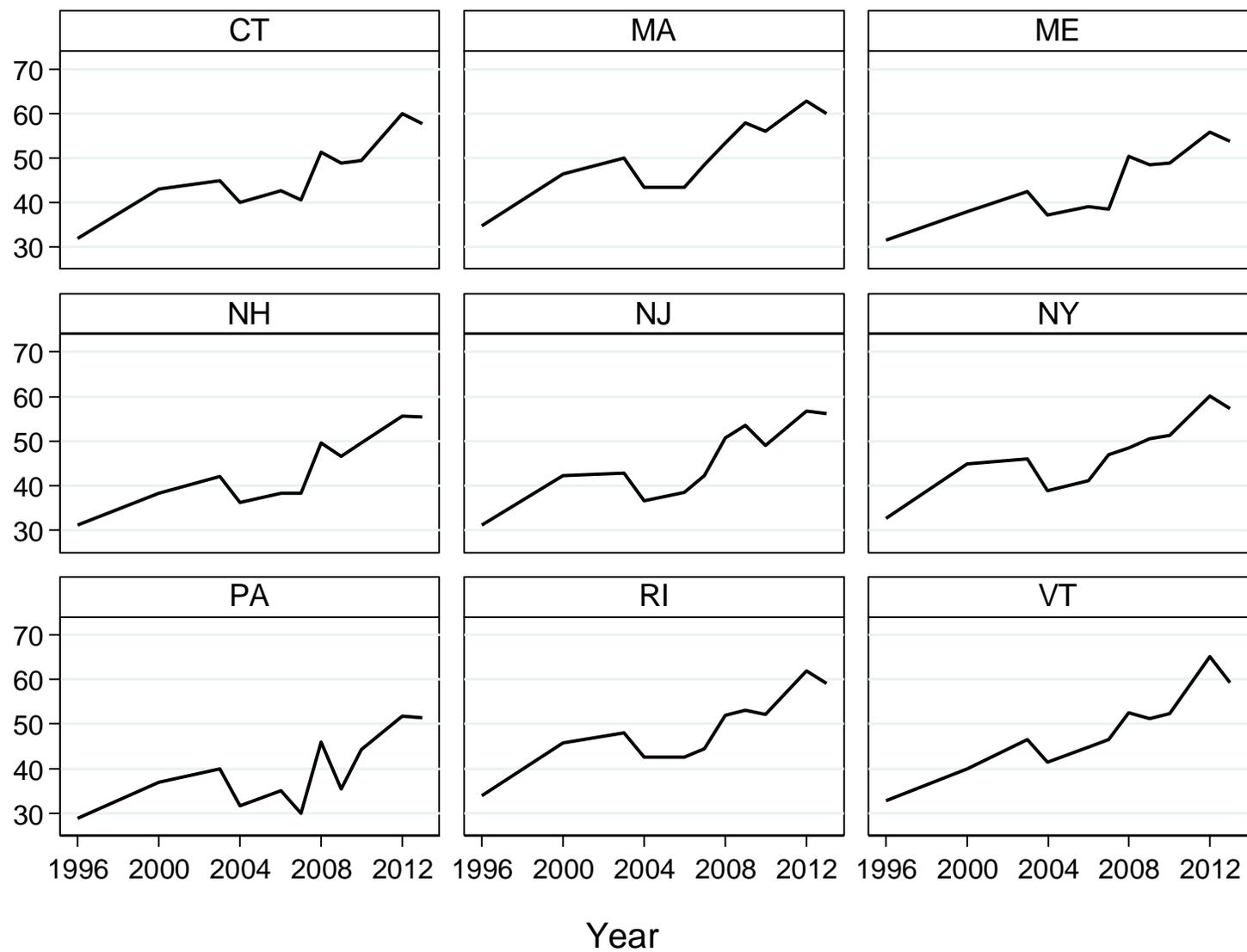


FIGURE C. Support for Same-Sex Marriage, 1996-2013: Southern States

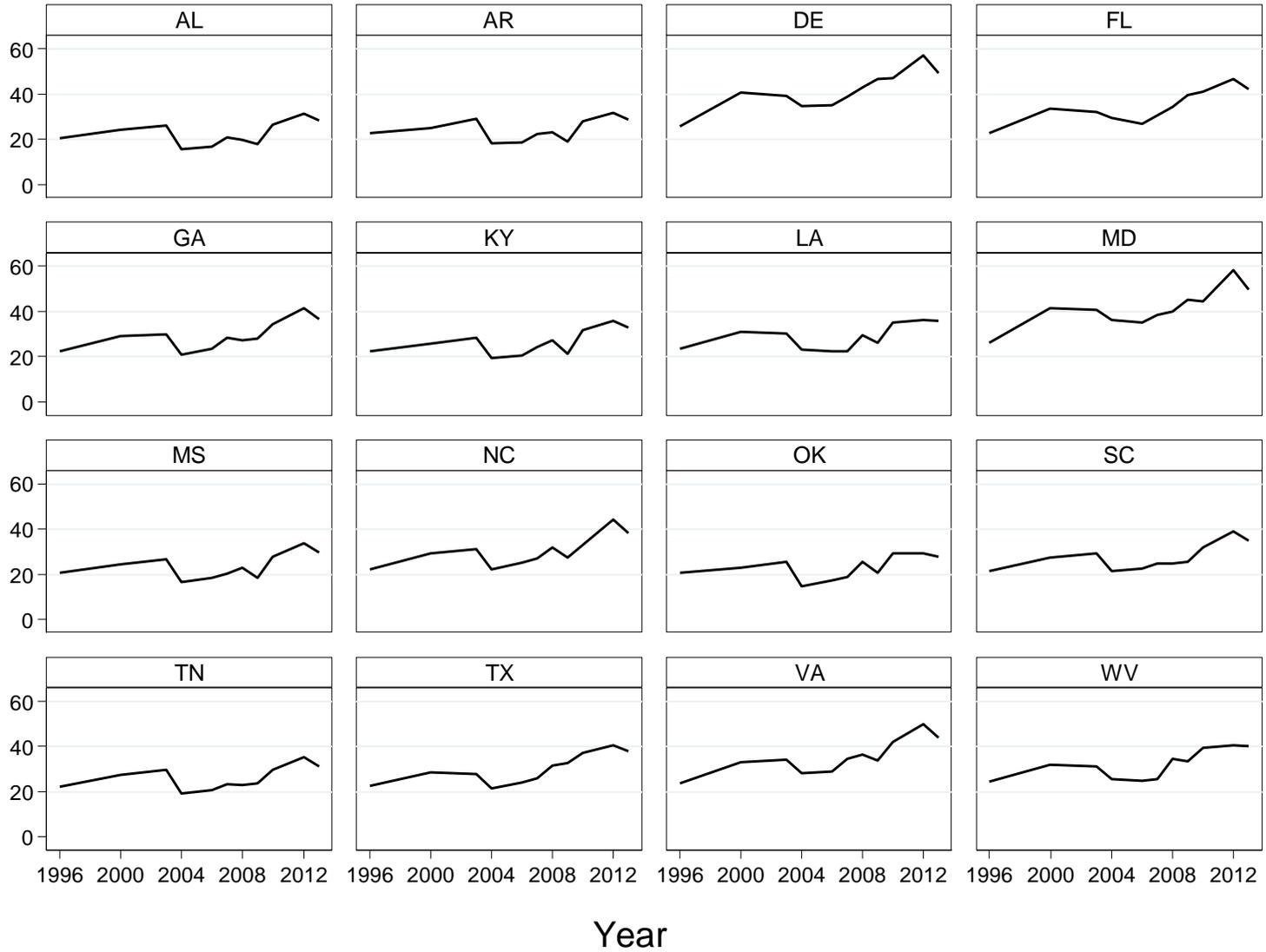


FIGURE D. Support for Same-Sex Marriage, 1996-2013: Western States

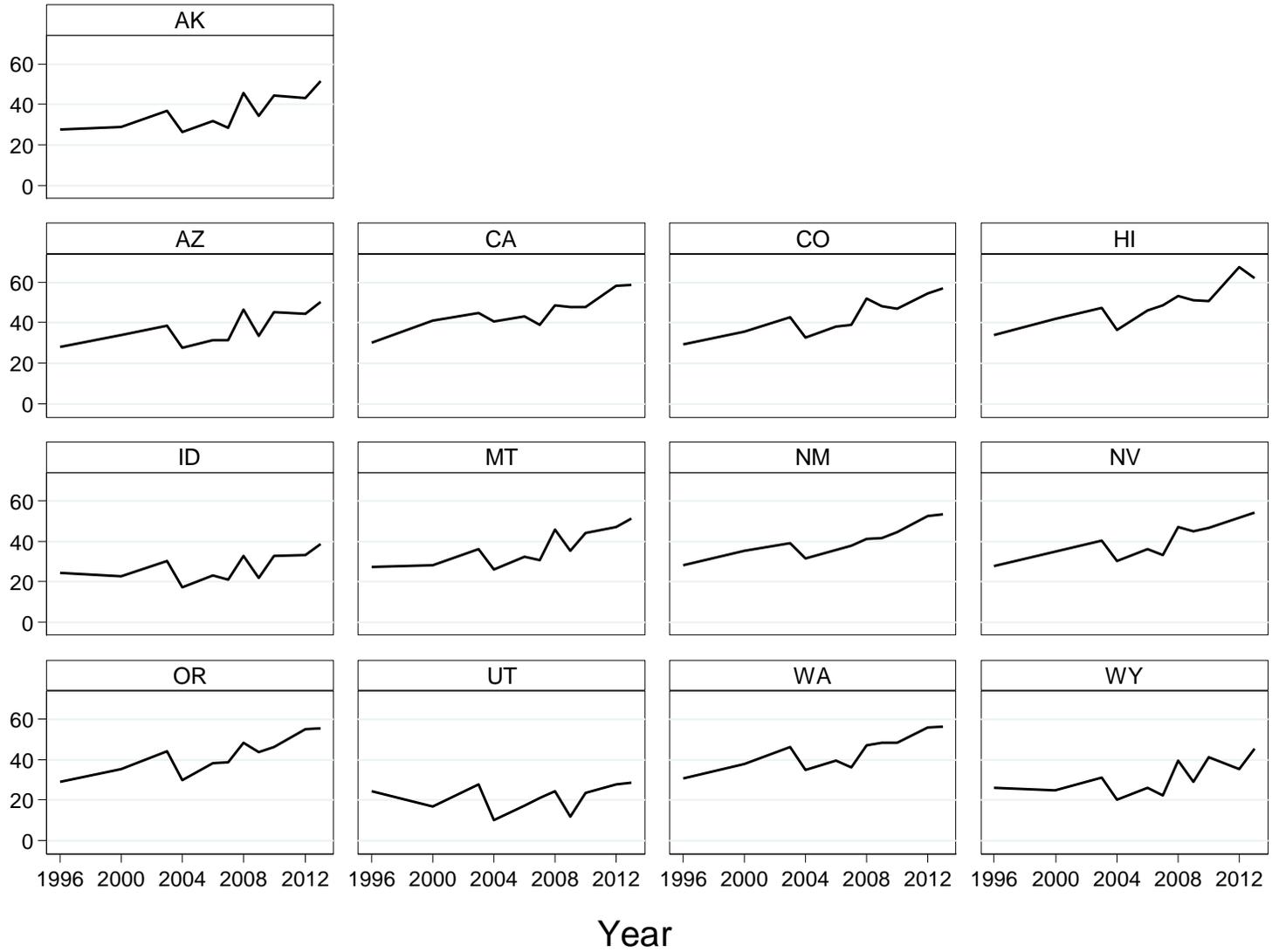


TABLE B. Measures of Direct Democracy

State	Legislative Insulation Index*	Qualification Difficulty Index*	Initiative Use	Direct Democracy Impact
Wyoming	1	1	8	1.081
Mississippi	3	2	5	1.590
Illinois	5	3	1	1.756
Maine	2	3	50	2.347
Alaska	4	2	43	2.435
Nebraska	4	3	26	2.542
Massachusetts	2	4	54	2.628
Florida	5	3	30	2.781
Nevada	5	3	38	2.852
Missouri	4	4	37	2.907
Utah	6	4	13	2.984
Montana	4	4	50	2.997
Oklahoma	6	4	15	3.027
Ohio	4	5	35	3.148
Idaho	6	5	21	3.387
Washington	6	4	92	3.574
South Dakota	6	5	47	3.630
Arizona	7	4	69	3.683
Michigan	7	5	35	3.737
Arkansas	8	5	25	3.832
North Dakota	7	6	40	4.078
Colorado	7	6	98	4.306
Oregon	7	7	156	4.704
California	9	6	212	4.93

Note: The 26 states without direct democracy institutions (not shown here) have a score of zero on all measures.

*Based on Shaun Bowler, and Todd Donovan, 2004. "Measuring the Effects of Direct Democracy on State Policy: Not all Initiatives are Created Equal." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 4:345-63. Higher scores indicate less insulation and less qualification difficulty (i.e., fewer restrictions on direct democracy)

TABLE C. Year of Initial Policy Adoptions, 1994-2013

State	Same-Sex Marriage Ban	Domestic Partnership	Civil Union	Same-Sex Marriage
Alabama	1998			
Alaska	1996			
Arizona	1996			
Arkansas	1997			
California	2000	1999		2010*
Colorado	2000	2009	2013	
Connecticut	2005		2005	2008*
Delaware	1996			2013
Florida	1997			
Georgia	1996			
Hawaii	1998			
Idaho	1996			
Illinois	1996		2010	2013
Indiana	1997			
Iowa	1998			2009*
Kansas	1996			
Kentucky	1998			
Louisiana	1999			
Maine	1997	2004		2012
Maryland	#	2008		2013
Massachusetts				2004*
Michigan	1996			
Minnesota	1997			2013
Mississippi	1997			
Missouri	1996			
Montana	1997			
Nebraska	2000			
Nevada	2002	2009		
New Hampshire	2004		2007	2009
New Jersey			2007	2013*
New Mexico				2013*
New York				2011
North Carolina	1996			
North Dakota	1997			
Ohio	2004			
Oklahoma	1996			
Oregon	2004	2007		
Pennsylvania	1996			
Rhode Island			2011	2013
South Carolina	1996			
South Dakota	1996			
Tennessee	1996			
Texas	2003			
Utah	1995			
Vermont	1999		2000	2009
Virginia	1997			
Washington	1998		2007	2012
West Virginia	2000			
Wisconsin	2006	2009		
Wyoming	#			

* These states legalized same-sex marriage through judicial action, rather than legislation.

Maryland and Wyoming both had pre-existing, gendered language in the state marriage law and never passed an explicit same-sex marriage ban.

TABLE D. Summary Statistics for Independent Variables

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Description
Public Opinion	34.164	9.873	10.288	67.210	MRP estimates of public support for same-sex marriage (authors)
Citizen Ideology	-19.823	10.165	-45.489	17.859	MRP estimates of self-identified liberals minus self-identified conservatives (Enns and Koch 2013)
Direct Democracy	0.480	0.500	0	1	Indicator of state with ballot initiatives or popular referendums
Direct Democracy Impact	1.499	1.685	0	4.931	PCA estimates of impact of direct democracy institutions (authors; see Table B)
Republican Government	0.269	0.444	0	1	Indicator of unified Republican control of government
Democratic Government	0.209	0.407	0	1	Indicator of unified Democratic control of government
Party Competition	87.755	8.763	63.76	99.993	Folded Ranney Index of party competition (Klarner 2014)
Geographic Diffusion: Same-sex Marriage Ban	38.018	36.797	0	100	Percentage of neighboring states with a same-sex marriage ban
Geographic Diffusion: Relationship Recognition	11.781	23.482	0	100	Percentage of neighboring states with domestic partnership, civil union, or same-sex marriage law
Geographic Diffusion: Same-sex Marriage	4.093	14.213	0	100	Percentage of neighboring states with a same-sex marriage law
Prior Language	0.146	0.353	0	1	Indicator of pre-existing, gendered language in the state marriage law
LGBT Population Percentage	3.458	0.700	1.7	5.1	Percentage of state population that identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (Gates and Newport 2013)
Population (logged)	8.183	1.012	6.174	10.554	Natural log of state population