

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

DECOUPLING THE VALUES AGENDA:
MILLENNIALS, RELIGION, AND SHIFTING ATTITUDES
TOWARD ABORTION AND SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. DIONNE: I want to welcome everybody here today. This is a very exciting survey. I think Robbie and PRRI have cleared up a number of mysteries on a number of issues today, and so you can think of yourself as attending not simply a Brookings event but a kind of thriller where clues are presented as you go along to solving some mysteries and helping to at least begin to resolve certain arguments I think that have broken out over the data.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan famously said you're entitled your own opinion but you're not entitled your own facts, and I think if we're going to have a good discussion on -- well, on any subject but perhaps especially abortion and gay marriage and gay rights, having the facts straight first is very helpful, and Robbie is very helpful in this regard today.

This event is being held under the auspices of Brookings in our project on religion, policy, and politics. My colleagues are Bill Galston, a non-resident senior fellow; Melissa Rogers who -- Bill couldn't be here and regrets it greatly. Melissa is here -- where are you, Melissa? Oh, there -- anyway, Melissa Rogers is here. And we're very grateful for the collaboration we've undertaken with Robbie Jones, Dan Cox, and the other great people at the Public Religion Research Institute. But because I want to make absolutely sure that credit goes where credit is due, this

survey is the work of PRRI and should be attributed to PRRI. Robbie and also Dan Cox and Rachel Laser did a lot of good work on this and they deserve the kudos and the credit and, for my friends in the media, the attributions. So, we are very happy.

But we have worked on projects together before, and we look forward to doing it again, and one of the brokers of our friendship is also the -- is Sheila Davaney, who is with the Ford Foundation. Ford funded all or part of this survey. She also funds our religious work at Brookings. It is customary to thank foundations for their material support, which I do, but Sheila actually knows a whole lot about the subject of religion in public life, and so meetings with her are enlightening and a lot of fun. She gives not only material but also intellectual and, if I may say, spiritual support to our work. So, thank you to Sheila.

And I'd like to say thank-yous at the beginning of an event, because if you get all involved in a discussion you forget, and then all kinds of people who did all kinds of work don't get mentioned. Obviously, I want to thank Robbie and my colleague Bill Galston. And I want to thank Dan Cox of PRRI; Rachel Laser; Darrell West, who heads the Governance Studies Program at Brookings and has been very supportive of all our work in this area. Thanks also to Emily Luken, John Seo, Shannon Straw, and above all for today, Korin Davis, who is an extraordinary person. And,

Robbie -- there are many good people at PRRI that Robbie may thank.

So, without further ado, Robbie is not only famous for his PowerPoints, but he has an Indianapolis 500 sort of delivery, which gives you lots of facts in five minutes. You know, you -- I guess it's the old saying in New York: You give us 22 minutes, we give you the world. Robbie gives us the world in about half that.

Robbie is the founder and CEO of the Public Religion Research Institute. He is the author of *Progressive and Religious* and also *Liberalism's Troubled Search for Equality*. Before founding PRRI, he worked as a consultant research fellow at several think tanks here in D.C. He was an assistant professor of religious studies at Missouri State University. He holds a Ph.D. in religion from Emory University and a master's in divinity from the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Robbie told me a very interesting fact about himself just before the meeting. When he moved to Missouri, that was the farthest north he had ever lived. And so Robbie understands -- so, you know, we are practically New England here in D.C. to Robbie. So, he sees America whole from sea to shining sea, and we are very honored to be working with him.

Thank you, Robbie.

MR. JONES: Thanks. That was a very gracious

introduction. I'm really honored and happy to be here today to talk about our new survey.

I do have a couple of thanks that I want to offer for myself.

We do have some press on the phone, and for those who are on the phone, the full report at the top of my questionnaire should be up on our website right now. That's www.publicreligion.org. You should be able to find it right there on the home page.

So, a couple of words of thanks before jumping into the findings. I do want to say thank you to E.J. Dionne, Bill Galston, and Corinne Davis for their hosting of the event today and really gracious partnership that we have had in past events and will be carrying on in the future much to our benefit.

I also want to thank PRRI's research director, Daniel Cox, who did much of the heavy lifting on the statistics and especially some of the modeling work and always does a really able job of shepherding these very complicated surveys through the process.

I also want to offer a special word of thanks to Rachel Laser, who served, for this project, as a consultant and is a co-author of the report, and I've had the privilege to work with Rachel for nearly five years now it looks like and much of that time really admiring her work to find common ground across the divides on the sometimes intractable debates

around abortion. The project is really much stronger due to her expert knowledge of these issues and her insights. So I will say thank you especially to her.

So, finally, as E.J. mentioned, the survey wouldn't be possible without a very generous grant from the Ford Foundation. I want to thank especially Sheila Devaney, who's here in the front row, for being with us today.

So, with that, I will jump in and -- I want to say there is a little bit of irony of my getting billed as the Indianapolis 500. I'm from Mississippi, right, where we're not known for speaking quickly. But I'll try to not do it too fast and kind of walk through this in a way that makes some sense.

I think E.J.'s remarks that this is a little bit of a mystery is maybe a good way of kind of getting in to this. It's a complicated story, and the reason it's complicated -- there's been much debate over where millennials are on the issue of abortion, much less debate about where they are on issues of gay rights, and so we wanted to cast some light on where exactly millennials are on this issue.

In order to do that, we had to conduct a fairly large survey in order to get a statistically significant sample of millennials. So, this survey was a telephone survey done among 3,000 Americans, including 750

interviews by cell phone, which was very important in order to get -- because you can't reach about half of millennials on a land line. So, in order to kind of get a representative sample, we really had to do a very sizeable cell phone sample.

So, as I go through, it's important to keep in mind, now, every survey has a margin of sampling error. This 3,000-person survey for the whole sample is plus or minus 2 points for the millennial sample. We were in the field at sort of the end of April, toward the beginning of -- through May 8th. Since this is fairly, you know, fairly hot off the press, data is about as quick as we can turn something like this around. And we also -- I'm going to be mentioning along the way -- we also conducted a set of four focus groups among millennials to really help us kind of get a sense of what was going on, what kinds of things might be different for their generation. I'll be mentioning that as we go along.

One other thing I'll say here is that I'm going to be focusing on millennials and religion and the issue of abortion and also, by connection, an issue that's often mentioned with that, the issue of same-sex marriage. So, I'll be kind of skating between those two things. I'm going to end with some kind of insights around that are really focused on millennials, but I'm going to give you kind of along the way a little snapshot of where millennials are and then kind of bring it all together at the end.

So, we'll get it sprinkled throughout and then together at the end.

So, first of all just some context. I don't know -- Karlyn in a moment who will be here will talk a little bit more about this. But not important to digest all these numbers. The main thing here is that this is over the past 10 years.

Support in opposition for the legality of abortion. The main thing to see here is that support has been fairly level. It bounces around a little bit, but if you go back to 2002, 57 percent say abortion should be legal in all or most cases. In our latest survey 56 percent say abortion should be legal in all cases, and really about 4 in 10 across the last decade have said that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases. So, not a lot of movement on this issue. And you could go back and the numbers look basically the same. But this 10-year snapshot is a pretty good picture of the kind of stability of this issue in the general population.

Here's a breakdown from our survey by religion. So, this is - - the blue numbers here are legal in all cases or legal in most cases. The red number hues are illegal in most cases and illegal in all cases. So, in the general population again we found 56 percent say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, and we found 40 percent saying that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases.

You could see that -- if you kind of track the blue, the kind of

slope of the blue here, that with the exception of white, evangelical, Protestant Christians, every major religious group in the country, there's a majority who says that says abortion should be legal in all or most cases. So, we have white, evangelical Christians really sticking out as a group that has a very different profile. Only 29 percent of white, evangelical, Protestant Christians say that abortion should be legal in all or most cases. Latino Catholics are really at a slim majority, and then it goes up from there. White Catholics at 54 percent, black Protestants at 66 percent, and white, mainliner Protestants, the group that has the strongest support among religious groups for the legality of abortion. So, we see some kind of religious differences.

The other thing to say here is that religious attendance matters on the issue of abortion. We've known this for a long time, but one of the luxuries of a survey like this is that we can actually look underneath religious affiliation groups and see how it matters differently for different religious groups, and that's a kind of new insight that I think this survey has cast some light on.

And so if you look on the left, this is the religious tenets differences among the general public. So, you see really stark differences. Among those who attend religious services once a week or more, only 36 percent say abortion should be legal in all or most cases. If

you jump to the monthly attender crowd, those people who attend monthly or a few times a year, that number jumps to 64 percent who say that abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

You can see generally the same pattern among religious groups, although it's certainly -- if you look among white evangelicals, you still see a difference, but even among white evangelicals there are -- even among the monthly or a few times a year crowd, you're less than a majority. That's a kind of unique attribute among white, evangelical Christians even among the monthly crowd. And that little star is there is there because we didn't have cases of white evangelical Christians who said they didn't attend religious services very often to actually even report any data there. So, that's why that little star is there.

The one I want to draw your attention to is among Catholics in the middle here. It's among Catholics where the attendance levels are really most pronounced. They look a lot like the general population here. But you see really big differences between weekly or more and the monthly, three times a year, and the seldom or never crowd among Catholics.

White mainline Protestants and African-American Protestants tell a little bit of a different story. Even among the most

frequent white attenders among white mainline Protestants, the majority say that abortion should be legal in all cases. So, there's no attendance group among white mainline Protestants where less than a majority says abortion should be legal in all or most cases. And among African-American Protestants, these stars are here again, because we don't have enough cases in these groups to report. African-Americans attended very high rates, actually rates on par, maybe a little higher than white, evangelical Protestants do. But, again, what's interesting about this group and one reason I wanted to put this one bar here is that even among the most frequently attending African-American Protestants, there's pretty solid support, 58 percent for abortion being legal in all or most cases.

The big take-away point here is that attendance matters, but it matters differently for different religious groups, and that's a kind of new insight that I hope we've kind of made a contribution to here.

The other thing that we have known from a lot of surveys is that -- and I won't spend a lot of time here, but I just want to display it for you -- is that abortion in the general population is fairly low on the list of important issues. So, we ask them whether this is a critical issue facing the country, one among many issues facing the country, or an issue that's not that important. In the general population, it ranks 4 out of 5 of the issues that we asked about, about 3 out of 10 saying it's a critical issue,

and about 4 in 10 saying that the issue is actually just not that important.

However, there's a real difference here and other surveys have found this as well, but we found that those who say that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases are much more likely to say the issue is important, right? So, there's a kind of gap between the different sides of the debate over how important the issue is.

Just one quick example here. If I look just at the group that says that abortion should be illegal in all cases, 65 percent say abortion is a critical issue facing the country. If I look at the group on the far pole on the other side, that is, those who say that abortion should be legal in all cases, only 19 percent say it's a critical issue. So, more than three times is the gap on salience, depending on where you are on the issue.

One other contribution that we make, and it was one I wanted to come back to because it's important for millennials, is that we asked in the survey not only about legality, which is a pretty common way of asking, but we asked about availability of abortion services in one's local community. Now, for most of the public, for the public in most groups, these numbers line up pretty well, as you might expect, that you see generally the same number saying it should be legal in all or most cases as say that it should be available. And you can see some real differences by religious groups.

I'll point out just one here that we can maybe come back to in the Q&A. It's a very complex picture. I mentioned that Latino Catholics -- a majority say that abortion should be legal in all or most cases. But significantly fewer say that it should be available, which is kind of an interesting paradox here. But the question is available in their local community, right? So, we can kind of maybe unpack what that means a little bit later.

Millennials are actually the opposite. I'm going to come back to this point -- but just let me flag it here -- that millennials are more likely to say that abortion should be available in their local community than say it should be legal in all or most cases, right? So, there's a kind of interesting -- going back to this kind of mystery theme, I'm going to come back to that one and unpack it. But they're very strongly supportive.

And here you can see some real generational differences on availability, and these generational differences actually are quite muted when you get to legality. In fact, if you look at legality, millennials look exactly like the general population in their support for legality. About 6 in 10 say abortion should be legal, but when you talk about availability, you see a jump out ahead of the general population and some real -- and bigger generational divides. So, that's kind of part of the kind of mystery that we're going to be talking about today.

One other attribute of the abortion debate that I think is important to kind of hold here as we kind of think about these issues is that Americans have for some time now, and probably from the beginning of the debate but certainly over the last 10 years, consistently lived with what I would call a stable tension between kind of being conflicted about the morality of abortion but being sort of supportive of the legality of abortion. And that gap has been about 10 points, pretty much, you know, tracking about 10 years. It moves around a little bit, but it's about 10-point gap between those who say that abortion is morally acceptable and those who say that abortion should be legal in all cases. So, that's a kind of interesting tension, but it's a stable tension that I think Americans have navigated on this issue for quite some time.

Another big finding of the survey that we were able to document, especially as it's embodied in the kind of millennial generation is what we're calling the decoupling of attitudes on abortion and same-sex marriage. That is, the millennials approach these issues very differently.

Here's just one kind of snapshot in here, and, you know, the main thing here -- you can actually see quite quickly just the different shape of the distribution, right? These are generational cohorts along the bottom, so the millennial generation is on the far left, seniors are on the far right of each of these things, and if you look on the left, this is support for

same-sex marriage, and this is from -- I should just note, this is from a three-part question, so it asks about same-sex marriage, civil unions, or no legal recognition; and so we have the same-sex marriage brought up here. There's another wedge up there above civil union. But just for simplicity's sake and to demonstrate the gap here -- so 57 percent of millennials say they support same-sex marriage compared to only 26 percent of seniors, and, you know, it's just really a linear slope here. You can just see the generational stair-stepping down on support for same-sex marriage.

If you look at support for abortion, right?, there aren't that many generational differences. This line, this kind of slope is fairly flat. And that's actually part of, you know, millennials really embodying two different approaches to these issues. So, despite -- you know, there's 6 in 10 support, but that's not really much different than their parents. It really is only different from the oldest Americans, Americans 65 and over.

Just to kind of accentuate -- to put an accent on this point, if we look at those who view different behaviors as morally wrong, we see exactly the same pattern. On the left, these are, again, generational cohorts, millennials on the left, the older Americans on the right.

Sex between adults of the same gender being morally wrong. Only 41 percent of millennials say that sex between adults of the

same gender is morally wrong; 7 in 10 seniors say sex between adults of the same gender is morally wrong. Again, having an abortion morally wrong. The millennial generation is really a little more divided on that question but not much, right? I mean, it looks really pretty close to the other generational things.

So, this is -- at least part of the story here is that millennials have very similar kind of moral -- they're divided on the morality of abortion a way they're not on the issue of same-sex marriage.

Now, this next thing is we were going to measure kind of how the labels of pro-choice and pro-life, kind of terms of the debate at least in sort of in the press and the media, measured up and how Americans related to these terms. So, one of the things we did is we decided we didn't want to ask people to pick between these terms. We wanted to ask people separately how well does the term "pro-life" describe you, how well does the "pro-choice" describe you, and give them an opportunity to identify with each one without having to pick one over the other, and here's what we found.

When we asked how many said that the term "pro-life" describes them, it turns out that two-thirds of the country says that the term "pro-life" describes them either very well or somewhat well, right? That's much higher than you typically find when you make people pick

between one or the other. Interestingly enough, on other question we find 7 in 10 Americans say the term "pro-choice describes them either somewhat or very well.

Now, we actually think this is -- you know, sometimes you find, like this, and you think oh, maybe the question didn't work so well or, you know, we've got some methodological problem. We actually think that this is a fairly accurate picture of what's going on in the American public, that people actually -- and one of the reasons why we think this also, and one of the reasons we ask this question this way is when Randy's focus groups -- and we were getting people to -- we were getting these young millennials to talk about these terms in the debate -- we had, like, you know, a lot of people saying, no, no, no, I'm both, you know, I don't just take one or the other. We heard things like, you know, well, I'm pro-life but I'm also pro-woman, so what does that make me, you know, and kind of really wrestling with trying to just claim one or the other and many very comfortably just saying, you know, I'm both of these things.

And so that's a kind of interesting finding that I think is maybe helpful to kind of help us wrap our heads around the real complexity of this debate. This, by the way, goes right through on the millennial generation as well. Sixty-five percent of the millennial generation says that the term "pro-life" describes them very well and

75 percent say the term “per-choice” describes them somewhat or very well. So, it’s in the general population. It runs right through the millennial generation as well, so they slightly more say, you know, pro-choice than pro-life describes them well, but it’s still two-thirds say pro-life.

So, you know, as again I think it’s a reminder -- the fluidity, the complexity of the issue.

And one other point on this that’s also fairly interesting is kind of a side point here, but we also asked which -- on these terms -- which term, pro-life or pro-choice, did people think is most socially acceptable in the country today, and majorities really across the political spectrum said that pro-choice was the term that’s most socially acceptable today. It’s kind of an interesting finding on that front, too.

So, we did a little more analysis. So, this was like we just asked them -- we did a little more analysis to try and sort out a little more carefully -- okay, so who is it really that really claims one and rejects the other and who is it really that’s fully mixed? So, we basically built a scale out of the responses to these two questions that enabled us to kind of sort those people apart, and basically what we found is -- the first thing I point to is this 4 in 10 that are decidedly mixed, right?, that they really do claim one or the other. They’ll either claim one softly and another softly as well or they’ll claim both strongly. I mean, they really are decidedly mixed.

And then we found -- the other interesting point I think is just how small the wedges are of the people who are really out on the polls, right?, who claim one, strongly reject the other. It's really only about 1 in 10 Americans who are really out there on either one of these polls really strongly claiming one, strongly rejecting the other and then the rest leaning one way or decidedly mixed in the middle.

We also in the survey wanted to get at some new measures of kind of predictors of support for legal abortion or opposition to legal abortion, and again some of this was kind of built on millennials and trying to get a sense of whether of these mattered among millennials or whether they mattered among the general population. And I'll mention just a couple here and we can talk about these later in the Q&A. But we had six measures. We found that four of them were significant, two of them weren't. I'm just going to talk about a couple of the significant ones. I'm happy to circle back around. But the friendship effect here is really knowing someone who has had an abortion. We had about 6 in 10 Americans say they know someone who has had an abortion, and among those who do, that's an independent positive influence that predicts greater support for the legality of abortion if they know someone who's had an abortion.

The MTV effect is also fairly interesting. We heard from millennials that there were two television shows that came up in our focus groups in particular that they had been watching. And I have to admit that I had never heard of them before, the thing which clearly places me outside the millennial box. But the two shows are *16 and Pregnant* and *Teen Mom*. All right, I see some young heads nodding in the audience here. All right, and we asked them in the survey -- we'd decided to kind of make this a little hard on the survey in that we didn't just ask them, like, name those shows. We asked if they had seen any shows that were about young, unmarried, you know, teens who were struggling with an unattended pregnancy, and among those who said yes, we added an open-ended question that asked them to name the show. And these two shows popped up, you know, more than anything else as the two shows. So, we had actually a big enough group naming these two shows that we could actually do some analysis on it, and it turns out that watching these two shows, even controlling for all other demographic -- you know, for a number of other demographic characteristics make one more likely abortion than those who don't see these, showing that -- I mean the shows basically show -- Teen Mom especially shows young teenagers who have decided to have a child and who are struggling to kind of get

through college, and, you know, manage all those relationships, and so it's not surprising that the effect is in the direction.

The last one I'll mention is the ultrasound effect, about whether people had recently seen an ultrasound of the fetus and then were able to do some analysis about whether that had an effect. And, in fact, it does have a modest, but significant effect in the negative direction.

So people who had recently seen an ultrasound image of a fetus were, in fact, less likely to support legal abortion than those who had not. And the other two we tested were not significant. Those who have a kind of empathetic approach, or self-identifies, kind of being an empathetic person, and those who say they know someone who has a special needs child, those were not significant in either direction we tested them.

So let me wrap up here with just a couple of things. I'm going to kind of return to at least one of the mysteries and one of the complexities that E.J. referred to at the beginning here, and that is this gap between legality and availability among millennials. So millennials are the only generation in which this is true. So if you kind of look at the table here, and the general population, I mean these are really not different, 56 percent say abortions should be illegal in most cases, 58 percent say it should be available, and these other numbers are right on the mark really in the other generations.

For millennials, we had this eight point job here. Now, you know, it's not huge, but it's eight point, it's definitely a significant difference. So we did a little bit more analysis to try to figure out if we could tell what was going on, is that real, and what does it mean.

And so one of the things we did is, we did a regression modeled that controlled for other characteristics of millennials to see if there was -- if that was an independent -- if there was an independent effect of just being millennial on one's views of legal abortion or if there was an independent effect of just being millennial. If you hold everything else constant, their education, you know, their gender, other kinds of factors like that, party affiliation, what does it mean, and what we actually found is this very interesting finding that when you control for other factors, just being millennial makes one more likely to support availability, but just being millennial makes one less likely to support legality. So that's a very interesting and perhaps paradoxical finding that we can maybe talk about the meaning of that a little bit more.

And these effects are modest, but what the important thing is the directionality of them, that they actually move, and what we'd expect is maybe one to have no effect and the other one to have an effect. We really didn't expect to find this negative direction on the legality question, but it's certainly part of the story here, what's going on.

So finally, just to wrap it up here, so what do we know?

Well, millennials embody what we call the decoupling of the values agenda, and they basically are as supportive of their parents in the legality of abortion, they are more supportive than their parents on same sex marriage, and then they are also more supportive on availability. There's this kind of legality availability gap among millennials. On religion, what is there to say? Well, I think the Americans have negotiated a stable tension between kind of conflicted moral views, but with majority support for the legality of abortion for some time, that continues to be true, and that's embodied in the millennial generation, as well, with the exception of white Evangelical Protestants. The majorities of all the religious groups in the country support the legality of abortion.

And then finally, just to go back to this church attendance matters, but the differences are more perhaps among Catholics, and it matters, you know, more for some than for others. So with that, I will wrap it up and we'll turn it over to our panelists.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you so much, Robbie. What's amazing is, there's a lot of stuff in this survey that he didn't even touch on, which we hope we can get to in the discussion, but that was a great summary of the findings. And we have two spectacular respondents today. First will be Karlyn Bowman. I would say, Karlyn, I think I worked

on the first project I ever worked on with Karlyn when I was 26 years old, and I will not tell you how long ago that was, but I loved her then and still do. She is a great, great person to work with. She is a Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, where she is a specialist in compiling and analyzing American public opinion on many subjects, and she's done a lot of work on attitudes toward abortion and gay marriage. She has also studied and spoken about the evolution of American politics, looking at key demographic groups, geographic changes, and she writes a weekly column for Forbes.com.

And Melissa Deckman is a Louis L. Goldstein Associate Professor of Public Affairs and Chair of the Political Science Department at Washington College. I commend -- it is one of the most beautiful places I have been. It's just a couple of hours down the road toward the Eastern Shore or on the Eastern Shore.

Her areas of specialty include religion and politics, state and local politics, women and politics. She is the author of *School Board Battles: The Christian Right in Local Politics*, and the co-author of *Women and Politics Paths to Power and Political Influence*.

And just before I turn it over to Karlyn, I want to give you all a sense of how we're going to proceed. Karlyn and Melissa will offer their additional responses to the survey. I will ask a couple of questions,

highlight a couple other findings in Robbie's survey. We'll have a little bit of interaction among ourselves, but we're going to bring you all into the discussion very quickly. So, Karlyn, thank you. This is the second time you've joined us on one of these surveys, and we're very, very grateful that you're here again.

MS. BOWMAN: Thank you very much, E.J. Well, I will tell you how long it's been. E.J. and I started working on these projects involving public opinion 30 years ago, when he helped to launch a little Niche publication called Public Opinion. And one of the very first issues that we chose to look at was public opinion on abortion, so we've been plowing this ground for a very long time.

MR. DIONNE: She doesn't look like it's 30 years ago, I do, that's why she is totally ready to --

MS. BOWMAN: I do.

MR. DIONNE: -- talk about it.

MS. BOWMAN: I do. And I should say in this long study of Public Opinion that while I believe that polls are very useful, I don't think that they should ever be used to make policy, whether the issue is Afghanistan or abortion. I think they're simply too crude for that purpose.

 Polls are useful, however, to deepen our understanding of what makes a complex and heterogeneous public tick, and I'd really like to

congratulate Robbie and his team at PRRI for another impressive effort to broaden and deepen our understanding. Abortion is one of the most heavily polled areas in the literature, and to break any new ground is a significant accomplishment, and I think Robbie and his team have clearly done that.

But before turning to the new poll, let me just step back briefly to tell you a little bit about how I think about public opinion. Polls, it seems to me, have two essential properties. In many areas, the continuity that we see in attitudes is profound. But side by side that continuity, contradiction and ambivalence abounds.

Abortion is one area in which you see both the powerful continuity and the deep ambivalence, and Robbie has talked a little about that this morning.

I brought a handout, too, which looks at several other pollsters' main trends on abortion, and as you can see in each one of those questions, opinion barely moves. The trends are so stable that you could probably balance a glass of water on them over time. And the results from each pollster are remarkably consistent internally.

Robbie and his team updated a question that Pew, ABC News, and the Washington Post and (inaudible) ask fairly regularly, and it's good to have the new update, 56 percent legal in all or most cases, 40 percent illegal in all or most cases. But I think it's important to look at the

poles, p-o-l-e-s, of opinion on that question, only 19 percent said it should be legal in all cases, and 14 percent illegal in all.

Robbie's team updated another set of questions that demonstrate this profound continuity. In the early 1970's, one of the best survey firms we have, the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, started asking about the conditions under which a woman should be able to obtain a legal abortion.

Eighty-three percent in the NORC survey in 1972 said that a woman should be able to obtain a legal abortion if a woman's health is seriously in endangered by the pregnancy. Eighty-six percent in the new poll gave that response, again, remarkable stability.

Seventy-five percent in the NORC question from 1972 said that a woman should be able to obtain a legal abortion if she became pregnant as a result of rape. Seventy-nine percent gave that response in the new survey. Forty-one percent said that she should be able to obtain a legal abortion if she is not married and does not want to marry the man. Thirty-nine percent in the new survey gave that response.

The NORC data would seem to suggest that if the circumstances of the pregnancy are beyond the woman's control, rape, the mother's health, a potential birth defect, she should be able to obtain a

legal abortion. If they are within her control, opinion is more divided and, in some instances, negative.

Opinion has also not changed in any dramatic way about keeping abortion legal. Large majorities want to keep it so. The millennial generation, like other age groups, with the exception, as Robbie showed in one of the slides of those 65 and over are committed to availability. I wish they had asked about federal funding for abortion, because this is an area where I don't know a lot about age differences overall, and I think that would have been helpful.

All the polls that I have seen show high support for permitting first trimester abortion and strong opposition to third trimester ones. Opinion has been remarkably stable on the restrictions Americans support on the use of abortion, whether the issue is consent of a parent, which is supported, and waiting periods, so powerful continuity. But there's also very deep ambivalence about abortion. Although Robbie did not ask people whether abortion is an act of murder, almost all of those questions, and almost all of those questions, the majority or a plurality give that response. But if you ask a different kind of question, should this be, as NBC News and the Wall Street Journal have done for almost two decades, should the decision to have an abortion be a personal choice

between a woman and her doctor, solid majorities almost always say it should be a personal choice.

Think about those two sentiments. It's murder, I'm for it. Those are profoundly contradictory opinions, yet opinion is held steady on the questions for as long as the pollsters have been asking them.

In the new poll today, strong majority simultaneously say that it is appropriate for abortion laws to protect the life of the fetus throughout the entire pregnancy, and that it is appropriate for laws to preserve a woman's freedom to make her own decisions.

It's clear that Americans value both the sanctity of life and individual choice. They are at one and the same time pro life and pro choice. And I was really excited about the way that Robbie split the pro life and pro choice question, we've never seen that before, and I thought it was just stunning that not only does every demographic group identify with both, but solid majorities of every religious group say that both terms describe them at least somewhat well.

Also consistent in this poll and others is that the intensity seems to be with the pro life side. Sixty-five percent in Robbie's poll of those who said abortion should be illegal in all cases said it was a critical issue, just 19 percent who said that it should be legal in all cases said that this was a critical issue.

This echoes the limited national level exit poll data of voters leaving the polls. Those who vote the issue, and again, we do not have a large number of cases to look at this situation, is usually between nine and 13 percent of voters, and they tend to pull the level for candidates on the pro life side.

When people hold contradictory views about an issue, and this is my own personal theory about public opinion, they tend to pull away from policy debates, leaving the playing field to the activists who see less gray than the rest of the population. I think most people understand at some level that they're contradictions and their own opinions, but they see no need whatsoever to resolve those contradictions. They pull away, content to live with the contradictions and their own opinions.

The media cover the pro life and the pro choice activists because the media love conflict, but the views of those groups don't represent the views of most people.

You see the same dynamic on immigration and trade, to name just two other issues where values are at stake, where we hold, often within ourselves, deeply contradictory opinions, so powerful continuity, powerful ambivalence.

Young people often lead change, and I'm delighted that Robbie and his team decided to focus on the millennials, especially those

with higher levels of formal education. Whether the attitudes are in fashion or in opinion, they tend to trickle down to the rest of us.

This is certainly true on same sex relations. Young people supported gay marriage in polls several years ago, but in three surveys this year, a majority of adults did. On marijuana, young people are leading support for legalization, but their views are similar to middle aged adults. We have very little data on hard drugs, but interestingly, the baby boom cohort is someone that looks a little bit out of line on those issues overall. I will say no more.

On abortion, Robbie notes that the millennials may be less supportive of legal abortion than their demographic profile would suggest. Gallop found something quite similar in a massive cohort analysis that they did in 2010, and here I'm quoting directly from the Gallop analysis, "18 to 29 year olds are now roughly tied with seniors as the most likely of all age groups to hold this position that it should be illegal in all cases on abortion, although all four groups are fairly close in their views." And for all, of course, that was a minority opinion, but once again, the 18 to 29 year olds looked a little different.

Young people like most other age groups are conflicted. I think where they come together, where the population age groups come together is if the issue is not a front burner issue, and Robbie also

mentioned this this morning. Nor is it likely to be I think in 2012, if the economy continues to sputter.

I had five -- I think seven new polls in my in box yesterday and only one asked a question about abortion, and that was the CNN ORC poll, and they asked about how important the issue would be to you and your vote in 2012. And, of course, abortion and gay marriage ranked dead last. Fifty-one percent said that the economy would be extremely important to their vote next year, and 20 percent said that abortion would be, and 17 percent gave that response about same sex marriage.

Bottom line, I think the new PRRI survey has deepened our knowledge in a very heavily polled area in some important ways. I still don't know, and I'll be interested in Melissa's thoughts about how these contradictions are resolved in terms of public policy. Thank you very much.

MS. DECKMAN: I'd like to thank Brookings for inviting me today. And I want to commend Robbie and PRRI on a really interesting, well done, thorough, empirical investigation on abortion attitudes in the United States.

I'd like to divide my comments into three areas this morning. One, I just want to give my overall impressions of the findings and how the study both compliments and adds to existing research by social scientists

in the area of abortion attitudes. Secondly, I'd like to consider for a few minutes how the findings relate to the current reality of abortion politics, particularly as played out in state legislative politics.

For those of you who follow abortion politics, I think it's fair to say that, in a nut shell, the pro life side is winning, they're really racking up a remarkable number of legislative victories in state houses across the country as compared with the pro choice lobby. Clues as to why that is happening I think can really be found in this report.

Lastly, I want to speculate a little bit about how their findings, which show that millennials are making a clear distinction between gay rights and abortion as moral concerns may shape the future of the culture war in American politics.

I'm not going to say too, too much about the findings with respect to abortion attitude stability, I think Karlyn said a lot about this, but I was really struck again, once again. The more things change, the more they seem to stay the same. There's really been a remarkable consistency among Americans about attitudes on abortion.

Most Americans are what, you know, in very social science language I would call in the fuzzy middle, you know, they tend to be supportive of abortion in principal, but they also seem comfortable with placing restrictions on abortion, and there's deep ambivalence among

many Americans, and, as we see today, lots of contradictory findings. I think it's also remarkable that the majority of Americans describe themselves as pro life and pro choice.

The study also confirms many findings that scholars of religion and politics have found with respect to abortion attitudes in recent decades. Religious affiliation largely colors views on abortions, belonging to a certain faith tradition matters, so it's not shocking to find that white Evangelical Protestants are leading opponents to abortion rights, while seculars and increasingly white mainline Protestants are the most likely to support legal abortion.

Of course, their religiosity matters, as well. If you attend church frequently, if you hear sermons from the pulpit on the sinfulness of abortion regularly, if you hold very strict views of scripture, you're more likely to be opposed to abortion.

So here are the things I found that were really interesting in the study that add to the discussion and the scholarship on abortion. Like Karlyn, I was really interested in that measure of whether or not you think health care professionals in a community should provide abortions. I think that's a real interest to researchers, particularly among millennials, right. Millennials seem to be the most conflicted here. They say that abortion should be legal, a small majority do, but yet are much more likely, 68

percent I think is a remarkable number, saying that there should be local access to abortion providers for those who want that service.

I'm hoping that the researchers will kind of unpack this a little bit more, to kind of see what's going on there, and maybe Robbie can speak more about this today, but in the focus groups, whether or not -- you kind of got a sense of why it is that they feel that access to abortion is so important.

I'm wondering if it isn't related to that fact that in state legislatures across the country, you have less and less availability. Laws have been passed to make it harder and harder to get access to abortion services, and I'm wondering if that group, those millennials, are the ones who are feeling that more say than groups have in the past. I also wanted to see more of a breakdown of this measure. There's a footnote that talks about a multi variant regression that's done to analyze this, but I'd actually like to have access to that regression analysis. But I was wondering, too, if, for example, among Evangelical Protestants, do you see that younger Evangelicals are more likely to say that we should have greater access, or if it doesn't really factor, age doesn't factor into religious affiliation here.

Another contribution I think the study makes concerns those independent influences on abortion. Some of those I think certainly make intuitive sense, right, this idea that if you have a situational approach to

morality versus one where you tend to see the world in black and white, those individuals are more likely to support abortion rights, or having the friendship effect, as they talk about, knowing someone who's had an abortion, that makes you more supportive of abortion rights.

But I thought that the two figures regarding MTV and the sonogram effect were really interesting. Like Robbie, I haven't really watched MTV since -- I guess they used to play music on MTV was the last time I watched MTV, but I was surprised actually to find that that was a positive effect toward having support for legal abortion, because when I'm standing in the grocery line, what I see are, through the glamorization of these teen moms on these magazines, and I thought maybe in some respect it might actually glamorize the idea of teen pregnancy, so I thought that was sort of an interesting finding that you had there.

But I was really struck by the sonogram effect here. So Robbie's team finds that if you've seen a sonogram, that you're less likely to support abortion. This is really interesting because at the grassroots level, what pro life forces are doing in crisis pregnancy centers around the country is, they're stocking all of them with sonogram machines. And so this is a really powerful visual image as to what abortion is.

And I think it's notable that in the past two years, I think three this year since the republican takeover of some state legislatures, four

states have passed laws requiring women who seek an abortion to view a sonogram.

Now, this is probably going to be challenged in the courts, we don't know really if this is constitutional, but I think it's a trend to watch, and I think it's particularly interesting that you're finding the sonogram effect in your study there. The last tidbit which you didn't touch on at all in the report here has to deal with the Tea Party. I'm glad that you looked at what Tea Party activists were thinking, but, you know, there's been I think an attempt by Tea Party activists and leaders to claim fiscal discipline as their *raison d`etre*. But if you look at the study, what you find is that they are probably the most conservative group, along with the Evangelicals, on social issues such as abortion and gay rights.

So I suspect that the Tea Party is just the new name for a lot of these Christian right activists to appeal to broader, more moderate voters in the electorate, and there's evidence of this in the study, so I thought that was very, very interesting.

Okay. So how do the studies here relate to the current reality of abortion politics as played out I think from a public policy perspective? Again, I think there are some tidbits here, some juicy tidbits in the study that maybe explain why the pro life side is doing so well.

Notably, that salient issue that Robbie was talking about, when asked if abortion was a critical issue among others, the study found that those who think abortion should be illegal versus those who support legal abortion rights were three times as likely to say that it was a critical issue. And as Karlyn reminds us, pro lifers are more jazzed up about this issue, right, they're more likely to cast a vote based on abortion rights. I think more pro-choicers consider a variety of factors here.

Pro life activists are highly motivated, they recruit candidates, they've become very politically and legally savvy, and I think that, you know, they help to drive, of course, the Tea Party success in the state legislature, so I think this is helping to explain why it is that I think pro life forces have been so successful, not just this year, but in the past several years.

Melody Rose is a political scientist I think from Portland State University, she writes a book called *Safe, Legal and Unavailable*, it came out a few years ago, but she says that the pro life movement has been remarkably successful in placing all kinds of legal barriers in the way of women seeking abortions, all in an attempt to really test the limits of that undue burden requirement that was established under the Casey decision in 1992, I believe.

This is the case that essentially said that state governments can regulate abortion access as long as those regulations do not present women with an undue burden in exercising their legal rights. But pro life activists and legislators have really kind of pushed the limits as to what that undue burden is, as we see, of course, just this past year, the passage of requiring women to have a sonogram.

But really there are a myriad number of legislation – legislative attempts have been made to test that undue burden ranging from restricting access to minors, mandatory waiting periods, enacting so called TRAP bills, targeted regulations for abortion providers only, many of which have withstood a constitutional muster.

And also, as we see in the report, it's not really reported here, but we find that large majorities, those I am pro choice but category, the fuzzy middle, really feel comfortable with putting some regulations and practice on abortion, such that I think abortion is coming still -- it's still legal, but it's not necessarily very much available.

Just as importantly in the past decade, I think the pro life side has really changed the nature of the debate about abortion to one that concerns fetal rights. I didn't really hear much language about this in the survey, and I'm hoping Robbie can maybe touch on this more, but there's a remarkable push to really try to legislate the fetus as a person in

a lot of state legislatures, and I think that sort of language has really put the pro choice side on the defensive.

I think you can just witness this spring's debate over -- funding Planned Parenthood. I think Mitch Daniels just signed a law last week in Indiana that will essentially have the state not funding Planned Parenthood clinics in that state. That's subject to legal challenge, of course.

But you know, what struck me about that whole debate is that when pro-choice women on Capitol Hill were defending it, all they really talked about was the fact that Planned Parenthood provides cancer screenings, the health care opportunities that Planned Parenthood provides. You did not see them waving the pro-choice flag very much. That's very different than, I think, 20 years ago when you had, I think, a more active, outspoken support for abortion rights among many democratic politicians.

So the last thing I wanted to talk about was the future of the culture wars when it comes to millennials and this decoupling of abortion and gay rights. I was not at all surprised to see the large differences with respect to support of gay marriage among younger Americans. That's not anything that's new. Anyone who teaches on a college campus can tell you that's certainly not shocking here.

But I wanted to see more data here. I wanted to see more of a breakdown in the study about same-sex marriage attitudes by other demographic variables here. So, whether or not homosexuality and gay marriage will be decoupled from abortion in the culture wars in the future, it's really debatable because it depends on how the activist camp -- you know, evangelical Protestants, devout Catholics are the ones who are driving the debate on the abortion level, but they're also driving the debate when it comes to same-sex marriage.

So, if you find, for example, that there is a split -- millennials who are evangelical Protestants are actually more supportive of gay rights and same-sex marriage -- I think then you might potentially really see a decoupling of those issues. But otherwise, you know, I doubt that's going to happen.

I'd also be curious to find out what's going on with black Protestants on gay marriage and gay rights. I live in Maryland, and for any of you who live here, the Maryland General Assembly came very close to passing legislation that would have allowed for same-sex marriage in Maryland, which is a heavily Democratic state. A lot of people are often shocked to find out that Maryland often lags in this issue. It was the black church that sunk that bill.

You know we have a very -- in Maryland, a large presence of

African Americans, and black Protestants are very, very much opposed to same-sex marriage. And it's an issue that is much more salient to them than even the abortion issues. So I'd be interested to kind of see the religious entanglements of same-sex marriage among millennials a little bit more in the study.

So, I will leave it at that.

MR. DIONNE: Melissa, thank you so much. (Applause)

Those were great responses. I want to thank you, Melissa, for mentioning the Tea Party. Our first collaboration was actually on two surveys: one done before and one done after the 2010 elections on the relationship between the Tea Party and the Christian conservative movement. So anyone who is interested, I would love you to go back and look at those surveys.

I think nothing we found, nothing in this survey, contradicts -- happily -- what we had found earlier. That's not always true.

A Robbie survey is like somebody comes home from a store with a great big bag, and you keep looking and there's still interesting stuff at the bottom of the bag. I just want to underscore a few of my favorite findings that have not been mentioned -- either favorite or just findings worth mentioning.

I particularly want to call your attention to a little chart on

page 9, because to me nothing gets at the difference between the millennials and people over 65 than that chart. What you find is that among people -- Americans over 65, significantly more are likely to say that same-sex unions are morally wrong than to say that abortion is morally wrong. Whereas among the millennials, a not quite as big a difference, but more millennials are likely to say abortion is morally wrong than same-sex unions are morally wrong.

Put another way, there's a 28 percent gap on morality when it comes to sex between adults of the same gender. I don't mean marriage there, I mean same-sex -- I meant sexual behavior. You know, there's a 28 point gap on homosexuality and only a 7 point gap on abortion. That is a fascinating finding that I do think may speak to this decoupling. And I think Robbie can speak to a bit to one of the good questions raised by younger evangelicals.

Secondly, just a few findings that were not mentioned at all. On page 17, nearly 3 in 4 Americans favor requiring women under the age of 18 to get the consent of at least 1 parent before they're allowed to have an abortion. I was struck that among millennials 71 percent supported that requirement.

On the other side, on page 18, 82 percent favor expanding access to birth control among women who can't afford it. I think that's an

important finding. And this one surprised me: 78 percent favor comprehensive sex education. Again, I think the difficulty of pigeonholing opinion on these issues is reflected well on those three findings.

One other -- and this is throughout the survey, you can see it on page 16, but there is a very substantial difference in opinion between Americans who live in rural areas and Americans who live in big cities. That's, I think, an important difference that runs across American politics in many ways. It really comes out in this survey.

The last thing I want to mention, because I want to turn it to Robbie to explain this a little more. If you look at page 12, I thought this survey did a wonderful job of exploring when people thought that abortion was permissible, when it shouldn't be permitted, or when it was wrong. And Karlyn alluded to this. But people make real moral distinctions about when -- they have very little doubt about when abortion should be available, and when they have real doubts about abortion.

And Robbie on page 13 has a great chart where he put together all of these groups to try to figure out, you know, who were the strongest supporters and the strongest opponents of abortion. And I'll turn it to Robbie to answer anything raised and explain that little chart.

It's striking that at the 2 polls, if you took all the positive answers -- positive defined, in this case, as, you know, permitting abortion

versus the opposition answers -- 29 percent said possible in all circumstances 12 percent on the other side said not possible. So, you have on that measure a significantly larger pro-choice core than you have a pro-life core. Yet, as on the political question of who -- the electoral question, if you will. Who votes on it, who's intense about it? You still have an advantage to the pro-life side.

The last thing I'll say is, one thing we learned from this survey is that if the pro-choice and pro-life camps had hired PR agencies to try to figure out what to call themselves, they would have come out with the words pro-choice and pro-life. And Robbie has settled that question definitively today. Could you just respond to us all and then we'll have any responses to that and we'll open it up to the audience?

MR. JONES: Yeah. Well, I've got 18 things on the table here, not all of which I'll address, and we'll get to more things in the Q&A.

Mr. DIONNE: There's still more in that bag I referred to.

MR. JONES: You know, this is actually one of the largest reports we've put out. And one of the reasons why it's so large is because it's such a complex story to tell. And we really wanted to make sure that we, you know, gave as much complexity and really did our due diligence on laying out the kind of full lay of the land -- it's kind of a very complicated story.

I want to pick up with -- I'll just do a couple of things. I want to take your younger evangelicals question, and say what we can about that. There's not a lot we can say because of the limitations of sample size, but I'll say what we can about that question. And I do want to pick up just on E.J.'s point about circumstances.

And just before I get to that, though, to kind of just say that this also -- the big reminder here is that what you're asking about on this issue really matters, right? If you're asking about a general question about legality, that's one thing. If you're asking about specific circumstances, that's another thing. If you're asking about availability in your local community, that's yet another thing.

And I think that is actually really important to remember when we're looking at polling data on this stuff. Because the numbers, you know, they tell a fairly consistent story but they move around a little bit, like you said. If you're just looking at pro-life, pro-choice, those polls, they look fairly balanced. If you're looking at specific circumstances, you've got a pro-choice tilt to the people who are out there on the polls. So it really -- it's worth kind of looking at these things and not sort of grabbing one to kind of tell the story.

But I do want to come to the circumstances one. We pick up this measure from the General Social Survey, which as Karlyn said has

been going since 1972. It's one of the longest measures we have on attitudes on abortion. And we wanted to do it at a kind of -- get a sense of where millennials were and to kind of get an updated number from the GSS. And I just want to kind of reemphasize that one number from there. Is that, we built the scale out of five of these circumstances. And so we allowed people to sort of say, okay. Across these five circumstances, you know, where are you strongly over here, strongly over there? And we built the scale off of that and then we kind of from that scale then sorted people into kind of this not-possible in all circumstances, possible in others.

But I want to focus just real quickly on the size of the mix. Kind of these people who are like decidedly mixed on the circumstances scale. And one contribution that this, I think -- and one of the reasons why I wanted to do this is because in a lot of previous analysis and our polling, we've typically used that four-part question, where it's, you know, legal in all cases, legal in some cases. But what that ends up giving you is more than 6 in 10 people in the middle, right? So there's like more than 6 in 10, and what's sometimes called the abortion graze. And some of Rachel's work has called it that.

That's a lot of people, right, to be in the middle. And I think there's something really helpful about that. But we wanted to kind of see, is there a way we can maybe identify maybe a little bit of a smaller middle

that's like more decidedly mixed. Because a lot of those people lean one way or the other. And when we did that analysis, we still come up with -- even when we really tried to winnow out, like, who's leaning -- we still ended up with 3 in 10 people who were just really in the middle and really pulled in both directions across these circumstances. So I want to kind of hammer that home.

So even when we pile it up -- and as E.J. said, it's a pro-choice tilt on this -- there's 43 percent who say possible in all or most circumstances and 29 percent say not possible in all or most circumstances. Neither one of those are a majority, right? There's still this 3 in 10 right there in the middle, kind of leaning both ways.

On the question of younger evangelicals, you know, I regret that even with the size of this survey we don't have enough to get all the way down to under 30-year-olds who -- because, you know, evangelicals are 25 percent of the population. And then we're sort of cutting down into the millennial generation. But what we were able to do is to do some breaks. We had to take it up to 50 and above and under 50 in order to get a, you know, sizeable enough group to do an analysis.

So, with those groups what we do see, interestingly enough, among evangelicals is a kind of repeat at a much lower level of that legality availability gap. So it still persists even among evangelicals. And

so what we see -- the numbers that we have, there's a 15 point gap between -- on availability between white evangelicals under the age of 50. Forty-six percent say at least some providers in your community should provide legal abortions, compared to only 31 percent of those over 50.

But on the question of legality, there's really not much difference. White evangelicals under 50, 32 percent say it should be legal in all or most cases; among those 50 and over, only 28 percent. Right? Those numbers are pretty right there. So, you see the bigger difference -- generational difference on the question of availability than you do on legality, which is what we see in the millennials.

So, that's a fairly, you know, interesting finding. I wish we could crank it down further, but that's as far as we can go on that. The other thing to say about younger evangelical -- not younger evangelicals, but younger millennials and religion -- just one more point I put on the table, and I think we should just open it up.

But on attendance, attendance matters still among the millennial generation. The difference is, less of them are affiliated, right? So -- but among them, the ones who are affiliated, religious attendance still matters at about the same magnitude it does in the general population. But the difference is, less of them are in that bucket to be affected because less of them are affiliated with any traditional. So.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. As they say on Sesame Street, today is brought to you by the word "nuance." (Laughter)

And the -- does anyone -- Melissa, Karlyn -- do you have anything to respond or should we open it up? Who wants to ask the first question?

The only -- two things I'd say. If you could keep your questions short so other people can get into the conversation, and try real hard to end your comment with a question mark.

Sir? And also, if you don't mind, if you could identify yourself. I suppose we could have anonymous questions, but it would probably be helpful.

MR. GORDON: Hi, I'm Andy Gordon. I'm from Dennis University. I've actually done some work with Dr. Paul Joop, who has focused a lot on this stuff. He's actually -- I did summaries --

MR. DIONNE: Mic is on.

MR. GORDON: Right there, good? We're good? All right. So I've actually done some work with Dr. Paul Joop, who has done a lot of different stuff on this, so kind have had a back-and-forth talk about this. So, yeah, I'm really excited for this.

But anyway, on a side note. Did you look at religious affiliation or attendance or religiosity beyond just attendance or clergy

speech? Because one of the findings that Dr. Joop's kind of looked into is the extent to which out of worship attendance has driven up participation and willingness to be active in the community. So, did you find any connection between attendance outside of worship and support, one way or another, decoupling?

Thanks.

MR. JONES: That's a great question, and it's really important to -- you know, this has been a drum that I often beat. That, you know, attendance is not the measure of all things religious. I think that's exactly right.

And just like -- and the reason is exactly this slide that I showed. That attendance matters differently in different religious traditions, right? Some religious traditions expect and make room for multiple religious services. I mean, the last data I saw showed that about 3 in 10 congregations don't even make available more than one worship experience a week. So they're not even available to be in that more than once a week crowd, because their church doesn't even offer more than one service to go to. Most of those are mainline Protestant churches.

MR. DIONNE: By the way, just for those who are not initiated in this language, just define the mainline for everybody.

MR. JONES: Yeah. So, the mainline --

MR. DIONNE: Sounds like a train station to a lot of people.

MR. JONES: Yeah. Mainline Protestant churches are something they call old line. They're Presbyterian, Episcopalian. They're kind of the old, established Protestant denominations in the country. In surveys like ours, we typically differentiate them with a question about whether they consider themselves to be born again or evangelical or not. And those who say that they identify as born again or evangelical are classified as evangelical Protestant Christians. Those who say no are classified as mainline Protestant Christians.

But on that point, I'll make this -- because I didn't get to it in the survey. But we asked about a number of religious things. The most powerful things are attendance, is the most powerful sort of influence. Biblical literalism is right behind that. So, having a literal approach to the Bible versus not having a literal approach to the Bible. And really, the break is between those who say that they have a literal approach to the Bible and that everything in the Bible should be taken word for word. So, the question reads, the Bible is the word of God and everything in it should be taken word for word. That's the sort of kind of most Biblically literal position. And that's the one that really matters for opposition to --

MR. DIONNE: Can you describe the other two, just so people know?

MR. JONES: Yeah. The other one is sort of the middle category that still says the Bible is the word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally word for word. And then the third one is the Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God, right? So, those are the categories -- the three categories that we typically sort these people on. And the one where there is a majority saying that abortion should be illegal in all or most circumstances is just the first category of people who are literal.

And then the other thing that matters is affiliation. So, is -- and the one that matters the most, not surprisingly, is whether you're a white evangelical Protestant Christian. That's the most predictive of being -- of saying that abortion should not be legal in all or most cases.

So -- but we didn't -- on this survey, we didn't have like prayer or other things to do. But we did have attendance and we had kind of Biblical literalism. We had a trait that why don't we mention -- a situationalist versus a rule-based kind of approach to morality, which kind of goes hand in hand -- is highly correlated with Biblical literalism. Is also a fairly significant predictor of these.

MR. DIONNE: By the way, his whole situational analysis is worth looking at.

MR. JONES: Great gender gaps on those --

MR. DIONNE: I'm sorry?

MR. JONES: There's a great gender gap on that one. With women much more likely to have a situationalist approach to morality than men. Maybe not surprising, but it shows up in the data.

MR. DIONNE: I could say all kinds of things on that, but I don't think I will. (Laughter)

Can I ask you real quick? Among African Americans, abortion v. same-sex marriage. Did you see?

MR. JONES: Yeah, clearly this is right. That African Americans are one of the stronger religious groups on support for the legality of abortion. And they tend to skate towards the other end of the scale on same-sex marriage. That's right.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. Amy Sullivan. A brilliant writer on these subjects.

MS. SULLIVAN: Thank you, E.J. I'm Amy Sullivan with *Time* magazine, and I had two quick questions.

One is, given all the talk about consistency, whether there's a way of knowing how these millennials compare to earlier cohorts and whether you're seeing a change or whether they're still consistent with earlier cohorts?

And the second is, I'd be interested in hearing the exact

wording on the birth control questions, since that at least on the surface has been what was behind all the debates about Planned Parenthood this past spring, even if it seems really to be about abortion.

MR. JONES: Right.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you.

MR. JONES: So, on the first question, we -- you know, Gallup -- actually, Karlyn had mentioned Gallup had done a pretty interesting kind of generational -- they've got some of the longest-running -- the question is a little bit different than ours. But basically, what they find is that there's been a little bit of a shift. And I'll just read it from the Gallup analysis here.

So, they said in the 1970s they started polling on the issue. Adults 18 to 29 and 30 to 49 were the most supportive of abortion under any circumstances and those 65 and older the least. The pattern continued through the late 1990s. But since 2000 Gallup has found basically all age groups, with the exception of seniors, have shown similar levels of support.

So what has happened is that it's equalized out. That earlier in the '70s you saw a bigger pronouncement of younger people being out ahead and more supportive, and now they've basically kind of come into parody. And the only people you really see sticking out, which we show in

our data, are seniors, right, which have much lower levels of support.

But the other generational cohorts are kind of right there together. But that's been a kind of leveling since the early '70s that we've seen. It's not huge, but it's enough to kind of see that affect.

And the other thing was the question about birth control. Give me just a second, maybe we'll take another question, I'll get the -- where -- I think having colleagues in the audience.

Yeah, so this was -- you're talking about the one expanding access to birth control? That question? Yeah, so these were in a battery of favor and oppose questions. So it's -- so the set up is, now I'd like to get your views on some issues that are being discussed in the country. All in all, do you strongly favor, favor, or oppose or strongly oppose? And then we insert the item. And the item for that one is, expanding access to birth control for women who cannot afford it. So that's the exact wording of the question.

It's 46 percent strongly favor, 36 percent favor, 10 percent oppose, 6 percent strongly oppose.

MR. DIONNE: The person in the audience who shouted out the exact question number was Rachel.

MS. JONES: Rachel, thank you.

MR. DIONNE: Please.

MS. ODELLO: Hi, my name is Sarah Odello and I work here in D.C. at Advocates for Youth.

And I was, you know, looking at the data in terms of millennials more support for gay marriage. There is this movement, especially amongst young people in the LGBT community to have -- where people are coming out, their support for young people with GSAs, for example. Whereas if you look at the pro-choice movement, you know, we're almost bombarded by the safe, legal, rare language, which feels very stigmatizing.

And so I'm wondering if and would love to hear thoughts on like the differences between the two movements. Where in the gay rights movement it's much more about coming out, but in the pro-choice movement we haven't really gone there yet.

MR. DIONNE: And I also want to invite Karlyn and Melissa to jump in at any point.

MS. DECKMAN: Well, I was struck, too. You know, that grocery bag, finding more and more things in there.

But there's a segment in talking about the focus groups. That where -- there are -- the respondents are asked to give a top of the head response as to how they feel about abortion or gay rights. And the language among millennials for gay rights support is much more positive,

you know.

But I think you're right in the sense that the pro-choice movement is clearly on the defensive. That somehow, you know -- and I think this has been aided and abetted by the Democratic Party, right? You have Bill Clinton saying abortion should be safe, legal, but rare. Hillary Clinton and others trying to say we need to bring pro-life forces into the Democratic camp. And so I think it brought a stigmatism -- or rather a stigma to -- I don't know what it has to do with eyesight -- (Laughter) -- a stigma to the whole issue of abortion. And I think it's played out by the fact that so many Americans are ambivalent continually about abortion. You know, I was struck again by data that says, well, I'm basically pro-choice, but these regulations seem reasonable to me.

The practical impact of that, of course, is that you have basically access to the procedure in which large majorities of Americans support, even in some conservative groups, access to that procedure is just disappearing. You know, you have few people willing to become abortion providers because again, it's, I think, stigmatized. But there is in that sort of language that the feminist movement had in the '70s talking about the right to choose and the rights of women. Instead, the debate more is about the rights of fetuses and being -- you know, that abortion is a tragedy. And not that it is or isn't, but that seems to be the debate as

opposed -- or the language of the debate as opposed to the gay rights movement, which is much more about being affirming and being fair and equal.

MR. DIONNE: You know, I just want to say I am struck by the survey that the safe, legal, and rare slogan is there for a reason, which is I think it's going to be -- the idea of sort of creating a positive frame for abortion itself is highly unlikely that that will happen as against legality.

And that's why I think this distinction is so important in the survey between people's attitudes on whether it should be legal or not versus their much more complicated and, in some ways, doubtful moral views. And Robbie has a very interesting chart that goes to your question, I think, on page 11, which I think he could talk about a bit.

MR. JONES: Yeah, I'll do this quickly. I mean, one of the things we did in the focus groups before we had any discussions, we just had them fill out -- we had index cards and we said, okay, we want you to get your top of mind reaction. Tell us the first words that come to mind when you hear the following terms. And we said, abortion, write it down; same-sex marriage, write it down. And sort of did some analysis of those terms, and that's on page 11. You can really see how they stack up.

That on -- when we asked them to respond to the term "same-sex marriage," we had a majority giving kind of affirming and positive reactions

to that term. And these were, again, millennials, sort of white millennials who are political moderates. That's who this group was because we want to kind of get a middle of the road view, but let me just give you a couple of examples. Like on the affirming side we heard "awesome," "go for it," "it's cool," "love," right, these kinds of words. I mean, they're pretty powerful, emotive words that people were using.

On the other side -- on the positive side on abortion, again, we only heard like 16 percent of the terms were affirming on the abortion side and, you know, they were kind of -- they were "choice," "choices," "fine by me," reactions to the zealotry of the other side and, you know, "not entirely bad." That's the kind of reactions there. But on the opposing side you get the emotive words, right, you get "loss," "sad," "scary," those kinds of words were the words that we heard.

Now, it's important to sort of put this into context and back to the nuance, right. I mean, these are kind of moral -- being morally conflicted here but yet 6 in 10 say it should be legal, 68 percent said it should be available, and navigating that tension is just a reality of this debate.

MR. DIONNE: Ma'am, please. And then I'll go back over to that side.

MS. BYRD: Good morning. I'm Veronica Byrd, the director

of African-American media for Planned Parenthood, and I agree with other panelists in saying that I would have been very interested to see additional information on feelings between abortion and same-sex marriage among this audience given the controversy associated with both in the community, but I was especially surprised to see the -- less support for abortion among low-income women given the health disparities in many minority communities, the lack of a variety of health services and that disparities and need for these services, including abortion. Why do you think that is -- that support declines for low-income women?

MR. JONES: Just so -- you're talking about the finding on page 12, right?

MS. BYRD: Yes.

MR. JONES: Under Circumstances.

MS. BYRD: Under Circumstances.

MR. JONES: I'll say a little bit and then we'll see if anyone else wants to jump in here.

So, what's important to note, too, is that, again, we found basically very consistent numbers with the general social survey on this finding and so this had been a fairly stable finding.

This question's a little bit tricky. It basically is measuring, I think, you know, if this is the primary reason, then that's what this question

is really measuring, then it should be possible or not possible. And I think that as Karlyn, I think, very helpfully pointed out, that there is a kind of -- things that are like mental health, physical health, serious chance of -- or chance of serious birth defect, those kinds of things -- it's interesting, though, that on the low-income one, you might say and I would probably say not many people choose to have low incomes, right? This is something -- because Karlyn's distinction was between things that are beyond your control versus things that are in your control, so, you know, it is a little curious. But I think that's what going on there is that it's that reason by itself -- is that a reason that is carry -- carries enough weight by itself to be a reason that abortion should be possible, and Americans just have more reservations about that. I don't know whether that's American optimism, you know, you can pull yourself up by your bootstraps and make it work, or what, but it's -- you've got to --

MR. DIONNE: I would also think that some of that is explained by the fact that larger numbers of African-American women, including low-income women, are very religious and I think that religious attitudes are so clearly if not central, close to central, to people's attitudes toward abortion, and I suspect there's a link there. Do you have a thought on that or the question?

MS. BOWMAN: I just agree with -- this is remarkably

consistent across data sets.

MR. JONES: One quick question just on the same-sex marriage thing. I'll make this very quick. Just a heads-up, we do have a sister survey to this one coming next month that's going to focus on same-sex marriage and look back the other way to abortion, so we'll have a much more complete picture on same-sex marriage looking back. And we're going to share a number of questions between the surveys, which means we're going to have 6,000 cases to analyze on some of these questions. So, we'll have more to come.

MR. DIONNE: It will include a careful analysis of the difference between a brother survey and a sister survey. Ma'am, please?

MS. WILLIAMSON: Good morning. My name is Heidi Williamson. I'm with SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health and Justice organization. And I wanted to ask a question about this poll in the context of health care. I know often times when you ask people about abortion, but we act as if it's separate from health care, and the reality is -- and I think this speaks to the question that my colleague from Advocates for Youth asked, it's a medical procedure, and we don't talk about our medical procedures. I don't get psyched and stoked and put it on Facebook, I'm going for my pap smear, and I definitely don't post the results. But I think that the fact that --

MR. DIONNE: He says you don't know any more on these questions.

MS. WILLIAMSON: But I think the fact that it is a part of our health care services, it is a medical procedure, I mean, 89 percent of insurance companies cover it, does that have an impact on how women talk about it, how we share it? And the empathy factor, I think, is important, but taking it out of the health care context I think matters. Did your poll reflect any of those attitudes about thinking of it as separate? Putting it back into the health care conversation? Obviously to get birth control you have to see a medical provider, but I feel like sometimes we're talking about it as something separate from the continuum of health that women receive generally speaking.

MR. JONES: Yeah, I think the closest question we have to that is really -- where we actually talk about it, is in the availability question, right, from -- because that question actually has in there that at least some health care professionals in your local community should provide legal abortion. So, it's talked about in the context of health care in that question. That's the closest question that we have to it.

And it may be that that's part of -- what you're pointing to is maybe part of what's going on where we see a kind of higher support on that question than we do on legality, but it does bring me to one other

comment I'll make very quickly, that we did hear in the focus groups a kind of -- that maybe explained this kind of legality/availability gap. We did hear in the focus groups among millennials a kind of disconnect when we started talking about policy and law. You could sort of see their eyes kind of glaze over a little bit and the interest level was -- the energy level clearly went down when we started talking about those things. And this may -- the thing we haven't really put on the table yet, this may have to do -- if we remember when this age cohort was born, these people were born in 1980 or after, right. So that means by the time they came of any kind of social or political consciousness, *Roe v. Wade* had been the law of the land for nearly two decades and I think it's largely taken for granted by this group. It seems something that's kind of part of the furniture that they sort of grew up with in the world and they didn't really see it at risk. It's kind of taken -- it's just there, and I think that that's maybe part of the kind of -- you know, so one explanation for that gap is that questions about legality just don't resonate that well with this younger generation that's just kind of taken this for granted for so long.

But if you start talking about availability in their local community, that hits the ground in a way that, like, oh, okay, I know what that is.

MR. DIONNE: Could I ask -- most of the questions so far

have come from more or less a pro-choice point of view. Somebody have a question from the pro-life point of view? Way in the back there, please.

MS. VOLLER: Hi. I'm Cynthia Voller. I'm an attorney in town, actually, and I'm just wondering if you tracked at all, with respect to the religious organizations, teachings on chastity or teachings on people not having sex before marriage and whether any of them subscribe to that. Because I note the question -- one of the, you know, categories was if you don't want to marry the guy then you could have an abortion. Well, I mean, did you track that question with respect to views on chastity or premarital sex?

And then the other question I had was, did you -- when you were looking at views of same-sex marriage, do the numbers statistically pretty much track for people who are for or against adoptions in same-sex marriages? Because I note the Thomas Moore Society now is suing Illinois for its abortion -- I mean, sorry, it's adoptions. And it was a huge issue here in D.C. as well at the gay -- anti-gay lobby and the African-American community was against -- oddly, huge African-American opposition to adoptions in the gay community.

MR. JONES: On the question of adoption, we don't have a question in this survey. We will definitely have one in the next survey coming back so we'll have kind of more of an updated data on that. We

did ask a whole series of questions, just to kind of put this in context, on pages 22 to 25 about a whole range of moral issues from getting divorced to sex between an unmarried man and woman, to sex between two adults of the same gender or sex between a young man and a young woman under 18. We had a whole series of things to try to put the morality of abortion into context.

I'll just give you one, though, that kind of really shows the very different views of millennials and the older generation on how about sex between an unmarried man and a woman. On that one the differences are really, really stark. In the general population 6 in 10 Americans say that sex between an unmarried man and woman is morally acceptable, so that's kind of the general population benchmark, but among millennials, it's 7 in 10 say that sex between an unmarried man and an unmarried woman. Only 38 percent of seniors say that. So, it's nearly twice as many millennials say this as seniors.

MR. DIONNE: You know, it would be interesting to try to correlate that to views on abortion and some of these other issues.

This gentleman in the back and then I'm going to move it to the front. I'm going to try to get -- you know what I'd like to do if I could? Could we have two or three comments together? I don't know how much time we have left. I'd like to get as many voices from the audience as we

can, so let's start over there and then the lady right next door and then we'll keep trying to move it and then move it up front.

MR. BEARY: Brian Beary, I'm a journalist for *Europolitics*. Very simple question. Did you do a gender breakdown on both the abortion and the same-sex marriage issue?

MR. DIONNE: Hold on to that question. Lady over on the right there.

SPEAKER: My question, actually, is a good follow-up to the question that was asked about sex because I was really struck by, you know, the generational difference on same-sex marriage was very big in one direction, but the generational difference on view of sex between adults of the same gender was quite significant in the other direction, where it looks like -- I'm sorry, it's the same direction, but you didn't give the generational difference for the views on sex between people under 18 -- a man and a woman under 18, and I'd be very interested to hear that.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you. And then there was one in that line. Yes, sir. That gentleman there.

MR. ADDY: Thank you. My name is Phil Addy. I'm with Catholics for Equality, and I'm interested in how these issues are going to play out in the 2012 election. Last month we had -- not to put anybody on the spot for a crystal ball prediction, but last month we had a new

campaign called Ignite for Enduring Cultural Transformation announce that they had a multimillion-dollar donation from an unknown source to put anti-equality and abortion-related initiatives on the ballot in 11 states that were purple states that went blue in '08. And my question is, will it be successful?

MR. DIONNE: Let's take all three of those and then we'll move it to this caucus over in the corner here, this group of folks.

MR. JONES: Okay, so take them in order. Gender breaks on abortion and same-sex marriage, great question, it's really interesting. There are a few gender breaks, it turns out, on questions about legality of abortion. Men and women are about in the same place on it. We were quite surprised. We sort of saw this from other -- but even when we asked a number of questions gender breaks are not large. They are big on the issue of same-sex marriage, and, in fact, among the millennial generation it's women in the millennial generation that are really far out ahead of men in the millennial generation. They're really driving those numbers up in the millennial generation. That's a great question.

On the under 18, interestingly enough, millennials are certainly more likely than older Americans to say that sex among young people under 18 is morally acceptable, but less than half say that it is, 45 percent. Even though that's higher than the general population, it's less.

And I'm going to gracefully hand off the third question to E.J. or somebody else down the table.

MR. DIONNE: Just a one sentence answer. I think what this survey suggests is that Democrats are going to want the social issues to matter to the under 30s and perhaps if the economy doesn't get better, really want it to matter, and that Republicans are going to want the social issues to matter to the over 65s and not Medicare. And I think -- so I think you're going to see this play out in different ways in different age groups and it's very hard to narrowcast in a presidential campaign.

MS. DECKMAN: But if you look at 2008, if you look at all the polling data, the economy, even among Republicans, was really paramount. And if the economy is not better, that's really going to trump, I think, social issues. I think, you know, Republicans are hopeful that there might be a scenario like in 2004 where, you know, Bush was perceived to have done well in battleground states like Ohio that put these ballot measures, same-sex marriage, but I think there's a little -- I mean, most states have already done that that are going to do it, right? So, there's very little headway to be made in terms of trying to make same-sex marriage illegal in states. If anything you have more battles like in states like Maryland where, you know, there are attempts to legalize it. But I don't see it being a huge issue in 2012, especially if the economy remains

the major issue of the day.

MR. JONES: Karlyn?

MS. BOWMAN: Just a couple of quick points on the question about gender and homosexuality and gender and abortion. Those differences between men and women on homosexuality have been consistent for a very long time, since the first questions were asked in the early 1970s. men are moving a little bit closer to women who are more accepting overall, but it's been very slow over time.

To the question about morality, Gallup just happened to update its battery on what's moral, what's not, I think two or three weeks ago, and the results were remarkably similar to what Robbie's been talking about on all of those questions and I agree with you about the number of states likely to have referenda.

What I'd like to try to see is to get the abortion question back on the exit polls. I don't know whether that will be possible or not. That would be very useful to see how voters are different from the population as a whole.

MS. DECKMAN: I think that would only happen if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned. Then I think you'll see a sea shift in attitudes about abortion rights.

MR. DIONNE: Right, I think that's absolutely right in terms

of activism. The lady in the red salmon shirt has been very patient, and also the lady in the white shirt in the second row. Thank you.

MS. FERRELL-ZABALA: Thank you so much. So, I'm Angela Ferrell-Zabala from the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, and I just wanted to say that the findings around the diverse religious perspectives on abortion really confirm on the attitudes of the faith-based communities we work with, which is broad support for access to legal abortion. And when working with youth we also find that they're really savvy and understand the different nuances and that it's not a black-and-white issue. What I'd like to ask you is how much did you dig into, like, plurality? For example, on campuses that we work on, there is -- it's interfaith, there's lots of people claiming different kinds of belief as far as religion and faith and because of this it really influences how their peers feel. So, I'd like to hear a little bit about how you think about -- what you feel about that.

MR. DIONNE: And then the lady over here. Thank you.

MS. POSNER: Sarah Posner with Religion Dispatches. So, I'm very curious about this availability versus legality split among the millennials. And I wonder, given what Melissa was talking about with the attempts to restrict access to abortion, whether you think that the anti-choice activists could be out of step with how the millennials feel about

abortion in that they seem, I guess, conflicted about legality, but support availability, and those measures seem aimed at restricting availability.

MR. DIONNE: And then one more -- another very patient person down at the end there. Thank you.

MS. ALVARADO: Hi. My name is Stephanie Alvarado. I'm with the National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, and my question is around affordability and access. I know for one of the questions in regards to birth control it was framed by asking is there support for women who can't afford birth control, and so I was wondering in terms of federal funding for abortion, what was the thought behind not asking what does support for women who cannot afford to have an abortion, and more the thoughts behind that, and also how that contributes to the seemingly moving towards not talking about abortion in a very dichotomous way. I think that those findings reflect that the conversation is very nuanced, and I think I would ask Melissa if you can speak to how the conversation seems to be shifting towards one of access versus one versus pro-life and pro-choice, so I guess that's two separate questions. Thanks.

MR. DIONNE: Let's see, Corrine tells me -- are we past time yet? We're past time. Why don't we do it this way? I'm sorry for everybody. I tried to include as many folks as I could. Why don't we go up the panel and let Robbie close since he and Rachel and Dan did all this

work to make today possible, but let's go with Melissa, Karlyn, and Robbie.

MS. DECKMAN: Just to the last question as opposed to access, and I also was struck with the woman in the first row, in the lighter peach, the comments you were making. Last summer the *New York Times Magazine* ran an interesting article about abortion doctors, OB/GYNs trying to reclaim abortion as a medical procedure because many have written about essentially having abortion clinics as a standalone item has really separated, as you pointed out, the procedure of abortion from regular health care. And so I think there is a movement among physicians to try to reclaim that. I think what's also notable in abortion trends is that there's greater use of -- it used to be called R.U. 486, the chemically induced abortion, that there seems to be more of where it can be done in a private setting, in a private practice. But I think it's a really good question that you raise about this idea of access and, in fact, I was really struck by this question. I hadn't really seen it on a poll before.

I think that if the pro-choice lobby could use that to their advantage, they might be able to, I think, maybe win back some legislative victories. But, you know, it's all regional, too. I mean, the Deep South, the Midwest is where you have pro-life forces really being politically

successful. You have Republican governors, these Republican state legislatures on the backs of the Tea Party have come in and they've really, I mean, remarkably, passed lots of numbers of anti-choice legislation. Arizona is striking because you went from Janet Napolitano to --

MR. DIONNE: Jan Brewer?

MS. DECKMAN: -- thank you -- Jan Brewer, you know, eight pieces of legislation, anti-choice legislation that have been passed. It's pretty remarkable. A lot of it's going to be regionally based, but I think it's a good -- it's potentially a way for pro-choice advocates to get back into the debate over accessibility.

MR. DIONNE: Karlyn?

MS. BOWMAN: Once again, just to thank Robbie for just a terrific survey and just adding so much more to our knowledge. That question about in your community how difficult do you think it is for a woman who's pregnant to get an abortion, that -- I just haven't seen that question on any other poll and those results, I think, were quite interesting. But thank you.

MR. DIONNE: By the way, I will just close by saying thank you, but let me point to one other finding still at the bottom of that grocery bag which I found intriguing, which was people's perception of what is more socially acceptable, because I was surprised by the results in ways I

won't try to explain, but I'm curious if you could talk about that.

MR. JONES: Right. So, I'll just pick up from there and then try to wrap the other three questions. Yeah, so we did find that the majority of Americans say it's more socially acceptable to be pro-choice in America, and we actually found that to be consistent across Democrats, Republicans, Independents, liberals, conservatives, all said that it was more socially acceptable in the country today to be pro-choice. The one group that we analyzed that we saw jump out, and this is probably instructive given their other profile -- we didn't talk about it a lot -- is Latino Catholics were the only group who said it's more socially acceptable to be pro-life. Interesting finding, yet 51 percent of Latino Catholics say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, so interesting dichotomy there.

On the interfaith question, I think you're right to point to that, that we don't have data on -- you know, I've given you the data we have on religious groups. I've broken it down as far down as we can go. We don't have data, for example, on Jews or Hindus or Buddhists, or where they are. We just don't have the sample size to do that. But you're right to point out about the more diverse social networks that young people have, and this actually makes a big difference. And I'm not sure if I mentioned it or not, but one of the interesting things is that young people are much more likely than their parents to say that they know someone

who's -- have a close friend or family member who's gay or lesbian. They're not more likely than their parents to say they know someone who's had an abortion. So, the kind of diversity thing works in interesting ways, but they have more ethnically diverse friendships. It's one of the most diverse generational cohorts we've ever seen in the country and that makes a difference.

Sarah, on the availability/legality split and whether it's out of step, I mean, the question I think will be, especially for millennials, if they - - it may be harder sort of for them to perceive a risk to legality than it will be for them to perceive a risk to availability, right. And so if something runs up against something that really looks like it's going to put availability at risk, that may be a bigger deal to millennials, as odd as that may sound, than something that looks like it may put legality -- even though there's a kind of paradox in saying that, that that may be the thing that is the better trigger.

And then the affordability/access thing -- oh, you asked a question about -- oh, I answered that, pro-life/pro-choice. And the last thing I want to point to, though, is that on the question about availability, we've talked a lot about that, but I did want to at least point out that -- because Melissa brought up some regional differences and they are indeed there with all the things you would expect, the South and the

Midwest, much more conservative on these issues than the Northeast and the West. But on this question of availability, and that is at least some health care professionals in the community should provide legal abortions, even slim majorities in the South and the Midwest -- 52 percent in the South, 53 percent in the Midwest -- agree that at least some health care professionals should provide legal abortion services in their community.

MR. DIONNE: Thank you so very much. People, as Karlyn said, come to their judgments on these matters on bases other than polls and I think that's a good thing, but people who argue with each other on these issues are sometimes tempted to misrepresent where public opinion actually is. And I have a feeling that different groups will emphasize different aspects of this poll when they look at it, which is a sign of how rich it is, but I think the survey should encourage all sides to debate their differences and be honest about where Americans are.

I want to thank Melissa, thank Karlyn, thank Sheila and Corinne, and thank Robbie Jones and PRRI. (Applause)

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I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

/s/Carleton J. Anderson, III

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