# **GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

# Chesapeake Beach Consulting

February 19, 2013

# Texans Stand Up for Access to Birth Control Results from a Statewide Survey of Texas Voters

**To:** Interested Parties

**From:** Anna Greenberg, Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research

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Texans believe that access to family planning and birth control is important and should not be limited by a woman's income level, employer, or medical provider. Voters support government taking action to ensure that Texas women can make their own decisions about family planning, including providing state funding for family planning and birth control programs in the state.

Support for state funding for providing access to family planning services and birth control for low-income women is both broad and deep, crossing political, racial, generational, and geographic lines. Moreover, strong support exists for access to birth control among religiously observant<sup>1</sup> Texans, including both Catholics and Protestants, as well as Born-again Christians.

Voters support efforts to make birth control more accessible to women, not less. Texans oppose the cuts to funding for family planning made by the state Legislature in 2011 and want to see funding restored. They also oppose allowing employers to deny their employees health care coverage for family planning services and birth control, and want to ensure that state funding for family planning goes to medical providers that offer a full range of family planning services, including birth control.

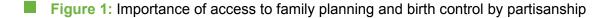
The results in this report are based on a statewide poll of registered Texas voters, conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner and Chesapeake Beach Consulting for the Texas Freedom Network Education Fund. The survey reached a total of 604 registered voters in Texas and was conducted February 6 - 11, 2013. The margin of sampling error for the sample is +/- 3.99 percentage points at a 95 percent confidence level.

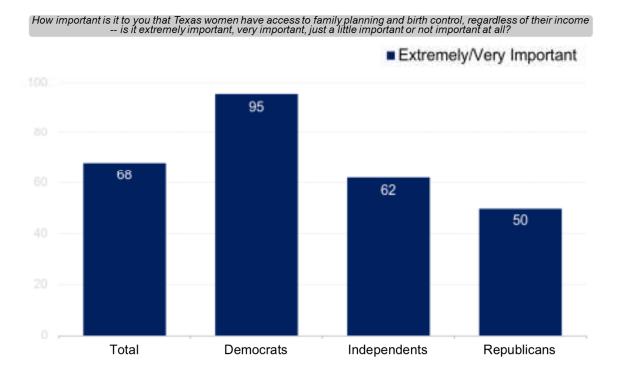
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Religiously observant" includes any respondent who indicates that he or she attends religious services at least once a week.

# Voters view access to birth control as an important Issue

Texas voters strongly believe that ensuring that Texas women have access to family planning and birth control, regardless of income barriers, is a priority. More than two-thirds of Texas voters (68 percent) say that access to family planning and birth control is extremely important (36 percent) or very important (32 percent). Another 16 percent say that this issue is a little important. Just 13 percent say that access to family planning and birth control is not important.

Belief in the importance of access to family planning options, including birth control, crosses partisan, gender, racial, and age lines. Sixty-two percent of political independent voters see this issue as extremely or very important; a simple majority of Republicans (50 percent), including 56 percent of Republican women, also agree.





An overwhelming 91 percent of African American voters and 79 percent of Hispanic voters view this issue as extremely or very important. This issue also resonates for both men and women, younger and older, and voters in every part of the state, with strong majorities of each of these groups affirming the importance of access to family planning and birth control.

Figure 2: Broad belief in importance of access to birth control

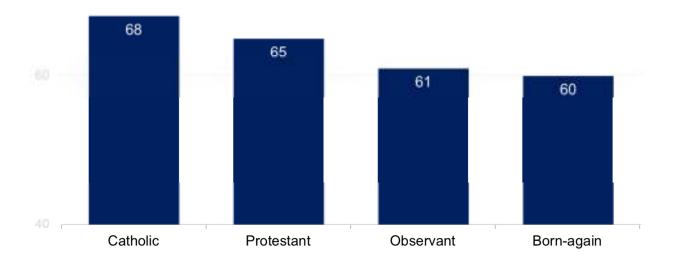
How important is it to you that Texas women have access to family planning and birth control, regardless of their income is it extremely important, very important, just a little important or not important at all?  Total	(% Extremely/Very- %Little/Not) 68-30
White	61-37
Hispanic	79-16
Men	62-36
Women	73-24
Under 30	84-16
Under 50	75-23
Over 50	62-34
Dallas media market	58-37
Houston media market	74-25
San Antonio media market	74-22
Austin media market	82-17

Moreover, belief in the importance of access to family planning and birth control is strong for voters regardless of religious affiliation or religiosity. Those who say that access to family planning and birth control for Texas women is extremely or very important is consistently high among voters who identify as Catholic or Protestant. Fully, sixty percent of self-identified Bornagain Christians and 61 percent of religiously observant voters say access to family planning and birth control is extremely or very important.

Figure 3: Access to family planning and birth control by religious affiliation

How important is it to you that Texas women have access to family planning and birth control, regardless of their income -- is it extremely important, very important, just a little important or not important at all?





### Overwhelming desire for state-funded access to birth control

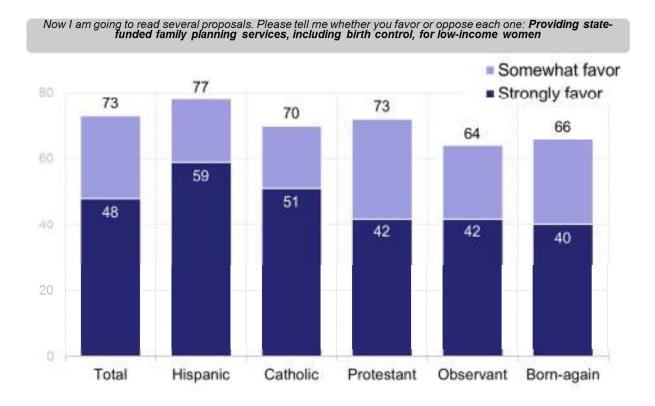
Voters express strong support for making sure that Texans have access to the necessary information and services needed to allow Texas women to make their own family planning decisions, regardless of their financial circumstances. Voters oppose the Legislature's action in cutting funding for family planning and birth control by two-thirds in 2011 and want to see that funding restored.

Voters view access to information on birth control as crucial. Eighty-four percent of Texas voters favor teaching about contraception, such as condoms and other forms of birth control, along with abstinence, in high school sex education courses; nearly two-thirds (66 percent) "strongly favor" providing this type of information.

Voters also believe finances should not hinder a woman's access to family planning. Nearly three-quarters—73 percent—of voters want Texas to provide state-funded family planning services, including birth control, for low-income women, with almost half of voters (48 percent) strongly supporting state-funded family planning services.

Support for state-funded access to family planning services further defies outdated conventions that contend that blocs of voters, including Hispanics and observant religious voters, oppose access to family planning and birth control. Support for access to family planning is higher among Hispanic voters (77 percent) than among voters overall. Even among most religiously observant voters, strong majorities support state funding for family planning.

Figure 4: Support for funding for birth control defies conventional wisdom

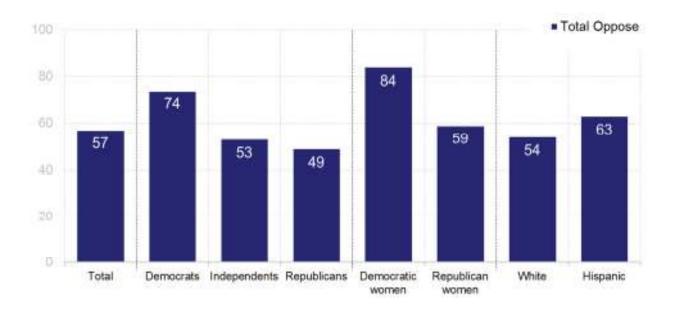


Access to family planning is important to Texans, and a strong majority of voters (57 percent) oppose the cuts to funding for family planning and birth control made by the state Legislature in 2011; likewise, 54 percent of voters want to see the cuts in state funding for family planning and birth control restored. This includes majorities of political independents who both oppose the cuts (53 percent oppose funding cuts) and want to see them restored (55 percent support restoring cuts). Even among Republicans, a plurality (49 percent) opposes the actions of the Republican-controlled Legislature to cut state funding for family planning.

# Figure 5: Opposition to funding cuts crosses partisan lines

Now I am going to read several proposals. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one:

Cutting state funding for family planning and birth control programs by two-thirds, or more than 36 million dollars per year, as passed in the last legislative session.

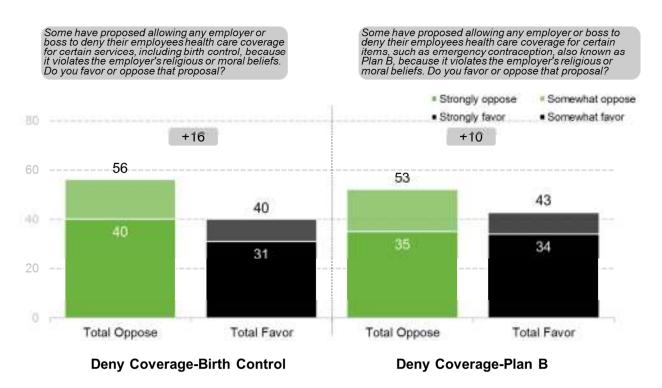


# Government, employers should not deny access to family planning

Texas voters believe that women, not government or employers, should determine what family planning services, including birth control, they can access; these voters oppose efforts to use funding and health care coverage to limit or deny women access to family planning.

Voters oppose allowing any employer to deny their employees access to health care coverage for certain services because it violates the employer's religious or moral beliefs, including access to both birth control (56 percent oppose denying access) or emergency contraception (53 percent oppose denying access).

Figure 6: Voters oppose employers denying women access to family planning



Moreover, voters do not want government to use state funding to limit women's access to health care and family planning in Texas. Fifty-six percent of voters believe that providers receiving state funding for women's health care and family planning must offer a full range of birth control options for women. A majority (54 percent) also favor requiring that any state funding for women's health care and family planning go only to medical providers that provide access to birth control options like the birth control pill.

#### The bottom line

Texas voters—regardless of political or religious affiliation or racial background—agree on the importance of ensuring Texas women have access to family planning and birth control. Voters support family planning policies that ensure that Texas women, not government or employers, can decide for themselves and have access to the family planning services and birth control they choose.

# **Appendix A: Methodology**

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner and Chesapeake Beach Consulting, on behalf of the Texas Freedom Network Education Fund, designed and administered a statewide survey of registered voters in Texas. The survey reached a total of 604 voters in Texas. The survey was conducted February 6 – 11, 2013. The margin of sampling error for the total sample is +/- 3.99 percentage points.

The survey included 448 respondents reached on a landline telephone and 156 respondents reached on a cell phone. The survey was offered in both English and Spanish.

The data were weighted by gender, race, age, education, and region to ensure an accurate reflection of the population. The sample size with these weights applied is 604.

# **Appendix B: Survey Frequencies**

# **Texas Freedom Network Education Fund**

# Frequency Questionnaire

February 6-11, 2013 **604 Registered Voters** 

\*\*Numbers represent percentages unless otherwise noted

	En villala lin vila a	Total
	English/ingles	
	Spanish/espanol (ref:LANGDUMMY)	3
Q.4 First of all, are you re	gistered to vote at this address?	
,	•	Total
	Yes	100
	No	
	Don't know	
	(ref:JOHN)	

Q.6 I know it's a long way off, but what are the chances of your voting in the election for Governor, U.S. Congress, and other offices in November 2014 -- are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?

	Total
Almost certain	76
Probably	12
50-50	
Will not vote	3
(Don't know/refused)	1
(ref:WILLVOTE)	

Q.7 Have you heard, read or seen anything lately about funding and access to women's health care in Texas?

	Total
Yes, great deal	17
Yes, some	
Yes, just a little	
No	
(Don't know/refused)	1
Total Yes	46
Yes - No	8-
(ref:HEARDBC)	

Q.8 What about crisis pregnancy centers. Have you heard, seen, or read anything about crisis pregnancy

centers in Texas?

	Total
Yes, great deal	11
Yes, some	
Yes, just a little	14
No	
(Don't know/refused)	1
Total Yes	40
Yes - No	20
(ref:CPCAWARE)	

#### [241 Respondents]

Q.9 (IF YES) Did what you see or hear make you feel more favorable or less favorable toward crisis pregnancy centers in Texas?

Much more favorable	<b>Total</b> 32
Somewhat more favorable	_
Somewhat less favorable	10
Much less favorable	14
(No difference)	16
(Don't know/refused)	7
Total More favorable	53
Total Less favorable	24
More - Less Favorable(ref:CPCAWRE2)	30

Q.10 How important is it to you that Texas women have access to family planning and birth control, regardless of their income -- is it extremely important, very important, just a little important or not important at all?

	Total
Extremely important	36
Very important	32
Just a little important	
Not important at all	
(Don't know/refused)	
Extremely/Very	68
Little/Not	30
(ref:ACCESS)	

#### [302 Respondents]

Q.11 (SPLIT A) Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: Women's access to family planning and birth control are being threatened in Texas.

Strongly agree	Total
Somewhat agree	
(Neither agree nor disagree)	
Somewhat disagree	
Strongly disagree	
(Don't know/refused)	
Total Agree	49
Total Disagree	34
Agree - Disagree(ref:THREAT1)	15

#### [302 Respondents]

Q.12 (SPLIT B) Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: Women's access to health care is being threatened in Texas.

Texas.	Total
Strongly agree	28
Somewhat agree	
(Neither agree nor disagree)	
Somewhat disagree	
Strongly disagree	
(Don't know/refused)	
Total Agree	46
Total Disagree	
Agree - Disagree	3
(ref:THREAT2)	-

Q.13 Now I am going to read several proposals. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one.

3. 3			_		,		- 1- 1	Fav
	Strng Fav	Smwt Fav			Dk/ Ref	Total Fav	Total Opp	- Opp
13 Teaching about contraception, such as condoms and other birth control, along with								
abstinence, in high school sex education classes.	66	18	4	10	1	84	15	69
14 Providing state-funded family planning services, including birth control, for low								
income women.	48	25	6	20	2	73	25	48
[302 Respondents] 15 (SPLIT A) Restoring state funding for family planning and birth control programs which were cut by two-thirds, or more than 36 million dollars per year, in the last legislative session.	36	18	15	26	4	54	42	13
[302 Respondents] 16 (SPLIT B) Cutting state funding for family planning and birth control programs by two-thirds, or more than 36 million dollars per year, as passed in the last legislative session.	21	17	20	38	4	38	57	-19
[302 Respondents] 17 (SPLIT A) Requiring that any state funding for women's health care and family planning only go to medical providers that provide access to birth control options like the pill.	33	21	16	23	7	54	38	16
[302 Respondents] 18 (SPLIT B) Requiring that any state funding for women's health care and family planning only go to medical providers that provide access to a full range of birth control options	29	27	15	24	5	56	38	18

#### [302 Respondents]

Q.19 (SPLIT C) Some have proposed allowing any employer or boss to deny their employees health care coverage for certain services, including birth control, because it violates the employer's religious or moral beliefs. Do you favor or oppose that proposal?

	lota
Strongly oppose	40
Somewhat oppose	
Somewhat favor	
Strongly favor	
(Don't know/Refused)	
Total oppose	56
Total favor	
Oppose - Favor(ref:RFLIGRC1)	16

#### [302 Respondents]

Q.20 (SPLIT D) Some have proposed allowing any employer or boss to deny their employees health care coverage for certain items, such as emergency contraception, also known as Plan B, because it violates the employer's religious or moral beliefs. Do you favor or oppose that proposal?

Strongly oppose	Total
Somewhat oppose	
Somewhat favor	
Strongly favor	
(Don't know/Refused)	
Total oppose	53
Total favor	43
Oppose - Favor	9
(ref:RELIGBC2)	

Q.21 Finally, I would like to	ask you a few questions for statistical purposes. In what year	were you born? Total
	18 - 24	
	25 - 29	
	30 - 34	
	35 - 39	
	40 - 44	
	45 - 49	
	50 - 54	10
	55 - 59	9
	60 - 64	9
	65 and over	20
	(No answer)	2
	(ref:AGE)	
Q.22 What is the last year	of schooling that you have completed?	Total
	1 - 11th grade	
	High School graduate	
	Non-college post H.S.	2
	Some college	25
	College graduate	34
	Post-graduate school	16
	(Don't know/Refused)	
	(ref:EDUC)	
Q.23-25 Generally speakin	g, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or wh	at? Total
	Strong Democrat	19
	Weak Democrat	
	Independent-lean Democrat	
	Independent	
	Independent-lean Republican	
	Weak Republican	
	Strong Republican	
	(Don't know/Refused) (ref:PTYID1)	5
Q 26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)	
Q.26 Thinking in political te		iberal?
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1) erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L	iberal?
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)  erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L  Liberal	iberal? <b>Total</b> 19
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)  erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L  Liberal	.iberal? <b>Total</b> 19 32
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)  erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L  Liberal  Moderate  Conservative	Total193243
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)  erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L  Liberal  Moderate  Conservative  (Don't know/Refused)	Total193243
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)  erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L  Liberal  Moderate  Conservative	Total193243
Q.26 Thinking in political te	(ref:PTYID1)  erms, would you say that you are Conservative, Moderate, or L  Liberal  Moderate  Conservative  (Don't know/Refused)	Total193243

$Q_{i}$	27	Are	งดน	married.	single.	separated.	divorced.	or widowed?

	Total
Married	66
Single	17
Separated/Divorced	8
Widowed	
(Don't know/Refused)	2
Sep/Div/Wid(ref:MARRY)	14
(ref:MARRY)	

Q.28 What is your religion -- Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Mormon, another Christian religion, another non-Christian religion, or do you not have a religious affiliation?

	i otai
Protestant	41
Catholic	24
Jewish	0
Muslim/Islam	1
Mormon	1
Other Christian	14
Other non-Christian religion	1
Not affiliated or nothing in particular (Atheist, Agnostic	c)12
(Don't know/refused)	7
(ref:RELIGTFN)	

#### [506 Respondents]

Q.29 (SKIP IF JEWISH, MUSLIM, ATHEIST, AGNOSTIC, OR OTHER NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGION) When it comes to your religious identity, would you say you are fundamentalist, evangelical, charismatic, Pentecostal, mainline, or liberal, or do none these describe you?

	Total
Fundamentalist	10
Evangelical	9
Charismatic	3
Pentecostal	5
Mainline	9
Liberal	8
(No designation, or just Christian or just Protestant)	33
(Other)	
(Don't know/refused)	17
(ref:PROTID)	

#### [506 Respondents]

Q.30 (SKIP IF JEWISH, MUSLIM, ATHEIST, AGNOSTIC, OR OTHER NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGION) Would you describe yourself a born-again Christian, or no?

-	Total
Yes	49
No	47
(Don't know/Refused)	4
(ref:BORNAGIN)	

Q.31 How often do you attend church or other religious services -- every week, once or twice a month, several times a year, or hardly ever?

	Total
Every week	43
Once or twice a month	19
Several times a year	12
Hardly ever	17
(Never)	5
(Don't know/refused)	
(ref:RELIGB)	

#### Q.32 What is your race?

White	Total
Black	
Hispanic	
(Other)	
(Don't know/refused)	2
(ref:RACE)	

#### Q.5 Respondent gender

	Total
Male	47
Female	53
(ref:GENDER)	

# **Appendix C: Presenter Biographies**

# ANNA GREENBERG, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

Anna Greenberg is a leading pollster and an expert in survey research methodology with nearly 15 years of experience.

Since joining Greenberg Quinlan Rosner in 2001, Greenberg has worked with many elected officials and a wide range of NGOs and advocacy groups. Her areas of expertise include women and politics, LGBT rights, religion and politics, healthcare policy and drug policy reform. Some of her current and recent clients include:

- Governor Mark Dayton (MN)
- Lt. Matt Denn (DE)
- Senator Amy Klobuchar (MN)
- Congressman Ron Barber (AZ-2)
- Congressman Pete Gallego (TX-23)
- Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords (AZ-8)
- Congressman Mark Pocan (WI-2)
- Congresswoman Michelle Lujan Grisham (NM-1)
- Congressman John Sarbanes (MD-3)
- Attorney General Patrick Lynch (RI)
- Mayor Rahm Emanuel (Chicago)
- Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC)
- AFL-CIO
- SEIU
- EMILY's List
- NARAL Pro-Choice America
- Human Rights Campaign (HRC)
- The Center for American Progress (CAP)
- The National Academy of Sciences

Greenberg also leads <u>GQRDigital</u>, a practice that explores the impact of social media on public opinion and provides micro-targeting for candidates and advocacy organizations.

Prior to joining Greenberg Quinlan Rosner, Greenberg taught at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. She was a visiting scholar with the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. She serves on the advisory board of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College and is a research fellow at American University's Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies. She holds a BA in Government from Cornell University and Ph.D. in Political Science from the University of Chicago.

#### ROBERT E. CARPENTER, PRESIDENT, CHESAPEAKE BEACH CONSULTING

Bob Carpenter founded Chesapeake Beach Consulting in the spring of 2012 to offer political clients, associations, non-profit organizations and corporations, strategic consulting services, research services and political advice.

Prior to founding this firm, Bob worked for 18 years at American Viewpoint, a full service public opinion research firm. He has extensive experience in both qualitative and quantitative research. Bob has conducted hundreds of focus groups and drafted and administered thousands of surveys for political clients, corporations and associations. He has conducted survey research for numerous Republican Members of the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate, as well as Republican candidates for statewide and local office. From 2004 through 2010 he was the principle pollster for the Indiana House Republican Campaign Committee.

In the women's arena, Bob has conducted research for the Barbara Lee Family Foundation, the WISH List, the Republican Majority for Choice, the White House Project, the Center for Policy Alternatives and numerous other groups.

In the environmental and conservation arena, Bob was involved in most of the projects American Viewpoint undertook over the past 18 years. He has provided research and strategy advice to the Georgia Conservation Voters, the National Environmental Trust, the Nature Conservancy, the National Wildlife Federation, the Campaign for America's Wilderness, the Washington Wilderness Coalition, and many others.

In the education arena, Bob has provided research and strategic advice to the National Education Association. In this capacity, he worked with their governmental relations team to encourage and develop greater participation in the political process among their Republican members.

Bob has extensive experience in state party management, campaign management and legislative affairs. Prior to joining American Viewpoint, Bob worked for the California Legislature; the California Republican Party as both Political Director and Executive Director; the Republican Party of Alaska as both Political and Executive Director; the Republican National Committee as Deputy Regional Political Director for the Great Lakes region and as National Field Director; and Executive Director of Victory '92-New York.

In 2008, Bob ran for and was elected to the Chesapeake Beach Town Council (MD). He currently serves as the Chair of the Election Code Revision Committee and as Chair of the Skateboard Park Development Advisory Committee. As a Member of the Town Council, Bob has become proficient in municipal budgeting and governance. He was re-elected in November 2012.

Bob is a native of California. He holds a Bachelors degree from Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo and a Masters of Public Administration degree from the University of Southern California. He currently lives in Chesapeake Beach, Maryland.

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The Texas Freedom Network Education Fund supports research and education efforts that promote religious freedom and individual liberties.

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