

THE THIRD WAY CULTURE PROGRAM



THE FELDMAN GROUP, INC.

**National Abortion Survey**  
**WEIGHTED MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE**

JULY 2007

**Third Way  
National Survey  
WEIGHTED MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE  
July 16, 2007**

Hello. Is (ASK FOR NAME ON LIST) there?

(AFTER RESPONDENT ON THE PHONE) This is (caller name), and I'm calling for National Opinion Surveys. I would like to ask you a few questions about issues in your community. I am not selling anything. This is a research study, and your individual answers are confidential.

**EFFECTIVE SAMPLE SIZE .....1003**

	<b>Total</b>
Male .....	47
Female .....	53

Q.1 First, are you registered to vote at your current address?

	<b>Total</b>
Yes .....	100

Q.2 Next year there will be an election for President of the United States. How likely are you to vote in that election -- are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50 or don't you think you will vote in that election?

	<b>Total</b>
Almost certainly .....	90
Probably .....	10

Q.3 Now, generally speaking, do you think things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things are pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

	<b>Total</b>
Right direction .....	23
Wrong track .....	68
Don't know/refused (VOL).....	9

Please note that the numbers have been rounded by computer and occasionally will add up to slightly above or slightly below 100 percent.

Q.4 Thinking ahead to the next presidential election, do you think you will vote for a (ROTATE) Democrat or a Republican or don't you know yet?

	<b>Total</b>
Democrat .....	37
Republican .....	25
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	37

Q.5 (IF UNDECIDED) Well, if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, toward which candidate would you lean - (READ AND ROTATE)?

	<b>W/Leaners Total</b>
Democrat .....	48
Republican .....	35
Undecided .....	17

Q.6 And thinking about the elections for United States Congress, do you think you will vote for a (ROTATE) Democrat or a Republican or don't you know yet?

	<b>Total</b>
Democrat .....	37
Republican .....	28
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	36

Q.7 (IF UNDECIDED) Well, if the election were held today and you had to decide right now, toward which candidate would you lean - (READ AND ROTATE)?

	<b>W/Leaners Total</b>
Democrat .....	46
Republican .....	34
Undecided .....	19

Q.8 And overall, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as President? (IF CHOICE) And do you feel that way strongly or moderately?

	<b>Total</b>
Strongly approve .....	14
Moderately approve .....	23
Moderately disapprove .....	13
Strongly disapprove .....	47
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

Much of our survey is about laws relating to the issue of abortion. Here are some statements other people have made about abortion and related issues. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with each one. (RANDOMIZE BATTERY) (PROBE: Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree?) (RANDOMIZE Q.9 to Q.22)

	<b>Comp Agree</b>	<b>Most Agree</b>	<b>Most Dis Agree</b>	<b>Comp Dis Agree</b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>Total Agree</b>	<b>Total Dis Agree</b>	<b>Diff</b>
Q.9 I feel uncomfortable when I hear politicians talk about abortion issues. ....18		15	26	38	3	<b>33</b>	<b>64</b>	-31
Q.10 It makes no difference in moral terms whether a pregnant woman chooses to have an abortion or a baby - it is simply her choice. ....33		20	16	28	3	<b>53</b>	<b>44</b>	9
Q.11 The decision whether or not to have an abortion should be left up to a woman, her family, and her doctor. ....51		21	8	16	3	<b>72</b>	<b>25</b>	48
Q.12 I wish elected leaders would look for common ground on the issue of abortion...42		32	9	11	6	<b>74</b>	<b>20</b>	53
Q.13 I support abortion being legal, but I am concerned that too many women have abortions without thinking about the moral consequences. ....30		28	13	24	5	<b>58</b>	<b>37</b>	21
Q.14 When a woman has an abortion it is because of irresponsible choices she and her partner have made about sex. ....22		24	25	23	7	<b>45</b>	<b>48</b>	-2
Q.15 Abortion is too often used as birth control. ....41		26	13	14	6	<b>67</b>	<b>27</b>	40
Q.16 The abortion debate is too angry.....39		30	12	10	8	<b>69</b>	<b>23</b>	46
Q.17 Abortion is the taking of human life. 49		20	13	13	5	<b>69</b>	<b>26</b>	43
Q.18 It is important to reduce the number of abortions in America, and keep it legal.....38		26	11	18	7	<b>65</b>	<b>29</b>	36

	Comp Agree	Most Agree	Most Dis Agree	Comp Dis Agree	DK	Total Agree	Total Dis Agree	Diff
Q.19 Abortion is so wrong that people who perform or have an abortion should go to jail. ....	10	9	20	57	4	<b>20</b>	<b>77</b>	-57
Q.20 My views on abortion are guided by my personal religious faith.....	37	23	14	23	3	<b>60</b>	<b>38</b>	22
Q.21 Elected officials should be guided by religious faith in making decisions about abortion laws.....	19	19	18	40	4	<b>38</b>	<b>58</b>	-20
Q.22 The reality is that people get pregnant when they are not prepared to have a child and abortion is an unfortunate but necessary reality. ....	25	24	16	30	5	<b>49</b>	<b>46</b>	3

Q.23 Which of the following three statements is closest to your view: (ROTATE FIRST TWO)

	Total
It is more important to reduce the number of unintended pregnancies than to reduce the number of abortions. ....	23
It is important to reduce both the number of unintended pregnancies and the number of abortions. ....	60
Neither of these goals is important to me. <b>(READ LAST)</b> ..	14
Don't know/refused (DO NOT READ) .....	3

Q.24 Overall, which is closest to your own point of view on the legality of abortion? (READ DO NOT ROTATE)

	Total
Abortion should be legal in all circumstances .....	20
Abortion should be legal in most circumstances .....	40
Abortion should be against the law in most circumstances ..	26
Abortion should be against the law in all circumstances .....	12
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

Q.25 Do you consider yourself more (ROTATE) pro-choice OR pro-life?

	<b>Total</b>
Pro-choice .....	40
Pro-life .....	39
Neither (VOL) .....	18
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

Q.26 Separate from whether or not it is legal, how do you personally feel about the morality of abortion? (READ DO NOT ROTATE)

	<b>Total</b>
It is sometimes morally wrong .....	22
It is mostly or always morally wrong .....	46
It is not really a moral issue .....	29
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

I am going to list goals for some legislation before Congress regarding abortion. On a scale of 0 to 10, please tell me how strongly you support that goal, with a zero meaning you do not support it at all, a five meaning you are neutral toward it, and a higher number meaning you support it. Remember, you can use any number between zero and 10. (99=Don't know/refused) (RANDOMIZE BATTERY ORDER) (RANDOMIZE Q.27 to Q.36)

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>0-2</b>	<b>3-4</b>	<b>5-6</b>	<b>7-8</b>	<b>9-10</b>	<b>DK</b>
Q.27 Finding common ground among different points of view on abortion and reducing the intensity of the abortion debate.....	6.67	12	4	27	21	34	2
Q.28 Reducing sexual activity among teenagers.....	7.50	11	3	17	15	53	1
Q.29 Reducing the number of abortions in America by preventing unintended pregnancies and supporting women who wish to carry their pregnancies to term .....	7.95	5	3	18	18	54	2
Q.30 Reducing unintended pregnancies. ....	7.92	7	3	15	18	55	2
Q.31 Providing contraception to sexually active teenagers .....	6.79	17	5	16	16	45	1
Q.32 Preserving a woman's right to choose abortion. ....	6.45	21	5	17	12	44	0

	Mean	0-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9-10	DK
Q.33 Banning abortions except in the case of rape, incest, or the life of a mother. ....	5.28	34	5	16	12	33	1
Q.34 Making abortion a crime even if that means putting people in jail for having an abortion or performing one. ....	2.88	58	7	15	7	11	1
Q.35 Making it less likely that the right to an abortion is abused.....	6.20	16	4	27	19	29	6
Q.36 Promoting a culture of life that respects the developing life in the womb.....	7.04	10	5	24	15	43	4

Q.37 What do you believe should be the most important goal on this issue? (PROBE FOR SPECIFICS)

**[Please see banner book for open-end responses]**

Q.38 In your view, which party is more reasonable on the issue of abortion? (ROTATE)  
 Democratic party, Republican party, (DO NOT ROTATE) both or neither?

	Total
Democratic Party .....	30
Republican Party .....	22
Both .....	8
Neither .....	32
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	9

Q.39 (IF CHOICE 3, 4 or 5 IN Q.38) If you had to choose between the two parties on this issue, which would you trust more to be reasonable on the issue?

	W/ Leaners Total
Democrat .....	48
Republican .....	34
Don't know/refused (VOL).....	18

I'm going to read you some statements and tell me whether you associate the statement with Democrats, Republicans, both parties or neither party. (PROBE: Which party does that describe better, both parties or neither party? (READ AND RANDOMIZE BATTERY) (ROTATE Q.40 to Q.48)

	<b>Dem Party</b>	<b>Rep Party</b>	<b>Both</b>	<b>Neither</b>	<b>DK</b>
Q.40 We need to find common ground on the abortion issue.	32	11	28	22	6
Q.41 There is too much sexual promiscuity in America .....	10	43	24	16	6
Q.42 It makes no difference whether a pregnant women has an abortion or a baby. ....	37	8	7	37	10
Q.43 Abortion is not a moral issue. ....	47	10	8	27	7
Q.44 Contraception, like birth control pills, should be distributed to teenagers in schools. ....	53	9	12	19	8
Q.45 Performing an abortion should be a crime punishable by prison.....	8	50	6	28	8
Q.46 We should respect other people's religious beliefs when it comes to abortion. ....	31	24	19	18	8
Q.47 There is really nothing wrong with teenagers having sex. ....	28	6	10	49	7
Q.48 Abortion is a good political issue.....	17	21	29	26	7

Q.49 In general, are you more concerned that (ROTATE) Democrats will make abortions too easy to obtain OR that Republicans will make abortions too hard to obtain?

	<b>Total</b>
Democrats will make too easy .....	32
Republicans will make too hard .....	39
Both (VOL) .....	9
Neither (VOL) .....	12
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	8

I am going to read a series of statements a candidate might make on abortion. Please tell me whether each one makes you more or less likely to support a candidate who made that statement. If it makes you MUCH more or MUCH less likely to support the candidate, please say so. Please also tell me if you think the candidate is trying NOT to address the real issues. (ROTATE) (PROBE: Are you more or less likely to support a candidate who makes that statement? (IF CHOICE) And is that much more/less or somewhat more/less?) (RANDOMIZE Q.50 to Q.55)

	Much More Likely	Some what More	Some what Less	Much Less Likely	No Diff	Not Address Issue	DK
Q.50 (SPLIT A) There are one point three million abortions performed in America every year, and that is too many. I support abortion rights, but I believe we can find common ground to reduce the number of abortions in America while still protecting a woman's right to have one. ....	43	25	14	14	3	1	1
Q.51 (SPLIT B) I support abortion rights, but I believe we can find common ground to reduce the need for abortions in America while still protecting a woman's right to have one. ....	41	28	11	17	1	1	1
Q.52 I believe in a culture of life and I believe that abortion is the killing of an innocent life. That is why we should make abortion against the law in almost all circumstances. ....	29	14	16	38	1	-	2
Q.53 I support abortion rights because I believe that the decision to have an abortion should be left up to a woman, her family, and her doctor.	43	22	9	21	3	0	1
Q.54 I support abortion rights because, while I was raised in the church, I cannot take what is a matter of faith for me and legislate it for someone else. ....	31	26	14	23	2	1	2
Q.55 I believe we must reduce unintended pregnancies in America.....	52	30	6	5	4	2	1

Q.56 I am going to read you two of the statements again. Please tell me which candidate is giving a clearer response on the issue of abortion. (ROTATE STATEMENTS)

I believe we can find common ground to reduce the need for abortions in America while still protecting a woman’s right to have one. (A)

OR

I believe we must reduce unintended pregnancies in America. (B)

Which candidate is giving a clearer response on the issue of abortion? (IF CHOICE: Is that much more or somewhat more?)

	<b>Total</b>
Candidate A - Much More .....	34
Candidate A - Somewhat More .....	23
Candidate B - Somewhat More .....	18
Candidate B - Much More .....	18
Neither are clear (VOL) .....	4
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

Q.57 There is legislation introduced in Congress by pro-choice and pro-life elected representatives that aims to reduce abortions by helping parents and teachers communicate more responsible behavior to teens, increasing access to contraception, providing new health care assistance to pregnant women, and helping pregnant and parenting college-age women stay in school. Do you want your member of Congress to support or oppose this legislation? (IF CHOICE) And do you feel strongly or moderately about that?

	<b>Total</b>
Support - strongly .....	50
Support- moderately .....	33
Oppose - moderately .....	6
Oppose - strongly .....	7
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	5

**I have a few final questions about possible congressional legislation on contraception. (ROTATE Q.58 to Q.62)**

Q.58 Some in Congress believe that a way to reduce unintended pregnancies and abortions is to make it easier for low-income women and teenagers to obtain contraception. Do you think that this would have a large impact, medium impact, small impact, or no impact on reducing unintended pregnancies and abortions?

	<b>Total</b>
Large impact .....	25
Medium impact .....	35
Small impact .....	24
No impact .....	11
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	5

Q.59 Some in Congress worry that easier access to contraception will increase teenage sexual activity and promiscuity. Do you share that concern to a large extent, a medium extent, only a little, or not at all?

	<b>Total</b>
A large extent .....	26
A medium extent .....	25
Only a little .....	20
Not at all .....	26
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

Q.60 There are some state and federal programs that allow teenage minors to obtain contraception without the knowledge of their parents. Which best captures your view towards this policy:

	<b>Total</b>
It makes me very uncomfortable .....	30
It makes me uncomfortable, but it's probably necessary .....	34
I'm comfortable with it, because it's necessary and won't really change teen sexual behavior .....	33
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	3

Q.61 New contraception is now available without a prescription that can be taken after sexual relations to prevent pregnancies. Knowing about the so-called "morning after" pill, which of these two statements comes closer to your views: (READ AND RANDOMIZE)

	<b>Total</b>
The morning after pill is a good thing because it will reduce unintended pregnancies and reduce the number of abortions in America. ....	40
The morning after pill is a bad thing because it will lead to more irresponsible and promiscuous sexual activity. ....	30
<b>(READ LAST)</b> Or do you feel that both statements are true. ....	22
<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Neither .....	5
<b>(DO NOT READ)</b> Don't Know/refused .....	3

Q.62 There are some in Congress who want schools to try to discourage teenagers from engaging in sexual activity through what is known as abstinence education. Do you think this is a worthy goal for schools or a waste of time and resources?

	<b>Total</b>
Worthy goal .....	60
Waste of time and resources .....	34
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	5

**Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes.**

Q.63 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or something else?

(DEMOCRAT:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

(REPUBLICAN:) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

(IF NOT DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

	<b>Total</b>
Strong Democrat .....	23
Not very strong Democrat .....	12
Not very strong Republican .....	12
Strong Republican .....	21
Independent lean Democrat .....	12
Independent lean Republican .....	7
Other .....	5
Don't know/refused .....	7

Q.64 How would you describe your political views? (READ DO NOT ROTATE)

	<b>Total</b>
Conservative .....	35
Moderate .....	41
Liberal .....	19
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	5

Q.65 What is the last year of schooling that you have completed? (DO NOT READ)

	<b>Total</b>
1st-11th Grade .....	3
High school grad .....	20
Technical/Vocational school .....	2
Some college .....	27
College grad .....	29
Post-grad/professional school .....	15
Don't know/refused (VOL).....	4

Q.66 Are you married, single, separated, divorced, widowed, or do you live with an unmarried partner?

	<b>Total</b>
Married .....	64
Single .....	14
Separated/divorced .....	8
Widowed .....	5
Unmarried partner .....	4
Don't know/refused (VOL).....	5

Q.67 Do you have any children under the age of 18 living with you?

	<b>Total</b>
Yes .....	33
No .....	63
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	4

Q.68 Are you or is anyone in your household a member of a labor union?

	<b>Total</b>
Yes - respondent .....	8
Yes - household .....	4
Yes - both .....	1
No .....	81
Don't know/refused (VOL).....	5

Q.69 What is your religion -- Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, another Christian religion, another religion, or do you not have a religious affiliation?

	<b>Total</b>
Protestant .....	29
Catholic .....	23
Jewish .....	2
Muslim .....	0
Other Christian (SPECIFY) .....	18
Other Religion (SPECIFY) .....	6
Not affiliated or nothing in particular .....	13
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	9

Q.70 (IF PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, OTHER CHRISTIAN, OTHER RELIGION, DON\_T KNOW, REFUSED RELIGION) Would you consider yourself a born-again Christian, or not?

	<b>Total</b>
Yes .....	33
No .....	60
Don't remember .....	0
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	6

Q.71 Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? (READ. DO NOT ROTATE)

	<b>Total</b>
More than once a week .....	15
Once a week .....	27
Once or twice a month .....	17
A few times a year .....	21
Never .....	14
(DO NOT READ) Don't know/refused .....	6

Q.72 In what year were you born?  
 (ENTER 9999 for refusal - CAPTURE FOUR YEAR DATE)

	<b>Total</b>
18 - 24 .....	6
25 - 29 .....	9
30 - 34 .....	8
35 - 39 .....	10
40 - 44 .....	11
45 - 49 .....	8
50 - 54 .....	10
55 - 59 .....	10
60 - 64 .....	6
Over 64 .....	16
No answer .....	7

Q.73 Would you please tell me into which of the following categories the total yearly income of your household falls -- including every one in the household? (READ)

	<b>Total</b>
Under \$10,000 .....	3
\$10,000 to \$20,000 .....	4
\$20,000 to \$25,000 .....	5
\$25,000 to \$30,000 .....	8
\$30,000 to \$40,000 .....	9
\$40,000 to \$50,000 .....	7
\$50,000 to \$60,000 .....	8
\$60,000 to \$75,000 .....	9
\$75,000 to \$100,000 .....	10
Over \$100,000 .....	16
(DO NOT READ) Don't know/refused .....	21

Q.74 Do you consider yourself to be of Mexican, Central or South American, Dominican, Puerto Rican, or other Hispanic or Latino origin?

	<b>Total</b>
Yes .....	7
No .....	88
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	5

Q.75 Could you please tell me your race? (DO NOT READ)

	<b>Total</b>
White/Caucasian .....	75
Black/African American .....	10
Hispanic/ Latino .....	5
Asian/Pacific Islander/Filipino .....	1
American Indian/ Alaskan native .....	1
Other (VOL) .....	2
Don't know/refused (VOL) .....	6

**Those are all the questions I have. Thank you.**