Trends in Attitudes on
Sexual and Reproductive Issues

By
Tom W. Smith
National Opinion Research Center
University of Chicago

GSS Social Change Report No. 23

Oct. 1985

Conventional wisdom, the kind created by columnists, political
pundits, and radio talk-show hosts, tells us that America has been swept
rightwards by a great conservative tide during the last decade. Liberals and
conservative both agree that the public has abandoned standard liberal
nostrums for social ills, turning instead to the self-reliant faith healing of
the conservatives. One of the most ballyhooed changes has been the resurgence
of traditional, family values. According to this view, Americans have reacted
to changes in gender roles, sexual permissiveness, easy divorce, and other
supposed challenges to the traditional, American family. They have turned
from misguided liberal wanderings during the late sixties to mid-
seventies
and have returned to tried and true values of family, church, and community.

There is some truth to this vision of a resurgence of traditional,
family values. The trends for both behaviors and attitudes regarding child
bearing and divorce do support the notion of a movement back towards
traditional, family values and structures. Chart 1, for example, shows that after dropping sharply from the late fifties the birth rate bottomed out in 1975-76 and has moved back up in the late seventies and early eighties. Likewise, the proportion favoring larger families (3 or more children) stopped falling in 1976 and has since stayed at a historically low, but stable level. A similar pattern emerges when we look at divorce (Chart 2). The divorce rate started slowly rising in the early sixties and continued an uninterrupted growth until 1979. Since 1979 the divorce rate has fallen, although still holding near record high levels. Also, showing a reversal is public support for easier divorce laws. Support for easier divorce increased substantially from 1967 to 1974 and then fell back as no fault divorce and other simplifications for divorce were instituted.

If the claims of a traditionalist resurgence had been limited to these areas, then they would rest on solid, empirical grounds. But of course the claims went far beyond these modest reversals, covering such "family" related issues as women's rights, sexual morality, family planning, abortions, and sex education. And it is on these family issues that the alleged conservative tide runs dry.

On most of these "family" issues support for liberal positions have grown substantially over the last twenty years and now a solid majority of Americans favor liberal positions. In the area of sexual morality, Americans have become more permissive (Chart 3). Premarital sex has become more acceptable to the public since the sixties. By 1985, 43 percent viewed premarital sex as fully acceptable, while 71.5 percent considered
it appropriate at least in some circumstances. Even living together (or POSSLQ people of the opposite sex sharing living quarters - as the Census demurely calls it) has become common (having increased more than three-fold from 1970 to 1983). The public has also become more supportive of the dissemination of information about birth control. By 1983, 92 percent favored allowing adults to have access to birth control information, 87 percent approved of allowing teenagers access to birth control information, and 86 percent supported sex education in the public schools.

Likewise, support for legal abortions has increased significantly over the last twenty years (Chart 4). Support increased sharply from the sixties to the mid-seventies and has slightly declined since then (Table 2). To examine the change in abortion attitudes we fit a cohort - education attitude model to two abortion items, support for abortions when a mother's health is endangered and when a married woman does not want any more children. This model was applied both for the entire period (1962 or 1965 to 1985) and for the two notable subperiods of change identified by the trend analysis (1962/65 to 1973 and 1973 to 1985). For both items cohort and education explained little of the change (Table 3). These variables moved attitudes in a liberal (pro-abortion) direction, but most change came from time net of cohort turnover or educational improvement. For the period prior to 1973, cohort and education augmented a general societal shift in the pro-choice direction. Since 1973 the general shift has been in a pro-life direction overall, while cohort and education have moderated this reversal by
continuing to exert a small, but statistically significant, push in the liberal direction. Currently support for abortions in case of the mother's health being endangered, of a deformed fetus, or resulting from rape or incest is in the 80-90 percent range. For these situations a consensus exists. But on other situations sharp division occurs. Support for social reasons such as poverty, being unmarried, or not wanting any more children is generally in the 40-50 percent range (D'Antonio and Stack, 1980; Granberg and Granberg, 1980; Barnartt and Harris, 1982; and Smith, 1983).

In sum, all items dealing with sexual and reproductive practices show much higher support in the eighties than in the early seventies or earlier, no notable reversal of these liberals trends, and many cases a large majority of the public backs the liberal position.

A standard corollary of the belief in the resurgence of family values and practices, is the belief that this reversal is rooted in religious conservatism. The notion is that Catholics, following the lead of the Pope, and Protestants, following Rev. Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority, have swung the country back to traditional, family values. But neither religious leader has actually lead any massive reversal.

Several analyses of Moral Majority have shown that: 1) Falwell's views are not backed by a majority of Protestants, 2) only about 20-30 percent of Protestants consider themselves as either Evangelicals or Fundamentalists~ and 3) most Protestants have neutral or unfavorable opinions of Moral Majority (Lienesch, 1982; Cutler and Yinger, 1982; Yinger and Cutler, 1982; Liebman and Wuthnow, 1983; Mueller, 1983; and Miller and Wattenberg, 1984).
The notion that Catholics form a bastion of traditionalist strength on sexual and reproductive issues is equally erroneous (Table 1). Catholics are more liberal than Protestants on approving of premarital sex and of sex education. Catholics and Protestants do not differ on the dissemination of birth control information to adults or teenagers. Only on favoring more children and approval of abortion are Catholics slightly more traditionalist. Among non-blacks, Catholics favor a higher ideal number of children than Protestants and expect to have more children than Protestants. But except for the Baby 900m generation, Catholics actually end up with slightly smaller families than Protestants. Catholic support for abortions is generally about five to seven percent points lower than among Protestants. Yet even this difference seems to be diminishing. While differences between Protestants and Catholics have fluctuated over the last decade, they have tended to decrease in the eighties, averaging only about two to five percent points since 1982.

This declining difference between Catholic and Protestants on reproductive attitudes, shows more clearly on the personal use of contraceptives (Table 4). Back in 1965 Catholics were less likely to practice contraception than Protestants and among those who practiced contraception Catholics were much more likely to use the church sanctioned rhythm method than Protestants were. By 1976 Catholics and Protestants used contraception at exactly the same level and the rhythm method was used only 9 percent of Catholics (and 4 percent of Protestants).

In sum, Catholics and Protestants have only small differences on reproductive attitudes and behaviors and Catholics tend to be
more liberal
rather than more conservative than Protestants. Both Catholics and
Protestants differ dramatically from the position of the Catholic
church and
Moral Majority on reproductive matters. Less than 10% of
Catholics share the
position's on abortion (answering no to all seven abortion
questions asked on
the General Social Surveys) and a majority of both married and
unmarried
Catholics practice birth control methods unsanctioned by the
church. Catholic
and Protestant flocks do not follow the lead of the church or of
Moral
Majority on sexual and reproductive matters.

Nor, does it appear that politicians must follow the
preaching of
these religious leaders in order to keep the flocks voting for
them. Analyses
of voting patterns and single-issue voting studies shows that on
average
candidates can expect to pick up more votes than they will lose
on either the
issue of legal abortions or allowing government health clinics to
supply birth
control devices to teenagers without prior parental approval (see
Smith, 1984
Jackson and Vinovskis, 1983; and Appendix 1). Of course both
issues need to
be approached from a centrist position and the potential gain
will vary
significantly from community to community (e.g. rural, Southern,
and Mexican
communities are among the most conservative on reproductive
issues).
If there has not been a traditionalist resurgence of family
values,
where does the myth of the resurgence come from? First, it grows
out of the
political visibility of pro-family groups such as Falwell's Moral
Majority,
Phyllis Schafley's Eagle Forum, and the National Right to Life
Committee, such
right-wing lobby and citizen groups either did not exist or were
ineffectual
in the early seventies. The organization and effective lobbying
of such groups have given the impression of a shift to traditionalist positions, but what they actually did was give voice to the sizable segment of the public that has always favored traditionalist positions. This segment of the population has not grown, but it has appeared to grow because it has become better organized and more articulate. Second, when liberal groups and elites had the upper hand in the media and political arena in the late sixties and early seventies, America was pictured as more liberal than it really was. The politics of NOW, Nader, and CAPs were either seen as representing a new, emergent American culture or at least as part of an inevitable future. American was neither as liberal as it was perceived then nor as conservative as it is now perceived. Instead of there having been a major shift of ideology in general or family values in particular, there was rather only the appearance of a conservative tide washing away liberal beachheads. This change is not unimportant both because of the potential power of false impressions being accepted as real and because of the real change in political power brought about by the shift in balance between organized lobbies and groups. But important as these changes are, they are neither the same as nor the result of conservative shifts in public attitudes.

On sexual and reproductive issues there has not been a resurgence of traditional, family values. The movement over the last generation has been towards more individual freedom in these areas, and no major reversals have occurred in recent years. While the Pope and Moral Majority take a very traditional stance on these matters, their positions are overwhelmingly
rejected by the majority of Catholics and Protestants respectively.

References

Barnartt, Sharon N. and Harris, Richard J., "Recent Changes in Predictors of Abortion Attitudes," Sociology and Social Research, 66 (April, 1982), 320-334.


Table 1

Religious Differences on Sexual and Reproductive Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Birth Control Information for Adults (% Favoring)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>85.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Sex Education
in Public
Schools
(% Favoring)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Premarital Sex
(% Believing it is not always wrong)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>71.5</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E. Abortion if Can not Afford Another Child (% Approving)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F. Abortion if Married Women Does not Want More Children (% Approving)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>47.5</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: General Social Surveys, National Opinion Research Center,
Table 2
Trends in Abortion Attitudes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Models</th>
<th>All Years</th>
<th>1962(65)-1973</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Slope</td>
<td>r-squa-</td>
<td>Slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>red</td>
<td>red-b</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defect</td>
<td>1962-1985</td>
<td>+.0106</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>+.0269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.0048</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother's Health</td>
<td>1962-1985</td>
<td>+.0052</td>
<td>.54</td>
<td>+.0142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.0022</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No more</td>
<td>1965-1985</td>
<td>+.0183</td>
<td>.44</td>
<td>+.0464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.0042</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too poor</td>
<td>1962-1985</td>
<td>+.0166</td>
<td>.57</td>
<td>+.0291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.0077</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raped</td>
<td>1965-1985</td>
<td>+.0061</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>+.0297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.0019</td>
<td>.23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-.0062</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a-Modeled linear proportion change per annum. Positive change indicates increase in pro-abortion attitudes.

b-Variance explained by time (years).

Table 3
Changes in Abortion Attitudes (Proportions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modeled Change</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modeled</td>
<td>Raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Cohort Education Cohort X Education Change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No More Children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1985</td>
<td>.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.243</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4
Religious Difference in Contraceptive Usage

A. Contraceptive Status of White Married Women, 15-44

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1973</th>
<th>1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Contraception</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pregnant or Seeking Pregnancy</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infertile/Sterile</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using Contraceptive</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Contraception</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pregnant or Seeking Pregnant</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infertile/Sterile</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Using Contraceptive</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant - Catholic % Using Contraceptive</td>
<td>+11%</td>
<td>+6%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Use of Rhythm Method among White Married Women, 15-44 who use some Contraceptive.

Catholics
% Using Rhythm
32% 8% 9%

Protestants
% Using Rhythm
4.5% 3% 4%

Protestants - Catholic % using
Rhythm                          27.5%  5%  5%


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Group</th>
<th>No Contraceptive</th>
<th>Pregnant/Partner Pregnant</th>
<th>Ineffective Methods</th>
<th>Effective Methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ineffective methods consist mostly of rhythm methods, but also include withdrawal and douches.

Source: National Longitudinal Survey of Youths, Conducted by the National Opinion Research Center

Table 3
Religious Differences on Overpopulation and Family Planning Assistance Issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Group</th>
<th>A. % Believing Overpopulation will be Serious Problem 25-50 years from now (ROPER, 12/1982)</th>
<th>B. % Believing that high birth rates hurt Economic Growth (GALLUP, 7/1984)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. % Approving of US aid to poor countries to reduce population growth (GALLUP 7/1984) 51% 57%

D. % Thinking that more than 5% of foreign aid should go to Family Planning (GALLUP, 7/1984) 40% 33%

E. % Believing that Population Control be a Condition for Foreign Aid (GALLUP, 7/1984) 34% 38%

F. % Believing that Health programs in Third World should include Family Planning (GALLUP, 7/1984) 79% 83%

G. % Supporting US aid for Family planning and abortion 33% 31%

% Supporting US aid for Family planning in countries where abortions are legal 28% 28%

% Opposing US aid for family planning countries where abortions are legal (GALLUP, 7/1984) 27% 26%


[Note: Charts 1-3 have not been included as it was not possible to scan such figures into a file. For these charts, please notify us, and we will mail you copies of the charts. You may either mail us at:

The General Social Survey
National Opinion Research Center
1155 East 60th Street
Chicago, IL  60615

or go to our communications page and notify us by electronic mail.]
APPENDIX 1: Single-Issue Voting on Birth Control Issue

A. Feb. 1982 Survey

Question:
R1F Do you favor or oppose...a federal law prohibiting family planning clinics from giving birth control assistance to teenagers unless they have received permission from their parent?

Responses:
Favor 45%
Oppose 52
* Not sure 3

Survey Organization: Lou Harris & Associates
Population: National Adult
Population Size: 1253
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: FEB 12, 1982 Ending date: FEB 17, 1982
Source Document: Harris Survey
Date of Source Document: MAR 11, 1982
Subject: SOCL

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.031182.R1F

Question:
R2F Now, suppose in the congressional elections this year, you found a candidate for Congress in your district whose views you mostly agreed with. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on...requiring parents' permission to give teenagers birth control assistance... that you disagreed with completely. Would you certainly not vote for that candidate, probably not vote for him, or could you still vote for him?

Subpopulation: Favor requiring parents' permission

Responses:
Certainly not vote 19%
Probably not vote 36%
Could vote 44%
* Not sure 1%

Note: Based on responses of those favoring a federal law prohibiting family planning clinics from giving birth control assistance to teenagers unless they have received permission from their parents = 45%.

Survey Organization: Lou Harris & Associates
Population: National Adult
Population Size: 1253
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: FEB 12, 1982 Ending date: FEB 17, 1982
Source Document: Harris Survey
Date of Source Document: MAR 11, 1982
Subject: ELEC

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.031182.R2F

Question:

R3E Now, suppose in the congressional elections this year, you found a candidate for Congress in your district whose views you mostly agreed with. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on...requiring parents' permission to give teenagers birth control assistance...that you disagreed with completely. Would you certainly not note for that candidate, probably not vote for him, or could you still vote for him?

Subpopulation: Oppose requiring parents' permission

Responses:

Certainly not vote 21%
Probably not vote 35%
Could vote 41%
* Not sure 3%

Note: Based on responses of those favoring a federal law prohibiting family planning clinics from giving birth control assistance to teenagers unless they have received permission from their parents = 52%.
B. July, 1982 Survey

Question:
R4 Suppose in the congressional elections this year, you found a candidate for Congress in your district whose views you mostly agreed with. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on...requiring parents' permission to give teenagers birth control assistance...that you disagreed with completely. Would you certainly not vote for that candidate, probably not vote for him, or could you still vote for him?

Subpopulation: Favor requiring permission, candidate opposes

Responses:
Certainly not vote 20%
Probably not vote 38%
Could vote 38%
* Not sure 4%

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.081282.R4
R10 Suppose in the congressional elections this year, you found a candidate for Congress in your district whose views you mostly agreed with. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on...requiring parents' permission to give teenagers birth control assistance...that you disagreed with completely. Would you certainly not vote for that candidate, probably not vote for him, or could you still vote for him?

Subpopulation: Oppose requiring permission, candidate favors

Responses:
- Certainly not vote: 21%
- Probably not vote: 36%
- Could vote: 40%
- Not sure: 3%

Survey Organization: Lou Harris And Associates
Population: National Adult
Population Size: 1250
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: JUL 9, 1982 Ending date: JUL 14, 1982
Source Document: Harris Survey
Date of Source Document: AUG 12, 1982
Subject: ELEC

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.081282.R10

Question:
R5 Do you favor or oppose...a federal law prohibiting family planning clinics from giving birth control assistance to teenagers unless they have received permission from their parents?

Responses:
- Favor: 45%
- Oppose: 51%
- * Not sure: 4%

Survey Organization: Lou Harris And Associates
Population: National Adult
Population Size: 1250
Interview method: Telephone
Beginning date: JUL 9, 1982   Ending date: JUL 14, 1982
Source Document: Harris Survey
Date of Source Document: AUG 9, 1982
Subject: SOCL
TREND

FULL QUESTION ID: USHARRIS.080982.R5