

## Students for Life Action: January 2021 Quantitative Research Analysis Memo

### Methodology

This online quantitative research was conducted between January 7 – 11, 2021 among 800 registered voters age 18 – 34. Respondents self-identified themselves as 30% Republican, 36% Democrat, and 34% Independent. Margin of error:  $\pm 3.46\%$

### Defining Millennials and Gen Z Generations

As members of Gen Z (ages 18-24) enter adulthood, their opinions on politics, policy, and the issues they deem important are often compared to the Millennial (ages 25-34) generation. Despite the differences in age, these two generations are not as different as one may assume, and their opinions are also not as liberal.

When asked how these individuals typically vote, over one-third (35%) voted for more Republican candidates, while more than 4-in-10 (46%) voted for more Democrat candidates. Among the Gen Z population, Democrat candidates were favored by 19-points over Republicans, with 14% of these voters indicating “depends” or “neutral.” Millennials also favored Democrat candidates by 7-points over Republican candidates, with 11% saying “depends” or “neutral.” While the difference in opinion is significant, the key to unlocking these voters is to target those **without** a strong opinion.

The 2020 election for President offers another opportunity for comparison among these two populations. More than one-quarter (26%) of Gen Z respondents cast their vote for Donald Trump, compared to over 1-in-3 (37%) Millennials who did the same. Joe Biden received 61% of the Gen Z vote, and just over half (53%) of the Millennial vote. It is important to note that the political affiliation of these two populations does vary, with Gen Z identifying as 23% Republican, 41% Independent, and 35% Democrat, and Millennials identifying as 35% Republican, 29% Independent, and 36% Democrat. ***This affiliation breakdown directly combats existing narratives that Millennials and Gen Z are overwhelmingly liberal and far left.***

Additionally, Millennials and Gen Z had some differing opinions on the most important issue facing the United States. Given the current state of affairs nationwide, the Coronavirus ranked as number one among 30% of Gen Z and 32% of Millennials. From there, the generations studied differed on which issue is more important. The Black Lives Matter movement and race relations was key for 17% of Gen Z, while an additional 11% thought jobs and the economy was the top issue facing the country. In contrast, 1-in-5 (20%) Millennials thought the jobs and the economy deserved the most attention, and 13% say healthcare was the top issue. These differences highlight the **priorities** of each generation, and how lived experiences influence opinion.

## Initial Opinions on Abortion

Opinions on abortion ranged in intensity from the belief that abortion should be prohibited in all circumstances to abortion being allowed at any time during a woman's pregnancy for any reason.

### Which of the following statements best describes your own position on the issue of abortion?

19%	Abortion should be allowed at any time during a woman's pregnancy and for any reason
15%	Abortion should be legal for any reason, but not after five months of pregnancy when the fetus is viable and can feel pain
14%	Abortion should be legal for any reason, but not after the first three months of pregnancy
19%	Abortion should only be legal in cases of rape, incest or to save the life of the mother
8%	Abortion should be legal only to save the life of the mother
15%	Abortion should be prohibited in all circumstances
9%	Unsure/Depends
2%	Refused

When respondents were asked to describe their opinion on abortion, less than 2-in-10 (19%) respondents thought "abortion should be allowed at any time during a woman's pregnancy and for any reason." Still, an additional **15% indicated abortion should be "prohibited in all circumstances."** These varied opinions are critical to consider when discussing abortion policy with Millennial and Gen Z populations, as there is not a majority opinion for these policies.

Placing these voters into larger groups, just under half (48%) of Gen Z and Millennials were "pro-choice," and 42% were "pro-life." Nearly 1-in-2 (49%) Gen Z respondents were "pro-choice," and 43% held "pro-life" views. Millennials, in contrast, were 46% "pro-choice," and 41% held "pro-life" views. **These figures further substantiate the concept that these generations are not radically pro-choice.**

They want to vote on their values. Regardless of a respondent's view on abortion, the majority (66%) of registered voters surveyed believed Americans should be able to vote on abortion-related policies in their state, compared to less than 2-in-10 (19%) that do not. By 5-points, members of the Millennial generation thought abortion should be decided by the states, compared to their Gen Z counterparts. Additionally, Independents trail both Democrats and Republicans on this issue, with only 57% of Independents believing they should have the right to vote on abortion policies in their state, compared to 70% of Democrats and 72% of Republicans.

## Heartbeat Education

A vast majority of abortion policies at the state level center around the presence of a heartbeat for the fetus, but just over 1-in-4 (28%) respondents know when a fetus' heart begins to beat. Over 2-in-10 (21%) Millennials and Gen Z believed that the heart begins to beat at the moment of conception, and an additional 26% believed that the heart starts beating at 12 weeks gestation. After learning that a fetal heart begins to beat at 3 weeks gestation, these respondents supported an abortion ban after a heartbeat is detected by 9-points, with 47% supporting this ban and 38% opposing this ban.

Furthermore, 6-in-10 (60%) Gen Z and Millennials believed that doctors should be required to search for a heartbeat before performing or offering abortion services to a woman. These opinions dramatically alter the perception of Gen Z and Millennials – illustrating them as reachable for the pro-life movement.

### Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

18%	I support abortion at any time without exception
17%	I support abortion after a heartbeat is detected, up until the fetus can feel pain
25%	I oppose abortion anytime after a heartbeat is detected, except to save the life of the mother or in the case of rape or incest
13%	I oppose abortion anytime after a heartbeat is detected, except to save the life of the mother
15%	I oppose abortion in all circumstances
10%	Don't Know/Unsure
1%	Refused

In addition, when probed again about their views on abortion, 1-in-4 (25%) registered voters surveyed opposed abortion after a heartbeat is detected, except in cases of rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother. This number includes 7% of those who **initially supported abortion at any time** earlier in the survey. Movement on this position highlights how education on abortion can influence the opinions on these populations and begin to shift their perspective on abortions.

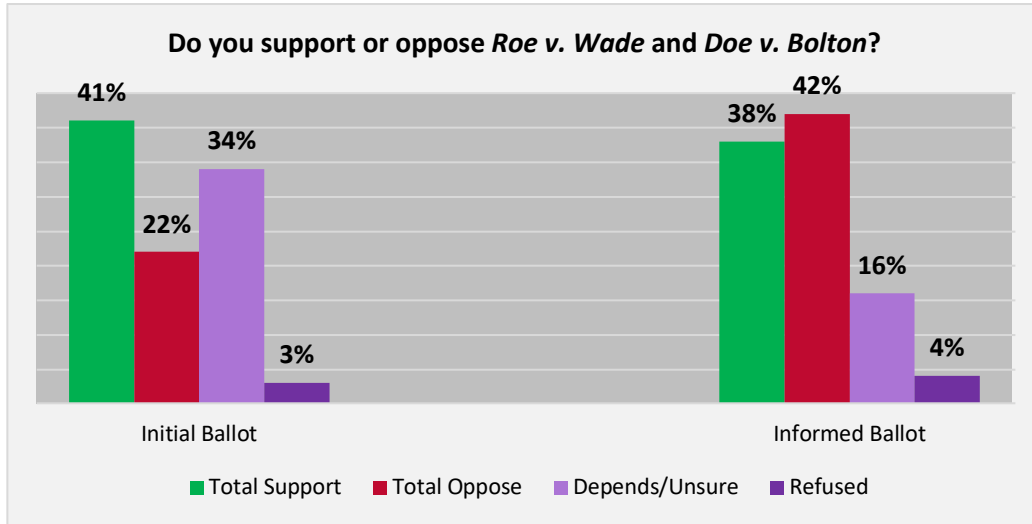
Taking the fetal heartbeat into consideration, over half (53%) of respondents **opposed abortion after a heartbeat is detected.** These views are vital to the pro-life movement, and this distinction needs to be made from a typical stance on abortion. The fetal heartbeat **matters** to these voters and should be incorporated into future discussions about the pro-life movement.

## Shifting Opinions on *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*

Since the 1970s, two landmark cases, *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*, have been used as a justification for abortion rights. When asked their opinions of these two cases, over 4-in-10 (41%) registered voters supported *Roe* and *Doe*, and an additional 34% were unsure. Just over 2-in-10 (22%) opposed the two cases. A series of messages were then presented to these respondents to identify support for both *Roe* and *Doe* given different situations that are allowed under the two cases.

Message	Total Support	Total Oppose	DIFF
It allows for abortions to be performed simply because the mother doesn't like the sex of the baby.	24%	62%	-38
It allows for abortions to be committed because the mother fears her child may be same-sex attracted or transgendered.	26%	58%	-32
It allows for abortions to be performed in all nine (9) months of pregnancy, up until the moment of birth.	30%	57%	-27
It allows women to use abortion as a form of contraception.	31%	51%	-20
It has been used to justify sending your tax dollars to perform abortions or off-set other expenses of abortion providers.	34%	46%	-12
It is estimated that there are nearly 2,300 abortions committed in the United States each day.	35%	41%	-6
Since 1973, there have been more than 20 million abortions of black fetuses, and more than 65 million abortions of all races in America.	35%	38%	-3
It allows for abortions to be performed because the mother fears her child will have a chromosomal or genetic disorder like Down syndrome.	43%	40%	+3

The least supported situations for both Gen Z and Millennials were abortions to be performed simply because the mother did not like the sex of the baby. Among Gen Z respondents, 21% supported sex-selective abortions, while 62% were opposed. An additional 13% were unsure of their opinion. Among Millennial respondents, 25% supported abortions being performed because the mother did not like the sex of the baby, while 62% were opposed. There is a similar difference in opinion among males and females. Over one-quarter (27%) of males supported such abortions, and over 6-in-10 (61%) were opposed. By comparison, 2-in-10 (20%) females supported abortions because the mother did not like the sex of the baby, and 63% were opposed.



After reading the series of statements regarding abortion, *Roe v. Wade*, and *Doe v. Bolton*, the percentage of respondents who opposed the two cases was 42%, a 20-point increase from the initial ballot. Additionally, those who supported *Roe* and *Doe* decreased by 3-points, and those who were unsure of their opinion on the cases decreased by 18-points. Notably, Republicans who were unsure of their stance on *Roe* and *Doe* decreased by 20-points from the initial to informed ballot, and Independents who were unsure decreased by 15-points. Moderates increased their opposition of *Roe* and *Doe* by 24-points from the initial to the informed ballot. ***These findings highlight the importance of education in ensuring that young Americans understand the devastating reach of these court rulings.***

Following the series of questions about *Roe* and *Doe*, registered voters were asked if they would support reversing the two cases and bringing the abortion decision back to individual states. By 8-points, these respondents supported reversing *Roe* and *Doe*, with 41% of Gen Z respondents and 46% of Millennial respondents supporting the measure. Additionally, 18% of Gen Z and Millennials were undecided, which leaves room for messaging to continue to educate these populations.

## Paying for Abortions

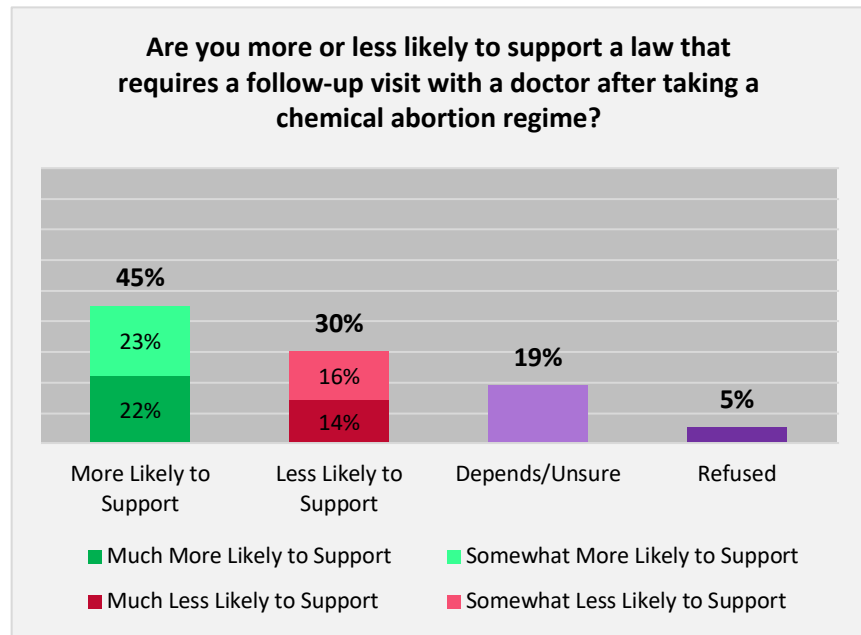
Regardless of how Gen Z and Millennials view abortion personally, they are united in their view that American taxpayers should not pay for abortions in the United States with tax dollars. By 6-points, registered voters disagreed that taxpayers should pay for abortions in the United States, and by 20-points, they **disagreed that taxpayers should pay for abortions worldwide**. Gen Z and Millennials differ slightly on these views, with Gen Z more likely to support taxpayer-funded abortions. A plurality (45%) of these voters agreed that taxpayer funds should pay for abortions in the case of rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother. This is equally supported by both Millennials and Gen Z populations.

These viewpoints also have a political impact as 40% of Millennial and Gen Z voters are less likely to support a candidate that supports tax dollar-funded abortions in the United States regardless of the reason. Additionally, nearly 4-in-10 (38%) Independents, just over 1-in-4 (27%) Democrats and over half (58%) of Republicans said they were less likely to vote for a Congressional candidate that supported this use of taxpayer funds.

### Chemical Abortion Pills

**An additional key point for both Millennials and Gen Z is opposition to the availability of chemical abortion pills without being physically examined by a doctor.** Less than 4-in-10 (38%) registered voters surveyed supported doctors being able to prescribe chemical abortion pills without examining a patient. Over 4-in-10 (44%) respondents opposed doctors being able to prescribe abortion pills without examining a patient. Additionally, 13% of respondents were unsure about their opinion. Women were on the fence with their opinion on this issue than men, with 17% of women responding “depends” or “unsure,” compared to only 9% of men.

After testing initial opinions of chemical abortion pills, registered voters were presented with a series of circumstances to gauge which situations, if any, they would support laws surrounding these pills being prescribed. When registered voters surveyed were told about the necessary follow-up exam following chemical abortions to ensure all tissue has been

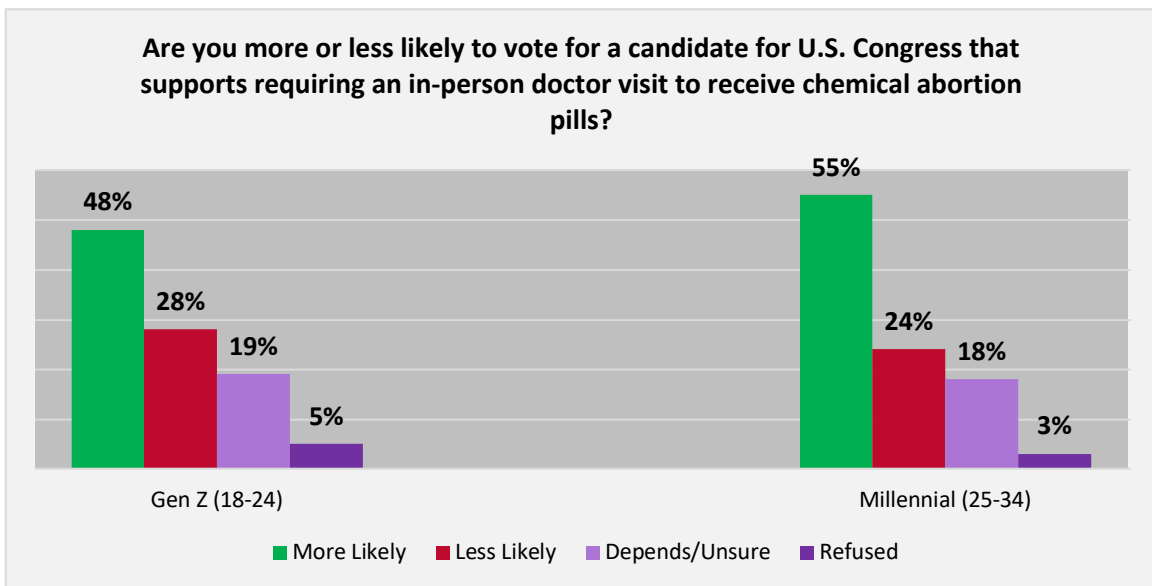


removed, over 4-in-10 (45%) respondents were more likely to support the measure, compared to 30% who were less likely to support the measure.

Along similar lines, over one-third (38%) of registered voters were less likely to support a law allowing doctors to prescribe chemical abortions sans exam once they learned the risks of taking chemical abortions further along in a pregnancy, such as severe bleeding. In this circumstance, 35% were more likely to support the measure, and over 2-in-10 (21%) were unsure. When presented with information about Rh-negative pregnancies, less than 4-in-10 (38%) were more likely to support laws allowing doctors to prescribe chemical abortion pills without an exam, and just under one-third (32%) were less likely to support this type of law. Still over 1-in-4 (26%) were unsure of their opinion in this circumstance. Education is key with these groups, as data supports a shift in opinion after being presented with specific circumstances or justifications for policy.

Additionally, respondents widely support the requirement of in-person purchase of abortion pills over online sales, addressing concerns that abusive partners were purchasing these pills and slipping them to pregnant women without their consent. **Over half (55%) of registered voters surveyed would support this requirement, while 23% were opposed to the in-person requirement in this instance.** This is a winning argument for the pro-life movement, and should be highlighted in future messaging.

Respondents were also asked about their likelihood to vote for a Congressional candidate that supported requiring an in-person doctor visit to receive chemical abortion pills.



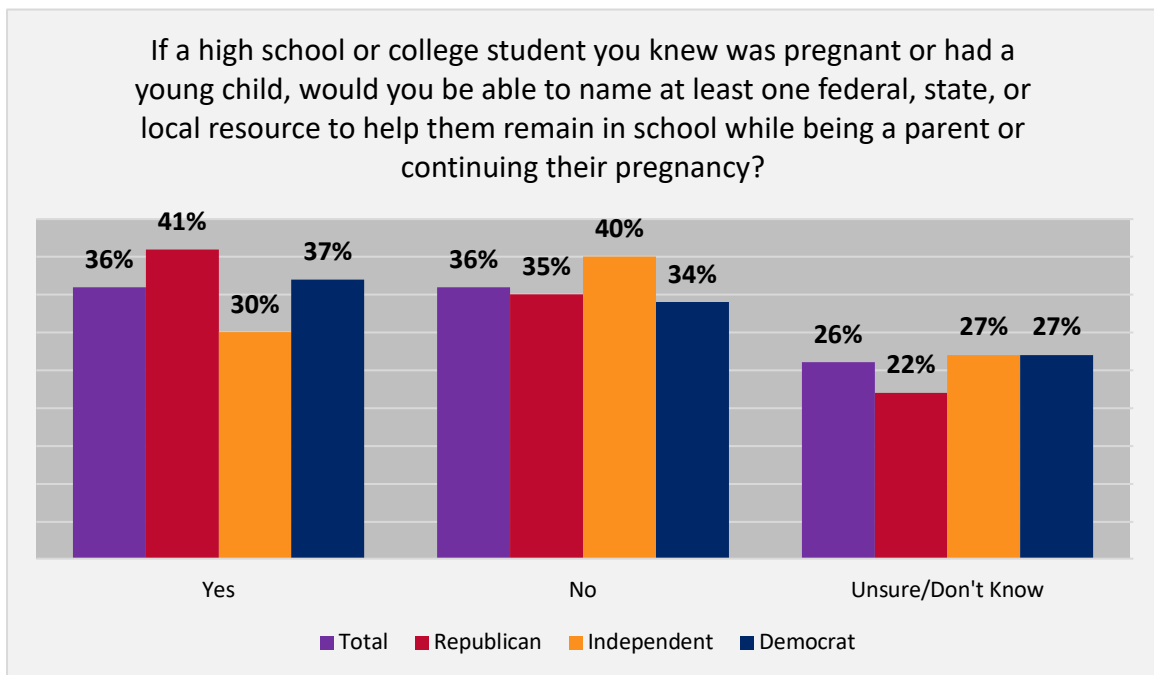
Overall, over half (52%) of these registered voters were more likely to vote for that Congressional candidate, compared to 25% who were less likely to vote for a Congressional candidate who supported an in-person visit. It is important to note, however, the differences in opinion based on the two age groups that were surveyed. By 7-points, Millennials were more likely to vote for a candidate that supports requiring an in-person doctor visit than Gen Z respondents. There are slight differences along political party lines, with over half (57%) of Republicans and 54% of Democrats indicating they are more likely to support a Congressional candidate that supports the measure, compared to only 46% of Independents.

## Supporting Families and Family Leave

High school and college students face a myriad of stressful situations during their educational experience. Add to this a planned or unplanned pregnancy and the burden can seem unbearable. Soon-to-be or young parents need additional supports and assistance to meet their daily educational obligations, as well as their families' needs. There are various entities available to these students, but many are not aware of them.

When respondents were asked if they could name at least one federal, state, or local resource to help a pregnant or young parent stay in school while being a parent or continuing their pregnancy, an even number (36%) said they could or could not. An additional 26% were unsure if they could name one.

Republicans were more likely than their counterparts to be able to name a resource, while Independents were more likely to admit being unable to do so.



- Others more likely than most to say they could name a resource were those that believe abortion should be prohibited in all situations (50%), Catholics (44%), conservatives (44%), Trump voters (41%), married individuals (41%), whites (40%), and those earning \$40K-\$80K a year (40%).



### Where to go when you need help

Of the 287 respondents that could name a resource, a follow up question was asked as to what specific resource they would recommend. More than one-in-five named “Planned Parenthood.” *This top-of-mind resource named is greatly concerning, as it is the number one abortion provider in the country.* Much more outreach must be done to provide students, whether parents or not, as to what resources are available to them. This educational effort can have an overwhelming on those in educational settings.

And what resource would you recommend for them? (OPEN ENDED)

**N287**

- 22% Planned Parenthood
- 5% Daycare services
- 5% Women’s health centers / Women’s pregnancy centers
- 3% Government assistance
- 3% Department of Human Services / Social services
- 3% Schools for pregnant students
- 3% Google / Internet
- 2% Healthcare / Medicare
- 2% Family care centers
- 2% Consult a counselor/therapist
- 2% Stop abortion
- 1% Financial aid
- 1% WIC
- 1% Adoption resources
- 1% Babysitting
- 1% Online school/classes
- 1% Consult a doctor / Go to hospital
- 1% Welfare services
- 1% Abortion clinics
- 6% None
- 33% Other
- 5% Don’t Know

### High School and college tie for offering resources to students

Respondents were split as to whether they could recall seeing resources for pregnant or parenting students when they were in high school and/or college. Of the 45% that had recollection of such services, 12% reported in high school only, 12% said in college only, and 21% noted both. Slightly less, 42%, did not recall seeing any resources.

Thinking back to when you were in high school and/or college, do you recall seeing resources to help pregnant or parenting students?	
YES (45%)	NO (42%)
Blacks (59%)	Hispanics (50%)
Believe abortion should be prohibited in all situations (58%)	Protestants (49%)
Catholics (56%)	
Those earning \$80K-\$125K (51%)	
Those earning \$40K-\$80K (50%)	

### Further education needed regarding discrimination of pregnant and parenting students

As part of the survey, respondents were asked about federal laws that protect pregnant and parenting students. Six options were presented, and participants could choose which they believed to be actual laws. While all were federal laws, only 18% correctly knew that all six were currently on the books.

### Knowledge begets knowledge

Notably, respondents that earlier reported they could name at least one federal, state, or local resource to help a pregnant or young parent stay in school while being a parent or continuing their pregnancy were more likely than those that could not to know which options were federal laws.

Which of the following are federal laws that protect pregnant and parenting students from discrimination from their school administrations?					
	Total	Could name a resource	Could not name a resource	Male	Female
Protect from harassment based on pregnancy	20%	25%	18%	19%	20%
Allow students to continue to participate in classes and extracurricular activities	19%	16%	20%	20%	14%
Prohibit schools from taking away scholarships and financial aid	19%	25%	15%	20%	16%
Offer the opportunity to make up any missed schoolwork due to pregnancy	18%	26%	19%	20%	20%
Excuse any absences due to pregnancy	17%	24%	19%	22%	15%
Prohibit schools from removing student athletes from their sports programs due to pregnancy	11%	19%	7%	16%	7%
All of these	18%	26%	13%	15%	19%

Gender difference were also seen regarding this knowledge, as men were more likely than women to correctly choose some (but not all) individual laws, while women were more likely to know that *all* the options were federal laws.

### Free Speech

Respondents were seemingly split on their experiences in the classroom. Just over 4-in-10 (41%) respondents felt they were able to speak freely about controversial subjects in school, while 42% did not believe they could speak freely.

Message	Total Agree	Total Disagree	DIFF
Do you agree or disagree that colleges and universities should be required to protect students' free speech rights even if they are related to LGBTQ issues?	67%	18%	+49
Do you agree or disagree that colleges and universities should be required to protect students' free speech rights even if they are anti-abortion?	65%	18%	+47
Do you agree or disagree that colleges and universities should be required to protect students' free speech rights even if they are race-related?	66%	20%	+46

When pressed further, both Millennials and Gen Z respondents widely agree that colleges and universities should be required to protect students' free speech rights, regardless of if the issues are related to race, LGBTQ issues, or anti-abortion. **This data demonstrates how both Millennials and Gen Z see the value of free speech on campus, and do not want to see viewpoints silenced even if they personally disagree with the viewpoint expressed.**

### Adoption and Foster Care

Adoption is an important option for pregnant women. However, the foster care and adoption system is often overwhelmed and unable to adequately care and provide for its most vulnerable clients. The pro-life movement has long been a proponent of expanding the foster care system to help alleviate the need. One of the most backlogged aspects are home studies for foster and adoptive parents, which currently must be conducted by social workers. One option suggested has been to allow career public servants (including retired teachers, police officers, and firefighters) to perform home studies. This would lessen the burden on social workers and help get children placed in safe homes more quickly.

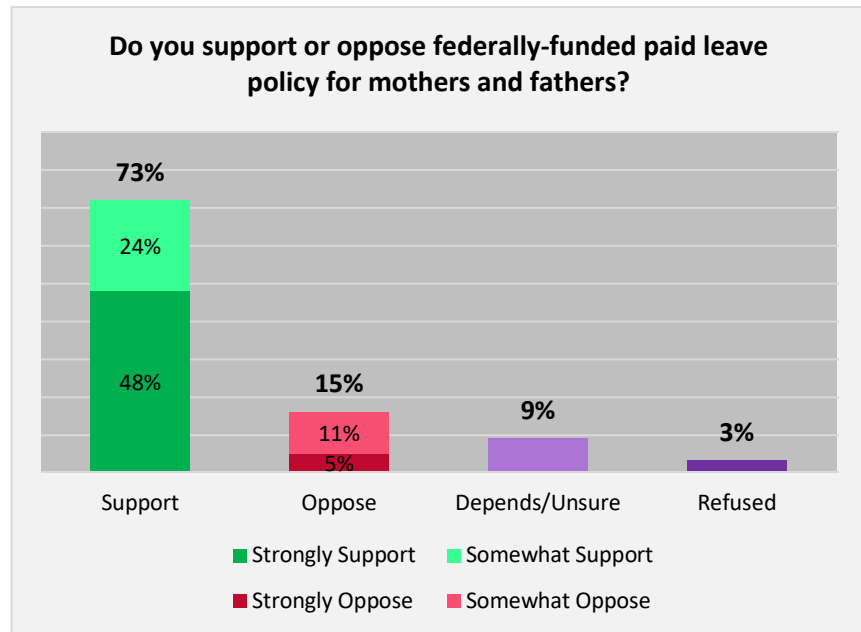
**Nearly three-in-five (59%) respondents supported such proposals, with one quarter (25%) strongly supporting them.** One-in-five (20%) opposed such reforms, with little intensity (6% strongly oppose). Nearly the same number (19%) were unsure of their support, again offering a chance to move opinion with more education and explanation of the proposal.

- Those more likely than most to support (59%) these reforms were earning more than \$125K (75%), Republicans (64%), men (63%), and married individuals (63%).
- Those more likely than most to oppose (20%) these reforms were Blacks (26%) and earn \$80K-\$125K a year (24%).
- Those more likely than most to be unsure (19%) about the reforms were Independents (24%), earn less than \$40K a year (24%), and women (23%).

## Paid Leave

**Federally-funded paid leave finds favor among a decisive majority.** Nearly three-fourths (73%) of registered voters surveyed supported federally-funded paid leave policies, with strong intensity (48%). Just 15% were opposed to these policies. Additionally, when given the choice between having federally-funded paid leave paid by taxpayers, the parent’s Social Security taxes, or

not have a federally-funded program, a plurality (45%) of respondents agree that the paid leave policies should be paid for **by taxpayers**, while 32% opted to have parents’ Social Security taxes used to fund the program. Only 10% of registered voters surveyed do not think there should be a federally-funded paid leave policy. Like other policies, federally-funded paid leave has political implications. Nearly two-thirds (65%) of registered voters surveyed are more likely to support a candidate who supports federally-funded paid leave.



## The Undecided Generations

In the vast majority of questions asked to these generations, there were nearly 1-in-5 respondents who answered “unsure” or “depends.” These respondents were unable or unwilling to take a firm stand on issues, which provides an opportunity to **educate and persuade** these voters. These generations value information, and are open to the idea that not every circumstance is a clear, black-and-white issue. By answering “depends” or “unsure,” Millennials and Gen Z are able to change their views depending on the exact situation. Not only is this an opportunity for the pro-life movement to increase their audience, but it also provides an avenue for policies to be explored and better situated for more everyday circumstances.

While there are a multitude of questions that have a high percentage of “unsure” and “depends,” there are some issues in which these generations are firmly decided on. For example, only 9% of respondents indicated they were undecided on their support or opposition for federally-funded paid leave policies for parents. Additionally, when provided multiple statements through which their abortion stance could be categorized, both on the initial abortion stance and concerning the fetal heartbeat, only 9% and 10% respectively were undecided on their point-of-view. These low percentages of undecideds can also be found on two of the *Roe* and *Doe* circumstances, in which respondents were told that the two Supreme Court cases allowed for abortions to be performed all nine months of pregnancy, and that these cases supported sex-selective abortions. Both of these statements resulted in only 10% of respondents indicating they were undecided.

### Final Thoughts

There are numerous opportunities for education surrounding the pro-life movement for registered voters ages 18 – 34. These individuals are largely unaware of the implications of *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton*, and once they are informed, do not support these cases. Similar to *Roe* and *Doe*, chemical abortion pills also provide an opportunity to identify why in-person doctor visits are needed when chemical abortion pills are prescribed. Education is also important to identifying and communicating specific resources for students and families to choose life. While just over one-third of respondents knew that resources were available, few could identify resources outside of Planned Parenthood. By pursuing opportunities to educate and inform the Gen Z and Millennial populations, the pro-life movement can be built upon and expanded.