

TO: Elaine Donnelly, President, Center for Military Readiness
Interested Parties

FROM: Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO
the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend

DATE: July 28, 2010

RE: Analysis of Findings: Nationwide Survey of Likely Voters Regarding the Possible Repeal
of the 1993 Law Regarding Homosexuals Serving in the United States Military

INTRODUCTION & METHODOLOGY

On behalf of the **Center for Military Readiness** and the **Military Culture Coalition**, the **polling company™, inc./WomanTrend** conducted a nationwide survey of 1,000 likely voters. The survey was fielded July 14-18, 2010. Interviews were conducted at a Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facility using live callers.

The margin of error for the 1,000 interviews conducted nationwide is $\pm 3.1\%$ at a 95% confidence interval, meaning that in 19 out of 20 cases, the data obtained would not differ by more than 3.1 percentage points in either direction if the survey were repeated multiple times employing this methodology and sampling method.

The sampling frame was drawn using both listed and unlisted household samples nationwide. The sample was drawn using random digit dialing (RDD), a method by which a computer randomly selects a household for interviewing.

Upon connecting with an adult in the household, the potential respondent was screened to ensure a) registration to vote, and b) likeliness to vote in the November 2010 elections. In order to assess “b”, potential respondents were provided with a list of six possible voting behaviors, two of which qualified the respondent to take the survey (“definitely vote” and “probably vote”).

Sampling controls were used to ensure that a proportional and representative number of people were interviewed from such demographic groups as age, race and ethnicity, and region according to the most recent figures available from the U.S. Census Bureau, and other publicly-available sources modeling the likely voter audience. The survey being RDD, respondents provided all demographic information. Data were weighted slightly following data collection.

This survey encapsulates the opinions of civilians regarding possible repeal of the 1993 law regarding homosexuals serving in the military, often referred to as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell”. Respondents were informed at the beginning of the survey, “Throughout this survey, “gay or lesbian” and “homosexual” are used interchangeably.” Numerous questions throughout this poll employed the words “lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender persons”—terms that are used by leading advocates of overturning the law. Additionally, questions refer to direct quotations from the 1993 law (which itself uses the word “homosexual”) and statements made by parties on both sides of the debate.¹

¹ The text of Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., is available at <http://cmrlink.org/printfriendly.asp?docID=29>.

KEY FINDINGS

1. Strong Majorities of Likely Voters Agreed that Major Findings in the Current 1993 Law Hold True.

When two statements from the 1993 law were presented verbatim, 92% agreed – including 77% strongly – that *“the primary purpose of the armed forces is to prepare for and to prevail in combat should the need arise.”* Sixty-five percent agreed (and 38% strongly), *“the military is a specialized society...that is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions.”* These still-current statements were resonant across most and, in some cases, all major subgroups examined.

2. A Plurality of Voters Wanted Congress to Give Deference to the Four Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

Forty-eight percent of likely voters agreed, including 31% strongly, that the voices of **military leaders** should be given the greatest consideration by Congress. Forty-one percent felt that Congress should take into greater account the voices and views of advocates who want the law overturned.

3. More Than One-Half Viewed President Obama as Putting Politics Ahead of Principle.

Voters were 26 percentage points more likely to believe that the President’s 2008 campaign promise to overturn the law is motivated by **political promises**, not **principle** (57%-31%).

4. Likely Voters Opposed the Imposition of Career Penalties on Military Personnel and Chaplains Who Do Not Support Homosexuality in the Military.

When presented with two opposing views on how to implement repeal and to promote acceptance of homosexuality in the military, 52% agreed (including 32% strongly) that *“[e]ven if the current law is overturned, the military should not attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward human sexuality. Imposing career penalties on anyone who disagrees would discriminate against military personnel and chaplains who do not support homosexuality.”* Thirty-seven percent agreed (and 20% strongly) with the opposing view that *“[i]f the current law is overturned, the military should attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality and impose “zero tolerance” career penalties on anyone who disagrees for any reason, including religious convictions.”*

5. Likely Voters Disagreed that if the Law is Repealed, Training and Education Programs Should be Modified to Promote Acceptance of Openly Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered Persons in the Military.

By a margin of 55%-40%, likely voters disagreed that the *“military should modify training programs to promote acceptance of openly lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in all military colleges, training programs, and schools run by the U.S. Defense Department.”* The percentage of voters strongly opposed to changing DoD educational programs outpaced the percentage strongly supportive by 19 percentage points (42% strongly disagree vs. 23% strongly agree).

6. **Likely Voters Almost Unanimously Agreed that Overturning the 1993 Law Regarding Homosexual Persons in the Military Should Not Be a Priority for Congress.**

When presented with five possible priorities for Congress and the President over the next six months, “changing the law to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the military” garnered 1% and was dwarfed by four other matters. Nearly one-half (49%) of respondents said that “creating jobs” should be their center of attention. Another 23% advised Washington to stop spending and focus on reducing the deficit, while 11% wanted lawmakers to plug and clean up the oil leak in the Gulf of Mexico. Rounding out the list included the 7% who felt the emphasis should be on the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. **Repealing the law languished in last place at 1%.**

7. **A Plurality of Likely Voters Preferred Maintaining the Status Quo on Gays and Lesbians in the Military, with Republicans and Military Voters Most Opposed to Repeal.**

When asked if they would rather Congress vote to keep the 1993 law or overturn it, 48% preferred that Congress let current law stand, while 45% wanted it changed. This is a different type of question than has been asked in other surveys that ask respondents whether they “favor” or “oppose” openly gay or lesbian service members being allowed to serve in the military. This question describes findings in the current law and responsibly offers two choices—retention or repeal.

8. **Voting to Overturn Current Law Carries Negative Political Currency.**

Voters who see this issue as making a difference, especially military, Republican, and Independent voters, would be **less likely** to support a member of Congress who votes to overturn the 1993 law (30% - 21%).

9. **Likely Voters Opposed the Use of Tax-Funded Military Facilities for Abortions.**

Significant majorities of likely voters opposed congressional authorization of abortions in military medical facilities (49%-41%). The percentage of voters strongly opposed (42%) outpaced those strongly in favor (26%).

10. **Members of Congress Who Vote for Abortions in Military Facilities Do So At Their Own Political Peril.**

By a margin of 43% to 22%, likely voters for whom this issue makes a difference were **less likely** to support a U.S. Senator or Member of Congress who votes for legislation to authorize abortions in military facilities. The percentage of voters who were much less likely (34%) exceeded those who were much more likely (14%).

ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

1993 LAW IN FOCUS

1. Strong Majorities of Likely Voters Agreed That Major Findings in the Current 1993 Law Hold True.

Respondents were presented with two statements referencing the 1993 law regarding homosexuals serving in the military.²

A whopping 92% concurred with the current law's finding that the armed forces operate to "prepare for and prevail in combat should the need arise."³ Only 6% disagreed, suggesting an area of solidarity among a public evenly divided over so many issues.

- Majorities of men and women, as well as majorities of likely voters of all ages, races, regions, political parties and ideologies **strongly agreed** with this statement regarding the military's mission.
- Aside from Asians⁴ (25% disagreed), no cohorts were more likely than the average to disagree with the sentiment provided.

In a separate question, a 65% majority of respondents concurred with the current law's finding that the military "is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions."⁵

- Majorities of military and non-military households agreed, but military were much more receptive to this characterization than non-military households (81% vs. 62%).
- Majorities of all demographic groups agreed with defining the military as a "specialized society." However, while 72% of men agreed, just 59% of women did.

² Section 654, Title 10, U.S. C. (a) Findings (13) through (15).

³ Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C. (a) Finding (4)

⁴ n=13

⁵ Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C. (a) Finding (8)(A) and (8)(B)

In 1993 Congress passed a law stating that homosexuals are not eligible to serve in the military. Please tell me whether you (ROTATE) agree or disagree with the following findings that are in the current law.

One finding says, QUOTE "The primary purpose of the armed forces is to prepare for and to prevail in combat should the need arise." END QUOTE

92% TOTAL AGREE (NET)

77% STRONGLY AGREE
15% SOMEWHAT AGREE

6% TOTAL DISAGREE (NET)

3% SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
3% STRONGLY DISAGREE

2% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)

1% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

In 1993 Congress passed a law stating that homosexuals are not eligible to serve in the military. Please tell me whether you (ROTATE) agree or disagree with the following findings that are in the current law.

One finding says, QUOTE "The military is a specialized society...that is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions." END QUOTE

65% TOTAL AGREE (NET)

38% STRONGLY AGREE
27% SOMEWHAT AGREE

29% TOTAL DISAGREE (NET)

14% SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
15% STRONGLY DISAGREE

4% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)

1% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

- No statistically-significant differences emerged across the age spectrum or across racial groups (majorities agreed).
- A plurality of liberals (49%) disagreed with this finding while majorities of moderates (64%) and conservatives (76%) agreed.
- Tri-partisan agreement resounded, as majorities of self-identified Democrats (54%), Independents (66%) and Republicans (76%) concurred.

2. A Plurality of Voters Wanted Congress to Give Deference to the Four Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps.

Americans have long trusted the U.S. military. The latest installment of Gallup’s annual institutional trust survey confirms this: 76% of Americans said they have “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of confidence in the military.⁶ According to Gallup’s release, “[t]he military has been No. 1 in Gallup’s annual Confidence in Institutions list continuously since 1998, and has ranked No.1 or No. 2 almost every year since its initial 1975 measure.”

In this survey, military brass were deemed the more appropriate source of guidance for Congress than advocates who want to overturn the law by seven percentage points (48% vs. 41%).

- Cohorts more likely than most to prefer Congress take cues from the leaders of the armed forces include men (54%), Whites (52%), and those in the East South Central region (67%), West South Central region (61%) and Mountain regions (61%).
- Women (44%), those in the Mid-Atlantic region (55%), and moms (50%) stood out as more inclined than the average to believe that the views of advocates⁷ should be prime.
- Republicans overwhelmingly favored giving deference to the military (71%-to-24%) while Democrats favored embracing the views of advocates (59%-to-28%). Independents tracked the overall numbers, placing military above advocates 49%-41%.

I will now read to you the opinions of two people. Please tell me which comes closest to your own view: (ROTATED PERSON 1/PERSON 2)

Person 1 In considering this issue, Congress should listen mostly to advocates who want to overturn the law and to require the armed forces to accept professed lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in the military.⁷

Person 2 In considering this issue, Congress should listen mostly to the four chiefs of staff of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, who have expressed concerns about overturning the current law.

(AND WOULD THAT BE STRONGLY OR SOMEWHAT AGREE WITH PERSON 1/PERSON2?)

41% TOTAL AGREE PERSON 1 (NET)

25% STRONGLY AGREE PERSON 1
16% SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 1

48% TOTAL AGREE PERSON 2 (NET)

17% SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 2
31% STRONGLY AGREE PERSON 2

2% IT DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)
6% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
2% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

⁶ Gallup Survey, Conducted July 8-11, 2010, n=1,020 adults.

⁷ Even though news accounts and commentaries use the phrase “gay activist groups,” this survey uses the term “advocate.”

POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS

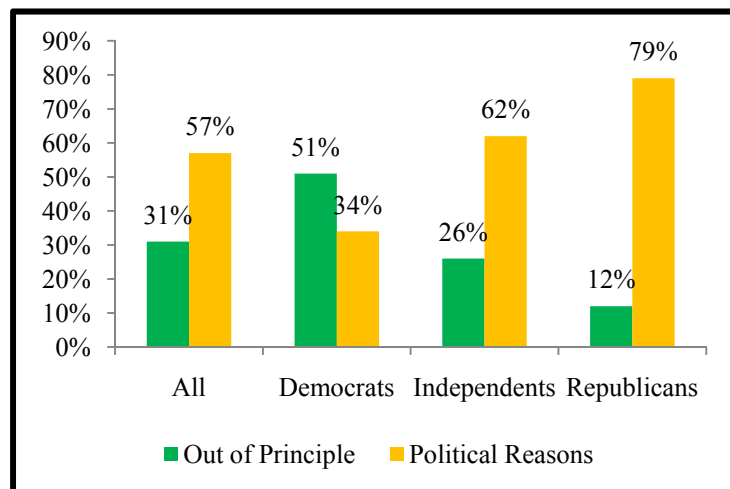
3. More than One-Half Viewed Obama As Putting Politics Ahead of Principle

By a 26-point margin (57% vs. 31%), more survey respondents perceived President Obama's campaign promise to repeal the law often called "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (and which uses the word "homosexual") as motivated more by politics than principle.⁸

- Pluralities of every subgroup believed this, the sole exception being Blacks (48% "out of principle" vs. 34% "political reasons").
- Notably, pluralities, and in some cases, majorities, of several key subgroups that voted for Obama in 2008 felt his pledge was mostly politically motivated, including women (50%), "junior" seniors – those in the 55-64 age range (51%), New Englanders (48%), those in the Mid-Atlantic region (51%) and those in the Midwest (48%). The tendency for these groups to pivot away from the President is symptomatic of his declining overall support.
- Independents, another pivotal cohort won by Obama in 2008, sided with Republicans in thinking "political reasons" provided the impetus for his commitment to overturn the law (62% "political reasons" vs. 26% out of principle for Independents, 79% "political reasons" vs. 12% "out of principle" for Republicans). The majority of Democrats (51%) felt the President was taking a principled stand; 34% believed he was acting on political notions.
- Majorities of those who said they either have a family member or a colleague who is lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender said the promise was politically-motivated (51% and 53%, respectively).

In his 2008 campaign, Barack Obama promised that if he was elected President, he would seek to repeal, or overturn, the law regarding homosexuals in the military, often called "Don't Ask, Don't Tell." Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed the law in 1993. Do you believe he is assigning high priority to this issue (ROTATED) mostly out of principle or mostly for political reasons?

57%	MOSTLY FOR POLITICAL REASONS
31%	MOSTLY OUT OF PRINCIPLE
2%	BOTH (VOLUNTEERED)
1%	NEITHER (VOLUNTEERED)
9%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
1%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)



⁸ The words "homosexual," "homosexual conduct" or "homosexuality" appear eleven times in the law, Section 654, Title 10, U.S.C., and the word "bisexual" appears twice, one of them being a definition. The law also states that "homosexual" means "gay and lesbian." The word "transgender" was discussed only rarely in 1993, though some of the activist groups at the time were proponents of transgender rights.

ZERO TOLERANCE, TRAINING, AND PRIORITIES

4. Likely Voters Opposed the Imposition of Career Penalties on Military Personnel and Chaplains Who Do Not Support Homosexuality in the Military.

A 52% majority of respondents **opposed** career penalties that would discriminate against persons who do not support homosexuality in the military.⁹ In contrast, 37% (20% of them “strongly”) agreed that the military **“should attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality.”**

The response to this question revealed two things. First, the cost of repeal is greater than a change in the law alone. Advocates recommend career penalties for disagreement with homosexuality, including for religious reasons. Second, practical and cultural difficulties could result from repeal of the current law. A notable portion of voters are unwilling to accept many of the corollary policies being proposed to make the new policy “work.” Conflicts between the right to religious freedom and the demand to accommodate homosexuality in the military may make implementation of a new policy unworkable.

- The majority of men (58%) and a plurality of women (47%), as well as at least 45% of voters in every age cohort, believed the military should not attempt to instill certain beliefs in people regarding homosexuality.

- Military members also opposed policies that could impose career penalties on chaplains or others with objections to homosexuality (52% agreed with Person 2 while 34% sided with Person 1).
- The opinions of Person 2 brought agreement from majorities of Independents (51%) and Republicans (66%), and 39% of Democrats. One-half of Democrats preferred Person 1’s argument.
- One-half of those with a family member or friend who is lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender, and 52% with a colleague who is agreed with Person 2’s argument.

Please tell me which comes closest to your own view:
(ROTATED PERSON 1/PERSON 2)

Person 1 If the current law is overturned, the military should attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality and impose “zero tolerance” career penalties on anyone who disagrees for any reason, including religious convictions.

Person 2 Even if the current law is overturned, the military should not attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward human sexuality. Imposing career penalties on anyone who disagrees would discriminate against military personnel and chaplains who do not support homosexuality.

(AND WOULD THAT BE STRONGLY OR SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 1/PERSON 2?)

37% TOTAL AGREE PERSON 1

20% STRONGLY AGREE PERSON 1

17% SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 1

52% TOTAL AGREE PERSON 2 (NET)

20% SOMEWHAT AGREE PERSON 2

32% STRONGLY AGREE PERSON 2

3% IT DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)

6% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)

2% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

⁹ Michael D. Palm Center, *How to End ‘Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell’ – A Roadmap of Political, Legal, Regulatory, and Organizational Steps to Equal Treatment*, May 2009, p. 6, “Second, military leaders must signal clearly that they expect all members of the armed forces to adhere to the new policy, regardless of their personal beliefs.” In the same report, the Palm Center recommends career “carrots and sticks” to facilitate implementation of the new policy in the military. (pp. 19-21)

5. Likely Voters Disagreed that Training and Education Programs Should be Modified to Promote Acceptance of Openly Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Persons in the Military.¹⁰

In a similar vein, there was sharp resistance to implementing programs that would shape service members' attitudes toward alternative lifestyles. By a 15-point margin (55%-40%), voters opposed the idea of modifying training programs to promote acceptance of openly lesbian, gay, bisexuals, and transgender persons, as advocated by pro-repeal advocacy groups.¹¹

Additionally, the percentage in *strong* disagreement outpaced the percentage in *overall* agreement (42% vs. 40%).

- Majorities of both men (58%) and women (52%) rejected altering the military's training regimen to promote acceptance of non-heterosexuals.
- Service members were more likely than the average to disagree that DOD institutions should modify training materials (59% disagree vs. 34% agree).
- Republicans (72% disagree vs. 22% agree) and Independents (56% disagree vs. 39% agree) shared opposition to curriculum stressing acceptance of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in the military, while Democrats were comfortable with its inclusion (58% agree vs. 38% disagree).
- Sixty-four percent of 18-24 year olds agreed, compared to no more than 44% of voters in any other age group. Majorities of all age groups, excluding 18-24 year olds, disagreed.
- While 55% of Whites agreed that military training and education should not be extended to promote homosexual acceptance, 50% of Blacks and 58% of Hispanics disagreed.
- Majorities of moms (54%), dads (67%), and non-parents (53%) rejected modifying training programs.
- The majority of those with a family member or friend who is lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgender (51%) or with a colleague who is (53%) disagreed.

<i>The military should modify training programs to promote acceptance of openly lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in all military colleges, training programs, and schools run by the U.S. Defense Department.</i>	
40%	TOTAL AGREE (NET)
23%	STRONGLY AGREE
17%	SOMEWHAT AGREE
55%	TOTAL DISAGREE (NET)
13%	SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
42%	STRONGLY DISAGREE
5%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
*	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

¹⁰ In 2009 and 2010, President Barack Obama proclaimed June to be "LGBT Equality" Month, and hosted receptions with lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender advocacy groups.

¹¹ Center for American Progress, *Implementing the Repeal of 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' in the U.S. Armed Forces*, March 2010, in Recommendations and Findings: "Training: Mandate that the Department of Defense make sexual orientation part of existing servicewide nondiscrimination training programs," p. 5.

6. Likely Voters Almost Unanimously Agreed that Revoking the 1993 Law Regarding Homosexual Persons in the Military Should Not Be a Priority for Congress.

Charged to select what they would like Congress and the President to focus on for the rest of 2010, nearly one-half of voters surveyed (49%) urged their elected officials to attend to “creating jobs.”

Only 1% of likely voters chose “changing the law to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the military” as a top priority for the powers-that-be in Washington.

- Pluralities, and in some cases, majorities of men, women, and voters of all ages, races, regions (excluding the Mountain region), marital/parental statuses, and political ideologies named job creation as most important.

***Over the next six months, what should be the number one priority for Congress and the President?
(READ AND ROTATED. ACCEPTED ONLY ONE.)***

49%	CREATING JOBS
23%	REDUCING GOVERNMENT SPENDING/THE DEFICIT
11%	PLUGGING THE OIL LEAK IN THE GULF/CLEANING UP THE OIL SPILL
7%	WINNING THE WARS IN IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN
1%	CHANGING THE LAW TO ALLOW HOMOSEXUALS TO SERVE OPENLY IN THE MILITARY
6%	OTHER (RECORDED VERBATIM) (VOLUNTEERED)
2%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
*	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

- Whites (25%), those in the Mountain region (41%), married voters (28%), conservatives (37%), self-identified Independents (30%), and self-identified Republicans (38%) were more likely than most to demand Congress focus on reducing its spending and the federal deficit.
- “Winning the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan” was of greatest importance to those aged 65+ (12%), the highest of any age group. Military members were only slightly more likely to prefer that Congress and the Obama administration successfully complete the current engagements in Iraq and Afghanistan (10% among military compared to 7% overall).
- Dealing with the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico mattered more to 18-24 year olds (26%), those in the Pacific region (17%), liberals (17%), and self-identified Democrats (14%).
- The “high-water marks” among demographic groups more inclined than average to say that changing the 1993 law should be the priority at the exclusion of all others included Hispanics (6%), Mid-Atlantic voters (5%), liberals (5%), and self-identified Independents (3%). Still, the major priority for each of these cohorts was job creation.
- Forty-seven percent of voters with a family member or friend who is lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender and 50% with a colleague who is said that the top priority should be “creating jobs.” In fact, only 2% of the former and 1% of the latter said the President’s attention should be directed toward changing the law to allow homosexuals to serve openly in the military.

WHAT VOTERS WANT CONGRESS TO DO

7. A Plurality of Likely Voters Preferred Maintaining the Status Quo on Gays and Lesbians in the Military, with Republicans and Military Voters Most Opposed to Repeal.

When asked how they would like their Member of Congress to vote on possible repeal of the current law on homosexuals in the military, a plurality felt it would be best to “keep it as is” (48%), while a near-identical 45% favored overturning it. The responses, which fall within the survey’s margin of error, differ from other surveys showing strong civilian support for repeal.¹²

While advocacy groups attempt to frame the issue as a *fait accompli*, the poll results show that overturning “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” is, at the very least, up for debate among the public. Combined with other surveys showing service members’ opposition to the law’s repeal and resistance from senior military leaders, a rush to judgment — or to vote — before a full and honest debate seems contrary to the will of a significant portion of Americans.

Would you prefer that your elected representatives in Washington, DC (ROTATED) vote to overturn the 1993 law and allow homosexual persons to serve openly in the military, OR vote to keep the law as it is?

48%	VOTE TO KEEP IT AS IT IS
45%	VOTE TO OVERTURN
7%	DO NOT KNOW/DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)
1%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

- Fifty-one percent of men wanted to retain the current legislation, while 42% supported its repeal. Women held an opposing view, as 48% urged Congress to overturn the law, while 44% favored retention.
- Service members were opposed to repealing current law (57% “keep it as is” vs. 34% “vote to overturn”).
- Republicans preferred to maintain the status quo 67%-26%, while Independents, a critical segment when party lines are so clearly drawn, were slightly more aligned with Republicans, as 47% preferred maintaining the existing policy, while 44% urged a change. Democrats overwhelmingly favored overturning current law (65%-29%).

¹² Recent media surveys of adults nationwide (not likely voters), conducted by Gallup, CNN, CBS News/*New York Times* and the *Washington Post*/ABC, have found that between 59%-75% of respondents support or favor allowing openly gay men and lesbians to serve in the military. The CMR/MCC survey differs from others in that it asks likely voters to consider passages of the actual law and gives them the option of choosing between revoking or retaining the law as it is.

8. Voting to Overturn Current Law Carries Negative Political Currency.

A plurality of likely voters (46%) indicated that a vote to overturn current law on homosexuals in the military carried no political currency. This coincides with how voters ranked the issues earlier in the survey, as repealing the law on homosexuals in the military garnered a mere 1% among a list of five policy priorities for the Congress and President.

Still, representatives have more to lose than to gain if they vote to overturn the current law: 30% would be less likely and just 21% more likely (net -9) to vote for their Member of Congress knowing that he or she voted to disrupt the status quo. Furthermore, there was a 10-point intensity gap between the 12% **MUCH MORE** likely to support such a member of Congress and the 22% who would be **MUCH LESS** likely.

Assume for a moment that your elected representatives in Washington, DC voted to overturn the 1993 law. Would that make you (ROTATED) more likely or less likely to vote to re-elect them to Congress or the U.S. Senate or would it make no difference? (PROBED: And would that be MUCH or SOMEWHAT MORE/LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT?)

21% TOTAL MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT (NET)

12% MUCH MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT

9% SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY TO SUPPORT

30% TOTAL LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT (NET)

8% SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT

22% MUCH LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT

46% NO DIFFERENCE

3% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)

1% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

- Nearly twice as many military members were less likely to support their Member of Congress if he or she joins votes for repeal. (33% less likely vs. 18% more likely).
- Independents were net -15 percentage points less likely to pull the lever for a representative voting to overturn the law (32% less likely vs. 17% more likely), while Democrats (32% more likely vs. 14% less likely) and Republicans (45% less likely vs. 9% more likely) came down predictably, given their respective parties' position.

ABORTION IN MILITARY MEDICAL FACILITIES

9. Likely Voters Opposed the Use of Tax-Funded Military Facilities for Abortions.

Survey respondents opposed authorizing abortions in military medical facilities by a 49%-41% margin, and intensity rested in the opposition. There was a 16-point gap between those who strongly opposed and who strongly supported authorization (42% vs. 26%).

- Pro-life voters objected 84%-9%, while pro-choice voters endorsed it 76%-15%.
- The majority of men (51%) and a plurality of women (47%) opposed authorizing abortions in military medical facilities.
- Likely voters aged 18-24 opposed 51%-46%, while those aged 65+ rejected it 57%-34%. The levels of support/opposition among those aged 25-34, 44-54, and 55-64 were tied or within three points.
- A 51%-majority of Whites opposed military abortions (40% supported). For Blacks and Hispanics, the differences in levels of support/opposition fell within the subgroups' margins of error.
- Majorities of those in the West North Central (60%), South Atlantic (54%), East South Central (54%), West South Central (55%), and Mountain (62%) regions, and the plurality in the East North Central (47%) opposed performing abortions in military medical facilities. The majority in the Pacific (59%), and pluralities of New Englanders (48%) and Mid-Atlantic voters (47%) supported it.
- Military members stood against this practice, opposing it by 14 percentage points (51% oppose vs. 37% support).
- **Both Independents (54% opposed vs. 37% supported) and Republicans (70% opposed vs. 22% supported) were resolutely against abortions in military hospitals.** Only self-identified Democrats were favorable towards the concept (62% supported vs. 27% opposed).

Changing topics slightly...Congress is considering legislation that would authorize abortions in military medical facilities, both in the United States and overseas. Do you (ROTATED) support or oppose legislation to allow abortions in military medical facilities in the United States and overseas? (PROBED: And would that be STRONGLY or SOMEWHAT SUPPORT/OPOSE?)

41% TOTAL SUPPORT (NET)

26% STRONGLY SUPPORT
15% SOMEWHAT SUPPORT

49% TOTAL OPPOSE (NET)

7% SOMEWHAT OPPOSE
42% STRONGLY OPPOSE

5% IT DEPENDS (VOLUNTEERED)
3% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
2% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

10. Members of Congress Who Vote for Abortions in Military Facilities Do So At Their Own Political Peril.

Elected officials who decide to authorize abortions in military hospitals do so against strong opposition among voters. Respondents were nearly twice as likely to reject such a candidate as to support him or her (43% less likely vs. 22% more likely). While 32% who professed such a vote would make “no difference,” survey participants who did take a position on the issue were more apt to be negative than positive: There was a 20-point intensity gap between those much more likely to back such a candidate and those who would be much less likely to do so (14% vs. 34%).

- Pluralities of men, women, and voters of all ages said they would be less likely to support their Member of Congress for re-election if he or she supported legislation to allow abortions in military medical facilities.

Would you be (ROTATED) more likely or less likely to vote for your United States Senator or Member of Congress if he or she voted for legislation that would allow abortions at any time in military medical facilities both in the United States and overseas? Or, would it make no difference? (PROBED: And would that be MUCH or SOMEWHAT MORE/LESS LIKELY TO SUPPORT?)

22% TOTAL MORE LIKELY (NET)

14% MUCH MORE LIKELY
8% SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY

43% TOTAL LESS LIKELY (NET)

9% SOMEWHAT LESS LIKELY
34% MUCH LESS LIKELY

32% NO DIFFERENCE

2% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
1% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)
3% DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
2% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

- A plurality (44%) of service members said they would be less inclined to support their Member of Congress for reelection if he or she favored allowing abortions in military medical facilities (vs. 16% more likely). Nonetheless, 35% of those who currently serve or have served in the military claimed this legislation would have “no bearing” on whom they support for Congress.
- Among Independents, a 46%-plurality said they would be less likely to elect an official voting to expand abortion coverage in military hospitals, a viewpoint shared by a 65%-majority of Republicans. A 43%-plurality of Democrats said voting for this proposal would have “no impact” on their evaluation of an incumbent.

SPOTLIGHT ON...

Independents (n=177)

- Wanted their Members of Congress to vote to leave the law “as it is” rather than overturn it by a 47%-44% margin.
- Sixty-two percent said that the President is trying to overturn the 1993 law for political reasons (26% felt it was out of principle).
- Nine-in-ten agreed with the 1993 finding that “The primary purpose of the armed forces is to prepare for and to prevail in combat should the need arise.” Sixty-six percent also agreed: “The military is a specialized society...that is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions.”
- Favored Congress deferring to the military rather than to advocates regarding the 1993 law on homosexuals in the military (49%-41%).
- The majority (56%) disagreed: “The military should modify training programs to promote acceptance of openly lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in all military colleges, training programs, and schools run by the U.S. Defense Department.”
- By a 51%-36% margin, declared it more important to “not attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward human sexuality,” than to attempt “to change personal attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality and impose ‘zero tolerance’ career penalties on those who disagree for any reason.”

Military Members (Current Active Duty or Reserves, or Veteran, n=152)

- Preferred Congress maintains current law rather than overturn it 57%-34%.
- Fifty-eight percent believe the President’s intentions to repeal the law to be politically-expedient, while 30% felt it was motivated by his commitment to the issue.
- Ninety-two percent agreed with the 1993 finding that “The primary purpose of the armed forces is to prepare for and to prevail in combat should the need arise.” Eighty-one percent agreed: “The military is a specialized society...that is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions.”
- Preferred Congress embrace the views of the military over those of advocates when evaluating the 1993 law by a 59%-31% margin.¹³
- Nearly three-in-five disagreed: “The military should modify training programs to promote acceptance of openly lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in all military colleges, training programs, and schools run by the U.S. Defense Department.”
- By a 52%-34% margin declared it more pressing for the military to “not attempt to change personal attitudes and feelings toward human sexuality,” than to attempt “to change personal attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality and impose ‘zero tolerance’ career penalties on those who disagree for any reason.”

¹³ A formal statement supporting the current law, personally signed by 1,167 retired Flag & General Officers for the Military, has been delivered to President Obama and Members of Congress. Among other things, the statement reads, “As a matter of national security, we urge you to support the 1993 law regarding homosexuals in the military (Section 654, Title 10), and to oppose any legislative, judicial, or administrative effort to repeal or invalidate the law.” A list of the statement signers is available at www.flagandgeneralofficersforthemilitary.com, and all signatures are on file with the Center for Military Readiness.

Self-Identified Republicans (n=393)

- Supported their elected officials in Washington voting to keep the law “as it is” rather than overturn it (67%-26%). Forty-five percent said they would be *less likely* and 9% *more likely* to support their Member of Congress if he/she votes to overturn the law.
- Nearly four-in-five (79%) feel the President’s wish to overturn current law is for political reasons, and 12% out of principle.
- Ninety-four percent agreed with the 1993 law stating that “The primary purpose of the armed forces is to prepare for and to prevail in combat should the need arise” while 76% agreed “The military is a specialized society...that is characterized by its own laws, rules, customs, and traditions.”
- By almost 3-to-1 they favored Congress and the President paying heed the opinions of the military over those of advocacy groups.
- Seventy-two percent opposed the military modifying training programs “to promote acceptance of openly lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons in all military colleges, training programs, and schools run by the U.S. Department of Defense.”
- Nearly two-thirds (66%) rejected the military attempting to “change personal attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality.” Twenty-five percent supported doing so.