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BONNIE ERBE: This week on *To the Contrary*, first, a surprising age split over Obamacare. Then, mixed-race couples may be marriage adverse. Behind the headlines: Hillary or no Hillary, this woman wants to see a woman elected president in 2016.

(Musical break.)

MS. ERBE: Hello. I'm Bonnie Erbe. Welcome to *To the Contrary*, a discussion of news and social trends from diverse perspectives. Up first, health care reform.

In a few weeks, Americans can start signing up for Obamacare health insurance. But that won't end the debate. There's still a robust campaign led mainly by Republicans to defund the Affordable Care Act. The administration, along with corporate partners, is spending almost three-quarters of \$1 billion to educate the public, especially young, healthy adults about Obamacare.

This week, a new survey finds that outreach may be working. The MorningConsult tracking poll shows 56 percent of adults 18 to 29 years old support the law and 35 percent of them are almost certain or very likely to enroll. On the other side, 58 percent of Americans over 65 disapprove of the law. Only 8 percent are likely to consider purchasing from the exchanges.

MS. ERBE: So, Congresswoman Norton, will young, healthy Americans save Obamacare?

DEL. ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON (D-CA): How refreshing, Bonnie, an entire cohort that ignores the 40th Republican repeal of health care and decides that Obamacare is good for your health.

GENEVIEVE WOOD: Bonnie, what the research also shows us is that every age group that learns that Obamacare may actually be hazardous to your health care coverage increasingly is not for Obamacare. So I think this debate continues even among the young people.

MEGAN BEYER: I think young people will save it. And this is what's so much fun about football and politics: the conventional wisdom is so often wrong.

FRANCESCA CHAMBERS: Only a quarter of young people even know about Obamacare, understand what these exchanges are doing, according to the Commonwealth Fund. So I don't think that my generation can be relied to save this legislation.

MS. ERBE: But why the age split? Why the – one would think normally that older Americans who've grown up looking forward to Social Security and Medicare would be more for it and younger wouldn't?

DEL. NORTON: How shameful. The only group of Americans who've had the benefit of 100 percent coverage of health care are the ones that stand up and say to their grandchildren and their children, no such – no such health care for you. Shame on those over 65 who want to deny coverage that's not as good as Medicare to the rest of the America.

MS. WOOD: Let me defend grandparents for just a second here. These are – these are folks who've also had experience with Medicare, many of them Medicaid, and they're having more and more of their doctors tell them, I don't take that anymore because the government and the red tape that is involved is just too much for me to handle. And I think they know that's what's coming for everybody with Obamacare. They've been in the system. And, look, young people don't have usually a lot of health care problems. They've not had to pay a lot of health care premiums.

MS. ERBE: Wait. Which is why – which is what – but wait a second.

MS. WOOD: So they don't – they go, oh, this is OK. This looks good. Sign me up. I mean, it's not a difficult thing.

MS. ERBE: But why are – that's what's surprising. Young people don't pay for it –

MS. WOOD: They haven't experienced Medicare and government-sponsored health care so they can be for it.

DEL. NORTON: No. No. Let her tell what's surprising. That's not what's surprising.

MS. ERBE: Well, no, no. It's not that. It's that they're all poor. First of all, you get out of college, you don't have money, or you get out of high school – worse – you certainly don't have money to pay for things other than rent and – you know, putting a house over your head and food on the table. They don't even have – a lot of them aren't even buying cars.

MS. WOOD: But these are young people also – right. Bonnie, a lot of folks also know this is not going to be free. Even in the exchanges, this is not free health care. It's going to cost. And many of them, maybe wrongly –

MS. ERBE: How much? How much? How much is it?

MS. WOOD: It depends on where you're going to be. And what we're learning in many states, premiums are already going up and it's costing far more everywhere you look than Obama promised.

MS. BEYER: Well, if you look at what Kaiser just released, a report, they released that it's going to be lower than they thought, about \$60 to \$70, for the people who get this bronze package, which is for the young people who are very healthy. But what I think it's so great about these numbers is it's the people who are –

MS. ERBE: Sixty or seventy bucks a month for health insurance?

MS. BEYER: Well, it's – that's what I think the Kaiser report is saying. Sixty-five and older, those people are irrelevant as far as this is concerned. For Obamacare, these numbers could not be better because this program is going to succeed or fail based on what these young healthy people do. And if these numbers are right, this predicts very well for next month when those markers open.

MS. CHAMBERS: But when you look at those numbers, \$70 a months for a young person who does not have a job is a lot of money. It makes more sense to just go ahead and take the penalty for not having health care than to pay the money that it would cost.

MS. ERBE: Which is going to cost how much?

MS. CHAMBERS: The penalty for not having the health care, it also varies depending on certain things.

DEL. NORTON: Yeah, but they're not doing that.

MS. CHAMBERS: We're talking about – what? Sorry. No. Go ahead.

DEL. NORTON: They're not doing that because they are shopping for information. And that is what young people do and what the ideologically driven at this table have not done. They've just decided it's bad.

So what these young people are doing are communicating through their multimedia, social media, and finding out, well, my goodness. Also, a lot of the information has been driven by the administration at young people recognizing that they really are the bottom line for this because so many of them are healthy.

MS. CHAMBERS: I don't understand though where everybody is coming to this conclusion that young people are going to end up buying into the exchanges. Where is that information coming from?

DEL. NORTON: In the statistics.

MS. CHAMBERS: Because we're not seeing it. If you look at the study that we looked up for the show today, it showed that only 11 percent of young people said that they were definitely going to be buying into the exchanges; 24 percent said that they were

likely to buy into the exchanges. Only 11 percent said that they were definitely going to buy.

(Cross talk.)

MS. ERBE: Here's a question – here's a question for you, Genevieve, which is, I asked a young person whether he was going to buy into the exchange, and he said, of course. And I said, why? And he said, because jobs no longer come with health insurance. Is that a reason?

MS. WOOD: Well, and even fewer – well, and even fewer jobs. We now know – and Obamacare has not officially gone into effect across the board yet. An “Investors’ Business Daily” report came out I think a couple of weeks ago showing – they’ve now proven over 250 businesses across the country, some very large ones, have either completely cut jobs, reduced hours so they don’t have to pay health care costs. So, I mean, he’s right about that.

The whole goal here, folks, everybody needs to understand this, is to get anybody out of private insurance. They don’t want that to exist anymore. They want everybody in the government exchanges.

DEL. NORTON: Oh, ridiculous.

MS. WOOD: So passing a law that drives businesses to have to give up health care coverage puts more people into the exchange.

DEL. NORTON: This law has saved the private insurance industry. What are you talking about?

MS. WOOD: That is not accurate.

DEL. NORTON: What are you talking? Who do you think is going to be providing the insurance? Some of us wanted Medicare for all.

MS. WOOD: But hold on. Wait a minute. Just before this started, I thought the insurance companies used to be the bad guys. They’re good guys, I guess, if the government is telling them what to do.

DEL. NORTON: The insurance companies were very much in the coalition in the beginning. And the insurance companies are in the –

MS. WOOD: Because they’re going to get this – (inaudible) – down.

DEL. NORTON: They are going to get many more customers.

MS. WOOD: But Uncle Sam – and they’re going to have to pay less in many cases for those folks because everybody will have less insurance coverage than we have today.

DEL. NORTON: We are paying – we, the people are paying supplements for those who can’t – we have uninsured. We had uninsured and people with very little money who now can get insurance with the supplements coming from the government. That means more customers for the private insurance industry.

MS. ERBE: No. Listen. One at a time or nobody gets heard. Francesca, last word.

MS. CHAMBERS: I just wanted to go back to the original point, how much it would cost young people to opt out of this. It’s \$95 or 1 percent of their annual income. So back to your point about it being \$70 a month, I would rather pay the \$95 and just opt out.

MS. ERBE: All right. Let us know what you think. Please follow me on Twitter @BonnieErbe or #tothecontrary. From health care to romance.

More interracial couples are dating but they’re not getting married at the same rate as other couples. The Census Bureau reports interracial marriages doubled since the year 2000. But mixed-race couples still make up just 4 percent of marriages.

Researchers found mixed-race couples are more likely to live together than marry. This could be due to a family’s influence. How one views another race is passed down through generations. While younger people may have no problem with interracial dating or marriage, older generations are more resistant. Racial boundaries have affected American society and will continue to do so until color blindness is blurred.

So you just got married, Francesca. Is race a factor still for people your age in marriage?

MS. CHAMBERS: I think that this is much more of a cultural issue than it is a racial issue. If you look at the overall number of young people who are living together versus getting married or people generally, there was a – the CDC shows that for women who are 18 to 44, that the majority of those women are more likely to be living with a partner than married. And I think that that’s why this is cultural, not racial.

MS. ERBE: But among your friends, do you see more biracial couples living together than getting married?

MS. CHAMBERS: You know, I haven’t really noticed that trend. That’s not something I think that generally people my age look at. You know, “Loving vs. Virginia” was in 1967. We just had the 50th March on Washington. And I just don’t

think that generally that people are looking of color of skin when it comes to choosing a partner.

DEL. NORTON: Well, you know, cultural and racial are often the same thing because of the way we grow up and are acculturated. And I think that these numbers are going to remain low and that people are trying out interracial marriage for the first time and why just jump into it especially when you're family is likely to be upset. Let's see what it's like. In fact, we see this living together is the way of that entire generation. And they must be trying out a lot of things because they're not getting married soon enough.

MS. BEYER: But, you know, I do think it's great because the young generation is colorblind. And when you think that – you know, in my lifetime, "Loving vs. Virginia," Richard and Mildred Loving got married in 1958. Within a couple of years, they had police raiding their bedroom. They were forced out of Virginia. Finally, he went to Robert Kennedy, who hooked them up with the ACLU and it was this court – you know, court case – they lost every other appeal but they went to the Supreme Court. And that was the end of these laws in 17 states that prohibited couples from having a loving relationship.

So, you know, I love the fact that we're getting to this point and that the relationships – people have their independent choices to make and that they're doing so without looking at race.

MS. WOOD: Well, I think – I mean, we've got numbers and statistics but I think anybody just walking outside anecdotally sees a lot more interracial couples out there, whether they're married or dating or what have you.

So, I mean – I can tell by even just from my growing up – I was born after that decision, by the way. (Laughter.) But no. I mean, you just see it. And people don't think – I mean – you know, the churches I've gone to over the years, I mean, they're just – there's more interracial couples in a lot of different places than I think there used to be, which I think is a great thing.

MS. ERBE: So do you think that they are dating more – that there's still a barrier to getting married? I mean, Francesca's point was since women 18 to 44 generally are –

MS. WOOD: They're living together anyway.

MS. ERBE: Right. Exactly.

MS. WOOD: Yeah. I don't see that. And, of course, I don't think it's a great trend that everybody is living together as opposed to getting married. I don't think that's good for the culture, generally, no matter what color you are, who you're dating. But I haven't seen it just from my own personal experience. Most of the people that I've seen that were seriously dating, if there was a mixed couple, they still got married.

MS. CHAMBERS: I guess it's just not something that I would have noticed because I also born after that. And so that's – you know, that's just not something that comes up in your daily life in 2013. You know, I was actually kind of surprised that we're talking about this today because it's something that had never ever occurred to me I guess to be on the lookout for.

DEL. NORTON: Well, but the numbers are so small that I think it does still occur to the average person, and that most people still are looking for mates within their own culture, which means their own racial group in this country.

MS. WOOD: Well, and part of it it's where you live. You know, if you're in urban centers, I think you see more of mixed couples, but it's also – yeah, where you grow up. If you're in a predominantly white community, you're probably predominantly going to date white people and vice versa for other folks. So it's certainly not the norm by any stretch.

But I don't – I don't see people – from the looks of folks that you might (use ?) to. When I went to college, I went to school in the south and I actually dated a guy of another race. And I will tell you, we got looks when we walked into some restaurants. But you know what? Today though, I would never – I don't think that would even happen there. I really don't.

MS. BEYER: But you know what? I do think it is good that we remember “The Butler,” the movie, “The Butler,” I think made us recognize watching that movie that, you know, we had apartheid going on. And we had laws on the books that legislated the separation of our races. And I just think it's good to remember the context and to see this as a good thing.

MS. ERBE: Well, how much does family opinion matter anymore in marriage?

DEL. NORTON: I think that's probably the central ingredient. You know, you really want to be with somebody but you don't want to go through the hassle of telling your mamma. (Laughter.)

MS. BEYER: In my experience, if the parents are against it, the children are going to do it. (Laughter.)

MS. WOOD: Well, I'm not married. To this point, they might be happy with, you know, anybody that I brought in. No. I'm kidding.

MS. ERBE: As long as he can sit up unaided and –

MS. WOOD: As long as he's a conservative and believes in God. Yeah. No. But, look, that's a huge factor. And I don't think that's true just in any community. I

think whether you're black, you're white, whatever your ethnic background, families, especially members of your family kind of want you to stick with that – with that group.

MS. CHAMBERS: But that's why I say it's cultural instead of racial to a certain extent, because of that. That's just a culture thing that families tend to question who you're dating, and your dating choices, and that this person is going to become a member of your family so they're very interested in that. And I think that regardless of race, families can be a barrier to getting married to someone.

DEL. NORTON: No. No. They know that if their children – this is still a society. These numbers notwithstanding, I don't find them really huge or awesome. In fact, I'm not that surprised about them. They know that this is still a country where you have to think about the children, how they will be raised, and still two societies; we still live in cities that are increasingly racially – and suburbs that are increasingly racially the same. These things need to be thought through before you get married.

MS. ERBE: All right. Behind the headlines: many Americans are already focused on the 2016 presidential race. So is political action committee Emily's List. Launching the Madame President campaign, it hopes 2016 will be the year a woman finally lands in the Oval Office.

(Begin video segment.)

MS. ERBE: For 28 years, Emily's List has backed Democratic pro-choice women running for office. Now, it wants a woman to win the highest U.S. political office, the presidency.

STEPHANIE SCHRIOCK [President, Emily's List]: We felt really strongly that it was time to really initiate a conversation across the country about the importance of women's executive leadership: mayors, governors, and, ultimately, the White House, highlight the amazing women that we have in the pipeline now and the women that we continue to move through the pipeline that we'll see in decades to come.

MS. ERBE: The American public seems poised to trust a woman in the highest leadership position. A recent poll of battleground states found 90 percent of voters would consider voting for a qualified female candidate from their party. Eighty-six percent believe the country is ready to elect a woman president. And nearly three-quarters believe it's likely America will elect a woman president in 2016.

MS. SCHRIOCK: Americans across the board feel that women executives, women leaders bring the right priorities and the right judgment to office, and that they will put family concerns and the nation's concerns in front of partisan politics.

MS. ERBE: Schriock says social media is a powerful tool for women candidates. It's a great way to raise their profiles and to raise money.

MS. SCHRIOCK: That incredible woman who's running for the United States Senate that you may not know yet but I do and I'm going to put it on Facebook, and I'm just asking you to give \$5, \$25, if you have \$100, put it on the credit card, that really is the movement of Emily's List, women and men who are coming together to financially support women candidates across the country.

MS. ERBE: So does Emily's List have a top pick for the first Madame President? Schriock says Hillary Clinton continues to be the favorite but not the only woman who could end up in the White House.

MS. SCHRIOCK: Her background clearly as both as a senator and now a secretary of state brings all of that experience into one package to move forward and think she'd just be a fantastic president if she took this on.

But as we look at some of the other women who we think should be considered, folks like Senator Amy Klobuchar and Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, I think the network that they bring to politics, the energy, the passions is critically important.

MS. ERBE: While Emily's List eyes the White House, Schriock says progress is still needed at the local levels.

MS. SCHRIOCK: Of the 100 largest cities in the country, until recently, only nine had women mayors. We were actually in better position in Congress with women being 19 percent of Congress than we are by far in mayorships of the largest cities in the country.

MS. ERBE: And with women's issues dominating headlines in state houses across the country, Schriock says Emily's List can't afford to ignore the state legislatures.

MS. SCHRIOCK: We are losing ground on so many issues, particularly reproductive rights, but if you look at economic, education, so many different areas, these state legislatures are really pushing through some incredibly backwards looking legislations that are now laws in the country. And it is something that we are very focused on and we are actually doubling down on our program to train, recruit, and get women into these legislatures.

(End video segment.)

MS. ERBE: So is there anybody else coming up through the ranks? I mean, she talked about Amy Klobuchar from Minnesota or Kirsten Gillibrand from New York State, but does a woman in 2016 – on the Democratic side, let's start with – mean Hillary Clinton?

MS. BEYER: It doesn't necessarily mean Hillary Clinton. I think Hillary Clinton's probably got the best résumé for it. But, you know, we've heard a lot about Sheryl Sandberg talking about leaning in.

What I love about Emily's List is what we really need is women to have each other's backs. Just look at what's happening with Janet Yellen right now. You know, we have the succession of Ben Bernanke over at the Fed. And, suddenly, you know, you think the vice chair would be a very seriously considered candidate, Janet Yellen. All of a sudden, Larry's team, Team Summers, has come out and has been pushing his position. Well, you know, it's nice –

MS. ERBE: Except the whole rest of the world is coming out against him, including, at the end of this week, the "New York Times."

MS. BEYER: But now it's become – yeah. Now it's becoming to Larry or not to Larry. And I'm like, well, where's Janet, who, by the way, was endorsed by the "New York Times."

But I think that it's great. You know, women need to have each other's back. They need to be like the good old boys' network and support them. That's exactly what Emily's List is doing. And I think it would be a surprise if a woman were not a candidate slate on the Democratic side. I mean, I don't know about the Republicans. What do you think, Genevieve?

MS. ERBE: Yeah. What I was going to say. OK. On the Republican side.

MS. WOOD: Yeah. I think there are going to be some Republican women probably running in 2016. I don't think there's any doubt about that. I think it's much clearer who the Democrats are probably going to have in 2016 in terms of, if a woman is going to be it, it's going to likely be Hillary.

But, look, I think – I mean, let me give applaud for another group who does stuff like this, not a group that it's pro-abortion but a group called the Susan B. Anthony List, which tries to identify conservative female candidates who are pro-life, the exact way that Emily's List does what they do except for pro-choice women. You know – and they recruit across the board, state level, the top level.

And it's not just outside groups. The parties are doing this. The Republican Party is doing a lot in terms of both at the federal level, but even more so at the state level, which is really your farm teams, right? This is where you get people that eventually become senators, become governors, and the like. They're got a goal of recruiting 300 over the course of the next election cycle.

MS. ERBE: But what's interesting to me too is you look at the alternatives to Hillary Clinton on the Democratic side and they're – most of them are white. You look to possible females – I mean, Sarah Palin not going to run again probably.

MS. WOOD: Probably not.

MS. ERBE: So then you were mentioning –

MS. WOOD: Well, there's Governor Susana Martinez out of New Mexico, who is very good; Governor Nikki Haley, in South Carolina. She just announced her – that she's running again in South Carolina and had a lot of big national names standing next to her, other governors and the likes so that was kind of interesting.

But, look, you were mentioning Kelly Ayotte from New Hampshire, the senator. There are a lot of women I think in the party who are at the right stature level in terms of experience not just in elected office but former jobs as well that I think are ready for those kind of runs if they want to make them.

DEL. NORTON: Well, each side, you know, doesn't have the strongest bench for Republicans until they get –

MS. WOOD: I think there's a strong bench right this – (inaudible).

DEL. NORTON: Until they get – until they get policies that will attract more women, they're going to have that weak bench. Our bench –

MS. ERBE: But what about the fact that she mentioned two women of color as sort of the two more prominent Republican women who might go for the nomination versus the – I mean, it's interesting to me because they have a more diverse bench.

DEL. NORTON: Right. Yeah. If we're talking about women of color, I would note you'd be a black or Hispanic woman. And that's not what Republicans are talking about.

I believe that the women that we named, you'll notice, tend to be senators because every senator believes that she can be the president of the United States. But beyond that, I really don't see a woman even on the Democratic side that would be a true contender of the kind we are used to.

And it's because – look at those women. Almost all of them are fairly new. They've won maybe two terms. Nobody knows their name except us and the people in their state. And I can't say enough about how important that is if you want to run for president. And if you want to be a dark horse, there are women on both sides who could jump in.

MS. BEYER: But, you know, this is why this thing is so good. They did a town hall meeting in Iowa. They did a town hall meeting in New Hampshire. They're introducing these women in very critical places. And if you think of it, Barack Obama had been a state senator –

MS. WOOD (?): No one knew who he was.

MS. BEYER: Yeah. He was in his first term. And did anyone say that, you know, how dare you think you can be president? Maybe a few people.

MS. WOOD: Hillary did. (Laughter.)

MS. BEYER: Maybe a few people out there. There were a couple. But, you know, these guys, they think – the minute they're elected senator, they think, I'm running for the White House.

MS. CHAMBERS: Look, I'll be honest. Our bench of women, I agree with you, is not as strong as on the Democratic side. But there are reasons for that. And part of that is because the party had previously done not a great job at recruiting women, and the conservative organizations have not done a very good job of recruiting women.

And, as you were talking about before, I know that the national party for a fact is going out of its way now to partner with organizations and recruit more women for the lower levels.

MS. ERBE: All right. We are out of time. Thank you. That's it for this edition of *To the Contrary*. Please follow me on Twitter @BonnieErbe and #tothecontrary, and visit our website, pbs.org/tothecontrary, where the discussion continues. And whether you agree or think to the contrary, please join us next time.

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