

the David &
Lucile Packard
FOUNDATION

Public Opinion on Abortion Post-*Dobbs*

Findings based on qualitative journal
boards and a national survey

September 2022

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Today's Presenters

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Overall Objectives

- 1 Understand** Understand likely voters' attitudes towards threats to abortion access, including the SCOTUS overruling of Roe v. Wade.
- 2 Explore** Explore the impact that likely voters think SCOTUS overturning Roe v. Wade will have on abortion access broadly as well as far-reaching impacts on other individual rights.
- 3 Identify** Identify messaging elements that resonate with and mobilize likely voters to take action to protect abortion rights.

Survey Methodology

Lake Research Partners designed and administered this online survey in partnership with HIT Strategies. The survey was conducted September 1-9, 2022. The survey reached a total of 1,950 likely voters nationwide which includes a base sample of 1,500 likely voters with oversamples of 150 African American likely voters, 150 Latinx likely voters, and 150 Asian American Pacific Islander likely voters. The oversamples were weighted down into the base sample to their proper proportion of the universe for a total sample size of 1,500.

Survey respondents were drawn from an online panel. The base sample of likely voters was weighted by region, gender by region, age, race, gender by race, age by race, party ID, and education. African American likely voters were weighted by gender, region, age, party ID, and education. Latinx likely voters were weighted by region, age, and party ID. Asian American Pacific Islander likely voters were weighted by gender, region, age, party ID, and education.

The margin of error is +/-2.2%.

Focus Group Methodology

Universe

Likely voters from "restrictive" reproductive states. Believe abortion should be legal in all cases, some cases, or just a few cases

Sample Size

N = 35

Conducted online via Qualitative Boards July 12 – 16, 2022.

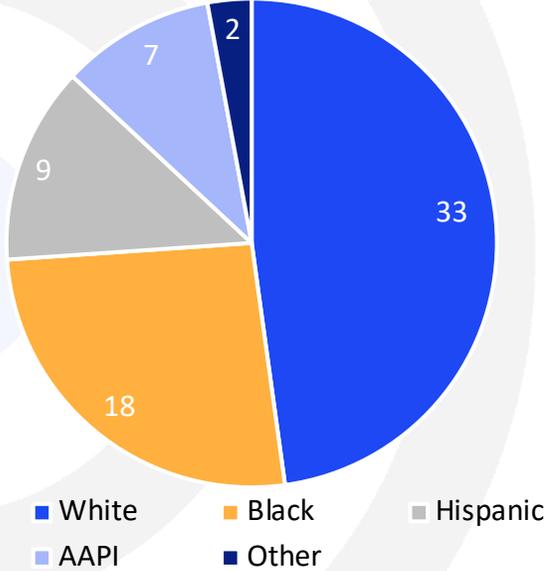
Likely voters from "safe" reproductive states. Believe abortion should be legal in all cases, some cases, or just a few cases

N = 35

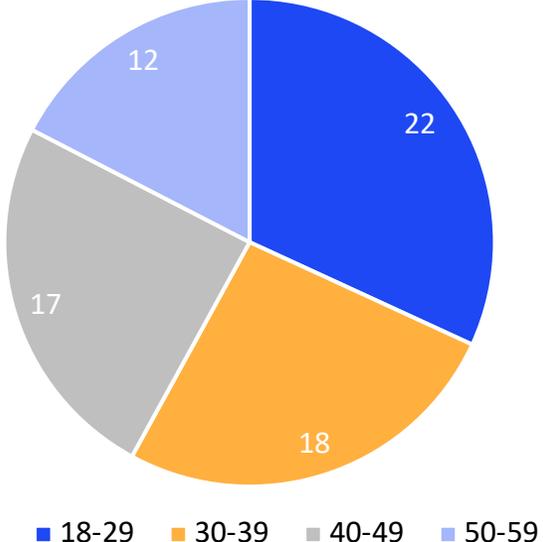
Conducted online via Qualitative Boards July 12 – 16, 2022.

Total: N = 70

Race



Age



Note: findings from these discussions are qualitative in nature and therefore should not be used to draw quantitative conclusions. Where we have included quantitative information is purely for illustrating trends in the discussions.

Survey Key Findings

- Voters are more likely to hold views that are supportive of abortion rights than they have been in the past and pre-*Dobbs*.
- The strongest attitude is disagreeing with a federal ban on abortions in every state. And a majority of voters agree with either federal or state laws to “provide full access to abortion with limited regulation” and even larger majorities disagree with either federal or state laws to “ban abortion.”
- Voters favor every policy and law on abortion and birth control. The strongest is **over-the-counter birth control**. The next strongest are a variety of **access to travel to other states and FDA approved abortion pills, and state and federal laws to ensure abortion in your state/every state**. The **most dangerous** policy is a **15-week ban**.
- Voters see numerous “worst outcomes” that have occurred or may occur as a result of the Supreme Court decision on abortion. However, **most of these worst outcomes are NOT the most believable outcomes. Forcing victims of rape to remain pregnant, forcing teens and children to remain pregnant, and banning abortion within certain states are worst outcomes AND most believable.**

Survey Key Findings

- Messages in support of abortion access outperform the opposition messages significantly. Their messages have 24% to 28% of voters who find them very convincing. Even anti-abortion voters rate the opposition messages at 32% to 45% very convincing.

Their Better Messages	Our Best Messages
<p>[Victory for Modern Science] Reversing Roe v. Wade is a victory for modern science. Science has shown that unborn babies have heartbeats, feel pain, and are fully formed by 15 weeks. Allowing states to ban the practice of dismemberment abortion of fully formed unborn babies is a decision based in science, not the whims of emotion.</p>	<p>[EMPATHY/RIGHT] No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, every person's life has its own unique circumstances. Someone you love may need an abortion someday. People, not politicians, should have the right to make their own decisions, including when it comes to abortion care.</p>
<p>[Love Them Both] Many women seek an abortion because they feel like they can't financially afford a child. By states providing these mothers with financial services or adoption support and eliminating the legal option to abort the unborn child, we can choose to love both mother and child and save unborn babies from a terrible fate.</p>	<p>[EMPATHY/FREEDOM] No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, every person's life has its own unique circumstances. Someone you love may need an abortion someday. People, not politicians, should have the freedom to make their own decisions, including when it comes to abortion care.</p>
	<p>[Crisis/One-Size-Fits-All] Giving states the ability to ban abortion is creating a public health crisis. Abortion is part of reproductive and maternal health care, and every circumstance is unique. When people are making complicated and personal medical decisions, one-size-fits-all laws don't work. These bans and restrictions hurt real people who should have the freedom to make their own decisions.</p>
	<p>[Control/Our Bodies] Banning abortion is part of a wider effort to control our bodies and our lives. We need to protect everyone's fundamental right to control their own bodies, including whether to have an abortion, and everyone should have options when it comes to making personal health care decisions.</p>

Qualitative Journal Board Key Findings



1 Abortion is important for likely voters across the board

Equal amounts of respondents indicated that abortion is a top priority for them in both the restrictive states and the nonrestrictive states. Even in instances where participants indicated that they had mixed feelings on abortion or were not entirely supportive of the practice of abortion, they emphasized that it was still important for the right to choose to have an abortion to be protected.

2

Attitudes do not vary by safe or restrictive state, though there is a higher sense of security in safe states

While participants in both groups responded with equal concern and urgency to threats to abortion access, respondents in “safe” states were more likely to think that abortion bans would not affect them or their state. When we asked about a national abortion ban, about half of the safe state group felt it was possible, but the other half felt protected by the presence of blue states who would object to such a measure.

3 Participants are concerned about the impacts on low-income folks, POC, and those living in restrictive states

Participants were quick to articulate their fears about the impacts of this decision, from the disproportionate impact on poor women and women of color to the fear that this will lead to a rollback of other rights, such as marriage equality. When given a list of outcomes, respondents were most concerned about total abortion bans, even in the cases of rape, incest or threats to health, as well as the disproportionate impacts on women.

4

Likely voters are angry about SCOTUS overturning *Roe v. Wade* and want to see action from elected officials

Participants responded with anger and disgust at the decision to overturn *Roe* and see it as “taking away” their rights. Likely voters want to see their elected officials “fight back”, which at the very least means speaking out against abortion bans, condemning the *Dobbs* decision, and indicating support for abortion rights. While likely voters want to see Governors and state representatives pass legislation to secure rights in their states, they are also aware that this leaves people in conservative states vulnerable, so they want to see federal action to protect these folks as well.

5 Respondents reacted most positively to messaging that emphasized bodily autonomy and individual choice

While every message we tested received above an 8 on a scale from 0-10, meaning they are all extremely convincing to likely voters, the two which performed the best (over a 9 rating) were those that asserted an individual’s right to make decisions about their own body. Voters called out this messaging element as something they feel passionately about and connect with.

6

Likely voters think about abortion denials in a holistic sense and are particularly concerned with the toll on mental health

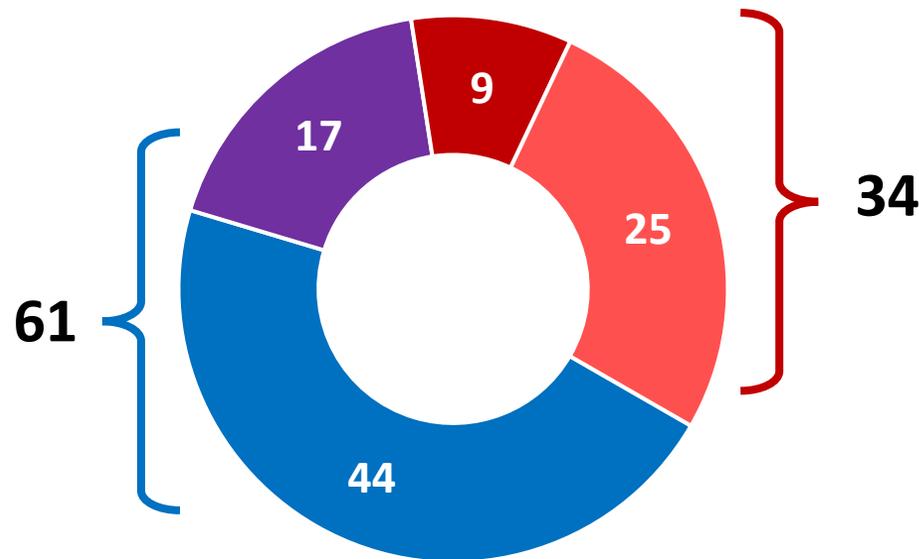
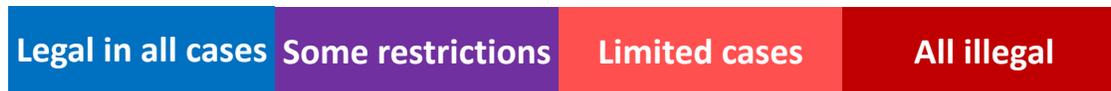
When we asked voters to imagine the impacts of being denied abortion care, they repeatedly emphasized the emotional and mental strain this would have on a person. Voters are extremely concerned that this would lead to individuals suffering psychologically or attempting to harm themselves. Voters responded to this scenario with compassion and want to see this prevented. Financial and physical concerns are prevalent as well, but not as emphasized as the mental health impacts.



Context

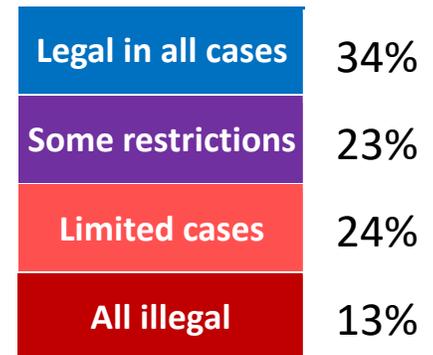
By a two to one margin, voters hold views that are supportive of abortion.

Here are four statements. Please select which of them is closest to your own view.



5% Not sure/Prefer not to answer

In September 2021:



Registered voters nationwide

1. Abortions should be legal and generally available and subject to only limited regulation
2. Regulation of abortion is necessary, although it should remain legal in many circumstances
3. Abortion should be legal only in the most extreme cases, such as to save the life of the woman or in the cases of rape or incest
4. All abortions should be made illegal

Likely voters start with a high level of awareness and concern over the *Dobbs* decision

- Participants are aware of the recent overturning of Roe v Wade and are concerned about the consequences.
- Concerns are largely related to women's rights and safety, as well as impacts on other issues like LGBTQ rights and contraception.

What have you heard about the US Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade, the decision that protected the right to get an abortion nationwide? How concerned are you about the impacts of the US Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade, which established the right to an abortion in the United States?



"Overturning Roe v Wade **removes the protections that all women were given on a federal level and allows individual states to decide** if their female residents will have access to abortion services. **All Republican states will ban a female's right to choose an abortion**, and many will make it a crime." - White woman, restrictive state



"I'm extremely concerned. **This decision will point blank murder women and people with uteruses.** Not only in forced childbirth and ectopic pregnancies, but by suicide, botched abortions, domestic violence, and more. This also disproportionately affects POC people and lower-class individuals, especially in blocked in states in the South and Midwest." – White woman, safe state



"I know **this will endanger millions of women and other people who can conceive, especially those who are minorities and do not have the resources to support a child.** This will go down in history, as some say, as **one of the worst Supreme Court decisions in history.**" - AAPI man, safe state



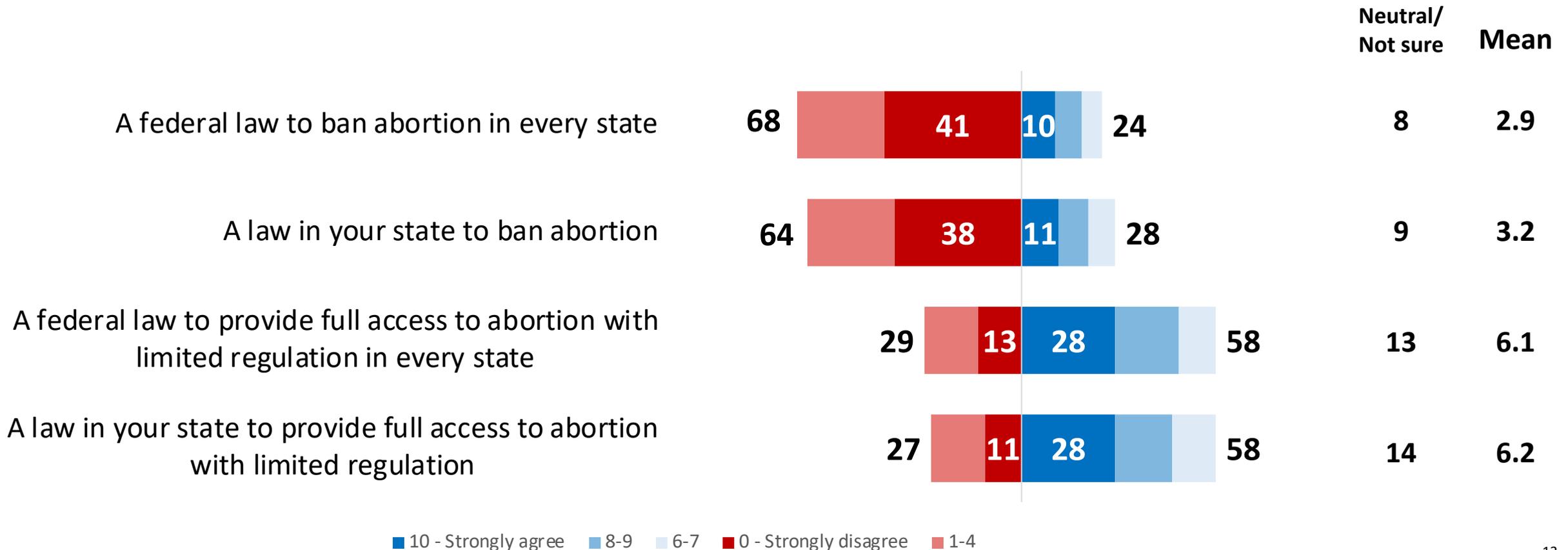
"Very concerned, I don't think it will necessarily stop women from attempting to get an abortion. **It just makes it more dangerous for them.** And those that still cannot get an abortion it will bring an unwanted child into this world which is horrible and sad in itself because no child should have to suffer. **It's a trickle-down affect and nothing good will come from this.**" - Black woman, restrictive state.



Laws and Policies

Majorities agree with federal and state laws to provide full access to abortion with limited regulation. Even larger majorities disagree with federal and state laws to ban abortion.

On a scale that goes from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly disagree and 10 means strongly agree and you can be anywhere in between on the scale, do you agree or disagree with the following proposed state and federal laws?



Majorities across race agree with federal and state laws to provide full access to abortion and disagree with federal and state laws to ban abortion. There are partisan differences. This is a core value for Democrats. Independents have more energy in disagreeing with bans than agreeing with protections. Republicans are more split. For most subgroups, the strongest positioning is the federal ban. Black voters rate the federal ban and state ban the same.

On a scale that goes from 0 to 10, where 0 means strongly disagree and 10 means strongly agree and you can be anywhere in between on the scale, do you agree or disagree with the following proposed state and federal laws?

% Agree	All Voters	Dem	Ind	Rep	White	Black	Latinx	AAPI
A federal law to provide full access to abortion with limited regulation in every state	58	80	46	38	56	63	61	62
A law in your state to provide full access to abortion with limited regulation	58	78	47	40	57	67	61	61
% Disagree								
A law in your state to ban abortion	64	82	66	43	63	69	66	59
A federal law to ban abortion in every state	68	82	70	50	67	68	70	64

Most participants predict Republican and Southern states will ban abortion. Even some in safe states fear the possibility of a ban

- Participants in both groups indicated that red, conservative, and southern states are most likely to ban abortion. Most commonly, people speculate at least half of the states will ban abortion.
- Most participants in restrictive states know they are at risk and see restrictions happening already.
- In safe states, many respondents point to leaders in their state who have expressed pro-choice politics as to why they feel bans would not happen in their states. However, many respondents in these same states are wondering how “safe” they really are.

How many states do you think will ban abortion?

“There are at least half of the States that are certain to ban abortion. This will have women traveling to other states that they do not live in to get abortions.”

– Black man, safe state

“I feel like this will divide the Country right down the middle. Half out of all the States, I can see at least 25 doing it.”

–White woman, safe state

“If Moscow Mitch McConnell gets his way, the ban will become all 50 states, i.e. Federal ban. I see 26 to 30 states passing bans, if not having already done so.”

-White man, restrictive state

“The States I believe will ban abortion, if they haven't already, are most of the Southern and republican States.”

-White woman, restrictive state

Do you think this would happen in your state?

“**I don't think it will happen, but it could.** MN has a constitutional amendment guaranteeing abortion, and I believe it requires being put to the voters in order to change. However, the GOP cheats and lies, so **anything is possible.**”

– Woman, safe state

“No, I don't. Governor Baker has taken measures to protect that in Massachusetts and said he will continue to fight. I have faith in trust in him. He has done to battle for our state before. He's a good Governor and we do have good representation in the government.”

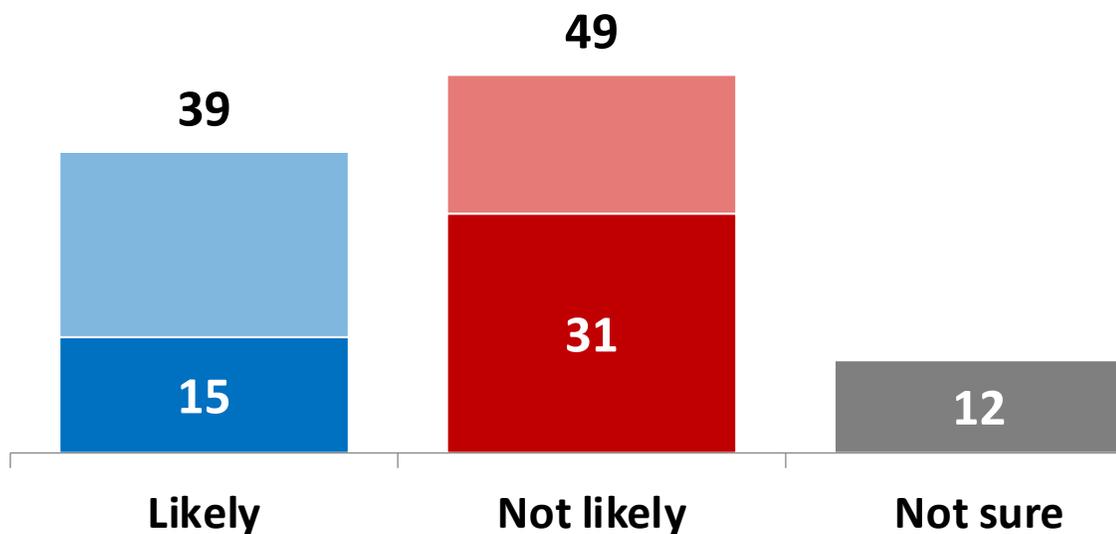
–White woman, safe state

“My state, Tennessee will invoke the most restrictive abortion policies, including criminally prosecuting doctors, women, and those who enable a women to make a choice. Tennessee does not care about women, minorities, or the lower class. Our governor bases his decisions on religion and whatever keeps his conservative base happy.” – Hispanic woman, restrictive state

Voters think it is likely that Congress would pass a national ban on abortion but only if Republicans win enough elections to take over Congress. It is important to communicate that if Republicans take charge, they will pass a national ban.

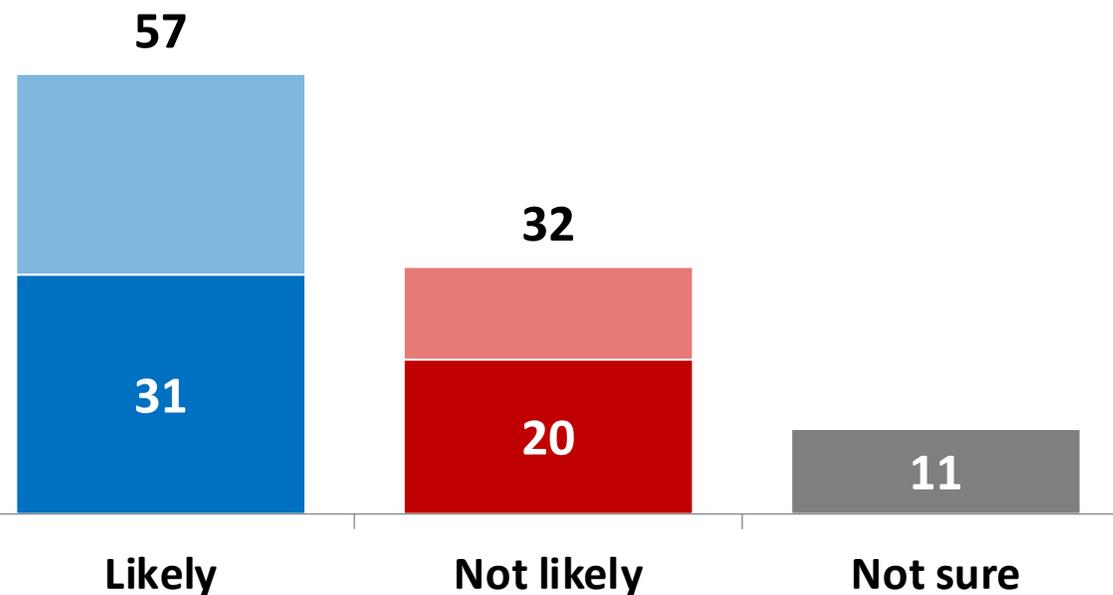
How likely do you think it is that Congress would pass a national ban on abortion?

(-10)

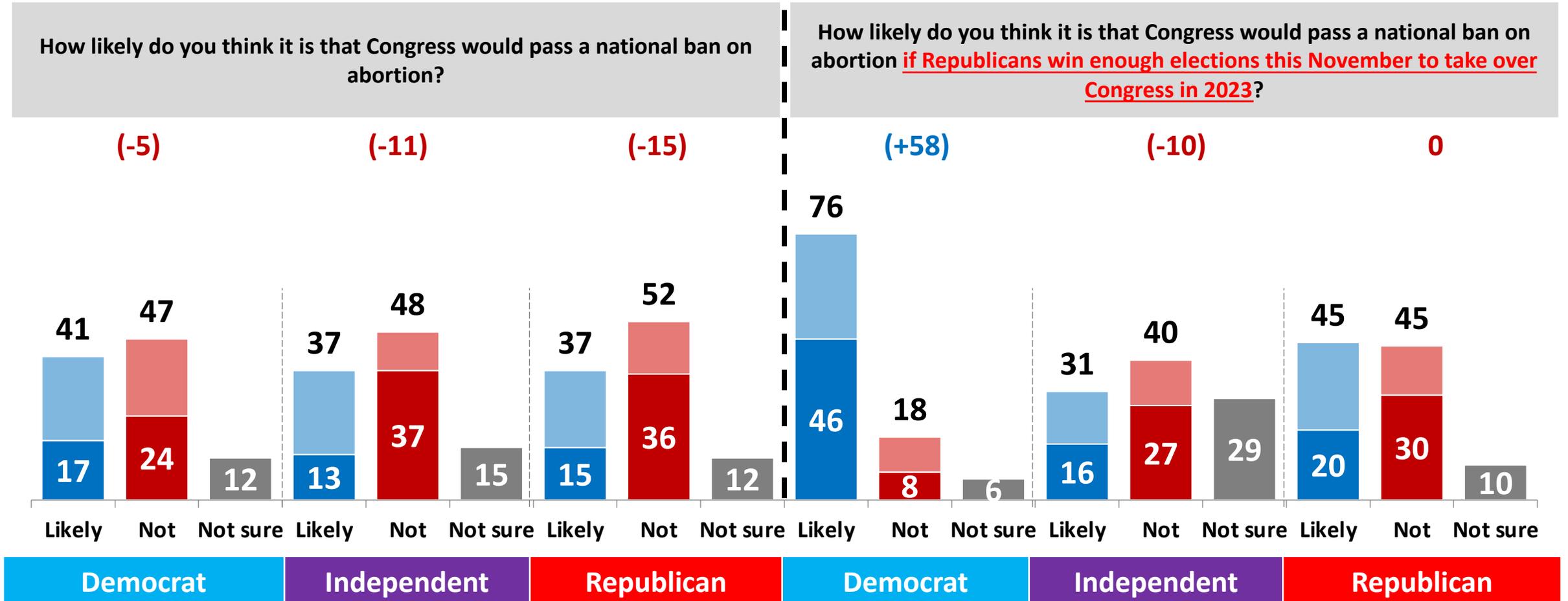


How likely do you think it is that Congress would pass a national ban on abortion if Republicans win enough elections this November to take over Congress in 2023?

(+25)

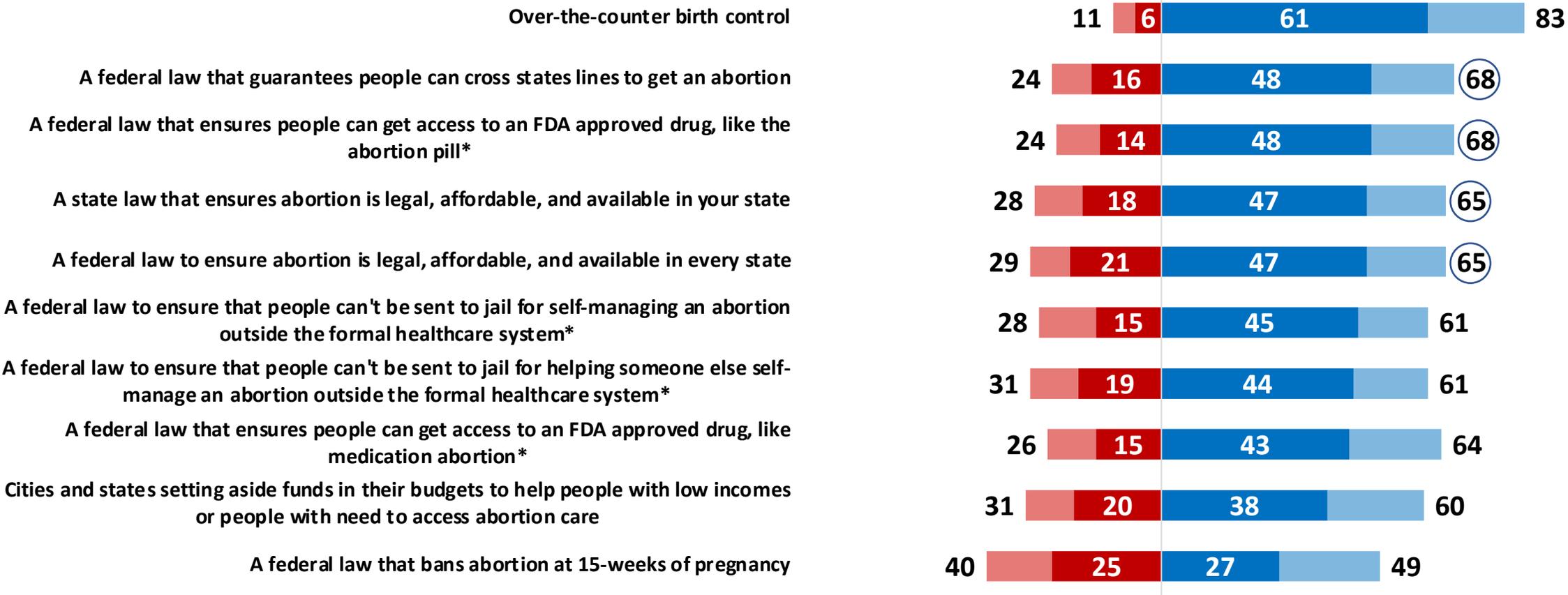


Democratic voters overwhelmingly believe that Congress will pass a national ban on abortion if Republicans win enough elections to take over Congress. Independents are more mixed and unsure, and Republicans are split.



Voters favor every policy and law on abortion and birth control. The strongest is over-the-counter birth control. Note support for a 15-week federal ban.

Favorability of Policies and Laws



■ Somewhat favor
■ Strongly favor
■ Somewhat oppose
■ Strongly oppose

*split sampled

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About half or more across race and party strongly favor over-the-counter birth control. Latinx voters are especially intensely favorable to OTC birth control. Majorities of Democrats, Black voters, and Latinx voters strong favor laws on crossing state lines, and state and federal laws to ensure abortion is “legal, affordable, and available.”

Favorability of Policies and Laws								
% Strongly Favor	All	Party ID			Race			
		D	I	R	W	AA	L	AAPI
Over-the-counter birth control	61	72	59	50	61	60	70	49
A federal law that guarantees people can cross states lines to get an abortion	48	69	44	27	47	55	54	44
A federal law that ensures people can get access to an FDA approved drug, like the abortion pill*	48	71	36	27	46	55	62	39
A state law that ensures abortion is legal, affordable, and available in your state	47	71	39	25	46	54	51	48
A federal law to ensure abortion is legal, affordable, and available in every state	47	71	38	23	44	60	53	46

*split sampled

Majorities of Democrats favor laws to prevent jailing after self-management and ensuring access to medication abortion and cities and states setting aside funds. Black voters also favor anti-carceral laws, Latinx voters intensely favor self-management does not lead to jail, and AAPI voters favor access to medication abortion.

Favorability of Policies and Laws								
% Strongly Favor	All	Party ID			Race			
		D	I	R	W	AA	L	AAPI
A federal law to ensure that people can't be sent to jail for self-managing an abortion outside the formal healthcare system*	45	66	43	22	43	55	52	38
A federal law to ensure that people can't be sent to jail for helping someone else self-manage an abortion outside the formal healthcare system*	44	61	36	28	43	54	41	42
A federal law that ensures people can get access to an FDA approved drug, like medication abortion*	43	62	38	24	42	46	44	50
Cities and states setting aside funds in their budgets to help people with low incomes or people with need to access abortion care	38	57	27	21	36	48	46	38
A federal law that bans abortion at 15-weeks of pregnancy	27	17	22	39	27	24	31	22

While intense favorability of a 15-week ban is low, two-thirds (64%) of Republicans favor it, about half of Independent (55%), white (50%), and Latinx (51%) voters favor it, and Black (46% favor, 42% oppose) and AAPI (44% favor, 42% oppose) voters split.

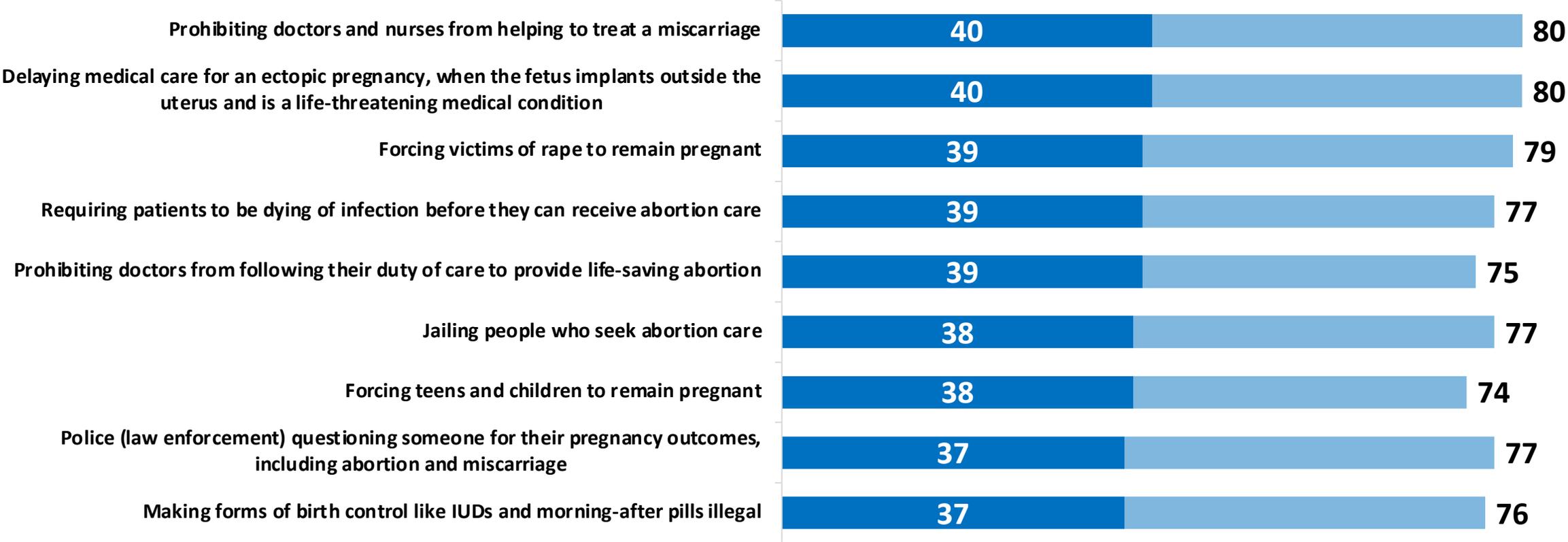
*split sampled



Outcomes

Voters find all outcomes to be bad, with about four in ten who say the worst outcomes are very bad.

Here are some outcomes that have occurred or may occur as a result of the Supreme Court decision on abortion. For each, using a 0 to 10 scale where 0 means very bad and 10 means very good, please note how you feel about each outcome.*



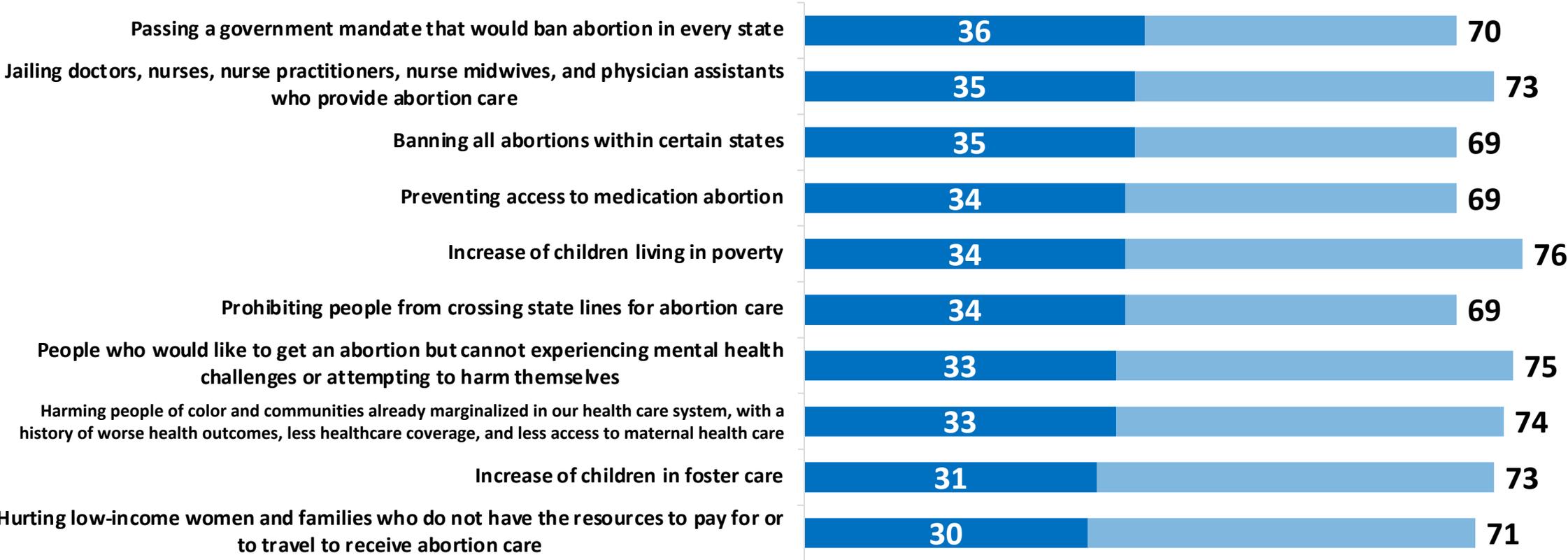
Rated 1-4
Rated 0 – very bad

*split sampled



Even lower-tier outcomes are still seen as bad to two-thirds to three-quarters of voters.

Here are some outcomes that have occurred or may occur as a result of the Supreme Court decision on abortion. For each, using a 0 to 10 scale where 0 means very bad and 10 means very good, please note how you feel about each outcome.*



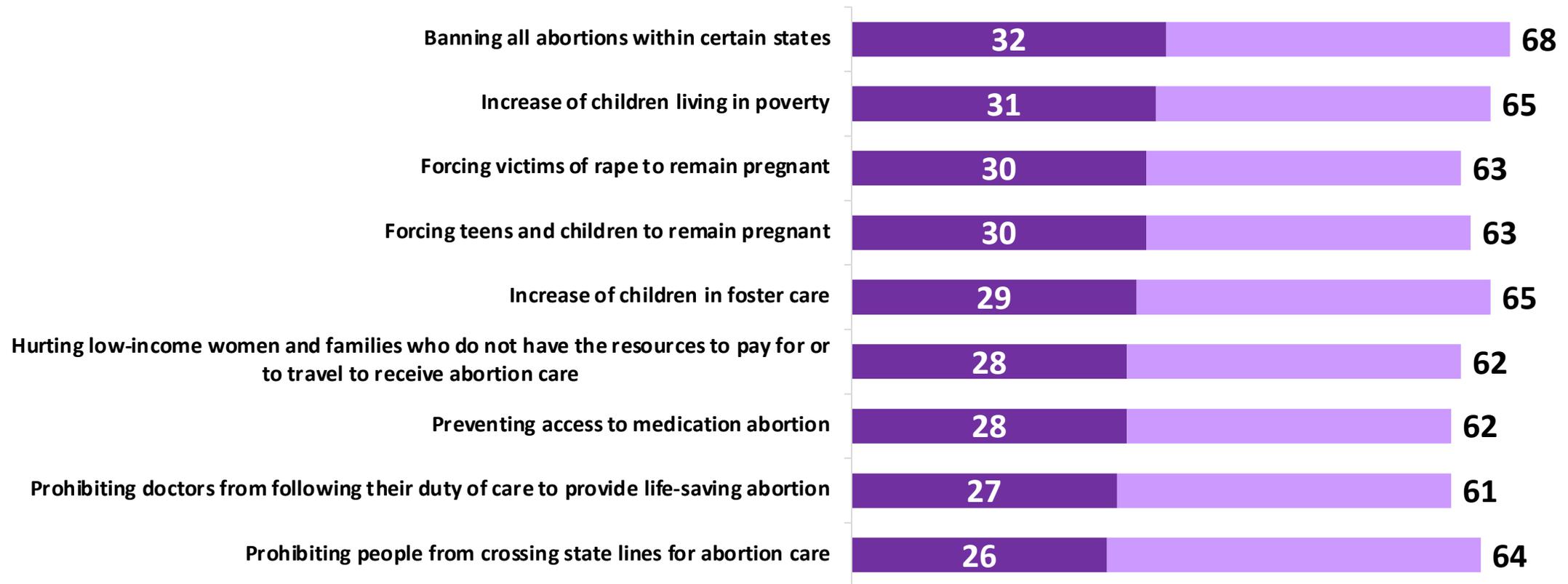
Rated 1-4
Rated 0 – very bad

*split sampled

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However, believability is a big problem and voters are skeptical of outcomes. Individual harms are considered the worst, but group outcomes are seen as more likely.

Here are some outcomes that may occur as a result of the Supreme Court decision on abortion. For each, please select believable you find it using a 0 to 10 scale where 0 means not believable at all and 10 means very believable. *



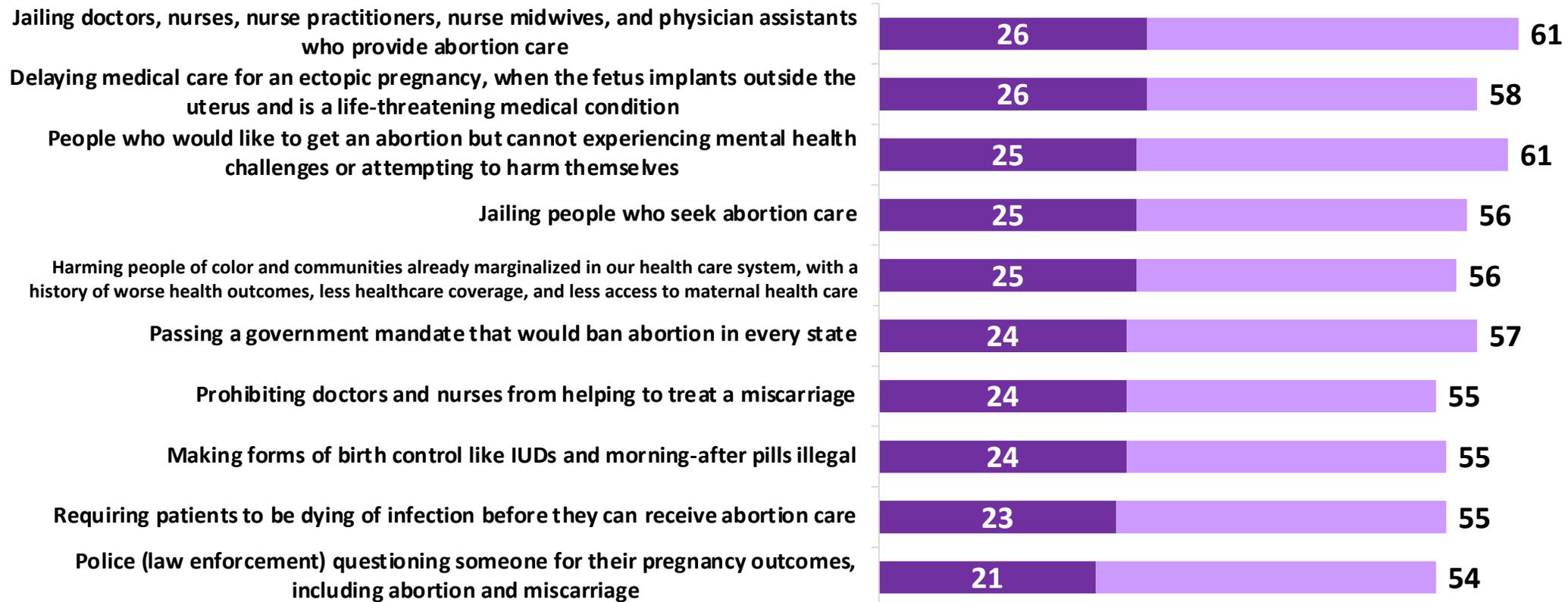
Rated 6-9
Rated 10 – very believable

*split sampled

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Intensity is even lower on criminalization, government mandates, marginalization, prohibition of birth control, and delaying care.

Here are some outcomes that may occur as a result of the Supreme Court decision on abortion. For each, please select believable you find it using a 0 to 10 scale where 0 means not believable at all and 10 means very believable. *



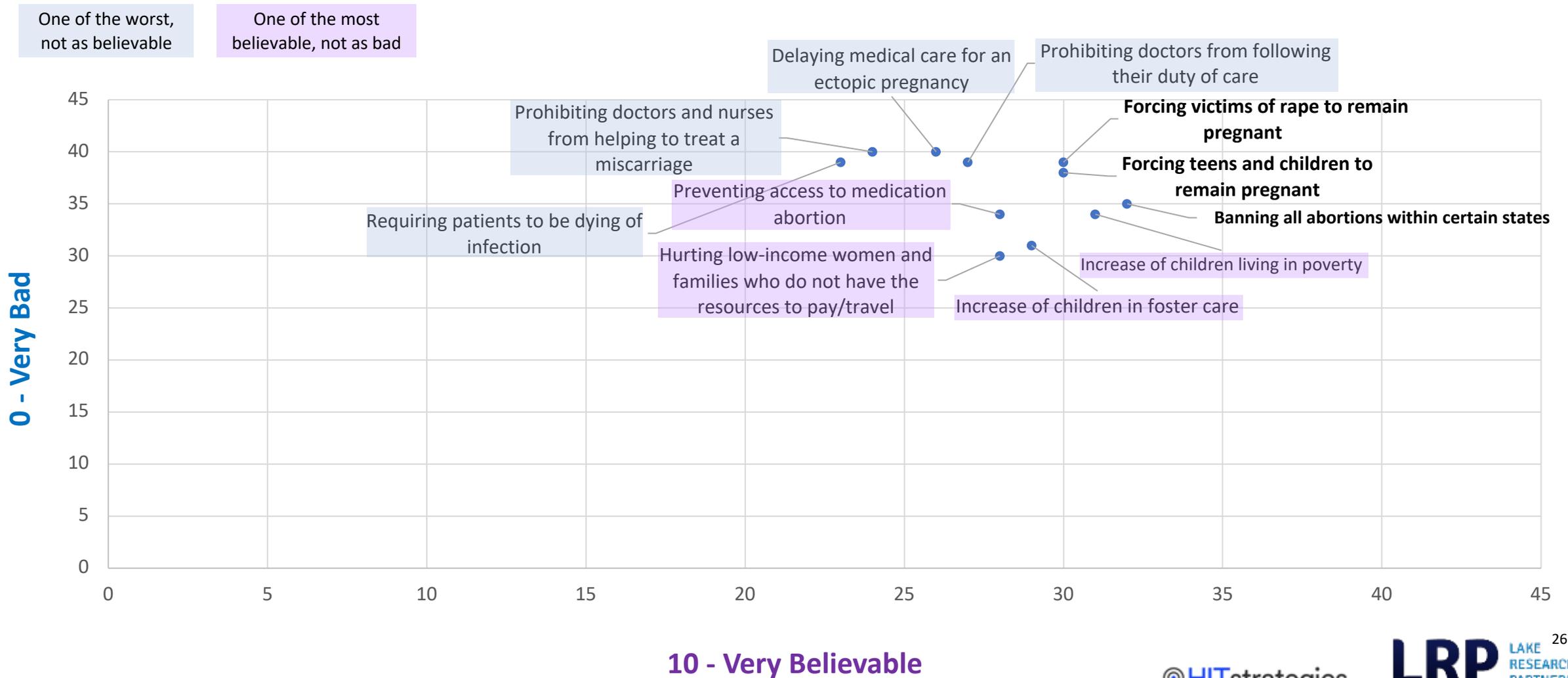
Rated 6-9

Rated 10 – very believable

*split sampled

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Looking at just the worst outcomes and the most believable outcomes, forcing victims of rape to remain pregnant, forcing teens and children to remain pregnant, and banning abortion within certain states are worst outcomes AND most believable.



Participants can give examples of many outcomes we listed currently taking place. Banning birth control or national abortion ban are seen as least likely

Do you think any of these outcomes are already happening?

“Yes, they are **happening already**. There have been reports of women with ectopic pregnancies bursting while doctors call lawyers to see if they can even treat. We are seeing stories of raped/molested children being told they have to carry to term. We are seeing trigger states which have already banned it completely.”

- White woman, restrictive state

“Absolutely. **Trigger laws and laws have already gone into effect.** They’re already coming after birth control. POC are already, and have always been, marginalized in health care. This isn’t in the future, this is now.”

-White woman, safe state

“Yes, banning women from getting an abortion and closing abortion clinics is **already happening.**”

-Black woman, restrictive state

Are any of the options above extremely unrealistic in your opinion?

“National law to prohibit abortions in all states and to make birth control illegal. I believe this is very unrealistic because by prohibiting abortions in all states means that abortions are nonexistent. Also, if they make birth control illegal, they are taking preventative pregnancy methods away.”

-Black woman, safe state

“Making birth control illegal. I think the medical industry would not want to lose out on all that money. So, greed will at least keep that intact. Not the correct reason, but I think the greed would outweigh the politicians' moral standings.”

-White woman, safe state

“Prior to Roe v. Wade being overturned and even with some of the unhinged rhetoric being displayed in our government, I had some belief. However, now nothing is off limits in my opinion.”

-Black woman, restrictive state

The threat of a national abortion ban is infuriating to voters, who are split on its likelihood. Those in safe states are less likely to think a national ban is possible

Some U.S. senators have indicated their plans to introduce a federal abortion ban bill, which would make all abortions across the country illegal. What is your reaction to hearing this?

- National ban is described as “worst case scenario”
- People in safe states more likely to feel this is unrealistic, but there is a sense of “anything could happen” since no one expected Roe v Wade to be overturned either
- Seen as possible if Conservatives/Republicans are in power



“This is a real threat if the congressional majority changes after the midterms, however, while we have a Democrat (Joe Biden) in the White House - this bill will fail. This is where voting matters most - putting pro-life elected officials into office who will focus on codifying Roe v. Wade into law.”
-White man, restrictive state



“The most concerning would be the national law prohibiting abortions nationwide, living in California I do feel a sense of security knowing that our state will protect the woman’s right to choose. If there were a law preventing them to do so the impact would be monumental.”
-White woman, safe state



“I don’t think reality can be unrealistic. I think its unfair & cruel, but it is happening. I’m not sure I can say there is anything that would never happen based off the proof we already have. I never thought Roe vs. Wade would even be a discussion again but here we are.”
– Hispanic man, restrictive state



“Fear and outrage. Things are bad enough as it is and banning abortions across the whole country would be worst case scenario. This would put so many women in a terrible situation, and even potentially in danger.”
-Hispanic Woman, safe state



“I think power distribution in this country has been placed in the wrong hands. I think they should be focused on poverty, homelessness, inflation, food challenged individuals not worry about this.”
-Black man, safe state

Participants see the holistic impact of abortion denial, including the immense financial, emotional, and physical tolls on individuals and communities



Thinking about people who are seeking an abortion but cannot get one, what kind of impact do you think that has on a person? You can think about emotional, physical, financial. How do you feel about the impact?

- **Voters repeatedly emphasized the negative impact on a person's mental health in the wake of an abortion denial, this is something they are extremely worried about**
- **Respondents see the emotional distress and toil as something that would affect every other aspect**
- **Participants responded with compassion and empathy when imagining this situation and they are aware of the complex effects on mental, physical, and financial health.**

"I can only imagine the additional stress that this applies to an already stressful situation. The feeling of being trapped in a situation with no way out."

-White man, restrictive state

"I think this will have a physical, emotional, financial, and mental impact on people. People might even commit suicide because it may take a severe toll on them. People might even be pregnant from a trauma."

-Black woman, safe state

What about other people besides those who are seeking an abortion, how do you think they would be impacted by abortion bans? For example, families of someone who was trying to get an abortion or young people?

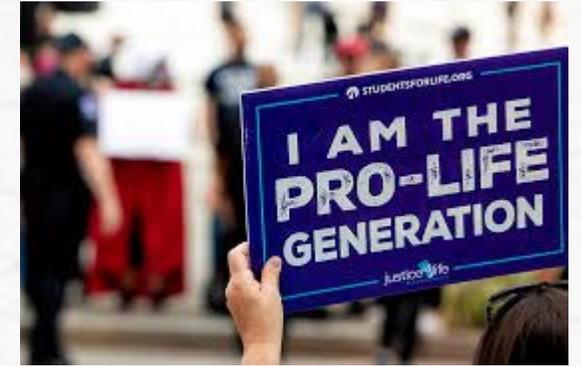
- **Respondents articulated the strain on family members of the person denied abortion care in both emotional and financial stress**
- **Respondents also discussed the impact on medical professionals who may be persecuted for attempting to give care to someone who needs it**

"Families of people seeking an abortion could be affected because they will likely be helping to raise the babies born due to forced pregnancies. Young people may be scared to have intimate relationships, but maybe would also be more careful."

-White woman, safe state

"This might impact some people's decisions on where they wanna live whether or not that state allows abortion. Plus this might make those people think about the support those woman who are now forced to have that child."

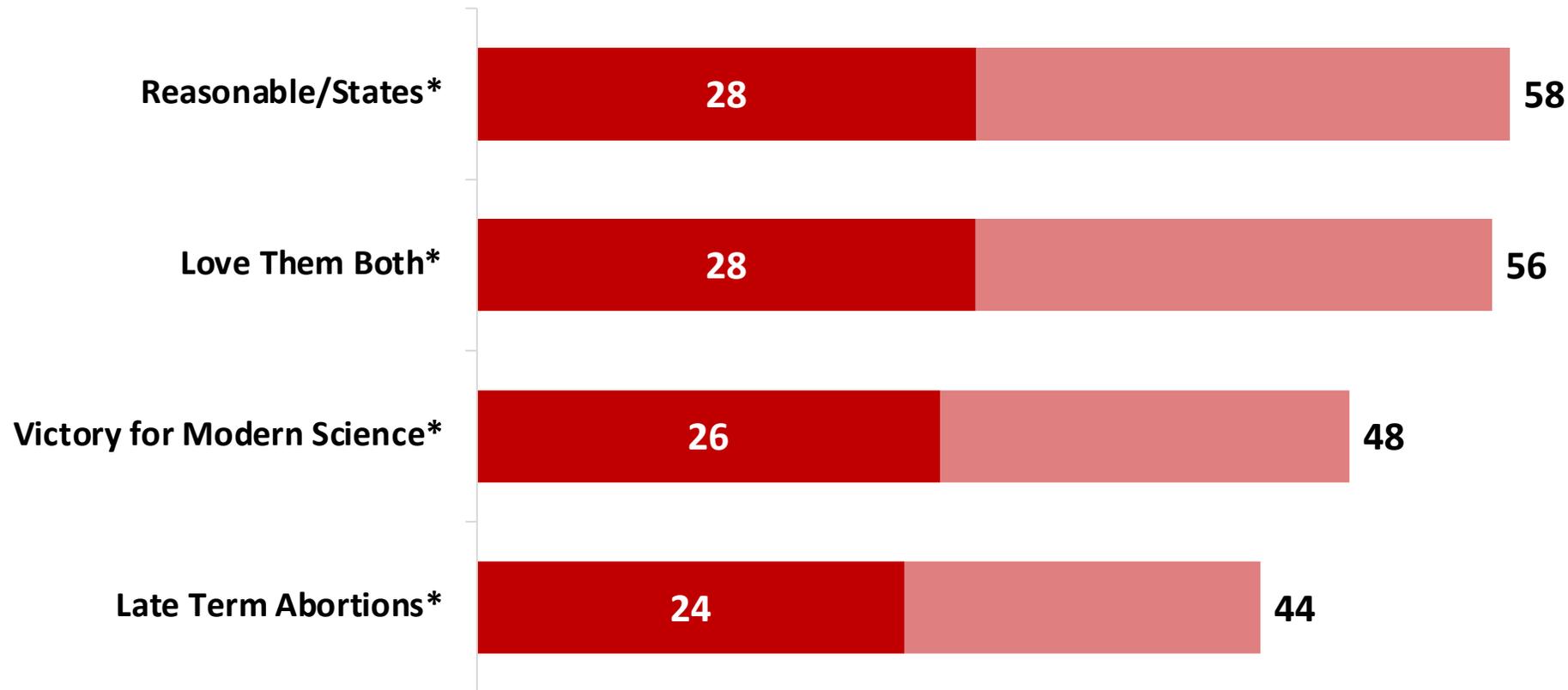
-Hispanic man, restrictive state



Anti-Choice Messages

Opposition messages are not rated as very convincing. These messages have low intensity.

Now, here are some statements people have made about abortion. Please select whether each statement is VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing.



 Somewhat Convincing
 Very Convincing

*split sampled

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Full Text of Opposition Messages*

[Reasonable/States] For 50 years, states have been unable to enact even modest and reasonable protections for unborn children. Now the American people get their voice back. Local and state elected officials closest to the people should make the laws that reflect the consensus of the people in their own states.

[Love Them Both] Many women seek an abortion because they feel like they can't financially afford a child. By states providing these mothers with financial services or adoption support and eliminating the legal option to abort the unborn child, we can choose to love both mother and child and save unborn babies from a terrible fate.

[Victory for Modern Science] Reversing Roe v. Wade is a victory for modern science. Science has shown that unborn babies have heartbeats, feel pain, and are fully formed by 15 weeks. Allowing states to ban the practice of dismemberment abortion of fully formed unborn babies is a decision based in science, not the whims of emotion.

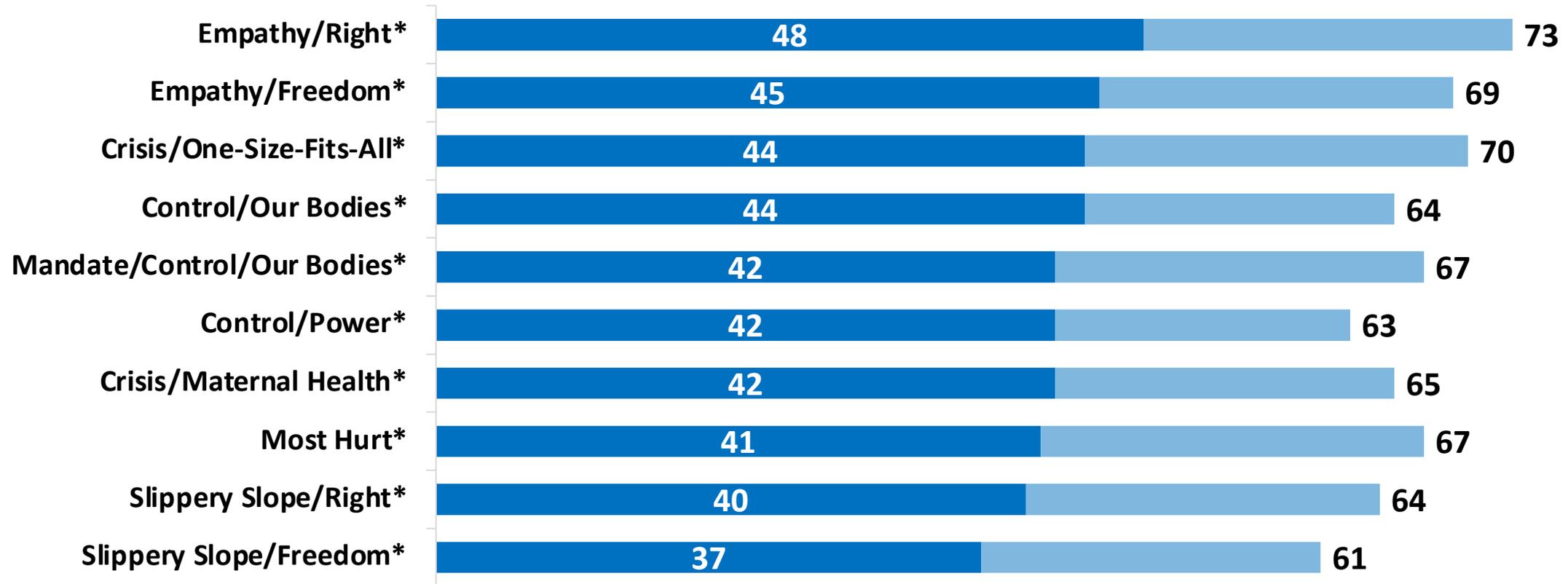
[Late Term Abortions] Allowing legal abortion to continue would mean taxpayer-funded, violent abortion-on-demand with literally no restrictions whatsoever. This includes abortions as late as 9 months, up to the moment of birth. This is not how we should be treating our own children and we must put an end to this.



Pro-Choice Messages

All the messages in support of abortion access test well, and better than the opposition messages. The strongest messages are inclusive, and focus on unique circumstances, personal decision-making, keeping politicians out, a public health crisis, and control.

Now, here are some statements other people have made about abortion. Please select whether each statement is VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing.



 Somewhat Convincing
 Very Convincing

*split sampled

 HITstrategies

Full Text of Best-Testing Messages*

[EMPATHY/RIGHT] No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, every person's life has its own unique circumstances. Someone you love may need an abortion someday. People, not politicians, should have the right to make their own decisions, including when it comes to abortion care.

[EMPATHY/FREEDOM] No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, every person's life has its own unique circumstances. Someone you love may need an abortion someday. People, not politicians, should have the freedom to make their own decisions, including when it comes to abortion care.

[Crisis/One-Size-Fits-All] Giving states the ability to ban abortion is creating a public health crisis. Abortion is part of reproductive and maternal health care, and every circumstance is unique. When people are making complicated and personal medical decisions, one-size-fits-all laws don't work. These bans and restrictions hurt real people who should have the freedom to make their own decisions.

[Control/Our Bodies] Banning abortion is part of a wider effort to control our bodies and our lives. We need to protect everyone's fundamental right to control their own bodies, including whether to have an abortion, and everyone should have options when it comes to making personal health care decisions.

Full Text of Second-Tier Messages*

[Mandate/Control/Our Bodies] Government mandates that ban abortion are part of a wider effort to control our bodies and our lives. We need to protect everyone's fundamental right to control their own bodies, including whether to have an abortion, and everyone should have options when it comes to making personal health care decisions.

[Control/Power] Banning abortion and taking away people's freedom to make their own decisions is really just an effort to control women. No one should be forced to remain pregnant because certain politicians want to stay in power. Women deserve the dignity and respect to make their own decisions and be free to start or grow a family if and when they want.

[Crisis/Maternal Health] Giving states the ability to ban abortion is creating a public health crisis. Abortion is part of reproductive and maternal health care and banning it has far-ranging consequences. When states are banning abortion outright, it is causing medical delays that are threatening patients' health, fertility, and safety and creating legal chaos for providers.

[Most Hurt] Overturning Roe hurts low-income families, people of color, and young people the most. Without legal abortion in certain states, people have to travel across the country for care or be forced to continue pregnancies against their will. No one should be denied an abortion because of who they are or where they live.

[Slippery Slope/Right] The Supreme Court already took away people's rights to make decisions about their bodies. This won't stop at abortion. Next, they'll try to take away our right to birth control, our right to marry the partner of our choice regardless of gender, and our right to vote.

[Slippery Slope/Freedom] The Supreme Court already took away people's freedom to make decisions about their bodies. This won't stop at abortion. Next, they'll try to take away our freedom to birth control, our freedom to marry the partner of our choice regardless of gender, and our freedom to vote.

Voters who support abortion respond with good intensity to messages in support of abortion access. The strongest message is Empathy/Right followed by Empathy/Freedom. Young women respond most to Empathy/Right, Control/Power, Crisis/One-Size, and Control/Our Bodies.

Now, here are some statements other people have made about abortion. Please select whether each statement is VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, NOT TOO convincing, or NOT AT ALL convincing.

% Very Convincing	All	Abortion Stance			Gender x Age
		Supportive	Conflicted	Opposed	Young Women
Empathy/Right*	48	67	31	19	47
Empathy/Freedom*	45	62	25	19	41
Crisis/One-Size-Fits-All*	44	59	25	18	46
Control/Our Bodies*	44	60	26	19	45
Mandate/Control/Our Bodies*	42	56	25	20	43
Control/Power*	42	58	24	18	47
Crisis/Maternal Health*	42	57	24	18	44
Most Hurt*	41	55	22	18	44
Slippery Slope/Right*	40	52	23	20	42
Slippery Slope/Freedom*	37	52	19	15	39

*split sampled



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