

Packard Foundation

2023 QualBoards: Abortion Research

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Objectives



1 Understand
Understand likely voters' attitudes towards threats to abortion access alongside the 2023 legislative session

2 Compare
Compare the attitudes, awareness, and energy around threats to abortion in February 2023 to the data collected in July 2022.

3 Identify
Identify messaging elements that resonate with and mobilize likely voters to take action to protect abortion rights.

Methodology

Universe

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

Sample Size

Total N = 70
Restrictive states N = 35
Safe states N = 35

Methodology

These findings are from proprietary qualitative research conducted via Qualboards on February 28th – March 7th. Half of the participants in this round of research were re-recruited from their participation in research last summer.

Note: findings from this survey 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.



Group	GEO	DATE & TIME	DEMO DESC.	LOCATION
1	Restrictive States	Tuesday, February 28 – Saturday, March 4	Likely Voters from restrictive reproductive states	QualBoard Transcript
2	Safe States	Tuesday, February 28 – Saturday, March 4	Likely Voters from safe reproductive states	QualBoard Transcript

2023 Key Findings



1 Participants are largely not aware of the specifics of threats to abortion access.

When we asked respondents about what they had heard about the state of abortion access, over half of respondents said they were unsure. Some participants guessed that certain states would try to restrict access further and a smaller number of participants had heard that medication abortion is being targeted. Very few (4) participants named the *Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA* lawsuit.

2 Information is mobilizing when thinking about threats to medication abortion

Once we provided participants with the information about the Texas lawsuit which seeks to overturn the FDA approval of the medicines used in a medication abortion, participants were horrified and upset. For almost all participants, this was enough information for folks to consider this a serious threat and want to learn more about this and spread awareness.

3 In their own words, participants describe a future of abortion access that is affordable, accessible, and protected.

In response to asking participants about what they imagined for the future of abortion access, many participants described in their own words a future that was more expansive than *Roe v. Wade*, uplifting insurance coverage, geographic accessibility, and privacy. This also includes freedom from fear of legal ramifications for providers and patients.

4 The majority of participants do not know that the protections under *Roe v. Wade* were the floor when it comes to reproductive justice.

Many participants, more in the restrictive states, were confused why reinstating *Roe v. Wade* would not be enough. Many of these same participants outlined a future for abortion with stronger protections than *Roe v. Wade*, suggesting that participants erroneously attribute *Roe v. Wade* as a catchall for abortion protection or believe it to be more expansive than reality.

5 Participants expect elected leaders to fight for abortion rights, especially in safe states.

Expectations of elected leaders vary depending on the political makeup of the state. For those in safe states (the majority of which have mostly Democratic elected leaders) expect their leaders to fight for reproductive rights and want to see legislation enacted that protects abortion. Most respondents in restrictive states respond with the same expectations of their politicians, but many say they expect nothing as the leaders they voted for lost to anti-abortion Republicans.



LRP Survey Findings

HIT QualBoard Findings

1	Voters continue to hold record pro-choice views.		Participants identified strongly with the phrase “pro-choice” to describe their views on abortion and overwhelmingly agreed abortion is very important when prompted
2	Voters want everyone to have access to abortion		We only spoke to individuals who do <u>not</u> oppose abortion. Participants frequently voiced that everyone should have the choice to get an abortion and that it should be a private decision between doctor and patient.
3	Voters are most intensely favorable toward pro-active policies that enshrine the right to abortion care, remove medically unnecessary restrictions and bans on abortion, and expand Medicaid coverage and local funding.		When we asked participants to imagine the future of abortion access, participants described a future where abortion is accessible, available, and covered by health insurance.
4	Voters also oppose by wide margins anti-abortion policies and laws.		When we gave them information about the <i>Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA</i> lawsuit and how this could effectively ban medication abortion nationwide, participants reacted with strong anger and were ready to learn more about this lawsuit.
5	Voters are not aware about the status of abortion in their own state.		Some participants had heard that legislators were trying to further restrict medication abortion or further criminalize those who seek abortion, but very few had heard of the <i>Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA</i> lawsuit.

Reproductive Freedom Baseline

1. Reproductive Freedom Baseline

2. State vs. Federal Bans

3. Medication Abortion

4. Future of Abortion Access

5. Strategic Guidance



Abortion remains an issue of high importance both in safe and restrictive states since the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*.

- When we asked participants the most important issues facing their communities, only some brought up abortion/reproductive rights, with issues like gun violence and inflation top-of-mind, but once probed they emphasized its urgency and importance

How important of an issue is abortion for you?

Importance



“Extremely. I am fortunate to have not had to face the issue personally, but friends and family have, all at varying ages and stages of their lives. **Abortion is health care, period.**” – Hispanic woman, MT, Restrictive state



“Extremely important. As a young woman, **my rights being taking away and knowing it’s actively affecting other women deeply worries me.**” – White woman, PA, Safe state, Re-recruit



“The issue of abortion is a big concern for me because of the **larger-scale impact of personal choices/rights.** We must have the capacity to make our own medical decisions alongside a trusted medical professional **without government intervention.**” – White man, FL, Restrictive states, Re-recruit



“It is an issue of importance. It’s **not an issue that affects me personally, but it’s a vital issue to the women of this country who deserve the right to bodily autonomy.** Their access to full medical options and them not having their civil and social rights attacked is important to me.” – Black man, MD, Safe state

Has your prioritization of this issue changed since the 2022 midterm elections or not?

Priority



“Abortion has always been an important aspect of how I evaluated political candidates/policies. **Due to the Supreme Court decision in 2022, however, the issue of abortion access has become more of a REAL issue than before.**” – White woman, IA Restrictive state



“Yes, it is **more pressing than ever** since our rights were taken away.” – Hispanic woman, VA, Safe state



“I am **still just as angry and betrayed** as I was the day the Supreme Court handed down their illegal decision overturning *Roe v. Wade.*” – White man, GA, Restrictive state, Re-recruit





“For me, it has become **much more dire.** I had erroneously believed that I would always be protected by *Roe v. Wade.* Now that it’s been overturned, I feel unsafe. **If such a monumental, negative change could be made in the 21st century, what else could be repealed?**” – Black woman, MD, Safe state


Abortion is not the singular reason participants voted for candidates, but nearly everyone said they would never vote for someone who was anti-choice.


Thinking back to your decision to vote last November, how did the issue of abortion influence how you voted in the midterms?


- While participants indicated they tend to vote Democrat regardless, abortion was part of their consideration process for the mid-terms
 - Some participants mentioned being generally more motivated to vote due to the *Dobbs* decision
- A candidate being pro-choice isn't the *only* reason to vote FOR them- their views on other issues matter too. However, if a candidate is anti-choice/anti-abortion, that *alone* is sufficient reason to vote AGAINST said candidate

 "It made me **want to vote for candidates that shared similar views** for topics like abortion." – Asian man, MD, Safe state


 "It was a **big influence** in my decision making of voting to **see what politicians respected the choice of bodily autonomy for women.**" – White woman, TX, Restrictive state, Re-recruit


 "Since I **always vote Democrat**, it didn't make a difference in that sense but it **definitely felt like voting mattered more with abortion.**" – AAPI woman, AK, Safe state

 "It was **one of the issues I cared for and made sure the candidate I voted for supported.**" – Hispanic man, WI, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

 "I voted for Democrats because I know they'll uphold my right to **abortion.**" – Asian woman, CA, Safe state

 "Heck yes! This **totally influenced my motivation to get out and vote.**" – Asian man, TX, Restrictive state

 "It **made me do research** into who was a true progressive on this issue." – White man, WA, Safe state

 "The issues surrounding abortion were just another motivating factor that influenced me to vote because **it was another representation of people in power abusing their authority to attack and suppress people in communities their deem to be lesser.**" – Asian nonbinary individual, GA, Restrictive state

🎯 The impact of the *Dobbs* decision is about what participants expected.

It has been seven months since the Supreme Court ruled that states can ban abortion access. How would you describe the impact this ruling has had in the United States? Has there been more or less impact than you expected, or about what you expected?

Perceived Impact

- Though **participants have been hearing less about abortion lately**, they know people who have been impacted or can provide examples of consequences they assume to be happening such as traveling to get abortions, unsafe abortions, sociopolitical division

“I think that **since then its kind of flown under the radar compared to crisis like gun violence/mass shootings, police brutality, global warming (earth quakes, fires, etc), & the current war over seas**. I did think there would be more, or I guess continued, outrage about the decision; but it **seems to have gotten lost in the chaos** from my perspective.” – Black man, NC, Safe state

“Honestly since some states vowed to still offer abortions its **not talked about much anymore**. So it seems as its **business as usual**.” – Black man, MI, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

“The impact is about what I expected: **red states rushing to implement draconian bans on reproductive care like abortion and in vitro fertilization as well as attempting to impose their policies on blue states that protect abortion**.” – Asian woman, PA, Safe state

Due to the sensitivity of this question, all responses have been masked so the other participants cannot see what you write. Have you or anyone you know been personally impacted by the Supreme Court decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*? Please tell me about it if you feel comfortable doing so

Personal Impact

- Many respondents, mainly in restrictive states, indicated knowing individuals personally who this has impacted, such as:
 - having to travel to get an abortion
 - moving from a restrictive to safe state
 - hysterectomies or vasectomies
 - reconsidering future plans to get pregnant
 - subsequent attacks on LGBTQ+ rights
 - shame around getting an abortion
- Most who said “no” included the qualifier that they do not know anyone who this has impacted YET
- Several participants indicate that, whether directly or indirectly, this impacts EVERYONE

Most participants say their plans have not changed, but several mention wanting to live somewhere abortion is legal, reconsidering future family planning, and taking more precautions.

How, if at all, have your plans for the future changed as a result of the decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*?



"If the supreme court continues to dwindle down rights of women, it **makes me wonder about the idea of me having a family**. Do I want to bring in a daughter into this world that has less rights than her grandmother? It makes me consider moving outside of the US to a country that nurtures/supports families I.E. Europe."
– White man, CA, Safe state



"I know there are **certain parts of the country I would not move to and that I would warn other women I know not to move to** because of restrictions on reproductive care." – Asian woman, PA, Safe state



"I have **moved from the South to rural New England because of the rollback of rights** and protections for marginalized groups in general, of which overturning *Roe v. Wade* is a part." – Hispanic man, VT, Safe state



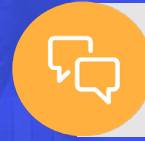
"I am getting older and would like to have a child. Prior to the 2022 election in PA. I was concerned that a Republican governor would ban abortion in this state. **An abortion ban would have made me question the wisdom of pursuing a pregnancy at my age** since the odds of fetal abnormalities and negative health effects are higher for me."
– Asian woman, PA, Safe state



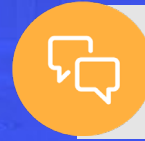
"I personally don't know if I want children of my own at all; so I was already taking the measures to ensure that I won't. But I guess with the decision I **have been more urgent about my precautions** - in efforts to avoid the impact entirely." – Black man, NC, Safe state, Re-recruit



"It has **kept me away from women, lessen my ability to explore, date, or be with someone out of abundance of caution** that I cannot afford to bring a life into this world that I can not fully take care of." – AAPI man, KY, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"The **idea of raising a family in Texas is not as appealing.**"
– Hispanic man, TX, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"I have **put my daughter on birth control at 14**, it's better safe than sorry." – White woman, KY, Restrictive state, Re-recruit





"I do not plan on having children so I have **had to be more careful about my reproductive care** to ensure that I do not end up pregnant." – White woman, TX, Restrictive state, Re-recruit


Compared to our research last year, the fear that LGBTQ+ rights will be restricted similarly to abortion has increased, likely due to the increase in anti-LGBTQ legislation.


How worried, if at all, are you that restrictions and bans on abortion will lead to similar restrictions on other areas of life? What issues or areas do you think similar restrictions might affect?


- Though a few respondents mentioned other issue areas like women’s rights or interracial marriage, by far the area folks were most concerned about was LGBTQ+ rights


 “I am LGBTQ so I am **worried that my rights will be taken away** should I move to a southern state.” – AAPI Man, MA, Safe State, Re-recruit


 “It makes me **worried about my rights as an LGBT individual, and what the Supreme Court may do to gay marriage.**” – White man, GA, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

 “I’m very worried that other laws will be affected. For instance, the Tennessee House of Representatives has passed a **bill criminalizing public drag performances** in the presence of minors. I feel **we have more important issues such as gun control or mental health.**” – Black woman, MS, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

 “Very worried. **LGBTQ+ rights have quickly become targeted.** The Supreme Court’s clear partisanship is being leveraged to rollback LGBTQ+ rights such as laws in Florida, Tennessee, and Texas. And an emboldening of religious (re: evangelical) groups to impose their conservative beliefs on the public.” – Hispanic man, VT, safe state

 “We’re already seeing some of the same tactics used by the anti-choice movement to **persecute LGBTQ people**, particularly trans people. I think other states will try to implement things like **tracking menstruation of girls and women in public schools, ban sex ed classes, outlaw or restrict contraception,** and restrict the ability of women of childbearing age to participate in certain activities like smoking, drinking, and jobs and hobbies considered physically dangerous...**We will become legal unpersons as long as we could potentially be pregnant.**” – Asian Woman, PA, Safe state

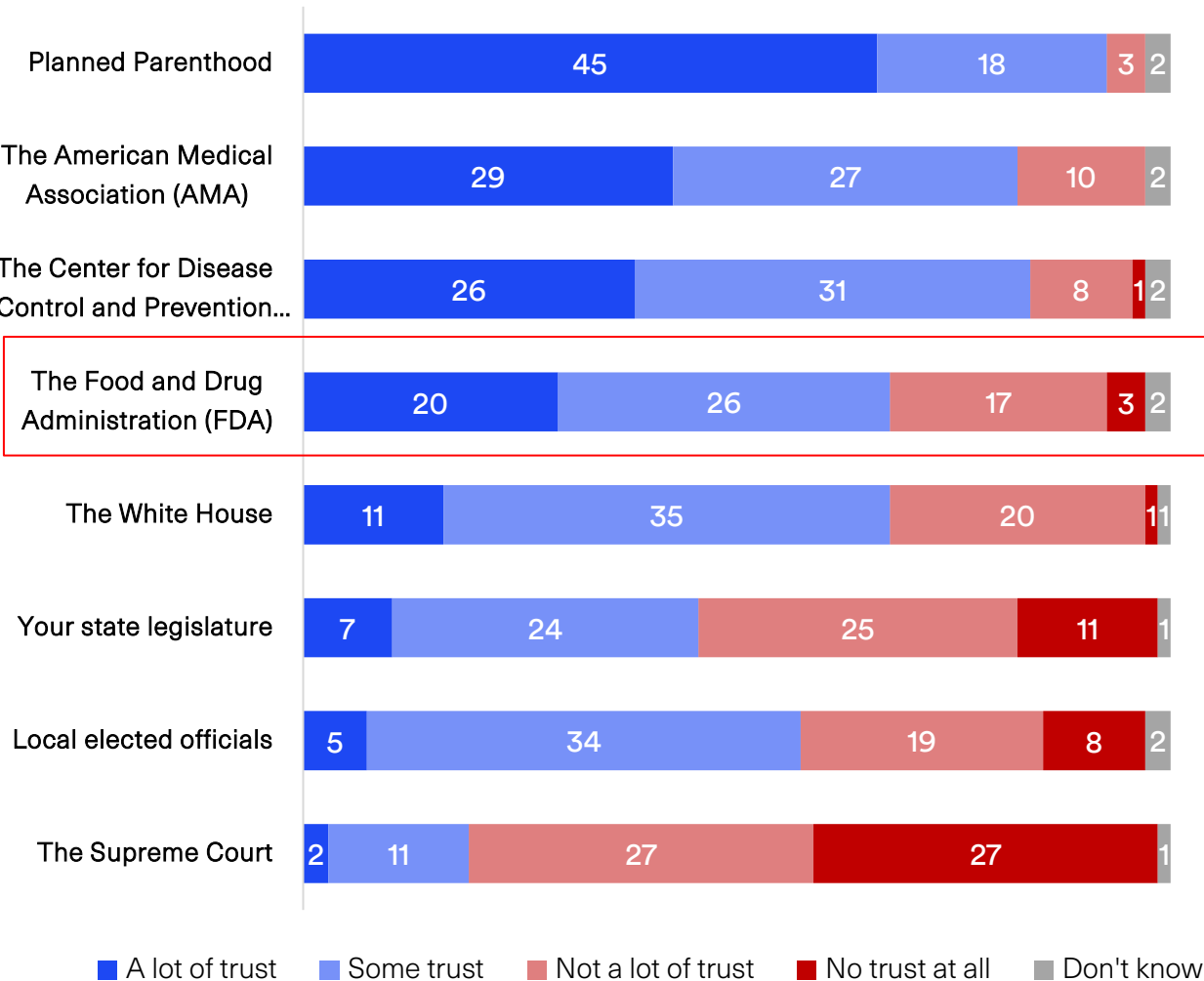
 “**The attack on abortion was just the beginning.** I was first worried about marriage equality, however, Congress codified that into law recently. This is just one issue, **but if one right is taken - we all have to worry about what's next** from this radical court which goes against the overwhelming belief of the country.” – White man, FL, restrictive state, re-recruit

 “It is very likely **restrictions on birth control** may eventually come to light in a more serious avenue. I’m sure there are other issues that will be affected that I would be able to articulate more thoroughly as this issue progresses over time.” – Hispanic woman, MT, Restrictive state

Most feel neutral or positive towards the FDA.



For each of the following individuals or institutions, please indicate how much trust you have in their ability to give you accurate information about abortion, including medication abortion. Do you have a lot of trust, some trust, not a lot of trust, or no trust at all in their ability to give accurate information on abortion?



For the Food and Drug Administration, what is behind your trust or distrust of them as an institution?



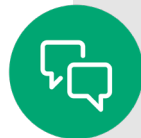
"I believe [the FDA] is a **government entity that will follow the law and will give factual information on drugs**. The information they get would be from factual sources that have fully researched the drugs and their medical applications."
 – Black man, MD, Safe state



"They are designed to oversee the safety of our food and medicines so **they are supposed to be the authority and have the most knowledge**. However, there are food and medications that were later determined to be unsafe, so my trust is not 100%."
 – White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"I **generally trust them, but do not know enough about how they operate** or what they impact outside of food & drug regulation that would cause inherent distrust from my perspective. I have no reason to believe they are malicious in their operation, or politically swayed outside of lobbyists."
 – Hispanic woman, MT, Restrictive state



"I think **pharmaceutical lobbying has seriously impacted FDA's actions over time and in recent years**. I don't have as much trust in FDA on its own than I do in combination with evidence/science from CDC and NIH."
 – Hispanic man, VT, safe state

State vs. Federal Bans

1. Reproductive Freedom Baseline

2. State vs. Federal Bans

3. Medication Abortion

4. Future of Abortion Access

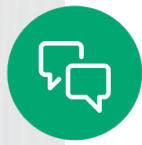
5. Strategic Guidance



Awareness of future threats to abortion does not vary significantly by safe or restrictive state. Most participants have not heard much.

What do you expect to happen next on abortion? This can be in your city, your state, another city, or nationally.

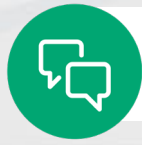
Predictions



"I expect a fight. We may lose some states for a while as they become entrenched, and nationally it will become an issue as well. I do expect that overall, reproductive rights of women will win, but this is my optimism. If we don't win in 2024, it will be rough." – Black man, MD, Safe state



"I'm worried about Ohio. The republican governor was re-elected and he believes that all abortions should be against the law, regardless of the health and age of the mother. I really think he's going to try and get a harsher law passed." – White woman, OH, restrictive state, re-recruit



"I expect a ban on birth control...I expect more bans to continue to pass." – Black woman, NY, safe state, re-recruit.



"I believe states will continue to restrict access to abortions and start criminalizing doctors who perform abortions. I've also heard of states penalizing women who go out of state for an abortion, which is completely absurd. I believe many states will continue to erode a woman's right and restrict her access to abortions completely." – White man, GA, restrictive state, re-recruit

What, if anything, have you heard about plans to ban abortion, restrict abortion access, or change laws around abortion/reproductive care? This can be in your city, your state, in another state, or nationally.

Awareness



"In some states a doctor can be arrested if they perform an abortion. I also heard that contraception may be the next thing that will be outlawed." – Black man, NJ, safe state, re-recruit



"My state is banning access to pregnancy terminating medications through the mail and planning to criminally prosecute female residents who seek an abortion in another state." – White woman, TN, restrictive state, re-recruit



"I have not heard any change or plans to change abortion laws in my state. I hope that they don't ban abortion in my state, because then I would move so that I could feel safe." – White woman, OR, safe state, re-recruit



"I've not heard anything recently, the press surrounding abortion and its proceedings has pretty much died down. I don't know if it's because I don't subscribe to a lot of those outlets but I haven't seen much." – Black man, MO, restrictive state

While some in safe states feel unaffected by bans in other states, most acknowledge that it will have some impact on their state.

How, if at all, do you think abortion restrictions in other states will impact your state?



“Restrictions on other states are burdening abortion clinics in my state, especially the ones in western PA. This has increased waiting times for women from this state to obtain care. A ban elsewhere will be felt here and vice versa “ – Asian woman, PA, Safe state



“Well knowing that after 15 weeks here in AZ it's illegal, maybe neighboring states will join forces and make it that more difficult for someone to travel to get an abortion or the proper care they need.” – Mixed race woman, AZ, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



“I think there is a trend with states that have right-leaning state legislatures and governors to mirror each other's legislation. This is especially true for neighboring states who want to be in unison with one another to ensure that residents do not have the means to travel across state lines to receive abortion access.”

– White man, FL, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



“My state, Tennessee, will follow other states who pass the most restrictive laws regarding abortion.”

– White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



“I know it has emboldened the Republicans in my state, and they'll try it. More than likely they'll support all the states around us and their anti-abortion attempts, so they can surround us.”

– Black man, MD, Safe state

If you said you don't think restrictions in other states will impact your state, what makes you say that? [SAFE STATES ONLY]



“My state protects this right and most people support this right.”

– Asian man, MD, Safe state, Re-recruit



“I feel like the state knows a lot about what the women are going through but I can be wrong... And I don't think CA use the others guidance and set their own trends.”

– Black woman, CA, Safe state, Re-recruit



“I live in a blue state and our governor signed protections in place. I still worry it could be impacted down the line though. Overturning *Roe v. Wade* showed us nothing is a given.”

– White woman, IL, Safe state



“My state of Massachusetts has Democratic female leadership at the Governor, Mayor, Attorney General and Senate level (!) so I am grateful and confident that we will be much less affected than other states.”

– Black woman, MA, Safe state



“I only think will impact our state if people from states where abortions are illegal come here to seek one.”

– White woman, NV, Safe state, Re-recruit

🎯 Those in restrictive states feel a lot of concern about further restrictions and criminalization, with little hope that protection in their state is realistic. Those in safe states feel the opposite.

How concerned are you, if at all, about actions that your local elected officials may take to restrict abortion further?

Future Restrictions

“I am very concerned about the health privacy of women of child bearing ages. I can imagine this state **requiring doctors to report all confirmed pregnancies and the state then investigating and ensuring these pregnancies are carried to term.**”

– White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

“Our state is mainly Democratic, so, if officials did that, they **wouldn't get much support.** They would get a lot of opposition and probably wouldn't last long outside of their districts out in the rural zones.” – Black woman, MD, safe state

“I am **very concerned as my elected (state) officials ARE attempting to further restrict and challenge abortion access.** my local area is anomalous: I don't know how much power my local-local leaders would have in the matter of abortion.”

– White woman, IA, restrictive state

“I'm **not concerned at all.** Access to abortion remains legal in New York with additional protections for providers and their staff.”

– Black woman, NY, Safe state, Re-recruit

Is there anything that can be done at the state level to protect abortion access? What about at the local level?

Protections

“**Protecting access and information flow is huge.** The biggest thing we can do while protesting against abortion bans is **give women who need the procedure access to the information to get it.**”

– Black man, FL, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

“States can **change their constitutions to include an explicit right to abortion.** They can also pass legislation that **instructs law enforcement agencies and other state employees not to cooperate with out-of-state investigations of patients who travel there for abortion care.**” – Asian woman, PA, Safe state

“Every state can protect abortion access but **none of the republican states will do that. My local governments will do nothing.**”

– White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

“I **don't know if anything can be done.** The only thing I think people can do is continue to **vote in every election.**” – Black woman, MS, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

“Yes, **senators and representatives can definitely vouch for laws and policies. Citizens can influence local politics by voting.**”


– AAPI man, MA, Safe state, Re-recruit


🎯 The idea of a federal abortion ban sparks emotions of fear, anger, and doom, while federal protection inspires hope and immediate support.


- Most participants in **safe states** feel their state would defy a federal abortion ban, while participants in **restrictive states** either feel things cannot get worse than they already are in their own state, or that it would enable Republicans to enact extreme restrictions.
- Participants are **thrilled about the idea of federal protection**, and want more information on how it would confront state restrictions, any exclusions or conditions (by gestation or age), what implementation looks like, and in safe states, how it would ensure accessibility


What kind of impact do you think a federal/national abortion ban would have on your state?

Federal Ban

 "We would fight to keep abortion legal here. It would just lead to greater battles. **If they did that, it would be a fight for the fate of the nation.**"
– Black man, MD, Safe state.


 "This will take women back to the days of coat hangers and back alley butchers. As always, the monied will fly to Canada to take care of their needs, but the poor will be stuck. In what universe is this fair???" – White man, GA, Restrictive state, Re-recruit


 "People would riot and likely create chaos in the street... It's important to the people in my community so there will be **a great deal of marching, protesting and unrest.**" – Black man, MO, Restrictive state


 "A federal ban of abortions **would doing nothing in my state because it's already banned** in my state based on a law from 1849."
– White woman, WI, Restrictive state, Re-recruit


How would you react to a national law that protects abortion as a fundamental freedom? / What kinds of questions would you have about a law that protects abortion?

Federal Protection

 "I would be all for it and vote for that to be the case. I would give my full support." – White man, WI, Restrictive state

 "Full support, and don't stop there. Whatever reproductive needs women have, **make it available.**" – Black man, MD, Safe state

 "I would favor it unquestioningly and it is probably the **only hope we have for reproductive freedom in the US.**" – White woman, IA, Restrictive state

 "I would be in favor of a law that would protect abortion, but it would need to be strong and clear enough to overturn anyone state legislation that tries to restrict abortion access. Such a right would be hollow if a state allowed only one abortion clinic within its borders and imposed TRAP regulations on it, for instance." – Asian woman, PA, Safe state

Medication Abortion

1. Reproductive Freedom Baseline

2. State vs. Federal Bans

3. Medication Abortion

4. Future of Abortion Access

6. Strategic Guidance



Participants struggled to define medication abortion and their awareness of the state of medication abortion access is low...

When I say the phrase "medication abortion", what do you think that means?

- There was **some confusion around the definition of medication abortion**, interpreting it as "Plan B" or "Morning after" pill
- Many defined it as **"the abortion pill"** and recognized it as an alternative to a surgical procedure. Some **aware that this is the most common form of abortion**



"An abortion induced with medication rather than a surgical procedure." – Asian woman, PA, Safe state



"Plan B and the like." – White man, AZ, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"To me, the **Morning After Pill**. A way for a woman to terminate a possible pregnancy." – White man, GA, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"I think "medication abortion" is the **same thing as "the abortion pill"** meaning it is a safe and effective way to end an early pregnancy." – White woman, MA, Safe state, Re-recruit

Medication abortion describes medicines prescribed to end an early pregnancy. This was approved by the FDA more than 20 years ago. What, if anything, have you heard about people being able to access medication abortion?



"I have only heard positive things, I believe this is a good alternative." – White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"I have heard Planned Parenthood is a reliable place to turn to if you are in need of this." – White woman, MA, Safe state, Re-recruit



"They have **made it harder to do** / availability in a lot of places in a lot of places." – White man, WI, Restrictive state



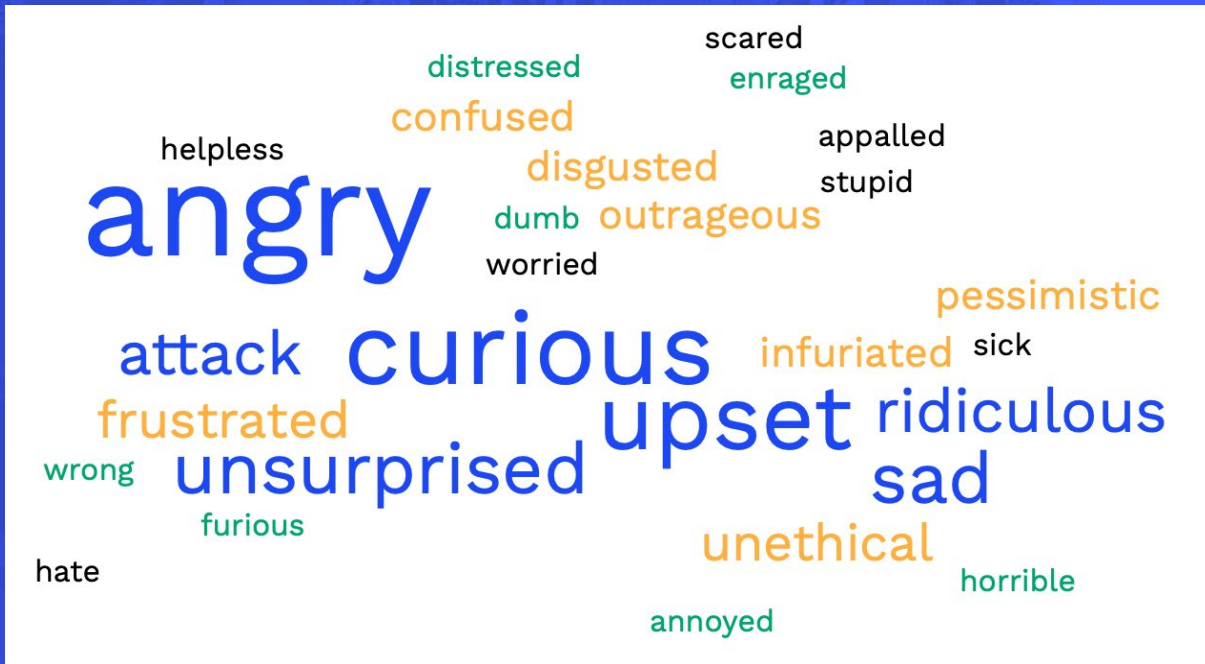
"It **used to be readily available** but since all of the law changes I am **not sure anymore.**" – Hispanic woman, VA, Safe state





"I know that **some politicians are trying to outlaw it**, same as with other abortions. I know that **some pharmacists refuse to provide it**. This has led to **lower access recently.**" – Asian man, GA, Restrictive state


... but outrage about the medication abortion lawsuit and potential ban is high. Participants see this as an extension of the far-right political agenda to restrict personal freedoms.


There is currently a pending lawsuit, *The Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA*, seeking to force the FDA to withdraw its approval of medication abortion, which has had FDA approval for 23 years. How does hearing this make you feel?




 "This does not surprise me at all since *Roe v. Wade* was overturned. That landmark decision was only the beginning with **truly the end goal of eliminating all access to abortion** whether it be by procedure or medication... **This lawsuit is an agenda, not a healthcare initiative.**"
 – White man, FL, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

 "Angry. This medication has been legal for years and been safely used by many people. **There is no good scientific reason to withdraw approval.**" – Asian woman, PA, Safe state

 "Angry that the religious right is forcing their fringe beliefs on Americans. Private health care decisions shouldn't be politicized. **Where is separation of church and state.** This is outrageous to think medical abortion medications could be banned." – White woman, IL, Safe state

 "It made me scour the internet to find out who "The Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine" is... ADF is a 'conservative Christian nonprofit organization. So, that doesn't really give me a warm fuzzy feeling since I can imagine they're doing what they feel is best based on conservative Christian ideals. **Which aren't realistic with contemporary societal needs.**" – Hispanic woman, MR, Restrictive state

 "Extremely angry and distressed. It is very obvious that politicians are doing this out of misogyny and not out of genuine concern for 'human lives.'" – AAPI woman, AK, Safe state, re-recruit

Participants predict the impact of a medication abortion ban will be widespread and severe.

What do you think the impact would be if a federal judge bans one of the FDA-approved medications used for abortion care?

- Common impacts predicted related to **difficulty accessing abortion** generally, such as turning to dangerous measures to terminate pregnancy, unwanted and abandoned children, riots and protests, and abortion pills distributed through black market



"I think the **impact will be huge**. Most abortions happen early in pregnancy using these medications. If federally banned, this will have **wide reaching affects on women across the country** who need an abortion for any reason." – Hispanic man, VT, Safe state



"Chaos in the short term. **Lots of protests and riots**. The long term, however, might yield a both an **increase of premature accidental deaths in young women** and **women struggling to get to states where it's still legalized**." – Black woman, MD, Safe state, Re-recruit



"It would cement further destabilization of our society. Things would go underground and would **create a black market for these necessary drugs**." – White man, CA, Safe state



"It will **make getting an abortion near impossible in some states** and **generally restrict abortion even in states that allow it**." – AAPI woman, AK, Safe state, Re-recruit



"A progressive **decline of civil liberties across the boards**. It sickens me to think of the decline in individual well being with regards to **mental health on parents and children, the financial hardships, the suicides, the deaths of pregnant people trying to obtain illegal abortions, the general decline of women's healthcare, mistrust in society about telling anyone you are pregnant** if you don't plan to carry to term." – White woman, AZ, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"Simply put, **a large increase in illegal and dangerous abortions**. Abortions are going to happen, period. Ending access to abortion medication would just place **more women's lives in danger**, not prevent abortions." – Hispanic woman, MT, Restrictive state



"Unnecessary health risks and complications for millions of women." – Asian man, TX, Restrictive state



"I think it would lead to **a lot babies being abandoned after birth**." – Black man, MI, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

© The more information we give, the angrier participants become.

- When we gauged participants' reactions to the following information, it only further solidified their anger towards the lawsuit

If the lawsuit results in banning medication abortion, it would be banned nationwide, even in states where abortion is legal.



"Extremely angry and in disbelief that something like this is even considered, while at the same time it is **completely in line with what the conservative movement's to dismantle abortion rights across the country.**" – AAPI woman, AK, Safe state, Re-recruit



"I am **so angry** about this possibility... There is such hypocrisy involved. **Republican states demand to make their own decisions but then also want to force their ideals on other states with different views.**" – White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"So much for local control which abortion opponents love to preach about." – White man, IL, Safe state

If the lawsuit is successful, it could become illegal to mail any medication or device used for abortion, which could affect all abortions nationwide, not just medication abortion.



"Again this **will hurt all the women nationwide** who are either considering abortion or are in that process of having an abortion. **These women have nowhere to turn to.**" – Black woman, MS, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"It **would force conservative states' restrictions on the whole country** regardless of what public opinion or state laws say." – Hispanic man, VT, Safe state



"All it does is **solidify my opinion that this is a terrible lawsuit for the future of freedom in America.**" – White man, OR, Safe state

50% of abortions in the United States are medication abortions.



"Statistically just makes me say wow but doesn't change my feeling. **If it were 1% or 99% i think this lawsuit needs to be dropped** and let people have the resources available to them." – Black man, NY, Safe state, Re-recruit




"Now that does surprise me. **I really never thought that the medication abortion was utilized that much...** But, because of this lawsuit, it will cause more women to have to have a surgical abortion." – White woman, OH, Restrictive state, Re-recruit





"It **doesn't change my reaction much, only furthers how I feel that this would be devastating** if it were to occur." – White woman, MN, Safe state, Re-recruit


Information about medication abortion bans was mobilizing. Most want to know more about the lawsuit, and more about how they can support medication abortion access.


After learning this information during this activity, what is the first thing you are going to do, if anything, in reaction to this lawsuit after you finish this qualboard?


- 

"I will be **researching this to see if it has a chance to effect my state**, a state where it is still legal to get abortions."
– Black man, NJ, Safe state, Re-recruit
- 

"I will be **researching this in more depth** to see just who in government is supporting these actions **so that I can take my own steps to avoid supporting them or their legislations** in any way." – Asian nonbinary individual, GA, Restrictive state
- 

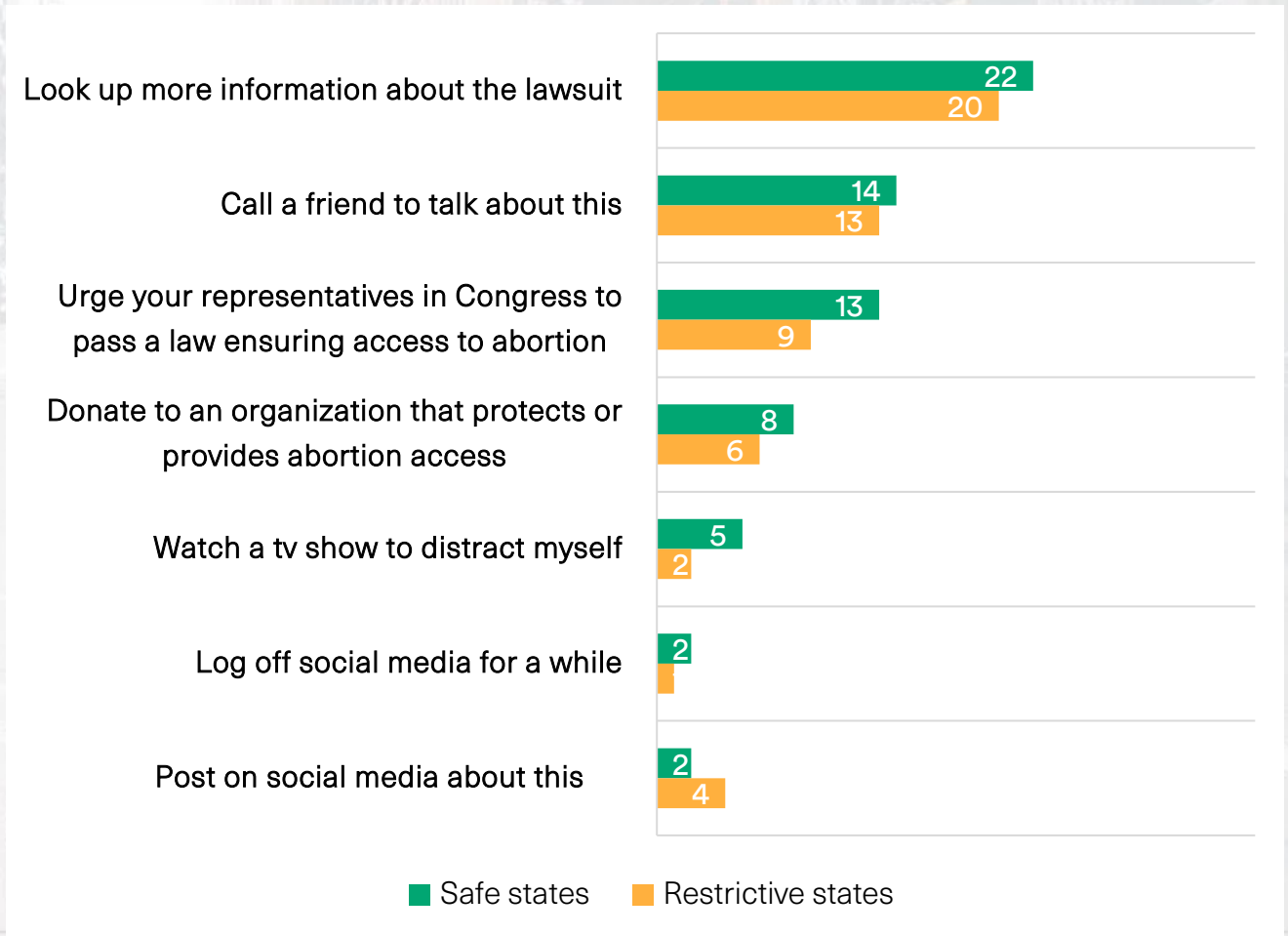
"I will be **keeping a close eye on the news** as well as **speaking out via social media and/or polls & petitions** whenever possible." – White woman, MA, Safe state, Re-recruit
- 

"**Investigate the situation and learn more.** I am very curious!"
– Hispanic woman, VA, Safe state
- 

"**Talk to my family and friends about this.** It's very concerning." – White man, CA, Safe state
- 

"**Definitely I am going to read more information and follow this case more closely** as far as updates." – Black woman, LA, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

Here are some examples of what some people have said they would do in reaction to hearing about the Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA lawsuit. Now seeing these examples, I ask you again: what are you going to do, if anything, in reaction to this lawsuit after you finish this qualboard?



Future of Abortion Access

1. Reproductive Freedom Baseline

2. State vs. Federal Bans

3. Medication Abortion

4. Future of Abortion Access

5. Strategic Guidance

Safe state respondents want to see leaders take action to protect abortion, not just talk about it.

What do you expect from the people you elected into office last fall in regards to protecting access to abortion?

- The actions desired are both **offensive and defensive**: pushing legislation to protect abortion access, while also blocking restrictions
- Participants in restrictive states are pessimistic that those they voted for will have the power to protect abortion in their state, but they still want to see an effort being made. Participants in both groups described it as **“fighting to protect abortion”**



“Unfortunately, the majority of the people I voted for did not get elected. So I cannot expect anything of them regarding protecting access to abortion and in fact, I **expect them to (continue) to work to further restrict abortion access on a state and national level.**”

– White woman, IA, Restrictive state



“Since I voted for democrats, I would **expect them to stand up for our ideals of providing safe abortion access** to those who need that type of health care, and to **not submit to lobbying or republican efforts to easily subvert their attempts.**” – Hispanic woman, MT, Restrictive state



“To **do everything in their power to lift the statewide ban** on abortions in Texas.” – Hispanic man, TX, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



“I would expect them to try to **push legislation to protect a women's right to choice** and **fight against any opposition to that.**” – White woman,, TX, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



“I would expect them to **fight for it and block any Republican effort to attack reproductive rights.**” – Black man, MD, Safe state



“I expect them to talk about the importance of this issue and to **point out how their opponents will harm people with abortion bans.** I want them to work on getting enough votes at the state level to **ensure a right to abortion in the state constitution** and to **work at the federal level to pass a law protecting reproductive rights.**” – Asian woman, PA, Safe state



“I expect them to **uphold those rights** and to **resist any attempts from Republican politicians to restrict abortion access.**” – Hispanic man, VT, Safe state



“**Ally with other governments and orgs. Don't enforce laws that limit human rights** (example: tell prosecutors and police not to assist). **Disobey unjust laws - force a confrontation.**” – White man, MN, Safe state, Re-recruit



Participants want to see lawmakers protect abortion. They would sign a petition but doubt it will have much of an effect, especially in restrictive states.

How would you feel if you found out that lawmakers in your state were trying to protect access to abortion? What about in your city or town?

What if there was a petition you could sign to urge your legislators to protect access to abortion in your state? Would this be something you support or not? What do you think the impact of this would be, if any?

Government Action

Civil Action (Petition)



"It would make me overjoyed but that really is a pipe dream. We'd have a better chance at moving to a different state that already has established abortion protection rights than Texas giving more access to abortion." – Asian man, TX, Restrictive state



"I'd sign the petition for sure, this would be something i definitely support. i don't know how much of an impact it would have, but at least it would make me feel a bit better that I contributed in some way." – Asian woman, CA, Safe state



"I know my local reps support abortion rights and from what I recall, they are vocal about it. I am happy to be represented by them." – Asian woman, PA, Safe state



"I would sign that petition but....my specific voting county is skewed the other party, a small petition from the opposite party won't sway minds." – Asian man, TX, Restrictive state



"I would welcome and support my state representatives and local officials who try to protect access to abortion. I would be shocked if that actually happened in the state of Tennessee, as we have the strictest laws against abortion, but I would be thrilled." – White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



"yes, I would sign anything that helps a woman's fight for abortion rights. I am not sure if it would help but it surely wont hurt." – Black man, NJ, Safe state



"I'd be happy and proud that they were on the right side of history. I'd support them by voting for their efforts." – White man, PA, Safe state




"I would sign that petition but....my specific voting county is skewed the other party, a small petition from the opposite party won't sway minds." – Asian man, TX, Restrictive state


🎯 An ideal future for abortion is nationwide access without legal, financial, or social barriers. Some proposed going back to *Roe v. Wade*.


As a reminder, I do not expect you to be an expert. I just want to hear what you have to say. That being said, when you imagine an ideal future for abortion access, what would that look like?


Back to *Roe v. Wade*


Improved Accessibility


 "It should be like it was before the Supreme court decided to open this issue and try to ban abortion." – Black man, NJ, Safe state, Re-recruit


 "Probably the same as it was BEFORE the supreme court passed new legislation against abortion rights." – White man, CA, Safe state


 "I feel like we should just go back to how things were before *Roe v. Wade* was overturned. Abortion should be legal in most cases and there should not be criminalization for women or doctors." – White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit


 "Just complete access to abortion without any stigma or legal/financial barriers so people do not feel like they have to be ashamed for wanting to get an abortion." – AAPI woman, AK, Safe state

 "My ideal future for abortion access would be women would be able to have an abortion in any state without the protest and criticism of others." – Black woman, MS, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

 "Ideally, surgical abortions would be performed in hospitals as well as clinics. Medication abortions would be available via telehealth. A federal law enshrining the right to abortion would pass and overturn state restrictions. And Republicans would be unable to use undemocratic institutions like the Supreme Court to undermine that law." – Asian woman, PA, Safe state

 "Abortion access to all covered by health insurance and more importantly take Government out of this choice." – White woman, TN, Restrictive state, Re-recruit

 "I fully expect reasonable availability and access to women's health clinics and resources so that women don't have to travel all the way to another state to receive an abortion if they are seeking one. also, if abortive medications could be just as accessible as my monthly birth control prescription that arrives to my house in the mail." – Asian woman, CA, Safe state, Re-recruit

 "People should have local organizations, clinics, and people who they feel safe enough to go to, to discuss what they want to their bodies. Without, having to worry about a group of individuals bombarding them with judgement and law changes because it does not fit their narrative." – Black woman, LA, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



Many folks admit to not knowing what all *Roe v. Wade* entailed but are curious about alternatives.

If someone said it isn't enough to return to the protections we had under *Roe v. Wade*, what would you think? What questions about that would you have, if any?

- Many participants associate *Roe v. Wade*'s insufficiency with the fact that it was able to be overturned, proving that those protections were not sturdy enough. Awareness is low when it comes to barriers to abortion access under *Roe v. Wade*.



"I think the protection was never protection. That was shown to us when the Supreme courts did what they did. I am not sure what else can be done. Maybe we need new laws that cannot get overturned."
– Black man, NJ, Safe state, Re-recruit



"I'm honestly not sure, as I am not an expert on what *Roe v. Wade* covered, though I'm absolutely okay with it being expanded, as most laws in this country tend to not go far enough when it comes to protecting the vulnerable." – White man, WA, Safe state



"I would listen and want to know more. Do they mean protections in place to prevent something like to prevent the overturning from happening again?" – Hispanic woman, VA, Safe state



"I'd say, you gotta crawl before you walk. Let's at least start somewhere. Certainly nothing gonna be 100% perfect. I'd say at least we got something." – Black man, NY, Safe state, Re-recruit



"I agree with that. It is my understanding that even under *Roe v. Wade*, some states like Mississippi only had one abortion clinic. Some individuals were not able to receive that they needed. My question would be how can we take the protections we had under *Roe v. Wade* and better the circumstances for the future?" – White woman, MA, Safe state, Re-recruit



"I think I would have to get further clarity on what they mean. The original policies although too easily overturned I think covered the scope that they needed to." – Black man, MO, Restrictive state



"I mean that is true, because the protections we had before *Roe v. Wade* have now put us to this position. We did not codify the right to abortion." – Hispanic woman, MT, Restrictive state



I would just want to know what additional protections they want. I don't know that much about what things were like then or what should be changed." – Asian man, GA, Restrictive state



"I absolutely agree with that statement. The protections under *Roe v. Wade* were clearly on borrowed time based on the decision of the Supreme Court to overturn the ruling. The key here is that we need federal legislation to ensure access to abortion." – White man, FL, Restrictive state, Re-recruit



I would say that's a good start let's get back to the way we was. But I see what their saying, I would like to see more clinics and insurance would cover all costs." – White woman, KY, Restrictive state

Strategic Guidance

1. Reproductive Freedom Baseline
2. State vs. Federal Bans

3. Medication Abortion
4. Future of Abortion Access

5. Strategic Guidance

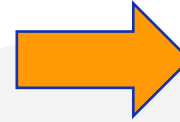


Key Findings

Strategic Guidance

1

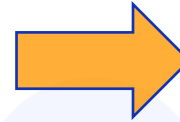
Participants are largely not aware of the specifics of threats to abortion access



Increase salience of threats to abortion access by reengaging with voters and uplift the current *Alliance for Hippocratic Medicine v. FDA* lawsuit as well as state abortion bans and restrictions.

2

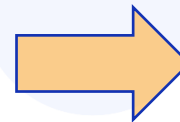
Information is mobilizing when thinking about threats to medication abortion



Pair information with an action item when giving participants information about ongoing bans, restrictions, and lawsuits regarding abortion access.

3

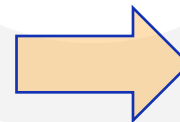
In their own words, participants describe a future of abortion access that is affordable, accessible, and protected.



Be sure to include accessibility, health insurance coverage, and abortion protection legislation when talking about the future of abortion access and care.

4

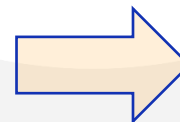
The majority of participants do not know that the protections under *Roe vs. Wade* were the floor when it comes to reproductive justice.



Provide voters with a quick, simple explanation of why *Roe v. Wade* is not enough to protect abortion. Avoid getting too in the weeds and focus instead on the solution we are advocating for: codified legislation protecting abortion.

5

Participants expect elected leaders to fight for abortion rights, especially in safe states.



Uplift examples of elected leaders working to protect abortion, particularly in non-election years to show this is a priority.



Thank You

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