Understanding abortion attitudes in a Post-Dobbs world

Findings from PerryUndem Research
June 7, 2024
Introduction
The study.

PerryUndem has studied abortion opinion for two decades, including several projects since the overturning of Roe v. Wade. This study continues our work with a tracking survey that will follow 3,000+ voters nationwide over the course of 2024. This report presents results from Wave 1. Wave 2 will happen in late summer or early fall. Wave 3 will field after the November elections.

The goal.

The goal of the research is to provide a resource for the public, policymakers, and the media to better understand current and shifting attitudes toward abortion.

Who we are.

We are a public opinion research firm that specializes in understanding public opinion on issues related to public policy. We are a non-partisan firm that doesn’t fit neatly under traditional labels.
PerryUndem conducted a national survey among \( n = 3,182 \) adults, including oversamples for totals of:

- 585 Black adults
- 531 Latina/o/x adults
- 558 AAPI adults

The survey was conducted February 27 through April 24, 2024 using YouGov’s online panel.

We will go back to the same respondents for Waves 2 and 3.

Note: All polling has many potential sources of error. We recommend interpreting polling data as evidence of what may be rather than a precise reflection of reality.
This report focuses on \( n = 2,662 \) registered voters in the sample so that we can compare to previous data among registered voters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weighted %</th>
<th>N size (Unweighted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100% 2,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>50% 1,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>50% 1,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 34</td>
<td>25% 645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 to 49</td>
<td>23% 671</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 to 64</td>
<td>26% 712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>26% 634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>68% 1,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>13% 512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latina/o/x</td>
<td>10% 405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAPI</td>
<td>7% 418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; College</td>
<td>62% 1,611</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College +</td>
<td>38% 1,051</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weighted %</th>
<th>N size (Unweighted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>39% 1,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>31% 839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>30% 699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metro</td>
<td>70% 1,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-metro</td>
<td>30% 701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>20% 526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>21% 485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>23% 694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>36% 957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Reading this report**

Unless otherwise noted, all data in the report are among registered voters from Wave 1 of this survey.

That said, for context, we also include several insights from previous studies.
Key findings
Key findings

- The topic of abortion is still salient (unprecedented!)
- Impact stories are breaking through to many – and appear to be affecting opinion
- We’re seeing hints of a slight shift among Republican women in how they view their party’s positions
- Young people continue to be impacted profoundly by bans
- Views toward the government role in restricting abortion, such as later in pregnancy, may be shifting
- Public polling on later abortion is insufficient
- Democrats, young women, and AAPI women say Dobbs is still motivating them in elections
- Voters think many negative consequences of bans are possible
- The biggest shifts we’re seeing are within the majority of the public that supports abortion rights and access
Detailed findings
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33 A problem with measuring views toward restrictions
47 General values and perspectives on abortion
49 Abortion opinion + sexism / stigmatized perceptions
53 Abortion as a voting issue
65 Worries about abortion bans
A recap of shifts in opinion in 2022 – pre- and post- *Dobbs*. 
Shifts in 2022.

We were in the field in 2022 tracking opinion from early in the year (pre-Dobbs) to post-election. Here’s a high-level recap of what we learned from that research.

In 2022, data suggested...

- Abortion was a top mobilizing issue for Democrats in the midterm elections.

- *Dobbs* was the reason many say they turned out to vote.

- Women of reproductive age (18 to 44) felt personally affected by *Dobbs* in profound ways (see next page).

- Political ads kept the issue salient and elevated the issue among some (notably, Black women).

- Perceived norms of opinion shifted – what people think other people think about abortion. Some segments shifted toward thinking their families and friends, and Americans as a whole, are pro-choice.

- After the midterms, there was a dampening of enthusiasm toward anti-abortion candidates – especially among Republican men.

- For the most part, *Dobbs* did not cause anti-abortion voters to turn pro-choice.
From an August 2022 survey...

Among 18- to 44-year-old women registered voters:

- 68% can envision a scenario in which an abortion might be the best option for them because they didn’t want to be or couldn’t be a parent at the time.
- 65% say the loss of abortion rights and access is a “big” problem right now.
- Close to half (47%) say Dobbs made them think about what they’d need to do if they needed an abortion, and (43%) say Dobbs made them think about their own risk of death if they got pregnant.
- 43% say Dobbs made them think about not having any (more) children.
- Majorities also say Dobbs made them think about the government having control over people’s bodies (74%), the loss of women’s rights (73%), maternal deaths / mortality (70%), ectopic pregnancies killing women (69%), and men regulating women’s bodies, but not men’s (71%).
- 31% say Dobbs made them think about moving out of the country.
- One in four (26%) say Dobbs made them think about getting a tubal ligation, and (30%) say Dobbs made them think about a partner getting a vasectomy.
- Half (52%) of employed women voters of reproductive age say they wouldn’t apply for a job in a state that banned abortion.
- Almost a third (30%) say Dobbs made them think of one indirect consequence of Dobbs: men becoming upset or violent if they don’t want to have sex.

The overturning of Roe v. Wade had a profound impact on women of reproductive age.
Salience of the issue.
People are still hearing about abortion in the news – the topic remains salient.
On social media, respondents report seeing more pro-choice than pro-life posts.

This has remained consistent in our surveys since early June 2022.

Among respondents who’ve seen social media posts about abortion in the past few weeks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45%</td>
<td>Saw more pro-choice posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23%</td>
<td>Saw more pro-life posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32%</td>
<td>Saw about equal numbers of each</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 1,011 registered voters, April 2024
September 2023

As you may know, the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade last year. Have you heard about any women who had complications later in pregnancy and had to travel out of state for abortion care?

* N = 2,844 registered voters nationwide, September 18 - 27, 2023

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**Stories about the impact of abortion bans started to break through in 2023.**

In our September 2023 national survey of registered voters, 35% of respondents said they had heard about “any women who had complications later in pregnancy and had to travel out of state for abortion care.”
In the past year or two, have you heard any news or stories about:

...And stories have continued to break through.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Heard news or stories about</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Court rulings that say embryos involved in in-vitro fertilization (IVF) processes are children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any women who had complications later in pregnancy and had to travel out of state for abortion care</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters passing ballot measures to guarantee abortion rights in their state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any court cases trying to ban medication abortion / abortion pills</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any girls / children who have been raped and denied an abortion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any pregnant women who almost died because of abortion bans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any women who were raped and were denied an abortion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States allowing abortion up until the moment of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any women who were arrested or charged with a crime for miscarriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any women who lost their fertility / ability to have children as a result of being denied an abortion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any women dying recently because of abortion bans</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

April 2024

+11 points since Sept. ’23
(35%)
That said, not everyone is hearing the same stories. Republican and anti-abortion voters are not hearing much about the impact of abortion bans. See the next page.
% Has heard news or stories about this in the past year or two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Want abortion legal in all cases</th>
<th>Legal in most cases</th>
<th>Illegal in most cases</th>
<th>Illegal in all cases</th>
<th>Democratic women</th>
<th>Democratic men</th>
<th>Independent women</th>
<th>Independent men</th>
<th>Republican women</th>
<th>Republican men</th>
<th>Rep women who want abortion illegal in all / most cases</th>
<th>Rep women who want abortion legal in all / most cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any women who had complications later in pregnancy and had to travel out of state for abortion care</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
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<tr>
<td>Any girls / children who have been raped and denied an abortion</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voters passing ballot measures to guarantee abortion rights in their state</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court rulings that say embryos involved in in-vitro fertilization (IVF) processes are children</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States allowing abortion up until the moment of birth</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Data suggest these stories have an impact, even when controlling for party ID and views on abortion.

It’s difficult to analyze the impact of these stories on opinion because respondents who have heard these stories are more liberal and more supportive of abortion access than those who haven’t. That said, even when trying to control for party ID and abortion views, there’s evidence that stories are having an impact on opinion. See next page.
In the past year or two, have you heard any news or stories about any pregnant women who almost died because of abortion bans?

Among independents who want abortion legal in most cases (n = 340)

Among Democrats who want abortion legal in most cases (n = 460)

How to read: Among independents who want abortion legal in most cases, 74% of those who had heard stories about pregnant women almost dying strongly agree that Republicans’ views are too extreme – compared to 29% of those who haven’t heard stories about this.
Evolution of views.
We’re seeing hints that Republican women may be shifting in their views toward their party’s position.

Thirty-eight percent of Republican women voters in our April 2024 survey agree that “Republicans’ views on abortion are too extreme” – compared to 22% in our June 2022 survey.

Note that the margins of error are large – 10+ points. Consider this evidence of a shift, rather than a precise reflection of reality.
Republican women may be also be shifting toward thinking more about “women’s rights” when it comes to getting out to vote – from 31% pre-Dobbs to 54% in our April 2024 survey.
Young people continue to be profoundly impacted by bans.

In Our Own Voice: National Black Women’s Reproductive Justice Agenda commissioned PerryUndem to conduct a national survey of Black women in early 2024. This study finds that abortion bans have affected Black women’s sense of safety and their thinking about profound life decisions.

Data will also be available among Black women voters in these states: California, Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

For the purposes of these data, “restrictive” states are those that have a 15-week or more restrictive ban.
In 2023, we started seeing hints that some voters may be moving away from wanting the government to restrict rights or access to abortion, including later in pregnancy.

In the summer of 2023, we explored whether voters were more likely to support a state constitutional ballot to guarantee abortion rights that includes a fetal viability restriction versus one that does not.

We were surprised to find that an expansive ballot – without a viability restriction – performed better. In the open-ended responses, we observed the intensity with which some respondents do not want the government restricting the decision at any point in pregnancy. See the next two pages.

Views toward restrictions on abortion may be changing.
Let’s say you were voting on this today in your state. Would you vote yes or no on this proposal?

In the ballot experiment, respondents who got the expansive ballot were +15 points more likely to “definitely” vote yes than those who got a ballot that allowed the state to regulate abortion after viability.

We followed up with respondents who got the viability ballot and asked if they had any concerns. The open-ended responses are enlightening – see a snapshot on the next two pages.

Full report available here.
What concerns, if any, do you have about this amendment?
(Selected verbatims – emphasis added)

• The second bullet point about the state getting involved when the fetus is viable - the state should never be involved.
• I do not want the state to have any say in denying an abortion, including after viability. That leaves too much of a gray area for religious zealots in office to mess with the right to an abortion.
• I like everything about this amendment, except allowing the state to have any say in whether a woman gets an abortion or not. The woman and her family should have that right, and not the state.
• The state's ability to limit abortion at any time after fetal viability. This ability neuters the amendment's purpose: allow individuals to make decisions regarding pregnancy.
• I don't believe there should be any restrictions to abortion, ideally, and don't trust the state to always act in a woman’s best interest.
• I am totally against ANY KIND OF STATE INTERFERENCE to our bodies!
• The state’s ability to restrict abortions and if there are too many hoops to jump through in the case of a medically necessary abortion (unfair requirements or proof of health problem, etc.).
• I don’t want the legislature in this state having any role in my health care.
• The state should have no say in anything regarding my health choices.
• State regulation seems to encroach upon the doctor/patient decisions.
• I think it is a woman’s decision. No right for the state to decide.
• I am 100% pro-choice and this amendment is combining conflicting choices under one umbrella. State government should not be involved in this decision period.
• The fact that states can limit some access. This is a medical decision that should be left between the patient and the doctor, not the states.
• That the state would overstep their boundaries and make a decision that does not align with what the woman wants.
• States monitoring a woman's health decision. They can keep their noses out of a woman's vagina and womb.
• That the government, local or national, keeps trying to tell women what they can do with their bodies.
• I feel the woman has the right to make decisions regarding her body. The state should not have any control.
• I don't like the idea of the state regulating these decisions. It should all be up to the individual.
What concerns, if any, do you have about this amendment?
(Selected verbatims – emphasis added)

• The ability of the government to regulate a pregnancy after viability. Define viability. Should still be a choice for the woman, family and doctor.
• It states that the state will regulate, or some other equally controlling and concerning verb, abortions. There should be no one involved in the decision to abort other than the pregnant woman and her doctor.
• Medical decisions on pregnancy and abortion should be left up to a woman and her doctors.
• It should be the person’s right not to have the child and the state should stay out of it.
• The middle part where it says the state can regulate it.
• The fact that they still mention viability being regulated.
• That the state still has some decision-making power over individual reproductive rights.
• The line where they still have control over whether or not someone wants to abort.
• Wary of any abortion regulations, even after viability, due to religious freedom.
• State government [and] federal government should never have a say in an individual’s reproductive rights, regardless of fetus viability. It should always be the individual’s choice.
• Abortion regulated by the state – again this should be a patient-doctor situation and nothing more.
• The contradictory clauses that still give the state a say in the individual’s choices.
• That it is double speak for letting states decide what rights an individual has, trying to pass as if it is extending individual’s freedom.
• Well for one, the whole “individual right to do their own thing” is a little vague and seems to be in direct opposition to the next part which says "the state will decide matters of abortion after XYZ"... So which is it? Do we have individual freedoms or is the state controlling us?
• The rights of other people’s choices about abortion should not be controlled.
• Allowing the state control over abortion contradicts the individual rights.
• Potential for the state to repress citizens’ rights through “regulation.”
• I think a woman should have the right to make decisions on her own body.
• This amendment doesn't give women complete control over their bodies.
We continue to hear signs of a shift in views toward government restrictions in recent qualitative research.
I never thought the government should be involved in medical decisions to begin with. But [the overturning of *Roe v. Wade* and recent abortion bans have] just pushed it over the edge that the government not only doesn't understand science, but doesn't care about private and personal decisions, let alone the people involved in that.

– Florida woman, April 2024
A problem with measuring views toward restrictions.
Public opinion data on abortion are very limited. A handful of researchers attempt to measure opinion on the issue, using a handful of questions – often the same questions – year after year. That’s helpful and necessary to track changes.

Some of these few questions explore attitudes toward abortion at each trimester in pregnancy. These questions were derived from the *Roe v. Wade* framework – which centered trimesters.

With that framework no longer applicable, the questions are becoming outdated.

More importantly, these questions risk an oversimplification of opinion at best, and at worst, provide a misleading snapshot.

Additionally, these questions do not capture the underlying dynamics of opinion, which we think may be shifting.

In April 2024, we dug into the validity of a set of traditional questions based on trimesters.
Gallup has one of the best tracking datasets on abortion available.

One set of questions asks respondents whether they think abortion should be legal or illegal during:

- The first three months of pregnancy
- The second three months of pregnancy
- The last three months of pregnancy

We replicated these questions in our April survey.

We find similar results to Gallup’s – a majority of respondents say abortion should be “legal” in the first three months of pregnancy and “illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy.

See next page.
Do you think abortion should generally be legal or generally illegal during each of the following stages of pregnancy?

How about:

In the first three months of pregnancy

In the second three months of pregnancy

In the last three months of pregnancy
I don't believe there should be any restrictions to abortion, ideally...and [I] don't trust the state to always act in a woman’s best interest.

– Survey respondent, June 2023

But these data don’t reflect some of what we’re hearing in our research.

So, we dug beneath the surface. We examined the 71% of respondents who said abortion should be "illegal" in the last three months of pregnancy – and how they answered other, related questions.

What we find is between 33% and 80% of these respondents’ answers to other questions suggest they may not want abortion illegal in the last three months of pregnancy. See next several pages.
Among respondents who say abortion should be “illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy
(N = 619)

Which comes closest to your view:
If and when someone can get an abortion should be:

60%  — Or —  40%

Regulated by law  Left to the woman and her doctor
Among respondents who say abortion should be “illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy

(N = 1,874)

Which comes closest to your view:

59%

I want lawmakers to ban abortion after 15 weeks

— Or —

41%

I want lawmakers to stop trying to ban abortion

67%

I want lawmakers to ban abortion after 15 weeks, except when the woman’s health or life is at risk

— Or —

33%

I want lawmakers to stop trying to ban abortion
Among respondents who say abortion should be “illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy

(N = 1,874)

Which comes closest to your view:

60%

We need a ban on late-term abortions to protect unborn children

40%

— Or —

We need abortion available throughout a pregnancy because of complex circumstances
In your view, who should decide if someone can have an abortion in the last three months of pregnancy? Select any that apply.

- Doctor: 55%
- Medical profession: 40%
- Woman: 36%
- Woman and partner: 34%
- State legislature: 16%
- Supreme Court: 16%
- Congress: 8%

Among respondents who say abortion should be “illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy (N = 1,874)
Among respondents who say abortion should be “illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy (N = 1,874)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Agree</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80%</td>
<td>Laws on abortion can’t account for every situation where an abortion might be needed</td>
<td>40% strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78%</td>
<td>There are circumstances when a woman might need an abortion later in pregnancy</td>
<td>37% strongly agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58%</td>
<td>People should be able to make their own decisions on abortion throughout a pregnancy, without the government interfering</td>
<td>30% strongly agree</td>
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</table>
To summarize
Among respondents who initially say illegal:

40% say if and when someone can get an abortion should be left to the woman and her doctor

41% say lawmakers should stop trying to ban abortion (33% even if exceptions are allowed in a ban)

40% say we need abortion available throughout a pregnancy because of complex circumstances

55% want the doctor deciding if someone can get an abortion in the last three months of pregnancy

80% agree laws on abortion can’t account for every situation where an abortion might be needed

78% agree there are circumstances when a woman might need an abortion later in pregnancy

58% agree people should be able to make their own decisions on abortion throughout a pregnancy, without the government interfering

Let’s use a conservative estimate based on these data – that 40% of the 71% who respond “illegal” to the trimester question don’t actually want abortion illegal in the later pregnancy. That would mean a majority of voters (56%) may want it legal throughout a pregnancy.
It’s important we get these questions right.

To us, one of the most interesting potential shifts post-Dobbs is not wanting the government to restrict abortion, even later in pregnancy. But it’s harder to understand this shift if we’re not measuring the baseline in a relevant way.
Gallup is indeed seeing a shift in their data - from a May 2023 survey:

Most Americans oppose abortion later in pregnancy, but the 37% saying it should be legal in the second three months of pregnancy and 22% in the last three months of pregnancy are the highest Gallup has found in trends since 1996.

The question is: Is it really only 22% who want abortion legal in the last three months of pregnancy? Our hunch is this significantly underrepresents true opinion post-Dobbs.
General values and perspectives on abortion – especially later in pregnancy.
Majorities agree with views related to support for abortion access.

Note: There’s no difference in responses when the phrase “abortion throughout a pregnancy” is included.
Abortion opinion + sexism / stigmatized perceptions.
Many agree there are circumstances when a woman might need an abortion — and that laws can’t account for every situation. But some are unwilling to trust women to make decisions.
Many respondents still hold inaccurate and sexist views toward women who have abortions.

We’ve studied the correlation between sexist beliefs and abortion attitudes in previous research.
Anti-abortion respondents are more likely to hold stigmatized views toward women.
Abortion as a voting issue.
In elections, are you more likely to vote for a candidate for political office who:

Abortion is more of a voting issue for Democrats than Republicans.

Republicans are much more split on the issue than Democrats. We’ve seen this pattern for several years.
In future elections for major political offices, would you:

Additionally, Democrats are +15 pts more likely than Republicans to say they’d only support a candidate who shares their views on abortion.
Many say the state of abortion rights affects their likelihood to vote and who they plan on voting for.

AAPI women, white women, women of reproductive age, Democrats, and college-educated voters are most likely to say the state of abortion influences their voting (see next page).

44%

Of voters say they’re more likely to vote in 2024 because of Dobbs

In July ‘22: 47% said Dobbs made them feel more likely to vote in the midterm elections

56%

Of voters say the state of abortion rights and access will impact who they vote for in 2024

In December ‘22: 59% said the Dobbs decision will have a long-term effect on their voting

Q: As you may know, the Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade, which had guaranteed the right to abortion in the US. Does the state of abortion rights and access make you: more likely to vote in the 2024 elections, less likely to vote in the 2024 elections, or make no difference in whether you vote in the 2024 elections?
AAPI women, white women, women of reproductive age, Democratic women, and college-educated voters are most likely to say the state of abortion influences their voting.
A majority of voters (59%) says abortion is either “extremely” or “very” important to their vote.

Most respondents who support legal abortion (79%) say the issue is extremely or very important when thinking about getting out to vote.
The following tables present top voting issues by demographic groups – along with where abortion lines up.

Abortion or women’s rights is a top issue for Democrats (especially women), women of reproductive age (18 to 44), suburban women who support abortion access, and women of color.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top issues + abortion</th>
<th>% Extremely important when thinking of getting out to vote this fall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Democratic women**  | • Women's rights (69%)  
• Health care (67%)  
• Ensuring abortion rights and access (66%) |
| **Democratic men**    | • The state of our democracy (63%)  
• People's rights and freedoms (62%)  
• Health care (62%)  
• Ensuring abortion rights and access (54%) |
| **Independent women** | • Economy / cost of living (72%)  
• People's rights and freedoms (65%)  
• Ensuring abortion rights and access (42%) |
| **Independent men**   | • Economy / cost of living (62%)  
• People's rights and freedoms (54%)  
• The state of our democracy (53%)  
• The border (51%)  
• Ensuring abortion rights and access (25%) |

**Republican women**
- Economy / cost of living (79%)
- The border (75%)
- Crime (68%)
- Protecting the unborn (25%)
- Ensuring abortion rights and access (18%)
  (Women’s rights 27%)

**Republican men**
- Economy / cost of living (75%)
- The border (67%)
- Protecting the unborn (22%)
- Ensuring abortion rights and access (16%)

**Suburban women who want abortion legal in all or most cases**
- Women’s rights (67%)
- The state of our democracy (66%)
- School shootings (65%)
- Health care (64%)
- Ensuring abortion rights and access (63%)

**Women 18 to 44**
- Economy / cost of living (65%)
- Health care (60%)
- Ensuring abortion rights and access (51%)
- Education (50%)
- Mental health care (50%)
### Top issues + abortion
% Extremely important when thinking of getting out to vote this fall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black women</th>
<th>AAPI women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (76%)</td>
<td>• Health care (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Gun violence (70%)</td>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Health care (66%)</td>
<td>• School shootings (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Racial justice / equality (65%)</td>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School shootings (65%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Women's rights (63%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (47%)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black men</th>
<th>AAPI men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Health care (66%)</td>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School shootings (65%)</td>
<td>• People's rights and freedoms (54%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• People's rights and freedoms (64%)</td>
<td>• State of our democracy (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Racial justice / equality (64%)</td>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (64%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (41%)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latina/x women</th>
<th>White women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (75%)</td>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• School shootings (66%)</td>
<td>• People's rights and freedoms (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Health care (63%)</td>
<td>• The state of our democracy (62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (44%)</td>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (45%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Women's rights 55%)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latino/x men</th>
<th>White men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• People's rights and freedoms (64%)</td>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The state of our democracy (63%)</td>
<td>• People's rights and freedoms (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Economy / cost of living (62%)</td>
<td>• The state of our democracy (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (40%)</td>
<td>• Ensuring abortion rights and access (29%)</td>
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</table>
As you may know, abortion is now banned in many states.

In your view, do abortion bans relate to...

RANDOMIZE | N = 1,727 voters who want abortion legal in all or most cases

Why is abortion an important voting issue for those who support access? It connects to many issues.

% Yes
% Abortion bans relate to:

- The loss of women's rights: 78%
- The government having control over people's bodies: 76%
- My personal rights and freedoms: 73%
- What other rights the Supreme Court might take away: 71%
- The religious beliefs of some being imposed on everyone: 71%
- Losing other freedoms in America: 70%
- Society going backward: 69%
- Pregnancy complications: 69%
- The state of our democracy: 64%
- The ability to have children safely: 64%
- Sexism, patriarchy, or misogyny: 63%
- Maternal deaths / mortality: 60%
- Poverty / financial stability: 60%
- Restrictions on in-vitro fertilization (IVF): 56%
- My safety or the safety of my loved ones: 54%
- Mental health: 53%
- Cost of living: 41%
- Black and Brown people being over-policed and criminalized: 39%
- Racism or white supremacy: 37%
- Making it illegal for transgender people to get gender-affirming health care: 34%
- Banning books in schools: 30%
- LGBTQ rights: 29%
- Censoring what K-12 teachers can say about slavery and racism: 28%
- Anti-immigration laws: 23%
% Abortion bans relate to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Women 18 to 44</th>
<th>Men 18 to 44</th>
<th>Women 45+</th>
<th>Men 45+</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latina/o/x</th>
<th>AAPI</th>
<th>White</th>
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<td>87</td>
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<td>The government having control over people's bodies</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>68</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<tr>
<td>My personal rights and freedoms</td>
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<td>The state of our democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>The ability to have children safely</td>
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<td>Sexism, patriarchy, or misogyny</td>
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<td>Racism or white supremacy</td>
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<td>Banning books in schools</td>
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<td>Censoring what K-12 teachers can say about slavery and racism</td>
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</table>
Worries about abortion bans.
When asked about worries related to abortion bans, broader attacks on rights and freedoms are salient.

Women, younger voters, and Democrats are especially worried about rights, safety, and disproportionate harms.

Black and AAPI voters are more likely than others to be worried about disproportionate harms and their own safety / the safety of their loved ones.

See next page.
In our December 2022 survey, 27% of Republican women agreed “women are losing their rights”
Majorities think many consequences of bans are possible – from the erosion of other rights to the criminalization of doctors and women.

Women of reproductive age are more likely than others to see these outcomes as likely (see next page).
In the next year or two, how likely is it that...

% Saying 50-50 chance or more

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Women 18 to 44</th>
<th>Women 45+</th>
<th>Men 18 to 44</th>
<th>Men 45+</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Latina/o</th>
<th>AAPI</th>
<th>White</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More rights and freedoms will be taken away</td>
<td>79</td>
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<td>77</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>More and more women will decide not to have children</td>
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<td>81</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>86</td>
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<td>73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Congress will pass a federal law that bans abortion after 15 weeks</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>Women with pregnancy complications will be forced to travel out of state</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>Doctors will be arrested for providing abortion care</td>
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<td>80</td>
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<td>69</td>
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<td>Women will be arrested for trying to have an abortion</td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td>Congress will pass a federal law to guarantee abortion rights</td>
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<td>Abortion will be banned or restricted in your state</td>
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<td>63</td>
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<td>65</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>The federal government will ban or restrict abortion in your state</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>74</td>
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<td>Congress will pass a federal law that bans all abortions</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>Women will be arrested for having a miscarriage</td>
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<td>34</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Two-thirds of respondents oppose criminalization for getting pills out of state.

Gendered language (“woman” v. “someone”) had no impact on responses overall.

The one exception may be Republican women, who are +10 points more likely to oppose criminalization when the question specifies “woman” (60% vs. 50%).

Let’s say [someone / a woman] decides to have an abortion. [They live / She lives] in a state where abortion is banned. [The person / She] gets abortion pills from outside the state and ends her pregnancy.

Do you think [that person / she] should be arrested and charged with a crime?

65% Should not be charged with a crime
50% Definitely not
15% probably not

24% Should be charged with a crime
11% Definitely
13% probably

10% I’m not sure
PERRY UNDEM

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