
Understanding abortion attitudes in a *Post-Dobbs* world

Findings from PerryUndem Research

June 7, 2024



CONTENTS

- 03 Introduction
- 08 Key findings
- 10 Detailed findings

Introduction

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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.



Methods.

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.

Registered voters

This report focuses on n = 2,662 registered voters in the sample so that we can compare to previous data among registered voters.

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

	Weighted %	N size (Unweighted)
Democrats	39%	1,124
Independents	31%	839
Republicans	30%	699
Metro	70%	1,912
Non-metro	30%	701
Northeast	20%	526
Midwest	21%	485
West	23%	694
South	36%	957



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

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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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CONTENTS

- 12 A recap of shifts in opinion in 2022
- 15 Salience of the issue
- 24 Evolution of views
- 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.

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The overturning of *Roe v. Wade* had a profound impact on women of reproductive age.

From an August 2022 survey...

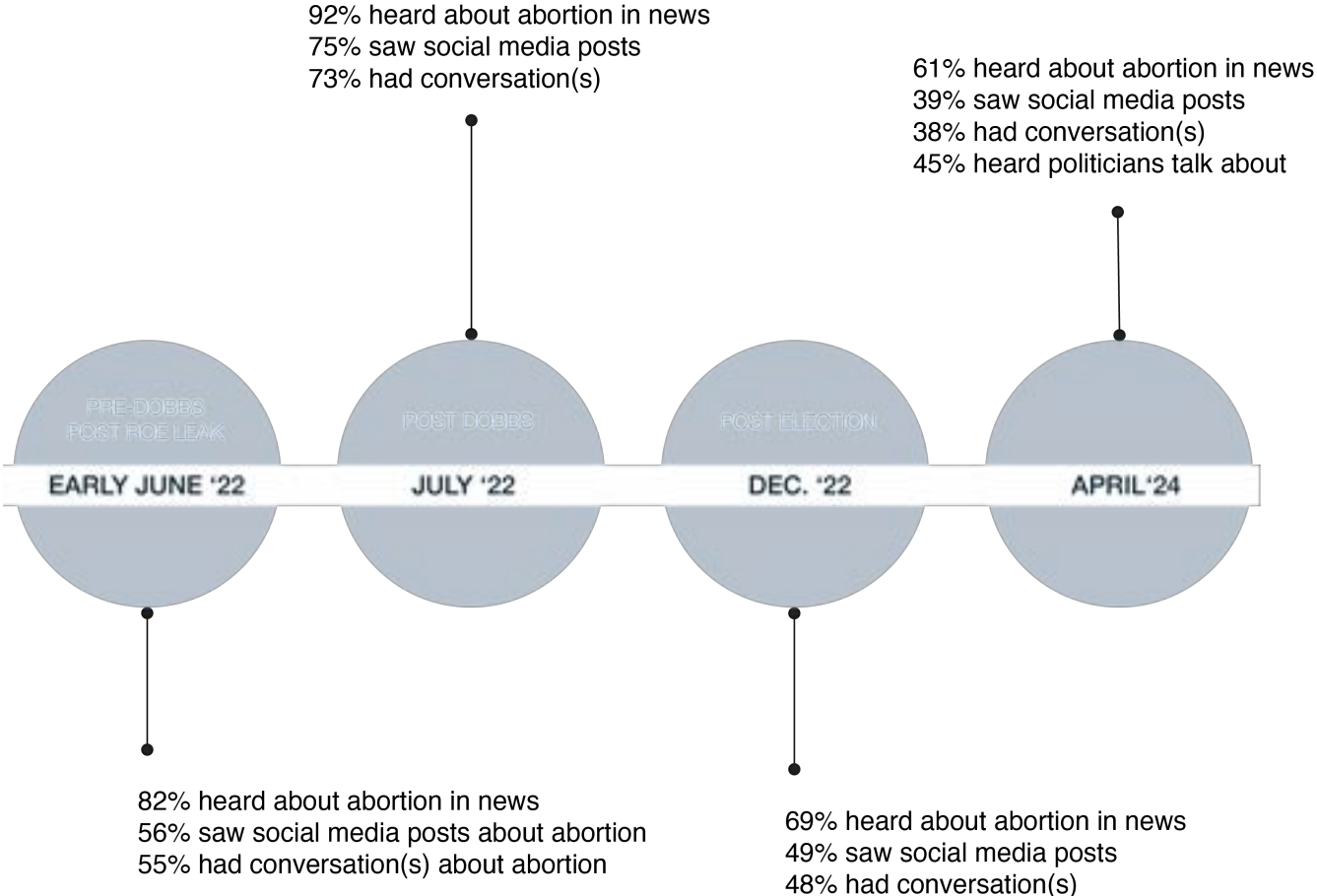
Among 18- to 44-year-old women registered voters:

- 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.

**Salience of the
issue.**

“In the past few weeks...”
Registered voters

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
N = 1,011 registered voters, April 2024

45%

Saw more pro-choice posts

23%

Saw more pro-life posts

32%

Saw about equal numbers of each

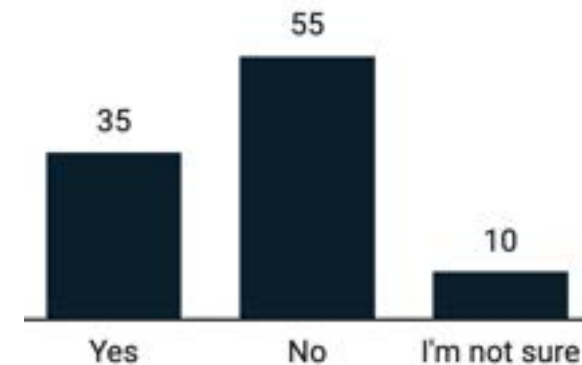
Stories about the impact of abortion bans started to break through in 2023.

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.”

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



In the past year or two, have you heard any news or stories about:
RANDOMIZE

...And stories have continued to break through.

April 2024

% Heard news or stories about



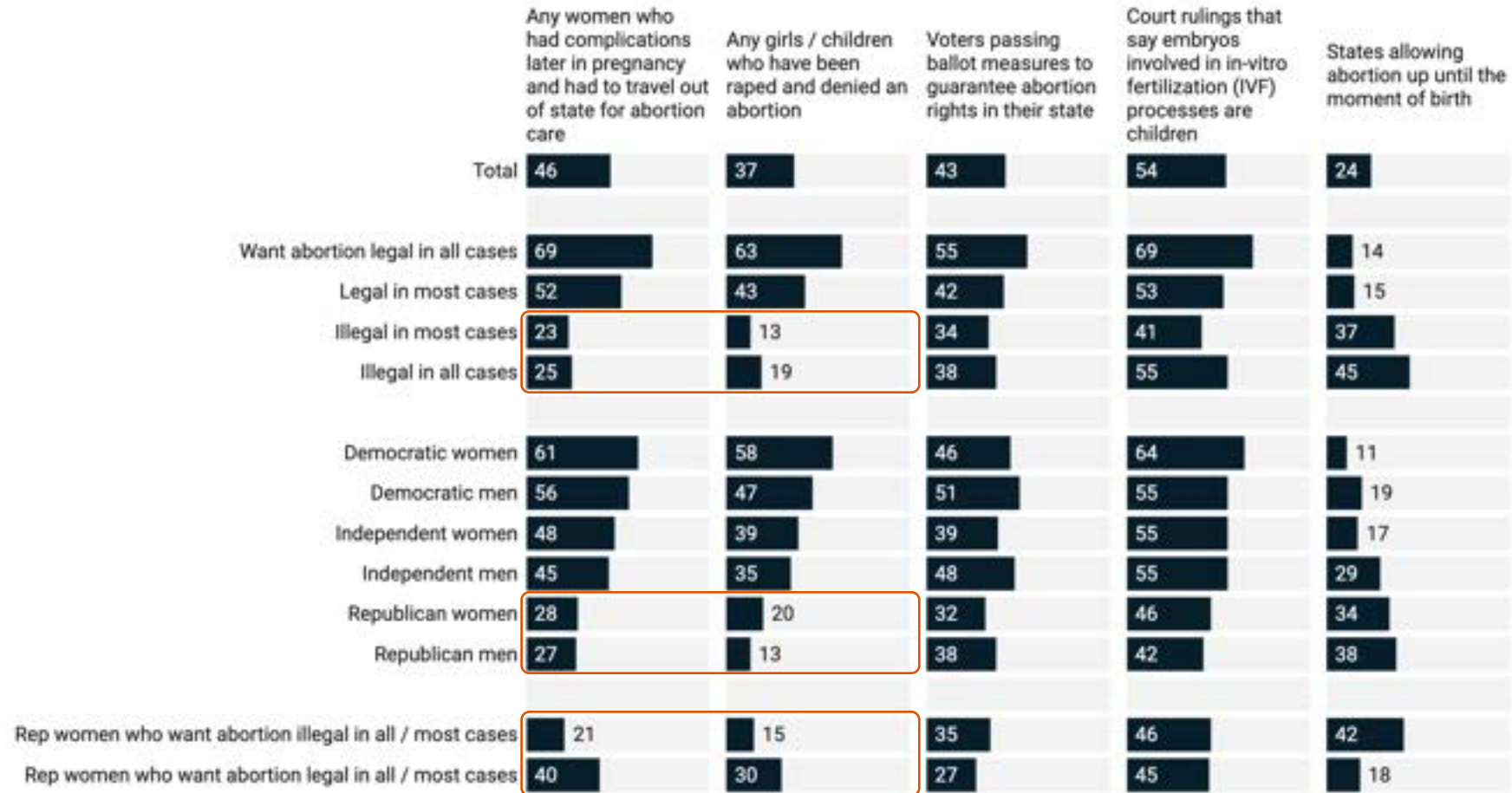
+11 points since Sept. '23 (35%)



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



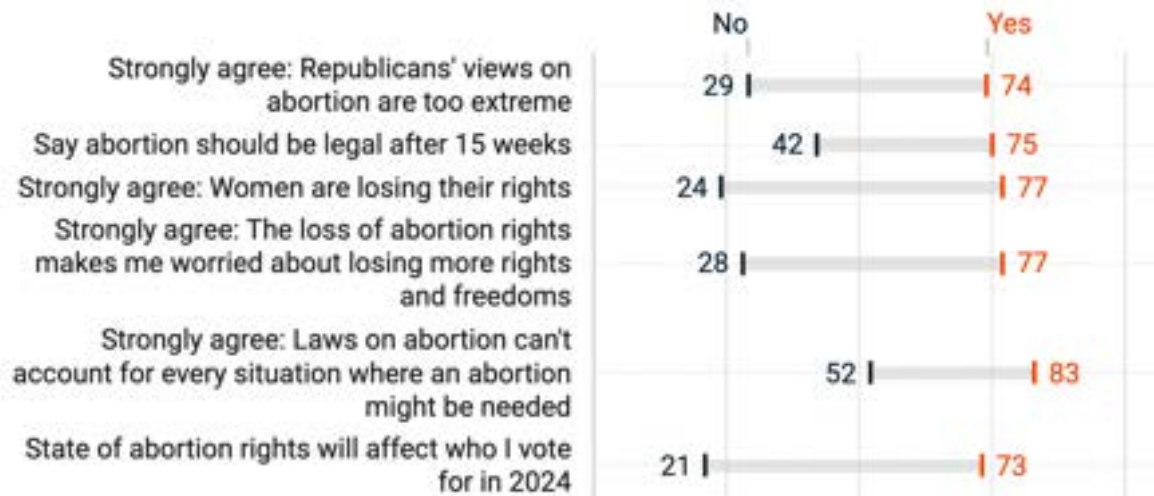


**Data suggest these stories
have an impact, even when
controlling for party ID
and views on abortion.**

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?

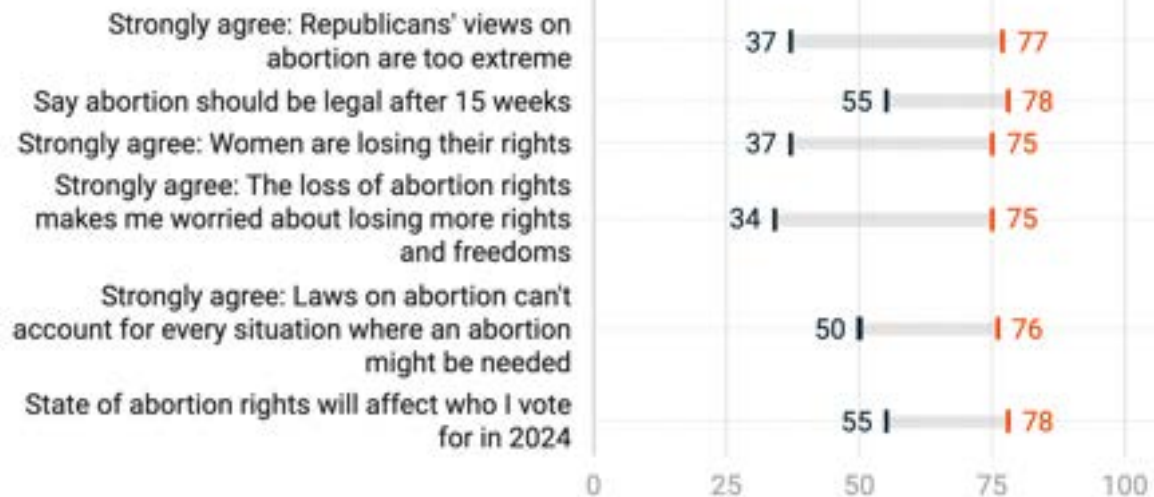
Among independents who want abortion legal in most cases (n = 340)



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.

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



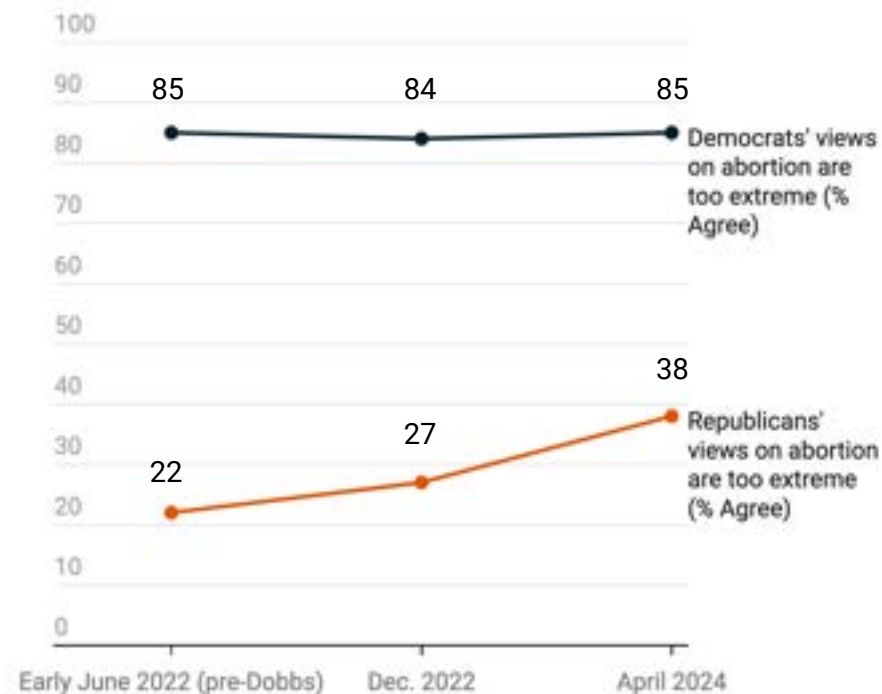
Evolution of views.

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.

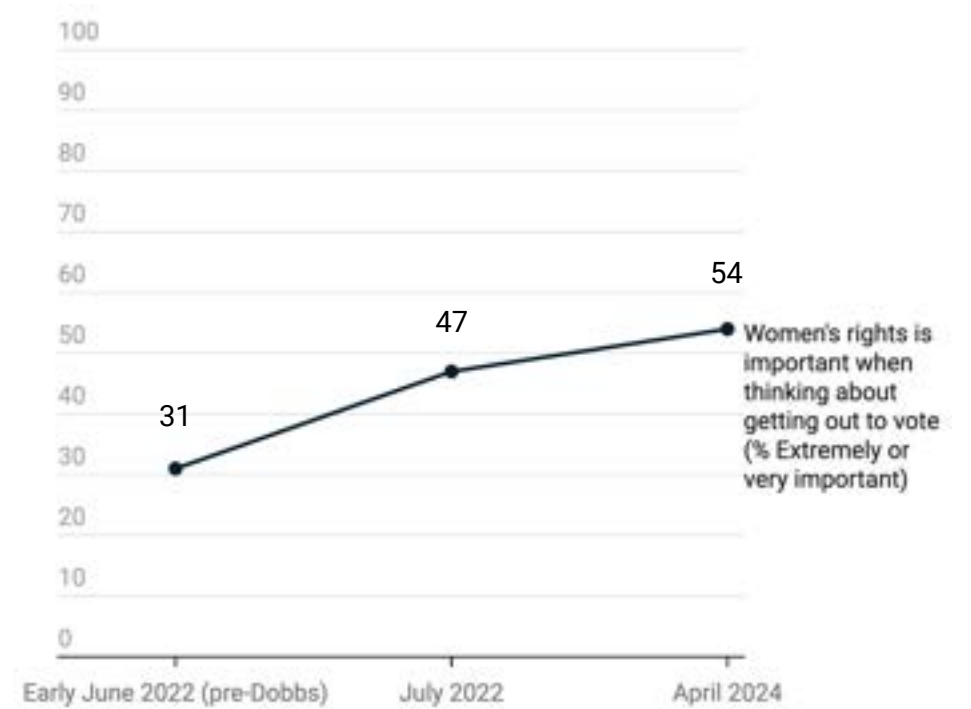
Note that the margins of error are large – 10+ points. Consider this evidence of a shift, rather than a precise reflection of reality.

Republican women registered voters
Pre-Dobbs to 2024



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.

Republican women registered voters
Pre-*Dobbs* to 2024



January 2024

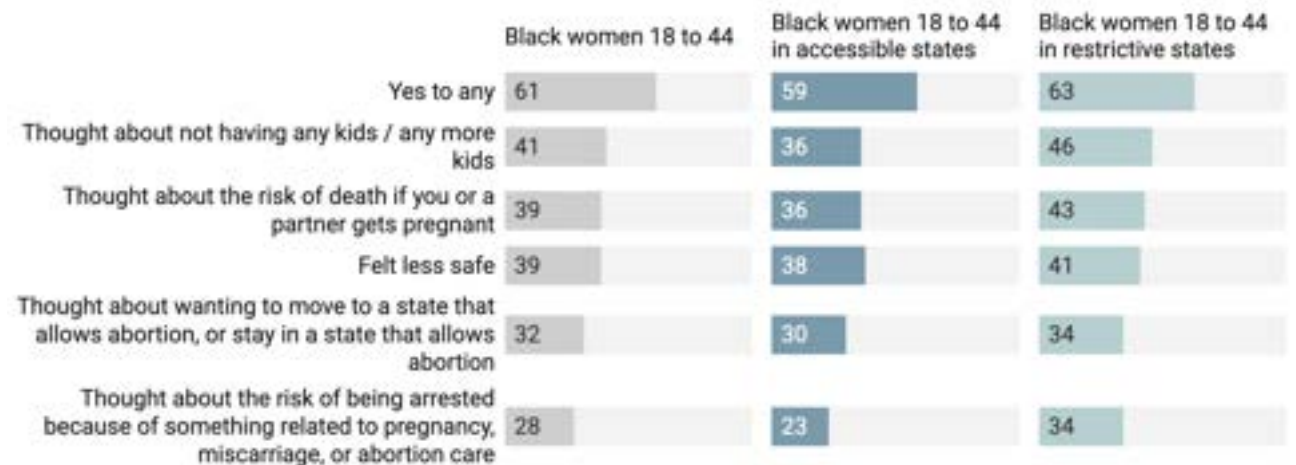
Young people continue to be profoundly impacted by bans.

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.

As a result of recent abortion bans and restrictions, have you...

% Yes



For the purposes of these data, “restrictive” states are those that have a 15-week or more restrictive ban.



Views toward restrictions on abortion may be changing.

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.

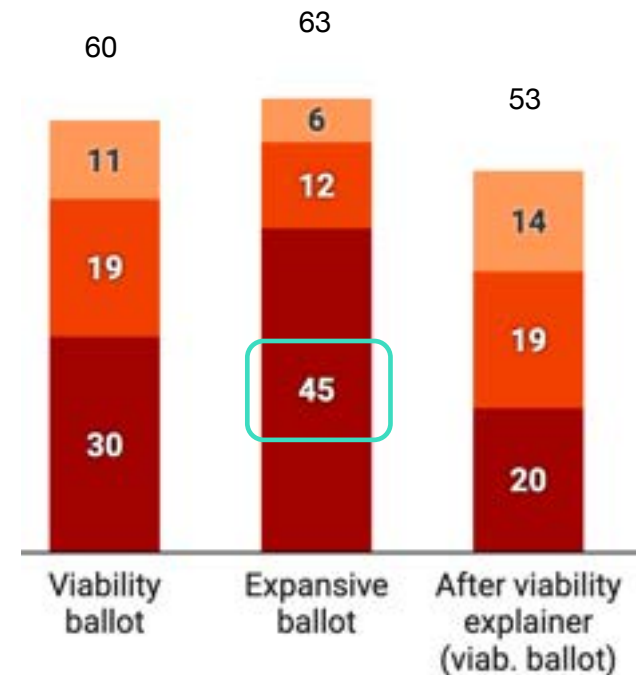
Let's say you were voting on this today in your state.
Would you vote yes or no on this proposal?

Definitely vote yes Probably vote yes Lean yes

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](#).



Def. yes
+15 v. viability
+25 after viability explainer

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.**



Traditional polling questions may be giving us an inaccurate glimpse of opinion – particularly on views toward restrictions later in pregnancy.

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

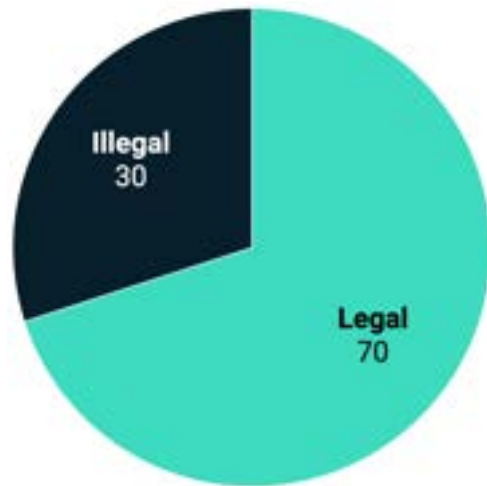
We replicated these questions in our April survey.

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



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.

”

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

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%

Regulated by law

— Or —

40%

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

— Or —

40%

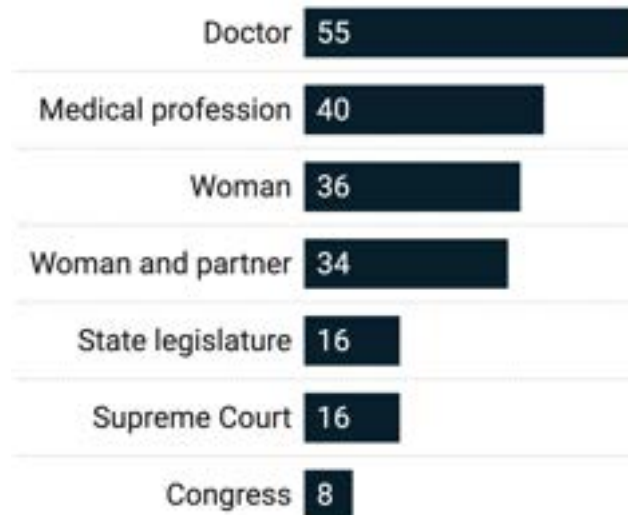
We need abortion
available throughout a
pregnancy because of
complex circumstances

**Among respondents who say abortion should be
“illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy**

(N = 1,874)

In your view, who should decide if someone can have
an abortion in the last three months of pregnancy?

Select any that apply.



Among respondents who say abortion should be
“illegal” in the last three months of pregnancy

(N = 1,874)

% Agree

80%

Laws on abortion
can't account for
every situation
where an abortion
might be needed

40% strongly agree

78%

There are circumstances
when a woman might
need an abortion later in
pregnancy

37% strongly agree

58%

People should be
able to make their
own decisions on
abortion
throughout a
pregnancy, without
the government
interfering

30% strongly agree

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

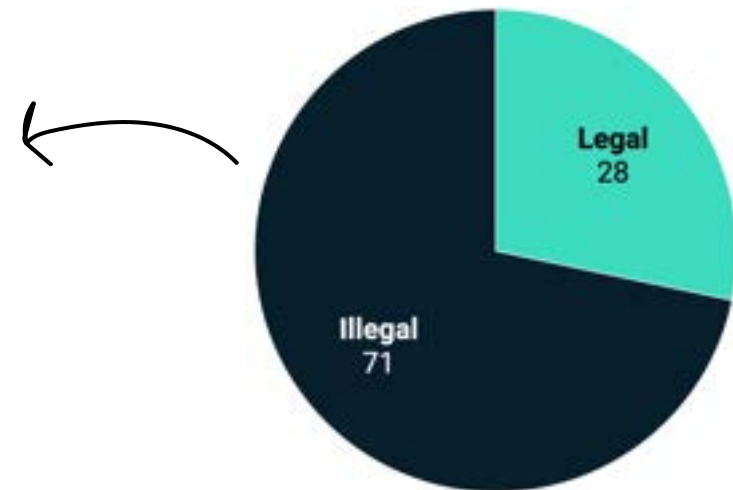
80% agree laws on abortion can't account for every situation where an abortion might be needed

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.

Do you think abortion should generally be legal or illegal in the last three months of 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*.

FiveThirtyEight

June 22, 2023

One of the most surprising post-*Dobbs* trends is the speed with which some Americans have embraced the view that abortion should be legal with no restrictions at all times, including the late second trimester and early third trimester. Under *Roe* and the precedents that followed, states were free to enact restrictions on abortion after a fetus could potentially live outside a woman's body — which meant, in practice, that some states were [allowed to ban abortion](#) after about 20 weeks of pregnancy, although medical experts say that [viability usually happens between 23 and 26 weeks](#). That dividing line wasn't especially controversial. Many blue states, including major Democratic strongholds like California, restricted abortion after viability, and the vast majority of Americans believed that abortion should be mostly illegal in the third trimester of pregnancy.

That's changing — and fast. Third-trimester abortion is still unpopular overall, but in Gallup's polling, it has close to majority support among some subgroups, which would have been unthinkable just a few years ago. For example, the share of women who think abortion should be legal in the last trimester of pregnancy jumped from 11 percent in 2018 to 25 percent in 2023. One-third (33 percent) of people ages 18-34 think abortion should be legal in the last trimester, up from 14 percent in 2018. And a stunning 43 percent of Democrats think abortion should be legal in the third trimester, up from 18 percent in 2018. "I've become more solidified in the belief that there should be very little law around any abortion," said Meredith MacVittie, 41, who lives in the suburbs of Philadelphia. "If there were some regulations on abortion after 30 weeks, something like a second opinion, *maybe* that would be okay." She paused and added, "It's very hard for me to give up the sense that politicians just shouldn't be having a say in this decision at all."

**General values and
perspectives on
abortion –
especially later in
pregnancy.**

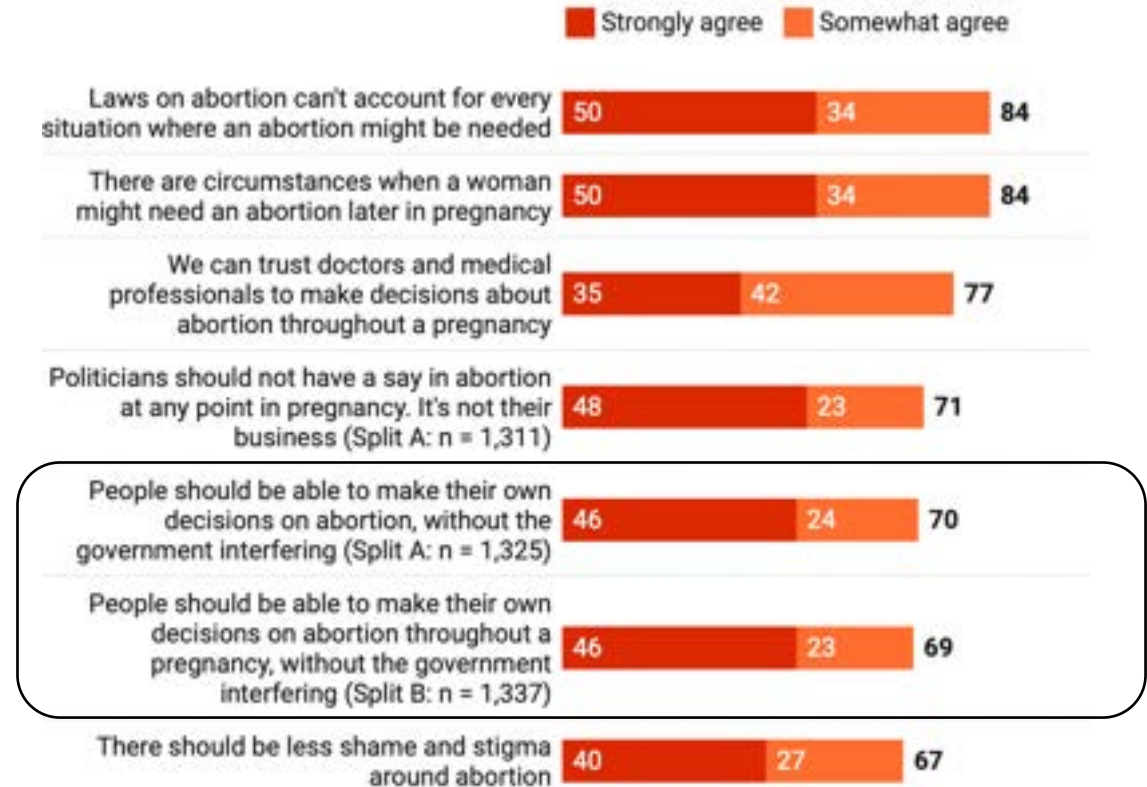


Majorities agree with views related to support for abortion access.

Note: There's no difference in responses when the phrase "abortion throughout a pregnancy" is included.

Do you agree or disagree:

RANDOMIZE

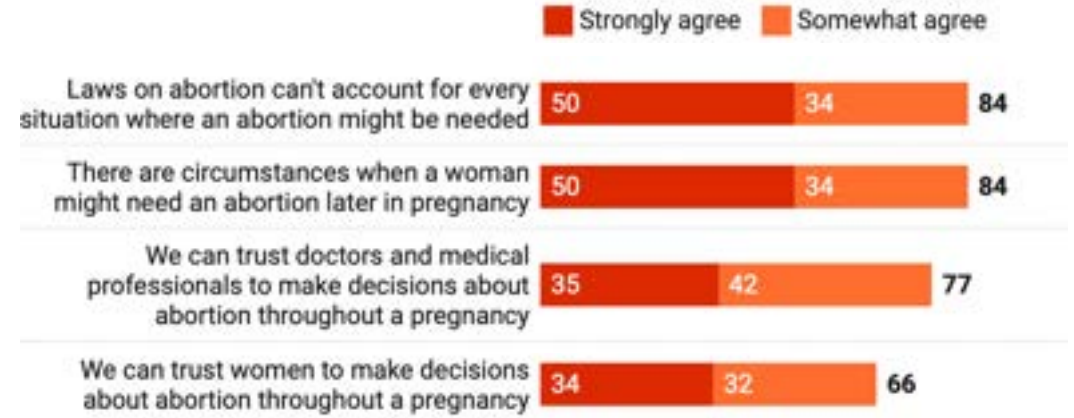


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**Abortion opinion +
sexism / stigmatized
perceptions.**

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.

Do you agree or disagree:
RANDOMIZE

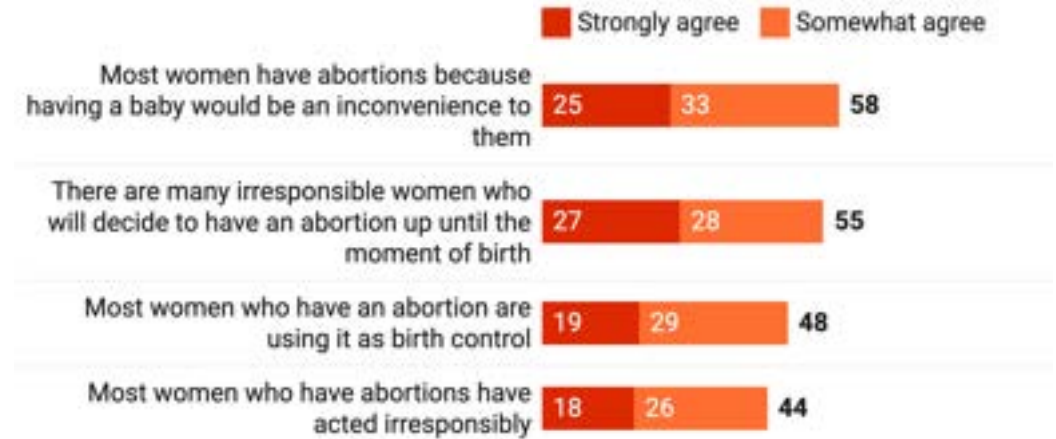


Many respondents still hold inaccurate and sexist views toward women who have abortions.

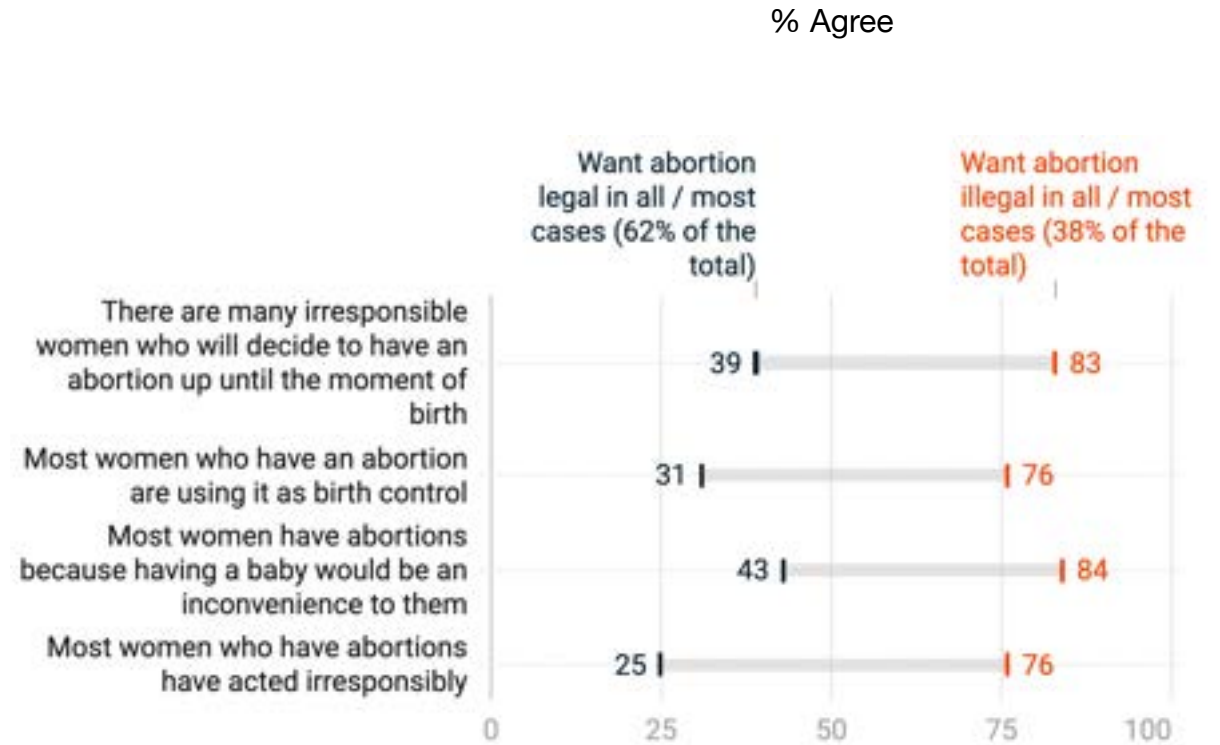
We've studied the correlation between sexist beliefs and abortion attitudes in [previous research](#).

Do you agree or disagree:

RANDOMIZE



Anti-abortion respondents are more likely to hold stigmatized views toward women.



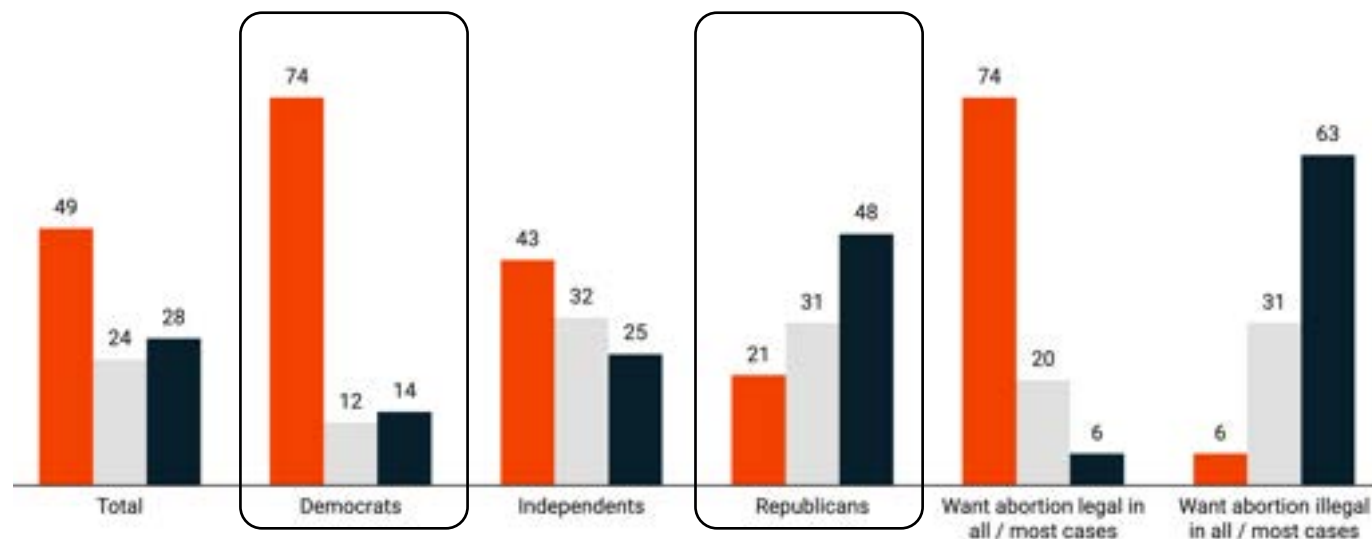
**Abortion as a
voting issue.**

In elections, are you more likely to vote for a candidate for political office who:

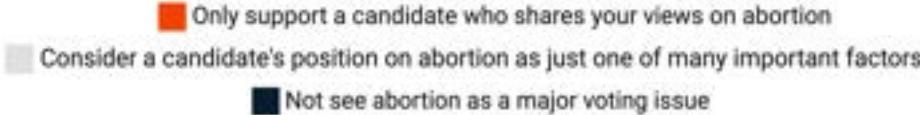
■ Supports rights and access to abortion ■ Doesn't make a difference in my vote
■ Is against rights and access to abortion

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

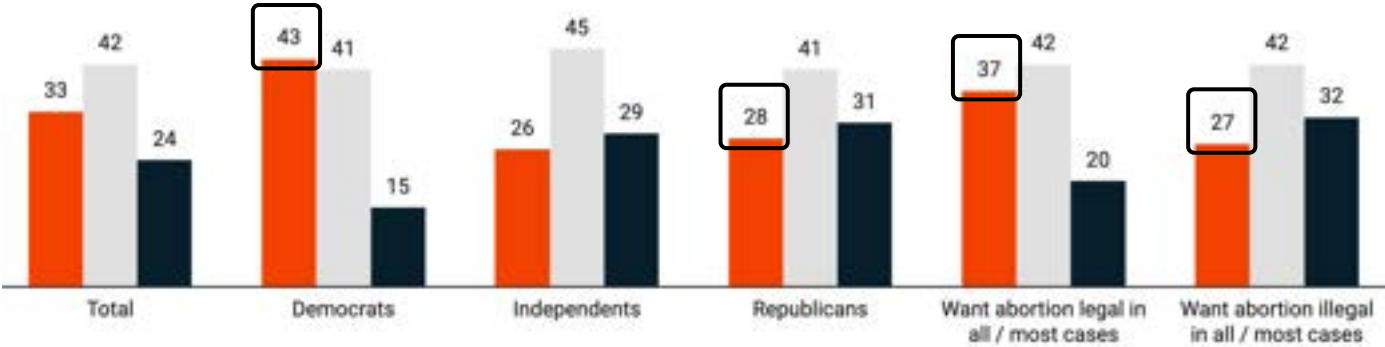
Republicans are much more split on the issue than Democrats. We've seen this pattern for several years.



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

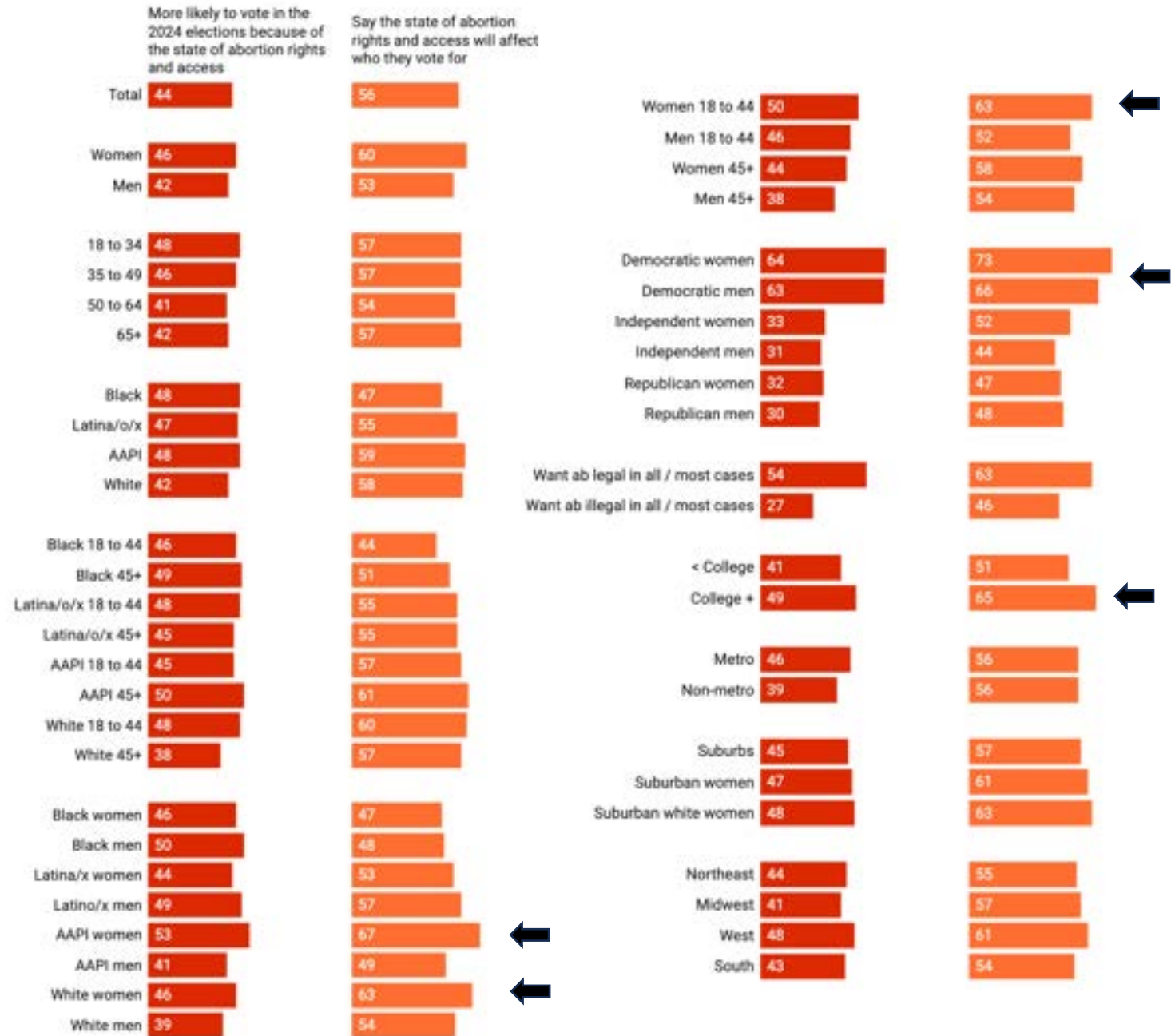
Q: As you may know, the Supreme Court overturned *Roe v. Wade*, which had guaranteed the right to abortion in the US. Does the state of abortion rights and access make you: more likely to vote in the 2024 elections, less likely to vote in the 2024 elections, or make no difference in whether you vote in the 2024 elections?

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

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.

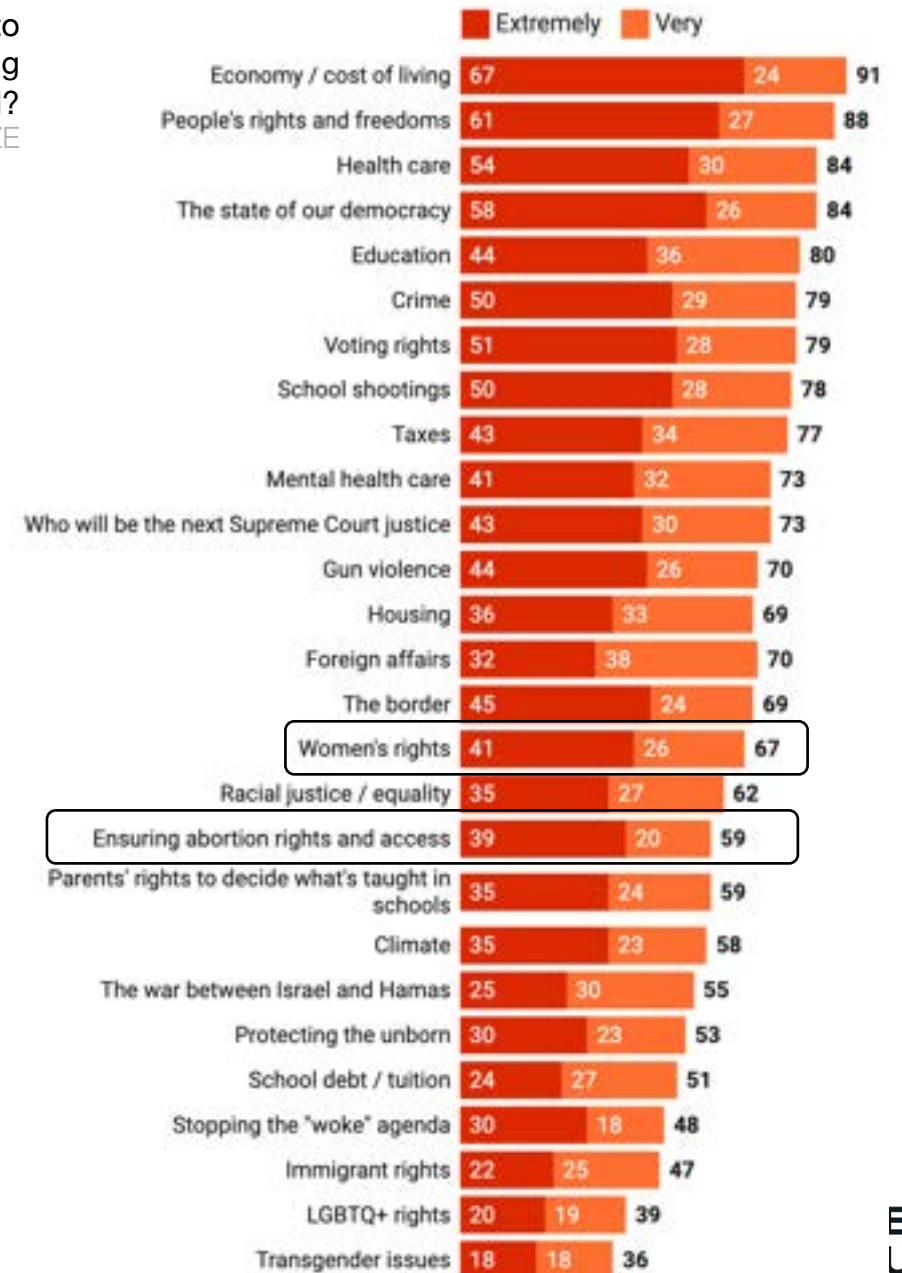


How important is each of these issues to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote in the election this fall?

RANDOMIZE

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.

	Top issues + abortion <i>% Extremely important when thinking of getting out to vote this fall</i>
Democratic women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women's rights (69%) • Health care (67%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (66%)
Democratic men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The state of our democracy (63%) • People's rights and freedoms (62%) • Health care (62%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (54%)
Independent women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy / cost of living (72%) • People's rights and freedoms (65%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (42%)
Independent men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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%)

	Top issues + abortion <i>% Extremely important when thinking of getting out to vote this fall</i>
Republican women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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*

Black women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy / cost of living (76%) • Gun violence (70%) • Health care (66%) • Racial justice / equality (65%) • School shootings (65%) • Women’s rights (63%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (47%)
Black men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health care (66%) • School shootings (65%) • People's rights and freedoms (64%) • Racial justice / equality (64%) • Economy / cost of living (64%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (41%)
Latina/x women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy / cost of living (75%) • School shootings (66%) • Health care (63%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (44%) (Women’s rights 55%)
Latino/x men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People's rights and freedoms (64%) • The state of our democracy (63%) • Economy / cost of living (62%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (40%)

Top issues + abortion*% Extremely important when thinking of getting out to vote this fall*

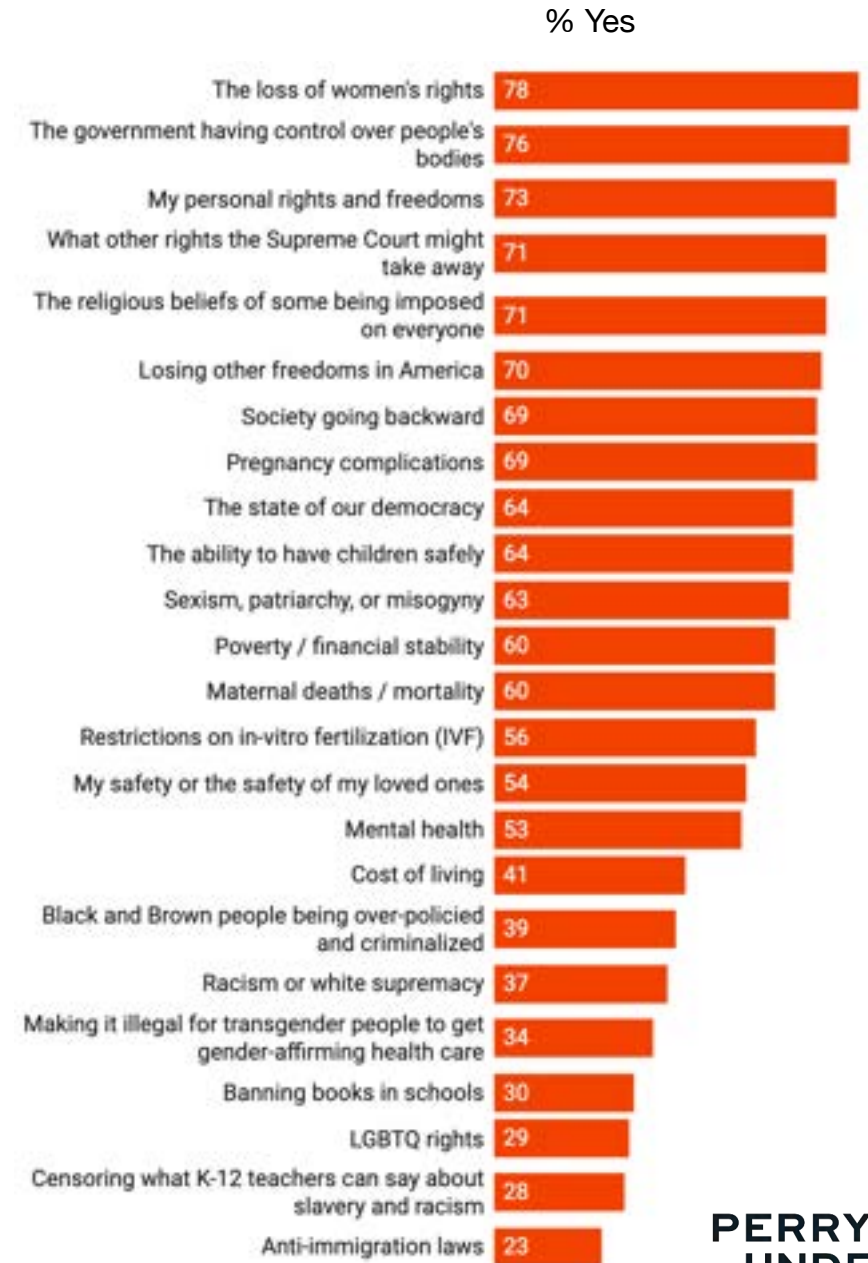
AAPI women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health care (63%) • Economy / cost of living (62%) • School shootings (59%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (50%)
AAPI men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy / cost of living (65%) • People's rights and freedoms (54%) • State of our democracy (50%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (31%)
White women	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy / cost of living (67%) • People's rights and freedoms (63%) • The state of our democracy (62%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (45%)
White men	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy / cost of living (65%) • People's rights and freedoms (57%) • The state of our democracy (55%) • Ensuring abortion rights and access (29%)

As you may know, abortion is now banned in many states.

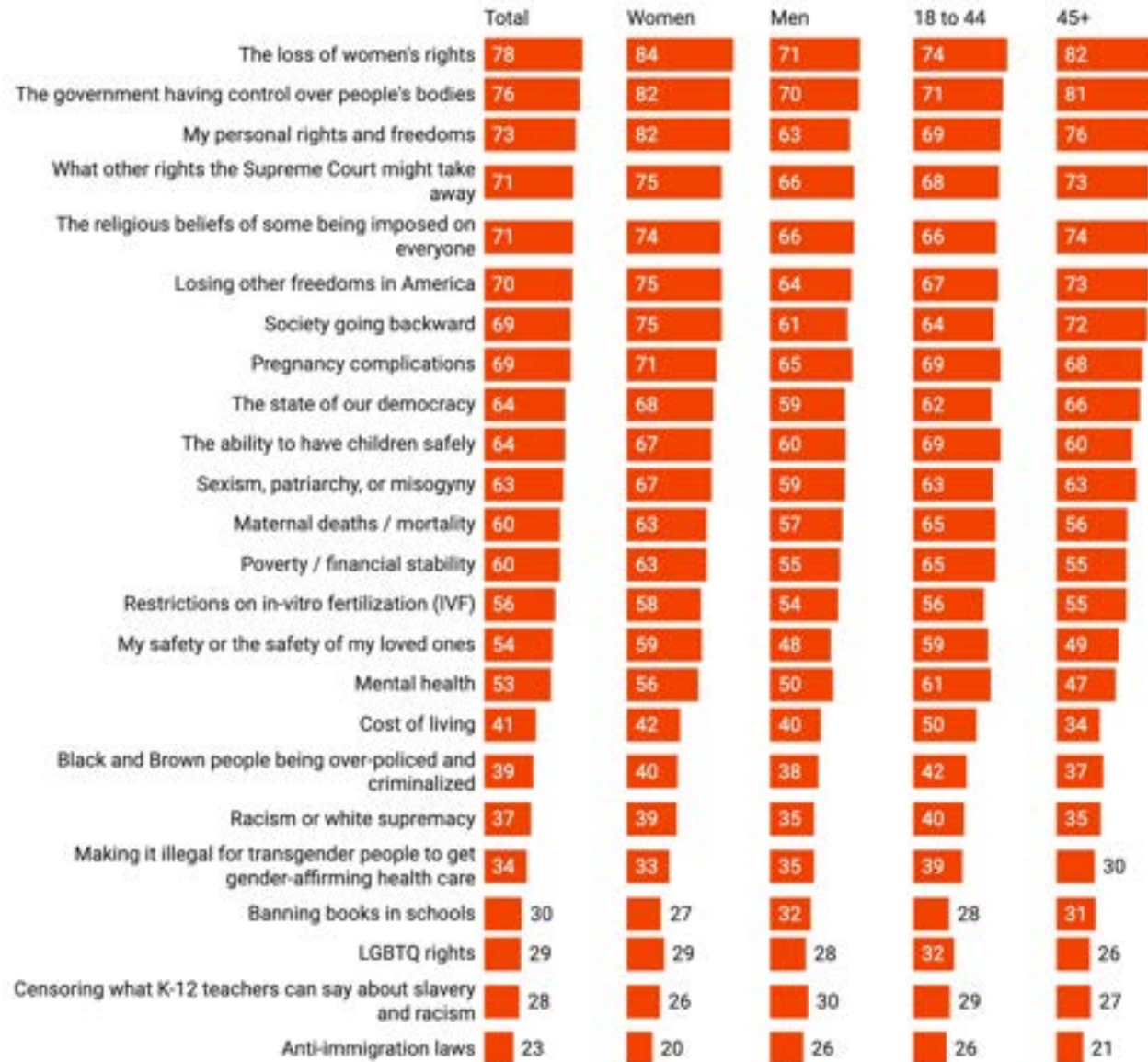
In your view, do abortion bans relate to...

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

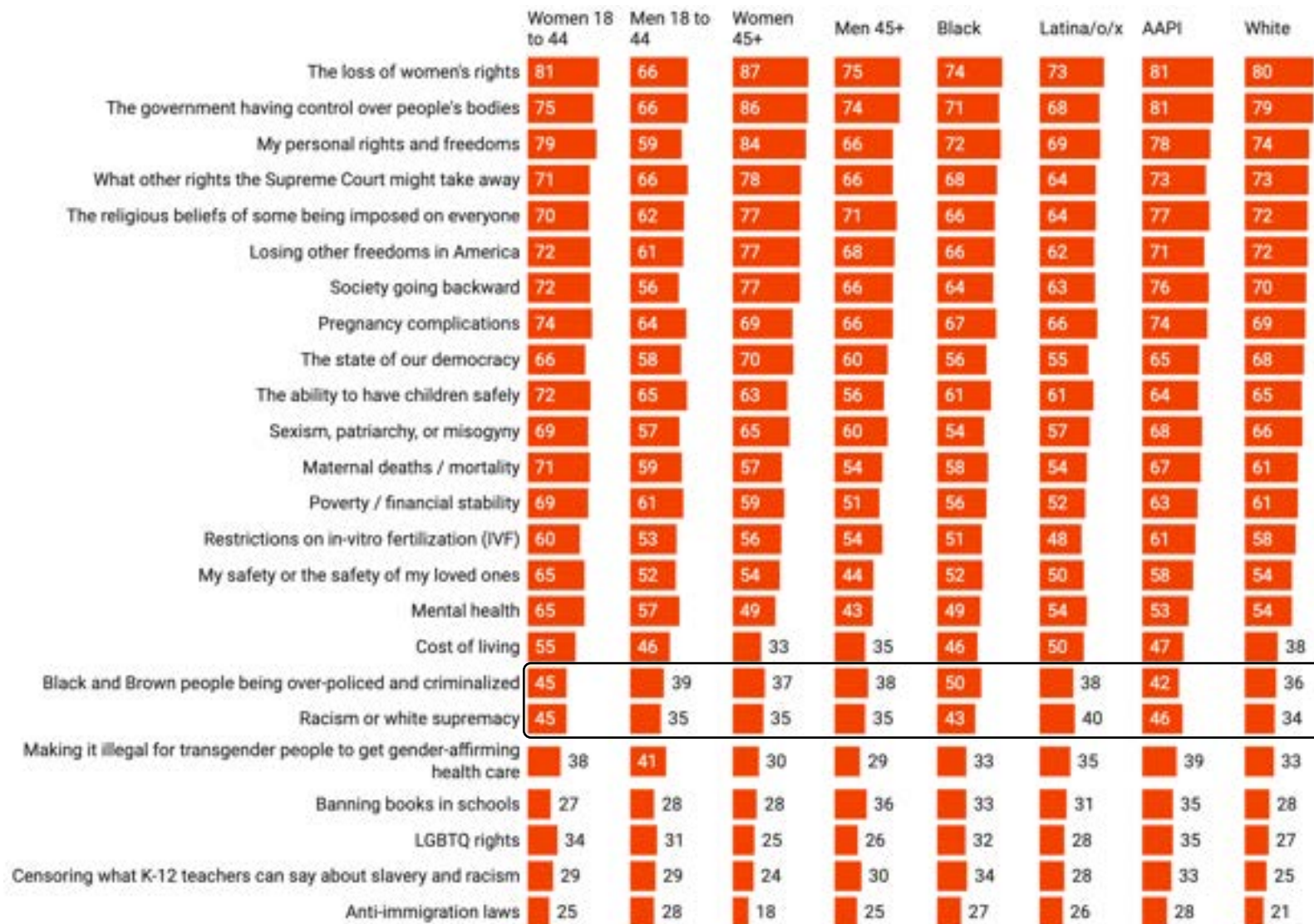
Why is abortion an important voting issue for those who support access? It connects to many issues.



% Abortion bans relate to:



% Abortion bans relate to:



**Worries about
abortion bans.**

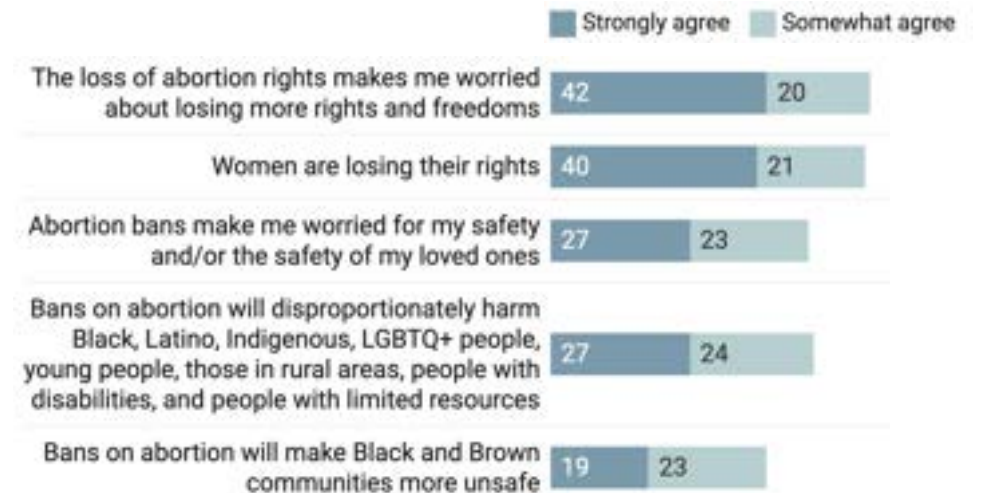
When asked about worries related to abortion bans, broader attacks on rights and freedoms are salient.

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

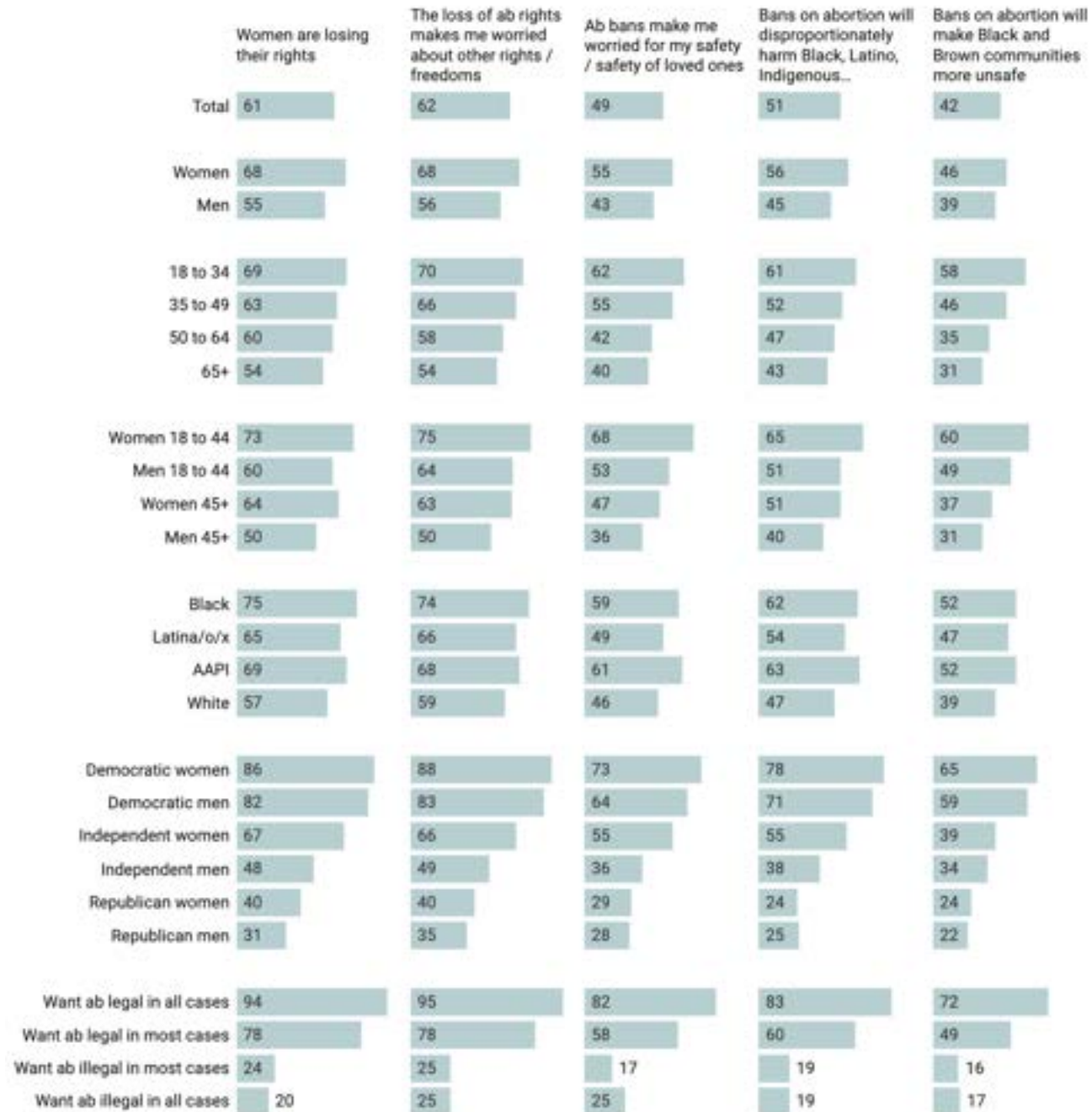
Black and AAPI voters are more likely than others to be worried about disproportionate harms and their own safety / the safety of their loved ones.

See next page.

Do you agree or disagree:
RANDOMIZE



% Agree

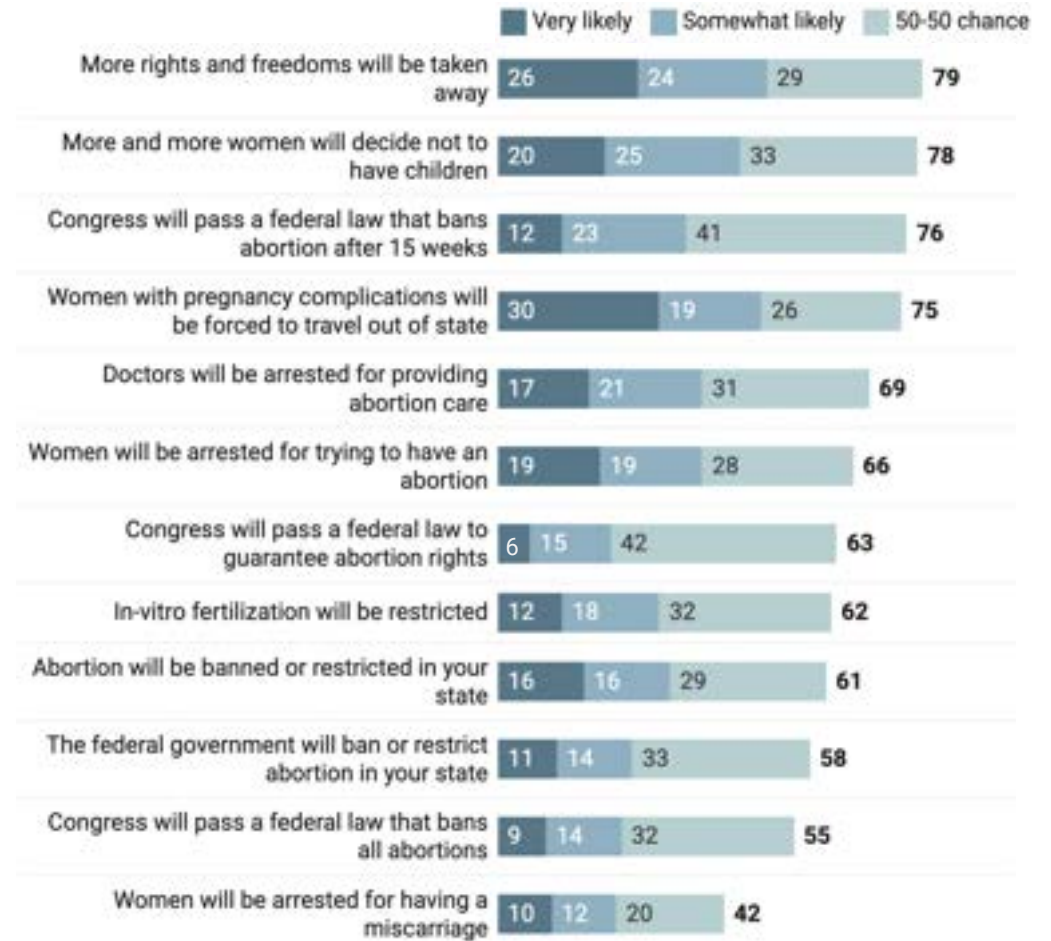


In our December 2022 survey, 27% of Republican women agreed “women are losing their rights”

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...
RANDOMIZE



In the next year or two, how likely is it that...

RANDOMIZE

% Saying 50-50 chance or more

	Total	Women	Men	Women 18 to 44	Men 18 to 44	Women 45+	Men 45+	Black	Latina/o /x	AAPI	White
More rights and freedoms will be taken away	79	81	77	83	77	80	77	82	78	79	79
More and more women will decide not to have children	78	81	75	86	78	78	73	78	85	84	77
Congress will pass a federal law that bans abortion after 15 weeks	76	80	72	86	80	75	67	82	81	76	74
Women with pregnancy complications will be forced to travel out of state	75	77	72	82	73	74	72	82	77	82	72
Doctors will be arrested for providing abortion care	69	73	66	80	74	69	60	77	74	69	67
Women will be arrested for trying to have an abortion	65	69	61	79	69	62	54	79	69	69	61
Congress will pass a federal law to guarantee abortion rights	63	69	57	74	66	66	50	71	75	64	59
In-vitro fertilization will be restricted	62	65	60	73	70	59	53	72	70	65	59
Abortion will be banned or restricted in your state	62	60	63	70	65	54	61	72	66	43	61
The federal government will ban or restrict abortion in your state	58	64	52	74	68	58	41	74	66	59	54
Congress will pass a federal law that bans all abortions	55	61	49	72	62	53	39	70	66	57	50
Women will be arrested for having a miscarriage	41	43	40	57	53	34	29	53	50	46	38



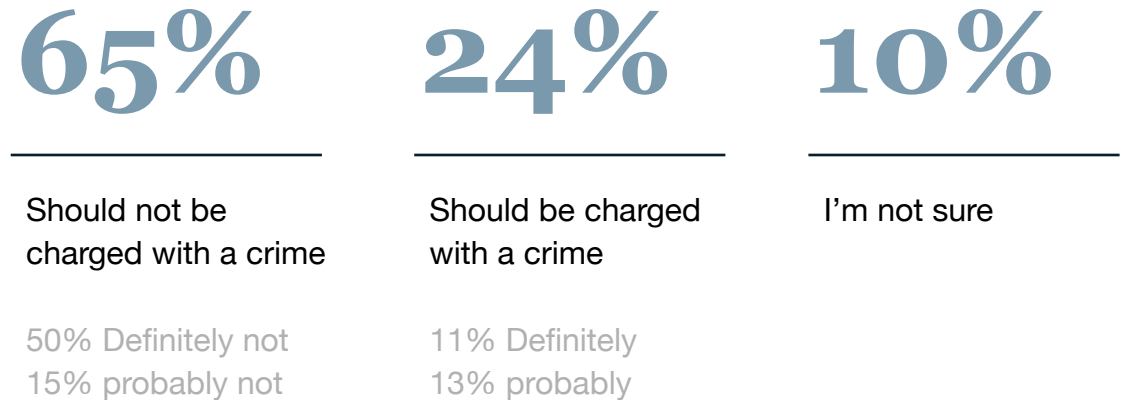
Two-thirds of respondents oppose criminalization for getting pills out of state.

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?





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