



THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN ABORTION

- QUESTIONNAIRE -

Sample Provided by: Precision Sample
Sample Size: 2,604 Registered Voters

Field Dates: September 16-26, 2022
Margin of Error: +/- 1.9%

As you may know, the subject of abortion is very much in the news these days. The Supreme Court recently made a decision (called Dobbs v. Jackson) to overturn previous Supreme Court decisions that limited what federal and state governments could do to restrict a woman’s access to abortion.

This has led to a major debate about what the government, at the state and federal levels, should do about abortion. In this survey we will explore the many different options and give you an opportunity to think through your views on them.

Q1. First, let me ask you how you feel about women having abortions. Some people feel very comfortable with women having abortions, others feel very uncomfortable. How would you describe how you feel about women having abortions.

	Very comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Lean toward comfortable	Comfortable	Neutral	Uncomfortable	Lean toward uncomfortable	Somewhat uncomfortable	Very uncomfortable	Refused / DK
National	33.6%	14.2%	6.5%	54.3%	17.1%	28.5%	8.3%	6.5%	13.7%	0.1%
GOP	19.6%	13.0%	5.5%	38.1%	16.3%	45.5%	11.7%	11.3%	22.5%	0.1%
Dem.	49.1%	16.9%	7.7%	73.7%	13.8%	12.3%	4.5%	2.2%	5.6%	0.1%
Indep.	25.5%	7.9%	5.5%	38.9%	34.2%	27.0%	9.8%	5.4%	11.8%	0.0%
Cook's PVI by States										
GOP	30.3%	11.0%	6.8%	48.1%	15.2%	36.5%	9.0%	6.6%	20.9%	0.2%
Dem.	31.2%	14.4%	5.4%	51.0%	19.1%	29.9%	8.5%	7.9%	13.5%	0.0%
Indep.	30.7%	13.4%	6.8%	50.9%	19.2%	29.9%	9.0%	7.6%	13.3%	0.0%
GOP	39.5%	13.6%	4.5%	57.6%	15.7%	26.7%	6.7%	4.9%	15.1%	0.0%
Dem.	38.3%	17.1%	8.3%	63.7%	14.8%	21.6%	8.0%	5.8%	7.8%	0.1%
Indep.	36.3%	16.4%	7.0%	59.7%	17.3%	22.8%	7.6%	4.9%	10.3%	0.2%

Q2. Now, turning to the question of what the government should do about abortions here are three general positions. For each one, please tell me how acceptable this would be to you on the scale below, with 0 being not at all acceptable, 10 very acceptable, and 5 just tolerable.

The government not being involved in trying to reduce the number of abortions.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	30.0%	16.3%	53.3%	69.6%	0.4%
Republicans	34.8%	19.6%	45.3%	64.9%	0.3%
Democrats	25.0%	10.9%	63.6%	74.5%	0.6%
Independents	31.6%	25.5%	42.9%	68.4%	0.4%

Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	32.2%	18.3%	49.3%	67.6%	0.2%
Somewhat red	29.5%	16.3%	53.8%	70.1%	0.4%
Lean red	35.9%	14.7%	49.4%	64.1%	0.0%
Lean blue	30.5%	13.3%	55.7%	69.0%	0.4%
Somewhat blue	25.0%	17.6%	56.5%	74.1%	0.9%
Very blue	25.6%	16.5%	57.5%	74.0%	0.5%

Q3. The government being involved in trying to reduce the number of abortions but limited to trying to reduce unintended pregnancies by educating people about birth control and making birth control more available.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	24.1%	14.0%	40.0%	54.0%	22.0%
Republicans	21.1%	14.7%	41.0%	55.7%	23.2%
Democrats	26.7%	12.0%	42.7%	54.7%	18.6%
Independents	25.1%	19.0%	25.1%	44.1%	30.8%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	24.1%	13.9%	38.3%	52.2%	23.7%
Somewhat red	25.7%	13.7%	38.9%	52.6%	21.7%
Lean red	22.9%	14.6%	37.9%	52.5%	24.6%
Lean blue	25.2%	12.7%	42.9%	55.6%	19.2%
Somewhat blue	23.0%	15.5%	40.6%	56.1%	20.9%
Very blue	23.0%	13.0%	44.3%	57.3%	19.7%

Q4. The government being involved in trying to reduce the number of abortions, including by making it a serious crime and punishing doctors who provide and/or women who get an abortion with prison time and/or a major fine.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	46.4%	7.5%	22.9%	30.4%	23.2%
Republicans	35.2%	10.3%	29.6%	39.9%	25.0%
Democrats	56.7%	4.5%	19.3%	23.8%	19.6%
Independents	48.5%	9.1%	11.2%	20.3%	31.2%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	41.7%	5.5%	28.1%	33.6%	24.8%
Somewhat red	45.9%	8.0%	22.8%	30.8%	23.3%
Lean red	45.7%	7.5%	20.9%	28.4%	25.9%
Lean blue	52.4%	6.7%	20.5%	27.2%	20.4%
Somewhat blue	47.3%	9.2%	21.6%	30.8%	21.9%
Very blue	48.6%	8.3%	22.2%	30.5%	20.9%

Before looking at specific policy proposals, here is some background information about abortions in the US.¹

Over the last few decades, the number of abortions has been declining. Currently, about one in five pregnancies end with an abortion.

¹ CDC. (2020) [Abortion surveillance, 2019](#); Guttmacher. (2022) [Long-Term Decline in US Abortions Reverses, Showing Rising Need for Abortion as Supreme Court Is Poised to Overturn Roe v. Wade](#)

It is also estimated that about one in four women will have an abortion in their lifetime.

Nearly all abortions occur early in the pregnancy. Just around 1-2 percent occur more than halfway through the pregnancy.

Most abortions used to be performed with surgery, but currently over half are performed using prescription pills.

Now let's turn to the topic of the government, federal and state, seeking to reduce unintended pregnancies.

As you likely know, many abortions are performed because the woman did not intend to become pregnant. More than 4 in 10 pregnancies are unintended.²

Two ways that the government currently tries to reduce the number of unintended pregnancies are:

- Teaching sex education in schools, which include information about birth control
- Helping people to get birth control by making it easier to get and more affordable

First, let's look at education about birth control as a means for reducing unintended pregnancies and ultimately abortions.

Currently, about 40% of public-school students do not receive sex education programs that teach about birth control.³

Research on the effect of sex education programs has found that programs that include information about birth control are effective in reducing unintended teen pregnancies. These effects tend to decline after a couple years though.⁴

One proposal is to require all sex education programs in public schools to include information about birth control.

Here is an argument in favor of this proposal:

Q5. It is not realistic to simply tell young people that they should not have sex. Programs that do that, have proven to be ineffective in reducing teen pregnancy. Many teen pregnancies lead to abortions. To reduce unintended pregnancies and the number of abortions teens need to have information about birth control. There is no evidence that this increases sexual activity. But it does reduce the number of abortions.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	37.5%	38.2%	75.7%	10.7%	6.5%	17.2%	7.1%
Republicans	30.3%	42.7%	73.0%	12.0%	8.5%	20.5%	6.5%
Democrats	47.7%	32.9%	80.6%	8.4%	3.9%	12.3%	7.0%
Independents	24.1%	42.2%	66.3%	14.7%	9.4%	24.1%	9.6%

² CDC. [Reproductive Health: Unintended Pregnancy](#) latest numbers available are from 2011, showing a decrease from 2008 (50% to 45%).

³ CDC. (2014) [Teen Pregnancy Prevention and United States Students](#)

⁴ Contraception: X. (2021) Sex education and contraceptive use of adolescent and young adult females in the United States: an analysis of the National Survey of Family Growth 2011–2017

Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	37.2%	38.8%	76.0%	10.2%	7.0%	17.2%	6.7%
Somewhat red	35.0%	36.7%	71.7%	11.8%	8.0%	19.8%	8.5%
Lean red	36.2%	38.2%	74.4%	11.8%	5.6%	17.4%	8.3%
Lean blue	42.4%	37.2%	79.6%	8.4%	6.3%	14.7%	5.7%
Somewhat blue	40.5%	37.3%	77.8%	9.8%	5.8%	15.6%	6.7%
Very blue	37.4%	41.5%	78.9%	10.6%	5.3%	15.9%	5.2%

Here is an argument against:

Q6. The problem of unintended pregnancies leading to abortion is not a problem of information, but of morality. Young people need to get consistent messages from adults that premarital sex is immoral. Teen sex can also lead to serious emotional consequences. Having public schools give information about birth control clearly signals to young people that having premarital sex is normal and acceptable.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	20.1%	23.4%	43.5%	20.3%	23.7%	44.0%	12.4%
Republicans	23.8%	28.3%	52.1%	22.3%	13.4%	35.7%	12.2%
Democrats	18.1%	19.2%	37.3%	17.1%	34.0%	51.1%	11.6%
Independents	13.8%	21.3%	35.1%	25.7%	22.3%	48.0%	17.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	23.1%	23.5%	46.6%	19.2%	21.8%	41.0%	12.4%
Somewhat red	19.6%	24.0%	43.6%	20.7%	21.6%	42.3%	14.1%
Lean red	19.6%	23.3%	42.9%	21.0%	21.7%	42.7%	14.5%
Lean blue	19.3%	20.8%	40.1%	20.8%	29.1%	49.9%	10.0%
Somewhat blue	20.6%	23.7%	44.3%	19.3%	25.1%	44.4%	11.3%
Very blue	18.0%	24.3%	42.3%	21.1%	26.7%	47.8%	9.9%

Here is another argument in favor of this proposal:

Q7. The goal of any educational program should be to provide our youth with the information they need to make healthy decisions for themselves, and to make long-term life plans. Studies show teaching about sex and birth control reduces the number of unintended pregnancies. This allows young people to better plan for the families they want. Leaving out that critical information violates our responsibility to the youth to prepare them for the world.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	45.0%	40.7%	85.7%	8.8%	4.6%	13.4%	0.8%
Republicans	35.9%	46.2%	82.1%	10.7%	6.6%	17.3%	0.6%
Democrats	56.5%	34.3%	90.8%	6.2%	2.2%	8.4%	0.9%
Independents	34.2%	45.7%	79.9%	12.1%	7.0%	19.1%	1.1%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	45.5%	43.1%	88.6%	7.4%	3.6%	11.0%	0.5%
Somewhat red	42.1%	42.2%	84.3%	8.8%	5.9%	14.7%	1.0%
Lean red	43.7%	40.3%	84.0%	10.0%	5.0%	15.0%	1.0%
Lean blue	50.9%	35.9%	86.8%	8.3%	4.0%	12.3%	1.0%
Somewhat blue	47.6%	39.0%	86.6%	9.0%	3.4%	12.4%	0.9%
Very blue	43.9%	41.1%	85.0%	9.5%	5.3%	14.8%	0.2%

Here is another argument against:

Q8. Education about sex and birth control gives young people the impression that casual sex is not risky if done right, which can encourage them to start sexual activity earlier when they are less mature. But there are serious emotional and mental consequences that come with having sex too early. If parents want to educate their children about that stuff, they can do so, but the government should not be promoting that information.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	20.0%	26.7%	46.7%	22.4%	19.1%	41.5%	11.8%
Republicans	22.1%	31.4%	53.5%	24.3%	10.9%	35.2%	11.3%
Democrats	20.0%	21.3%	41.3%	21.1%	26.6%	47.7%	11.1%
Independents	11.7%	30.4%	42.1%	20.2%	21.5%	41.7%	16.2%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	22.5%	23.5%	46.0%	22.2%	18.8%	41.0%	13.0%
Somewhat red	20.8%	30.4%	51.2%	19.1%	17.7%	36.8%	12.0%
Lean red	21.3%	26.3%	47.6%	20.5%	19.3%	39.8%	12.6%
Lean blue	16.4%	26.8%	43.2%	25.6%	20.7%	46.3%	10.5%
Somewhat blue	20.8%	25.2%	46.0%	23.2%	19.1%	42.3%	11.7%
Very blue	15.6%	26.8%	42.4%	27.1%	20.7%	47.8%	9.6%

Q9. Now that you have heard the argument, how acceptable do you find the following proposal:

As a way to reduce unintended pregnancies and abortions, for the government to require that public schools provide education to students about birth control.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	15.9%	15.6%	68.1%	83.7%	0.5%
Republicans	20.7%	18.5%	60.5%	79.0%	0.3%
Democrats	10.2%	11.1%	77.9%	89.0%	0.8%
Independents	19.6%	22.7%	57.7%	80.4%	0.0%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	17.1%	16.5%	65.9%	82.4%	0.5%
Somewhat red	19.6%	16.2%	63.4%	79.6%	0.9%
Lean red	14.8%	15.7%	68.6%	84.3%	0.9%
Lean blue	16.7%	10.1%	73.2%	83.3%	0.0%
Somewhat blue	11.4%	16.7%	72.0%	88.7%	0.0%
Very blue	13.5%	16.3%	70.0%	86.3%	0.1%

Q10. So, in conclusion, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref./DK
National 2022	77.6%	22.1%	0.3%
Republicans	70.9%	28.9%	0.2%
Democrats	85.8%	13.9%	0.2%
Independents	70.6%	28.8%	0.6%

Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	78.2%	21.5%	0.3%
Somewhat red	71.5%	28.3%	0.1%
Lean red	76.0%	23.6%	0.3%
Lean blue	81.0%	18.1%	0.8%
Somewhat blue	81.7%	18.1%	0.2%
Very blue	82.3%	17.7%	0.0%

Another way that the government could reduce unintended pregnancies, and ultimately abortions, would be by making it more possible for women to get long-term birth control.⁵ Long-term birth control refers to methods that require a prescription, such as the pill, implants and intra-uterine devices or IUDs.

Currently, the government makes it more possible for women to get long-term birth control by requiring that it be covered by most private insurance and all state-run public health insurance programs (including Medicaid). There are exemptions for nonprofits, religious organizations, and closely-held companies led by people morally opposed to birth control.

Even though birth control must be covered by most private insurance, as well as public insurance (e.g., Medicaid), birth control can still be difficult to afford for some women:

- Around 7.5 million women of reproductive age (15-44) do not have insurance.⁶
- Many insurance companies limit their coverage of birth control pills to certain types. For each type, some women get negative side effects, thus they are effectively excluded from coverage.

Thus, some state governments have tried to help some of these women get access to birth control by providing funds to health care clinics so they can provide long-term birth control for free or at a low cost. There is some debate about whether the government should seek to reduce unintended pregnancies by making it more possible to get birth control:

Here is an argument in support:

Q11. Birth control is one of the best ways to reduce unintended pregnancies, which will also reduce the number of abortions.⁷ It will also reduce unintended births, which saves taxpayers money because, without birth control, more children would be born into poverty and rely on government assistance. Studies have found that every dollar spent on birth control saves society seven to nine dollars.⁸

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	47.1%	37.7%	84.8%	8.8%	5.7%	14.5%	0.6%
Republicans	39.1%	42.8%	81.9%	10.1%	7.5%	17.6%	0.6%
Democrats	58.1%	31.4%	89.5%	6.1%	3.7%	9.8%	0.7%
Independents	33.7%	43.9%	77.6%	15.0%	7.4%	22.4%	0.0%

⁵ Guttmacher. (2003) [Relationships Between Contraception and Abortion: A Review of the Evidence](#)

⁶ March for Dimes. (2020) [Uninsured Women: United States 2010-2020](#); Guttmacher (2018) [Gains in Insurance Coverage for Reproductive-Age Women at a Crossroads](#)

⁷ UCLA. (2021) [How Subsidies Affect Contraceptive Use among Low-Income Women in the U.S.: A Randomized Control Trial](#); Medical Care. (2021) [Utilization Impact of Cost-Sharing Elimination for Preventive Care Services: A Rapid Review](#); Contraception. (2015) [Did increasing use of highly effective contraception contribute to declining abortions in Iowa?](#); Medical Care. (2013) [The impact of out-of-pocket costs on use of intrauterine contraception among women with employer-sponsored insurance](#) Washington University. (2012) [Contraceptive CHOICE Project](#); Health Services Research. (2007) [Public Savings from the Prevention of Unintended Pregnancy: A Cost Analysis of Family Planning Services in California](#); American Journal of Public Health. (2004) [Expanded State-Funded Family Planning Services: Estimating Pregnancies Averted by the Family PACT Program in California, 1997-1998](#)

⁸ Univ of California San Francisco. [ANSIRH: Cost-Effectiveness of Providing Contraceptives](#); Guttmacher. (2015) [Publicly Funded Family Planning Yields Numerous Positive Health Outcomes While Saving Taxpayer Dollars](#)

Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	46.6%	39.4%	86.0%	7.9%	5.3%	13.2%	0.9%
Somewhat red	45.4%	36.3%	81.7%	10.4%	7.0%	17.4%	1.0%
Lean red	46.6%	38.2%	84.8%	10.4%	4.6%	15.0%	0.2%
Lean blue	48.7%	37.4%	86.1%	7.0%	5.8%	12.8%	1.1%
Somewhat blue	50.5%	35.6%	86.1%	6.2%	7.5%	13.7%	0.2%
Very blue	46.6%	40.0%	86.6%	9.6%	3.8%	13.4%	0.0%

Here is an argument against:

Q12. A substantial portion of birth control is used by unmarried women and girls. Making it available to them makes it more likely that they will engage in pre-marital sex. It is wrong for the government to enable such activities. Furthermore, birth control is not completely effective in preventing pregnancies, so greater sexual activity can lead to more unintended pregnancies. Finally, birth control is already widely available and affordable. A key reason women don't use it is because of its side effects.⁹ Making it more available won't necessarily increase its use.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	17.0%	25.7%	42.7%	22.2%	22.5%	44.7%	12.6%
Republicans	18.8%	30.4%	49.2%	24.4%	13.9%	38.3%	12.5%
Democrats	16.6%	21.3%	37.9%	18.8%	31.1%	49.9%	12.2%
Independents	11.5%	25.1%	36.6%	27.2%	21.5%	48.7%	14.7%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	18.7%	26.7%	45.4%	20.6%	19.9%	40.5%	14.1%
Somewhat red	19.4%	24.1%	43.5%	22.0%	22.2%	44.2%	12.3%
Lean red	17.3%	27.4%	44.7%	22.5%	19.2%	41.7%	13.6%
Lean blue	13.4%	23.5%	36.9%	21.1%	29.0%	50.1%	12.9%
Somewhat blue	18.0%	25.2%	43.2%	22.4%	25.0%	47.4%	9.4%
Very blue	12.2%	26.6%	38.8%	24.7%	23.3%	48.0%	13.2%

How acceptable do you find the following proposal:

Q13. The government making it a higher priority to reduce unintended pregnancies by making it more possible to get birth control.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	14.4%	14.0%	71.2%	85.2%	0.5%
Republicans	16.8%	16.5%	65.9%	82.4%	0.8%
Democrats	10.8%	10.0%	78.9%	88.9%	0.2%
Independents	19.4%	20.2%	60.3%	80.5%	0.2%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	18.0%	12.9%	68.6%	81.5%	0.5%
Somewhat red	17.4%	15.3%	66.7%	82.0%	0.7%
Lean red	12.0%	13.4%	74.0%	87.4%	0.7%
Lean blue	16.5%	10.8%	72.5%	83.3%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	10.1%	14.2%	75.5%	89.7%	0.2%
Very blue	11.0%	16.0%	72.8%	88.8%	0.2%

⁹ Kaiser Family Foundation. (2021) [Women's Sexual and Reproductive Health Services: Key Findings from the 2020 KFF Women's Health Survey](#)

Q14. So, in conclusion, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref./DK
National 2022	79.1%	20.4%	0.5%
Republicans	73.2%	26.1%	0.7%
Democrats	86.9%	12.8%	0.3%
Independents	70.3%	29.0%	0.7%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	75.3%	24.0%	0.7%
Somewhat red	75.1%	24.6%	0.3%
Lean red	82.1%	17.5%	0.4%
Lean blue	79.7%	20.1%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	82.9%	15.8%	1.3%
Very blue	82.1%	17.6%	0.3%

As you may know, the federal government currently requires that private health insurance and state-run public health insurance (including Medicaid) cover all forms of long-term birth control such as the pill and IUDs. For private health insurance there are exemptions for nonprofits, religious organizations, and closely-held companies led by people morally opposed to birth control.

There is a debate about whether the government should continue to require (with some religious and moral exemptions for some employers) that health insurance covers long-term birth control.

Here is an argument in favor:

Q15. Long-term birth control is an essential part of many women's healthcare--1 out of 4 women use it.¹⁰ It is not right that birth control be treated differently from other essential healthcare benefits like asthma inhalers. Furthermore, health insurance for workers is not charity from their employers, it is earned by the workers through their hard work which keeps the company going. This requirement has been a huge success: an estimated 62 million more women have gained access to birth control with no out-of-pocket costs.¹¹

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	44.0%	36.4%	80.4%	11.2%	6.2%	17.4%	2.2%
Republicans	35.4%	41.7%	77.1%	12.9%	8.7%	21.6%	1.2%
Democrats	54.9%	30.0%	84.9%	8.4%	3.8%	12.2%	3.0%
Independents	33.2%	41.9%	75.1%	16.1%	6.2%	22.3%	2.6%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	43.2%	36.2%	79.4%	11.2%	7.1%	18.3%	2.3%
Somewhat red	42.7%	36.9%	79.6%	10.9%	6.6%	17.5%	3.0%
Lean red	44.5%	35.1%	79.6%	12.7%	5.9%	18.6%	1.8%
Lean blue	48.1%	34.7%	82.8%	10.9%	4.4%	15.3%	1.9%
Somewhat blue	46.7%	37.7%	84.4%	8.4%	5.2%	13.6%	2.0%
Very blue	40.7%	37.5%	78.2%	12.9%	7.4%	20.3%	1.5%

¹⁰ CDC. (2018) [Current Contraceptive Status Among Women Aged 15–49: United States, 2015–2017](#)

¹¹ NWLC. (2021) [New data estimates 62.1 million women have coverage of birth control and other preventative services without out-of-pocket costs](#)

Here is an argument against:

Q16. In some religions, birth control is considered immoral. Many people in the US feel that way, people who are taxpayers who contribute to funding Medicaid or employers forced to pay for insurance that covers birth control for their employees. No one should be forced to pay for something that goes against their religious convictions. That is a violation of their fundamental religious rights. Furthermore, if this requirement were to be lifted, there would still be insurance plans that cover birth control, and people are free to get those plans that fit them best.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	21.1%	26.5%	47.6%	22.5%	22.0%	44.5%	8.0%
Republicans	26.4%	30.9%	57.3%	22.2%	12.8%	35.0%	7.7%
Democrats	18.7%	21.9%	40.6%	20.8%	31.3%	52.1%	7.3%
Independents	9.4%	28.3%	37.7%	30.5%	20.3%	50.8%	11.5%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	21.3%	27.7%	49.0%	21.4%	19.0%	40.4%	10.7%
Somewhat red	21.8%	28.3%	50.1%	22.7%	20.9%	43.6%	6.2%
Lean red	24.2%	23.3%	47.5%	22.8%	21.1%	43.9%	8.6%
Lean blue	19.5%	26.9%	46.4%	19.8%	28.6%	48.4%	5.1%
Somewhat blue	20.7%	25.8%	46.5%	21.7%	23.1%	44.8%	8.8%
Very blue	17.0%	26.6%	43.6%	25.9%	22.8%	48.7%	7.7%

Q17. How acceptable do you find the following proposal:

The federal government continuing to require that health insurance covers long-term birth control (with some religious and moral exemptions for some employers).

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	16.2%	16.5%	66.7%	83.2%	0.6%
Republicans	19.4%	20.0%	60.1%	80.1%	0.5%
Democrats	12.6%	11.1%	75.8%	86.9%	0.5%
Independents	18.5%	24.7%	55.7%	80.4%	1.1%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	17.7%	15.7%	66.6%	82.3%	0.0%
Somewhat red	16.5%	18.3%	64.3%	82.6%	0.9%
Lean red	18.6%	16.1%	65.1%	81.2%	0.2%
Lean blue	14.2%	13.1%	71.3%	84.4%	1.4%
Somewhat blue	14.2%	17.8%	66.9%	84.7%	1.1%
Very blue	14.0%	16.3%	69.4%	85.7%	0.2%

Q18. So, in conclusion, do you approve or disapprove of the federal government continuing to require that health insurance covers long-term birth control (with some religious and moral exemptions for some employers)?

	Approve	Disapprove	Ref./DK
National 2022	82.4%	17.1%	0.5%
Republicans	75.6%	23.8%	0.6%
Democrats	89.6%	10.0%	0.4%
Independents	79.4%	20.2%	0.5%

Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	82.5%	17.1%	0.4%
Somewhat red	81.5%	18.0%	0.5%
Lean red	80.8%	18.3%	0.9%
Lean blue	80.7%	18.7%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	83.7%	15.9%	0.5%
Very blue	85.4%	14.5%	0.1%

[Asked only if disapprove on Q18]

Q18a. Do you disapprove because:

1. you DO NOT support the government requiring insurance to cover birth control
2. you DO support the government requiring insurance to cover birth control, but you do not want there to be religious or moral exemptions for some employers
3. some other reason

	Do not support govt requiring insurance to cover birth control	Do support govt requiring insurance to cover birth control, but not religious exemptions	Some other reason	Approve + Approve w/no exemptions	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	8.5%	6.0%	2.7%	88.4%	0.5%
Republicans	15.0%	5.5%	3.3%	81.1%	0.6%
Democrats	2.1%	6.2%	1.7%	95.8%	0.4%
Independents	8.6%	7.1%	4.4%	86.5%	0.5%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	9.1%	6.4%	1.7%	88.9%	0.4%
Somewhat red	10.0%	5.8%	2.2%	87.3%	0.5%
Lean red	6.9%	8.0%	3.4%	88.8%	0.9%
Lean blue	10.6%	4.9%	3.3%	85.6%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	7.9%	4.8%	3.2%	88.5%	0.5%
Very blue	6.2%	5.2%	3.1%	90.6%	0.1%

As you may know, to increase access to birth control, some states provide funding to clinics to provide long-term birth control. However, the federal government estimates that over half of women who are in need of government funded birth control – because they are low-income or uninsured – do not have access to it.¹²

There is a proposal to increase the amount of government funding to health care clinics so they can provide long-term birth control for free or at low cost for women who cannot get it some other way.

Here is an argument in favor:

Q19. Women should not be shut out from getting birth control because they do not make enough money. The majority of woman who have abortions are people just working to make ends meet, and a big reason for that is lack of access to birth control. Making birth control more affordable will enable them to have children when they are financially ready and will reduce the number of abortions.¹³

¹² CDC. (2015) [Health People 2030: Increase the proportion of women who get needed publicly funded birth control services and support — FP-09](#)

¹³ UCLA. (2021) [How Subsidies Affect Contraceptive Use among Low-Income Women in the U.S.: A Randomized Control Trial](#); Medical Care. (2021) [Utilization Impact of Cost-Sharing Elimination for Preventive Care Services: A Rapid Review](#); Medical Care. (2013) [The impact of out-of-pocket costs on use of intrauterine contraception among women with employer-sponsored insurance](#) Washington University. (2012) [Contraceptive CHOICE Project](#); Health Services Research. (2007) [Public Savings from the Prevention of Unintended Pregnancy: A Cost Analysis of Family Planning Services in California](#)

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	47.5%	33.3%	80.8%	11.6%	6.3%	17.9%	1.2%
Republicans	36.8%	37.8%	74.6%	15.0%	8.9%	23.9%	1.5%
Democrats	60.6%	26.7%	87.3%	8.2%	3.6%	11.8%	0.9%
Independents	35.9%	42.9%	78.8%	12.5%	7.3%	19.8%	1.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	47.6%	32.7%	80.3%	13.4%	4.8%	18.2%	1.5%
Somewhat red	46.3%	33.8%	80.1%	11.0%	7.8%	18.8%	1.2%
Lean red	46.9%	33.3%	80.2%	12.5%	6.1%	18.6%	1.2%
Lean blue	49.7%	31.5%	81.2%	13.6%	4.6%	18.2%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	49.5%	32.3%	81.8%	10.5%	6.2%	16.7%	1.6%
Very blue	46.2%	35.7%	81.9%	9.1%	7.8%	16.9%	1.1%

Here is an argument against:

Q20. Birth control is not a necessary medication, like insulin for diabetics. Taxpayers should not have to pay for a voluntary medication. There are other ways to reduce unintended pregnancies that don't require insurance. People can use a condom or simply abstain when they are not ready to have children.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	20.8%	25.0%	45.8%	20.2%	26.7%	46.9%	7.4%
Republicans	25.6%	27.9%	53.5%	21.9%	17.5%	39.4%	7.2%
Democrats	18.0%	21.0%	39.0%	18.1%	35.6%	53.7%	7.3%
Independents	13.4%	30.2%	43.6%	22.2%	26.0%	48.2%	8.3%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	19.2%	27.3%	46.5%	21.5%	23.7%	45.2%	8.4%
Somewhat red	20.0%	26.6%	46.6%	20.2%	26.2%	46.4%	7.0%
Lean red	24.0%	21.7%	45.7%	19.5%	25.9%	45.4%	8.9%
Lean blue	19.3%	21.8%	41.1%	18.3%	32.9%	51.2%	7.7%
Somewhat blue	23.0%	24.2%	47.2%	20.0%	26.3%	46.3%	6.5%
Very blue	18.9%	27.0%	45.9%	20.5%	28.1%	48.6%	5.6%

Q21. How acceptable do you find the following proposal:

Increasing the amount of funding to health care clinics so they can provide long-term birth control for free or at low cost.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National 2022	17.6%	13.8%	68.2%	82.0%	0.5%
Republicans	24.2%	16.5%	58.6%	75.1%	0.7%
Democrats	11.2%	9.3%	79.4%	88.7%	0.1%
Independents	17.8%	21.6%	59.6%	81.2%	1.0%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	19.8%	11.5%	68.1%	79.6%	0.6%
Somewhat red	18.4%	14.5%	66.4%	80.9%	0.6%
Lean red	19.8%	12.9%	66.6%	79.5%	0.7%
Lean blue	18.5%	8.5%	73.0%	81.5%	0.0%
Somewhat blue	11.8%	17.4%	70.7%	88.1%	0.2%
Very blue	16.0%	16.7%	66.8%	83.5%	0.5%

Q22. So, in conclusion, do you favor or oppose that proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref./DK
National	77.7%	21.9%	0.4%
Republicans	68.6%	30.8%	0.6%
Democrats	87.3%	12.5%	0.1%
Independents	74.1%	25.3%	0.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	77.3%	22.1%	0.6%
Somewhat red	75.1%	24.6%	0.3%
Lean red	76.1%	23.5%	0.4%
Lean blue	76.0%	23.8%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	82.7%	16.7%	0.6%
Very blue	80.3%	19.5%	0.2%

Now, let's turn to another way the government has tried to reduce abortions: by putting more requirements on the process of a woman getting an abortion. This has been done at the state level in several ways, here are two of them:

- Requiring doctors to show a woman seeking an abortion an ultrasound image of her fetus (or read a description) before getting an abortion
- Prohibiting doctors from providing an abortion on the day that they approve it, but instead require the woman to come back 1-3 days later to get the abortion.

Here is an argument in favor of the government putting more requirements on the process of getting an abortion:

Q23. Ending the life of an unborn child is an incredibly serious decision that cannot be undone and should not be made quickly. When women see their unborn child and are required to take time to think about their decision, some may decide against ending their pregnancy. These requirements have been shown to reduce abortion rates,¹⁴ and thus saved lives. And those women will not have to live with the regret of having an abortion,¹⁵ which can cause serious depression.¹⁶

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	36.5%	33.8%	70.3%	15.4%	13.6%	29.0%	0.7%
Republicans	45.4%	34.9%	80.3%	12.1%	6.8%	18.9%	0.8%
Democrats	29.8%	32.1%	61.9%	17.3%	20.2%	37.5%	0.7%
Independents	28.3%	36.2%	64.5%	21.4%	13.5%	34.9%	0.7%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	42.6%	32.3%	74.9%	14.5%	9.7%	24.2%	0.9%
Somewhat red	37.7%	35.5%	73.2%	13.6%	12.3%	25.9%	0.8%
Lean red	37.5%	31.9%	69.4%	15.6%	14.4%	30.0%	0.6%
Lean blue	35.5%	30.0%	65.5%	17.1%	17.0%	34.1%	0.4%
Somewhat blue	33.0%	35.6%	68.6%	14.7%	15.6%	30.3%	1.1%
Very blue	29.6%	36.1%	65.7%	18.7%	15.0%	33.7%	0.5%

¹⁴ IZA. (2021) [Cooling off or Burdened? The Effects of Mandatory Waiting Periods on Abortions and Births](#); Journal of Health Economics. (2021) [New Evidence on the Effects of Mandatory Waiting Periods for Abortion](#); PLoS One. (2017) [Evaluating the impact of a mandatory pre-abortion ultrasound viewing law: A mixed methods study](#); Family Planning Perspectives. (2000) [The Impact of Mississippi's Mandatory Delay Law on the Timing of Abortion](#)

¹⁵ Social Science and Medicine. (2020) [Emotions and decision rightness over five years following an abortion: An examination of decision difficulty and abortion stigma](#)

¹⁶ SAGE Open Medicine. (2018) [The abortion and mental health controversy: A comprehensive literature review of common ground agreements, disagreements, actionable recommendations, and research opportunities](#)

Here is an argument against:

Q24. The studies of the effects of such requirements do not find that seeing an ultrasound makes women change their mind about wanting an abortion. Rather the studies find the requirements for waiting periods simply make it more difficult and costly for women to get an abortion. It often takes weeks to get a second appointment, women may have to travel long distances and must get time off work and pay for childcare.¹⁷ This is especially unfair to low income and rural women and single mothers.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	30.3%	28.5%	58.8%	18.3%	13.0%	31.3%	9.9%
Republicans	19.6%	27.2%	46.8%	24.8%	18.4%	43.2%	10.1%
Democrats	42.7%	29.2%	71.9%	11.6%	7.9%	19.5%	8.6%
Independents	21.5%	30.5%	52.0%	20.4%	12.7%	33.1%	14.8%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	28.1%	26.1%	54.2%	19.1%	14.6%	33.7%	12.1%
Somewhat red	30.3%	28.3%	58.6%	18.4%	14.8%	33.2%	8.3%
Lean red	28.7%	28.0%	56.7%	18.3%	15.8%	34.1%	9.3%
Lean blue	33.0%	31.2%	64.2%	18.1%	8.8%	26.9%	8.9%
Somewhat blue	33.2%	28.1%	61.3%	17.1%	10.2%	27.3%	11.4%
Very blue	29.8%	31.2%	61.0%	18.8%	10.5%	29.3%	9.6%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q25. If we do not make abortion illegal, the government should at least communicate that having an abortion is a morally significant decision. Having such requirements is a way to gently discourage women from taking the life of their unborn child.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	23.9%	32.6%	56.5%	21.5%	21.0%	42.5%	1.0%
Republicans	29.1%	38.2%	67.3%	20.2%	11.7%	31.9%	0.8%
Democrats	21.4%	26.2%	47.6%	21.6%	29.8%	51.4%	1.0%
Independents	13.4%	36.4%	49.8%	26.6%	21.6%	48.2%	2.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	23.9%	37.0%	60.9%	20.7%	17.6%	38.3%	0.8%
Somewhat red	25.2%	31.9%	57.1%	21.8%	20.2%	42.0%	0.9%
Lean red	24.6%	30.7%	55.3%	23.6%	20.4%	44.0%	0.7%
Lean blue	21.3%	32.5%	53.8%	15.7%	29.3%	45.0%	1.3%
Somewhat blue	25.7%	31.9%	57.6%	21.4%	19.6%	41.0%	1.4%
Very blue	21.0%	31.2%	52.2%	23.8%	22.8%	46.6%	1.3%

¹⁷ IZA. (2021) [Cooling off or Burdened? the Effects of Mandatory Waiting Periods on Abortions and Births](#); Journal of Health Economics. (2021) [New Evidence on the Effects of Mandatory Waiting Periods for Abortion](#); PLoS One. (2017) [Evaluating the impact of a mandatory pre-abortion ultrasound viewing law: A mixed methods study](#); Family Planning Perspectives. (2000) [The Impact of Mississippi's Mandatory Delay Law on the Timing of Abortion](#)

Here is another argument against:

Q26. The government has no place regulating how long a woman must think about a medical procedure. It serves no medical purpose and doctors are already required to provide information women need to make an informed decision. Women do not make these choices lightly or impulsively and the process of getting appointments already takes at least a week for most women.¹⁸

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	37.0%	28.1%	65.1%	16.0%	10.1%	26.1%	8.8%
Republicans	25.1%	28.8%	53.9%	21.3%	16.2%	37.5%	8.6%
Democrats	50.8%	26.4%	77.2%	10.0%	4.5%	14.5%	8.4%
Independents	27.4%	32.4%	59.8%	20.3%	9.2%	29.5%	10.7%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	30.0%	27.5%	57.5%	16.9%	12.7%	29.6%	12.8%
Somewhat red	36.0%	29.1%	65.1%	16.2%	9.7%	25.9%	9.0%
Lean red	37.2%	28.3%	65.5%	16.2%	10.7%	26.9%	7.5%
Lean blue	44.1%	24.4%	68.5%	13.5%	10.8%	24.3%	7.3%
Somewhat blue	40.6%	29.1%	69.7%	14.5%	8.4%	22.9%	7.3%
Very blue	38.7%	28.4%	67.1%	17.7%	8.1%	25.8%	7.1%

How acceptable do you find the following:

Q27a. Requiring doctors to show a woman seeking an abortion an ultrasound image of her fetus (or read a description) before getting an abortion.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	35.7%	16.8%	45.3%	62.1%	2.2%
Republicans	24.0%	16.2%	58.0%	74.2%	1.9%
Democrats	46.1%	15.2%	36.3%	51.5%	2.4%
Independents	39.1%	26.2%	31.6%	57.8%	3.1%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	31.9%	16.0%	49.8%	65.8%	2.3%
Somewhat red	31.3%	19.3%	45.5%	64.8%	3.9%
Lean red	36.6%	15.4%	47.0%	62.4%	1.0%
Lean blue	40.0%	12.5%	46.0%	58.5%	1.5%
Somewhat blue	39.9%	15.3%	43.2%	58.5%	1.5%
Very blue	38.9%	20.5%	38.4%	58.9%	2.2%

Q27b. Prohibiting doctors from providing an abortion on the day that they approve it, but instead require the woman to come back 1-3 days later to get the abortion.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	23.9%	12.0%	38.6%	50.6%	25.5%
Republicans	18.4%	10.7%	48.5%	59.2%	22.4%
Democrats	29.8%	11.6%	31.8%	43.4%	26.8%
Independents	21.6%	18.6%	27.0%	45.6%	32.7%

¹⁸ Guttmacher. (2016) [Time to Appointment and Delays in Accessing Care Among U.S. Abortion Patients](#)

Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	20.9%	7.1%	44.5%	51.6%	27.6%
Somewhat red	22.0%	12.6%	41.0%	53.6%	24.3%
Lean red	25.7%	12.9%	36.6%	49.5%	24.8%
Lean blue	21.7%	11.6%	39.0%	50.6%	27.7%
Somewhat blue	26.0%	14.3%	35.7%	50.0%	23.9%
Very blue	28.1%	13.8%	32.4%	46.2%	25.7%

So, in conclusion, do you favor or oppose the following:

Q28a. Requiring doctors to show a woman seeking an abortion an ultrasound image of her fetus (or read a description) before getting an abortion.

	Favor	Oppose	Ref./DK
National	57.6%	41.6%	0.8%
Republicans	69.4%	30.0%	0.5%
Democrats	47.6%	51.4%	1.0%
Independents	51.4%	47.7%	0.9%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	64.7%	35.1%	0.2%
Somewhat red	58.6%	40.6%	0.8%
Lean red	55.8%	42.6%	1.6%
Lean blue	52.5%	47.0%	0.5%
Somewhat blue	55.4%	43.7%	0.9%
Very blue	54.7%	44.8%	0.6%

Q28b. Prohibiting doctors from providing an abortion on the day that they approve it, but instead require the woman to come back 1-3 days later to get the abortion.

	Favor	Oppose	Ref./DK
National	53.2%	45.4%	1.4%
Republicans	63.9%	34.5%	1.5%
Democrats	44.2%	54.5%	1.3%
Independents	47.7%	50.9%	1.4%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	57.8%	40.9%	1.3%
Somewhat red	54.8%	43.1%	2.1%
Lean red	52.5%	45.8%	1.7%
Lean blue	46.1%	53.1%	0.7%
Somewhat blue	54.1%	44.6%	1.3%
Very blue	49.7%	49.6%	0.7%

Now let's turn to the topic of the government spending money for abortions.

As you may know, federal law does not allow the use of any federal funds for abortion, unless the pregnancy is a result of rape, incest, or if it is determined to endanger the woman's life. This is known as the Hyde Amendment.

This means that any health care clinics or hospitals which receive federal funding cannot use that funding for abortions.

Also, federally funded health insurance plans cannot cover abortions, including:

- **Medicaid**, the public insurance plan for very low-income people
- Insurance plans provided to **federal employees**
- Insurance plans provided to **military personnel**

Studies have found that the rule against using federal government funds for abortions has reduced the number of abortions.¹⁹

Here is an argument in favor of the federal government continuing to ban federal funds from being used for abortions:

Q29. It is not right that tens of millions of taxpayers who have religious or moral objections to abortions should be forced to have their tax money pay for an abortion. There is no federal right to a taxpayer-funded abortion. By making abortions free or low cost, the government is effectively encouraging women to abort their baby. Furthermore, this law has effectively stopped 2.4 million abortions – using recent estimates.²⁰

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	29.9%	31.3%	61.2%	19.2%	18.9%	38.1%	0.7%
Republicans	41.4%	34.4%	75.8%	14.6%	8.7%	23.3%	0.8%
Democrats	20.9%	28.0%	48.9%	22.4%	28.1%	50.5%	0.6%
Independents	20.8%	33.1%	53.9%	24.1%	21.2%	45.3%	0.8%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	35.3%	30.0%	65.3%	19.9%	14.0%	33.9%	0.8%
Somewhat red	29.7%	33.0%	62.7%	18.4%	17.9%	36.3%	1.1%
Lean red	28.8%	29.8%	58.6%	20.4%	20.4%	40.8%	0.5%
Lean blue	32.2%	26.2%	58.4%	18.0%	23.0%	41.0%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	27.3%	30.7%	58.0%	20.3%	20.7%	41.0%	1.0%
Very blue	25.5%	36.5%	62.0%	17.6%	20.2%	37.8%	0.2%

Here is an argument against:

Q30. This rule is unfair to members of our military, people who work for the federal government, and low-income women. We don't prohibit the government from helping military or low-income women from getting any other medical procedure. And they may not be able to afford to pay for an abortion out-of-pocket.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	30.3%	30.4%	60.7%	16.8%	12.8%	29.6%	9.6%
Republicans	19.3%	29.5%	48.8%	21.5%	20.2%	41.7%	9.4%
Democrats	43.3%	30.4%	73.7%	11.1%	6.1%	17.2%	9.1%
Independents	19.8%	34.2%	54.0%	21.5%	11.5%	33.0%	13.1%

¹⁹ Lozier Institute. (2021) [Hyde @ 40: Analyzing the Impact of the Hyde Amendment](#); Guttmacher, July 2009, [Restrictions on Medicaid Funding for Abortions: A Literature Review](#)

²⁰ Lozier Institute. (2021) [Hyde @ 40: Analyzing the Impact of the Hyde Amendment](#); Guttmacher, July 2009, [Restrictions on Medicaid Funding for Abortions: A Literature Review](#)

Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	27.5%	29.9%	57.4%	18.1%	13.4%	31.5%	11.1%
Somewhat red	28.2%	28.5%	56.7%	19.6%	15.2%	34.8%	8.6%
Lean red	29.3%	29.7%	59.0%	15.6%	13.8%	29.4%	11.6%
Lean blue	35.9%	29.2%	65.1%	14.3%	11.4%	25.7%	9.2%
Somewhat blue	34.4%	31.0%	65.4%	15.6%	9.9%	25.5%	9.1%
Very blue	30.1%	35.8%	65.9%	15.0%	11.3%	26.3%	7.9%

Q31. How acceptable do you find the following proposal:

The federal government continuing to limit federal funds from being used to cover some or all of the cost of an abortion.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	38.8%	17.6%	43.0%	60.6%	0.6%
Republicans	23.8%	17.1%	58.4%	75.5%	0.7%
Democrats	52.8%	15.0%	31.8%	46.8%	0.4%
Independents	40.8%	31.0%	27.2%	58.2%	1.0%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	36.8%	18.8%	44.3%	63.1%	0.1%
Somewhat red	35.3%	17.4%	46.1%	63.5%	1.2%
Lean red	40.7%	18.6%	40.7%	59.3%	0.0%
Lean blue	42.7%	11.9%	45.2%	57.1%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	40.3%	17.1%	41.8%	58.9%	0.8%
Very blue	40.1%	20.1%	38.6%	58.7%	1.2%

Q32. So, in conclusion, do you approve or disapprove of the federal government continuing to limit federal funds from being used to cover some or all of the cost of an abortion?

	Approve	Disapprove	Ref./DK
National	54.1%	45.3%	0.5%
Republicans	68.7%	30.6%	0.7%
Democrats	41.7%	57.9%	0.4%
Independents	47.4%	52.1%	0.5%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	60.7%	38.7%	0.6%
Somewhat red	54.4%	45.0%	0.6%
Lean red	52.1%	47.4%	0.5%
Lean blue	52.2%	47.8%	0.0%
Somewhat blue	51.5%	47.8%	0.7%
Very blue	52.0%	47.4%	0.6%

Another way for the government to try to reduce the number of abortions is to make it a serious crime, which means:

- punishing a doctor who provides an abortion, either surgically or by providing pills; or
- punishing a woman who has an abortion

with prison time and/or a major fine. Doctors could also lose their license.

First, here is some background information on what the laws regulating abortion have been in the US.

As you may know, in 1973 the Supreme Court made a ruling on abortion in a case known as Roe v. Wade and then clarified in another decision called Casey v. Planned Parenthood.

These rulings said that a woman has a right to get an abortion up to the time that the fetus is viable—meaning that the fetus could survive independent of the mother. Whether or not a fetus is viable was to be determined by the woman’s doctor. At the time Roe was decided, viability was generally considered to be around 28 weeks (on average, pregnancies last about 39 weeks). Due to medical advances, viability now occurs at 22-24 weeks. Nearly all abortions occur before this period.²¹

States could then decide what limits to place after that period. Nearly all states had laws that made abortion illegal after the fetus was viable.

The 1973 Supreme Court ruling also stated that, even after a fetus is determined to be viable, abortions cannot be banned when a doctor determines it is necessary to preserve the life or health of the woman. Around one percent of abortions occur after the fetus is viable.²²

After the 1973 decision, the rate of abortions increased. Then in the 1980s the rate of abortions started to go down and has continued to decrease, going even lower than it was before 1973.

Still, at current rates, it is estimated that around one in four women will have an abortion in their lifetime.²³

As you probably know, the abortion rulings were very controversial. Over the last few decades there have been several lawsuits attempting to overturn those rulings, but none were successful. But this year, a lawsuit (known as Dobbs v. Jackson) was successful in getting the Supreme Court to overturn their previous abortion rulings. This means that it is now up to legislatures in the states, or Congress itself, to decide what the laws about abortion should be.

This has generated much debate in many states about what their abortion laws should be. Several states now have laws that make abortion a crime at any stage in pregnancy, while other states continue to allow abortion up until the fetus is viable.

There has also been debate about whether there should be exceptions to any laws restricting access to abortion, such as if the life of the woman is at risk. We will come back to that question later.

First, we would like you to evaluate arguments about whether the government should try to reduce the number of abortions by making it a serious crime, which means punishing:

- a doctor who provides an abortion, either surgically or by providing pills; or
- a woman who has an abortion

²¹ CDC. (2021) [Abortion Surveillance — United States, 2019](#)

²² Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health. (2013) [Who Seeks Abortions at or After 20 Weeks?](#) Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health. (2022) [Is third-trimester abortion exceptional? Two pathways to abortion after 24 weeks of pregnancy in the United States](#)

²³ American Journal of Public Health. (2017) [Population Group Abortion Rates and Lifetime Incidence of Abortion: United States, 2008–2014](#); aligns roughly with the current abortion ratio of 1:5 (abortions-to-live births)

with prison time and/or a major fine. Doctors could also lose their license.

Here is an argument in favor:

Q33. Abortion is the ending of an innocent life and should be treated as such by the law. Ending the life of a baby who is one month old is considered murder. If that baby is just a few months younger, we should also consider it murder. The unborn baby should have rights too. All life has value and there needs to be rules in place that reflect that truth.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	26.0%	27.7%	53.7%	16.9%	25.0%	41.9%	4.3%
Republicans	35.3%	32.3%	67.6%	15.2%	12.9%	28.1%	4.4%
Democrats	19.5%	22.8%	42.3%	17.6%	36.1%	53.7%	4.0%
Independents	16.0%	30.0%	46.0%	21.0%	27.7%	48.7%	5.3%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	32.9%	30.1%	63.0%	12.6%	19.7%	32.3%	4.7%
Somewhat red	27.5%	27.6%	55.1%	17.4%	24.3%	41.7%	3.2%
Lean red	24.3%	27.9%	52.2%	18.1%	24.1%	42.2%	5.7%
Lean blue	23.3%	26.4%	49.7%	14.6%	28.9%	43.5%	6.7%
Somewhat blue	24.9%	25.0%	49.9%	17.3%	28.9%	46.2%	3.8%
Very blue	20.0%	28.5%	48.5%	21.3%	27.6%	48.9%	2.7%

Here is an argument against:

Q34. A key principle of democracy is that the government should not intrude on the private lives of its citizens. When a woman becomes pregnant, the government should not force her to give birth. This is a decision to be made between her and her doctor. The government should not be involved.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	42.0%	25.3%	67.3%	12.6%	11.0%	23.6%	9.2%
Republicans	27.6%	28.3%	55.9%	17.4%	17.2%	34.6%	9.5%
Democrats	57.2%	23.2%	80.4%	7.2%	4.4%	11.6%	8.0%
Independents	36.4%	22.0%	58.4%	15.7%	13.3%	29.0%	12.7%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	33.6%	28.0%	61.6%	14.0%	13.4%	27.4%	11.0%
Somewhat red	42.1%	28.3%	70.4%	11.9%	11.2%	23.1%	6.5%
Lean red	41.7%	23.4%	65.1%	14.2%	9.9%	24.1%	10.8%
Lean blue	42.7%	18.2%	60.9%	13.9%	14.1%	28.0%	11.0%
Somewhat blue	47.2%	24.9%	72.1%	11.2%	7.7%	18.9%	9.0%
Very blue	47.0%	24.9%	71.9%	10.1%	10.1%	20.2%	7.9%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q35. It is simply not true that the government does not get involved in decisions that are made by a doctor and a patient. If a doctor is doing something harmful to patients--like overprescribing pain pills--the government will

intervene. In the case of abortion, it is the unborn babies who are being harmed. It is the responsibility of the government to prevent that harm from happening.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	24.5%	30.4%	54.9%	21.8%	21.8%	43.6%	1.4%
Republicans	30.8%	36.7%	67.5%	19.7%	11.1%	30.8%	1.7%
Democrats	19.9%	24.7%	44.6%	22.3%	32.3%	54.6%	0.9%
Independents	17.8%	29.2%	47.0%	28.6%	21.5%	50.1%	3.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	29.2%	32.2%	61.4%	18.7%	18.8%	37.5%	1.1%
Somewhat red	24.0%	33.1%	57.1%	20.8%	21.0%	41.8%	1.1%
Lean red	21.1%	31.5%	52.6%	24.1%	21.0%	45.1%	2.3%
Lean blue	24.7%	24.8%	49.5%	22.8%	26.5%	49.3%	1.2%
Somewhat blue	22.9%	28.8%	51.7%	21.6%	24.9%	46.5%	1.8%
Very blue	24.7%	28.1%	52.8%	24.2%	21.6%	45.8%	1.4%

Here is another argument against:

Q36. If people genuinely want to reduce the number of abortions, putting doctors or mothers in prison is not the way to go about it. Over the last decades more humane ways to reduce abortions, such as family planning, including education and contraception, have been found to be effective. Abortion rates are now lower than they were when abortion was illegal. It is both cruel and unnecessary to go back to using such harsh methods.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	42.0%	28.7%	70.7%	12.4%	8.6%	21.0%	8.4%
Republicans	29.7%	33.8%	63.5%	16.9%	12.0%	28.9%	7.6%
Democrats	55.7%	23.1%	78.8%	7.9%	5.0%	12.9%	8.3%
Independents	34.2%	31.2%	65.4%	12.6%	10.3%	22.9%	11.7%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	37.9%	32.6%	70.5%	12.8%	7.6%	20.4%	9.1%
Somewhat red	41.8%	28.6%	70.4%	11.1%	9.9%	21.0%	8.5%
Lean red	39.8%	27.8%	67.6%	13.1%	10.9%	24.0%	8.4%
Lean blue	44.5%	27.0%	71.5%	12.7%	8.0%	20.7%	7.8%
Somewhat blue	47.1%	27.2%	74.3%	10.3%	6.9%	17.2%	8.6%
Very blue	43.2%	27.4%	70.6%	14.8%	7.4%	22.2%	7.2%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q37. We can do both - promoting family planning and having laws that restrict abortions. Many women who get an abortion would rather have the child but cannot afford one or they are in an abusive relationship. Family planning programs can provide assistance to those women so they can be in a good position to have the child. But no matter how much assistance there is, some people will still abort their unborn child, and we must have laws against that.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	25.9%	32.3%	58.2%	21.6%	19.3%	40.9%	0.9%
Republicans	31.1%	37.4%	68.5%	20.4%	9.9%	30.3%	1.3%
Democrats	22.7%	27.7%	50.4%	20.8%	28.4%	49.2%	0.4%
Independents	18.3%	30.8%	49.1%	30.3%	19.1%	49.4%	1.5%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	29.6%	34.7%	64.3%	16.8%	17.7%	34.5%	1.2%
Somewhat red	26.9%	33.7%	60.6%	19.7%	19.2%	38.9%	0.5%
Lean red	26.2%	30.7%	56.9%	25.2%	17.2%	42.4%	0.9%
Lean blue	22.2%	34.9%	57.1%	20.6%	21.9%	42.5%	0.4%
Somewhat blue	26.5%	28.2%	54.7%	24.5%	19.8%	44.3%	1.0%
Very blue	21.4%	31.2%	52.6%	24.2%	21.6%	45.8%	1.6%

Here is another argument against:

Q38. Criminalizing abortion did not stop abortions before Roe v. Wade, and it won't now. Women still had abortions; they were just done underground in unsafe conditions.²⁴ Today, women can get an abortion pill through the mail, and it is nearly impossible to stop that.²⁵ A majority of women who now have abortions use prescription pills.²⁶ All this effort will be ineffective, create divisions in society, and distract from proven methods for reducing the number of abortions.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	36.5%	31.5%	68.0%	14.3%	9.0%	23.3%	8.7%
Republicans	24.0%	34.8%	58.8%	19.7%	12.7%	32.4%	8.8%
Democrats	51.0%	27.9%	78.9%	8.5%	5.1%	13.6%	7.5%
Independents	26.8%	33.3%	60.1%	16.5%	9.9%	26.4%	13.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	32.8%	30.2%	63.0%	15.6%	10.1%	25.7%	11.4%
Somewhat red	34.2%	30.8%	65.0%	16.5%	9.9%	26.4%	8.6%
Lean red	34.6%	32.5%	67.1%	12.7%	10.7%	23.4%	9.5%
Lean blue	42.9%	27.4%	70.3%	15.1%	8.9%	24.0%	5.6%
Somewhat blue	40.7%	32.6%	73.3%	11.5%	6.4%	17.9%	8.8%
Very blue	38.7%	34.9%	73.6%	13.4%	6.8%	20.2%	6.2%

Here is one last argument in favor:

Q39. Laws against abortion have been very effective in reducing abortions,²⁷ and thus saving lives. Furthermore, the laws that we have represent the morals that we hold. Just because the law is not perfect at stopping something does not mean we shouldn't have it. We have laws against murder, but murders still happen. Should we get rid of those laws? Making abortion a crime makes it harder to get one, and it sends a clear signal that abortion is wrong.

²⁴ Family Planning Perspectives. (1976) [Illegal Abortions in the United States: 1972-1974](#); Plan Parent Review. (1985) [Health benefits of legal abortion: an analysis](#)

²⁵ Aid Access is a European-based non-profit that provides abortion pills through the mail to women globally, including the US. CBS News (2022) [European doctor who helps Americans get abortions says she's receiving 4,000 inquiries a day since Roe v. Wade overturned](#)

²⁶ Guttmacher. (2022) [Medication Abortion Now Accounts for More Than Half of All US Abortions](#)

²⁷ JAMA Network. (2020) [Association of Highly Restrictive State Abortion Policies With Abortion Rates, 2000-2014](#)

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	25.5%	28.7%	54.2%	19.8%	24.8%	44.6%	1.2%
Republicans	30.6%	36.0%	66.6%	19.4%	12.4%	31.8%	1.6%
Democrats	22.0%	21.6%	43.6%	19.2%	36.5%	55.7%	0.8%
Independents	19.2%	29.3%	48.5%	24.3%	25.9%	50.2%	1.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	31.8%	29.9%	61.7%	16.4%	20.8%	37.2%	1.1%
Somewhat red	26.2%	29.2%	55.4%	20.3%	23.4%	43.7%	1.0%
Lean red	23.8%	28.9%	52.7%	20.2%	26.1%	46.3%	1.0%
Lean blue	22.1%	26.6%	48.7%	20.5%	29.4%	49.9%	1.3%
Somewhat blue	23.6%	26.8%	50.4%	22.3%	25.9%	48.2%	1.4%
Very blue	22.7%	29.8%	52.5%	20.0%	26.0%	46.0%	1.6%

Here is one last argument against:

Q40. Nobody should be forced to use their body in a way they don't want to, under threat of imprisonment. We don't force a person to donate blood or a kidney, even if it would be necessary to save someone else's life.²⁸ We recognize that the right to govern your own body is fundamental to all our freedoms. Pregnancy is no different.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	40.1%	26.0%	66.1%	13.5%	10.9%	24.4%	9.5%
Republicans	25.9%	28.2%	54.1%	18.6%	18.1%	36.7%	9.3%
Democrats	56.0%	23.3%	79.3%	7.7%	4.1%	11.8%	8.9%
Independents	31.3%	28.5%	59.8%	17.2%	10.1%	27.3%	13.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	36.9%	24.3%	61.2%	14.5%	12.4%	26.9%	12.0%
Somewhat red	40.5%	25.7%	66.2%	13.1%	11.8%	24.9%	8.9%
Lean red	37.0%	28.3%	65.3%	13.1%	11.8%	24.9%	9.7%
Lean blue	39.5%	26.9%	66.4%	12.4%	11.8%	24.2%	9.3%
Somewhat blue	45.3%	24.9%	70.2%	13.0%	8.5%	21.5%	8.3%
Very blue	42.6%	26.0%	68.6%	14.7%	8.1%	22.8%	8.5%

Another debate is about the possibility of criminalizing abortions, but only when the fetus is viable (meaning they could survive outside the womb). This would be consistent with the earlier Supreme Court decisions that made abortion a right before the fetus is viable.

Here is an argument in favor of criminalizing abortions **when the fetus is viable**.

Q41. Any abortion law should be about balancing the rights and interests of the woman and the fetus. Until the fetus is able to live outside the womb, it is completely dependent on the woman and should be considered to be part of her body and she should have the right to decide whether or not she will continue the pregnancy. But once the fetus can live without relying on the woman's body, then it should get protections under the law as a distinct person.

²⁸ See [McFall v Shimp \(1978\)](#)

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	33.6%	35.6%	69.2%	14.7%	14.9%	29.6%	1.1%
Republicans	31.8%	33.8%	65.6%	16.8%	16.3%	33.1%	1.3%
Democrats	36.4%	37.2%	73.6%	11.5%	13.8%	25.3%	1.1%
Independents	29.2%	36.5%	65.7%	19.5%	14.1%	33.6%	0.7%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	32.2%	33.6%	65.8%	17.7%	15.0%	32.7%	1.5%
Somewhat red	32.9%	36.3%	69.2%	15.6%	14.3%	29.9%	1.0%
Lean red	36.0%	32.3%	68.3%	12.7%	17.9%	30.6%	1.0%
Lean blue	29.7%	35.5%	65.2%	16.9%	17.1%	34.0%	0.8%
Somewhat blue	34.0%	39.5%	73.5%	12.0%	12.6%	24.6%	1.9%
Very blue	36.1%	37.4%	73.5%	13.0%	13.0%	26.0%	0.6%

Here is an argument for making abortions illegal **at all stages of the pregnancy**:

Q42. Abortion is the ending of an innocent life and should be treated as such by the law, no matter its stage of development. Drawing the line at viability is arbitrary. Why should the life of a human that has been developing for one month be given less protection than one that's been developing for six months? As soon as a new life is conceived, they deserve the chance to live and must be protected by the law.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	23.0%	25.7%	48.7%	19.0%	23.2%	42.2%	9.0%
Republicans	30.9%	29.4%	60.3%	18.7%	12.7%	31.4%	8.4%
Democrats	17.0%	22.3%	39.3%	17.3%	33.9%	51.2%	9.4%
Independents	16.1%	25.7%	41.8%	27.1%	21.0%	48.1%	10.1%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	27.7%	27.6%	55.3%	16.9%	17.3%	34.2%	10.4%
Somewhat red	23.7%	27.4%	51.1%	18.9%	21.8%	40.7%	8.2%
Lean red	22.5%	24.0%	46.5%	19.5%	23.1%	42.6%	10.9%
Lean blue	22.0%	26.6%	48.6%	15.8%	28.7%	44.5%	6.9%
Somewhat blue	20.7%	25.4%	46.1%	18.3%	27.2%	45.5%	8.3%
Very blue	19.6%	22.3%	41.9%	24.1%	25.3%	49.4%	8.7%

Here is an argument **against** criminalizing any abortions.

Q43. Whether or not a fetus might be able to live outside the womb, forcing a woman to use her body to give birth, by threatening to imprison her and/or the doctor is wrong. Birth can result in lifelong health problems. One out of every 5,000 births in the US result in the death of the woman. This should be the woman's choice. She should not be forced to give birth.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	34.8%	24.3%	59.1%	13.6%	10.5%	24.1%	16.7%
Republicans	22.4%	24.9%	47.3%	19.8%	16.4%	36.2%	16.4%
Democrats	48.7%	22.5%	71.2%	6.8%	5.0%	11.8%	16.9%
Independents	26.8%	29.3%	56.1%	17.1%	10.0%	27.1%	16.7%

Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	28.4%	23.8%	52.2%	14.6%	13.9%	28.5%	19.3%
Somewhat red	34.2%	26.2%	60.4%	13.9%	9.5%	23.4%	16.3%
Lean red	33.9%	24.3%	58.2%	14.1%	11.0%	25.1%	16.7%
Lean blue	33.9%	26.5%	60.4%	12.7%	14.4%	27.1%	12.4%
Somewhat blue	37.9%	24.4%	62.3%	12.3%	9.3%	21.6%	16.1%
Very blue	43.2%	20.2%	63.4%	13.4%	5.9%	19.3%	17.3%

There has also been a discussion about, whether, if abortion is made a serious crime, the doctor or the woman should be punished, or both.

Here is an argument in favor of charging the doctor:

Q44. Doctors took an oath to do no harm, yet abortion is the exact opposite of that. Punishing doctors who violate that oath by performing abortions, and thus ending a life, is the right thing to do. It is also the best way to greatly reduce the number of abortions.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	22.4%	26.2%	48.6%	21.4%	29.0%	50.4%	1.0%
Republicans	28.9%	32.2%	61.1%	20.8%	16.9%	37.7%	1.2%
Democrats	18.4%	20.5%	38.9%	19.6%	40.8%	60.4%	0.8%
Independents	12.9%	25.7%	38.6%	31.4%	28.7%	60.1%	1.3%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	26.6%	27.6%	54.2%	18.7%	26.4%	45.1%	0.6%
Somewhat red	24.8%	25.6%	50.4%	21.3%	27.3%	48.6%	0.9%
Lean red	19.3%	29.0%	48.3%	23.6%	27.3%	50.9%	0.8%
Lean blue	18.9%	24.1%	43.0%	21.1%	35.1%	56.2%	0.8%
Somewhat blue	21.5%	24.0%	45.5%	21.4%	31.5%	52.9%	1.6%
Very blue	20.5%	25.2%	45.7%	22.8%	30.0%	52.8%	1.6%

Here is an argument against:

Q45. Doctors shouldn't go to prison for prescribing medication or performing a medical procedure their patient wanted, is safe, and is legal in most states, just because some people disagree with it. When doctors lose their license, they lose their livelihood, and society loses their skills.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	39.7%	30.0%	69.7%	14.1%	9.4%	23.5%	6.7%
Republicans	27.0%	32.4%	59.4%	20.8%	14.1%	34.9%	5.7%
Democrats	53.9%	27.5%	81.4%	7.2%	4.6%	11.8%	6.8%
Independents	31.6%	31.2%	62.8%	16.2%	10.7%	26.9%	10.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	35.3%	31.0%	66.3%	17.6%	9.4%	27.0%	6.8%
Somewhat red	40.4%	29.4%	69.8%	14.5%	9.4%	23.9%	6.3%
Lean red	37.1%	28.6%	65.7%	14.3%	10.9%	25.2%	9.1%
Lean blue	42.1%	30.7%	72.8%	11.9%	10.9%	22.8%	4.4%
Somewhat blue	43.8%	31.2%	75.0%	9.3%	8.9%	18.2%	6.9%
Very blue	41.4%	30.1%	71.5%	15.8%	7.2%	23.0%	5.5%

Here is an argument in favor of charging the woman:

Q46. When a woman gets pregnant and starts creating a new life, she has a duty to protect and nurture that child, not end its life. Parents that neglect or abuse their children get sent to prison, and abortion should not be treated any differently.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	23.4%	26.1%	49.5%	21.4%	28.2%	49.6%	0.8%
Republicans	30.7%	31.9%	62.6%	20.5%	15.9%	36.4%	1.0%
Democrats	18.7%	20.3%	39.0%	19.9%	40.3%	60.2%	0.8%
Independents	13.8%	27.0%	40.8%	31.2%	27.6%	58.8%	0.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	30.1%	26.6%	56.7%	18.8%	23.8%	42.6%	0.7%
Somewhat red	23.0%	28.5%	51.5%	21.1%	26.3%	47.4%	1.1%
Lean red	22.6%	23.3%	45.9%	25.2%	28.1%	53.3%	0.9%
Lean blue	20.9%	23.7%	44.6%	19.9%	34.6%	54.5%	0.8%
Somewhat blue	21.2%	24.9%	46.1%	23.7%	29.4%	53.1%	0.8%
Very blue	20.7%	28.2%	48.9%	19.2%	31.4%	50.6%	0.5%

Here is an argument against:

Q47. Punishing the woman is cruel and creates many problems. Half of women who have abortions already have at least one child, so those kids will have to grow up with a mother in prison. They are also more likely to have very low incomes, and if the mother is sent to prison she can't contribute to her family, and they will fall even deeper into poverty.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	38.9%	31.4%	70.3%	13.9%	9.5%	23.4%	6.3%
Republicans	25.1%	34.4%	59.5%	19.3%	14.8%	34.1%	6.3%
Democrats	53.8%	27.0%	80.8%	8.5%	4.5%	13.0%	6.2%
Independents	32.6%	37.3%	69.9%	14.5%	9.1%	23.6%	6.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	35.6%	32.1%	67.7%	13.9%	11.4%	25.3%	7.1%
Somewhat red	38.9%	31.1%	70.0%	12.0%	11.3%	23.3%	6.6%
Lean red	35.6%	32.7%	68.3%	16.6%	8.5%	25.1%	6.5%
Lean blue	41.3%	29.9%	71.2%	13.2%	10.2%	23.4%	5.4%
Somewhat blue	42.7%	34.3%	77.0%	10.7%	6.9%	17.6%	5.4%
Very blue	42.0%	27.3%	69.3%	17.5%	7.7%	25.2%	5.5%

So now, having considered the various arguments, please select how acceptable each of the following proposals would be to you.

Q48a. Not making abortion a crime.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	25.7%	14.1%	58.4%	72.5%	1.8%
Republicans	35.0%	17.0%	46.5%	63.5%	1.4%
Democrats	17.2%	8.9%	72.1%	81.0%	1.8%
Independents	23.2%	23.9%	49.4%	73.3%	3.5%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	31.1%	15.5%	52.0%	67.5%	1.4%
Somewhat red	26.6%	13.5%	58.3%	71.8%	1.6%
Lean red	32.0%	13.0%	53.7%	66.7%	1.3%
Lean blue	24.9%	9.7%	62.3%	72.0%	3.0%
Somewhat blue	17.9%	15.1%	64.5%	79.6%	2.5%
Very blue	18.0%	16.7%	63.6%	80.3%	1.8%

Making abortion a serious crime **after the fetus is viable**, (meaning it can very likely survive outside of the womb) and punishing with prison time and/or major fines:

Q48b. the **doctor** who provides an abortion (who may also lose their license)

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	39.7%	12.5%	33.8%	46.3%	14.0%
Republicans	27.6%	13.2%	43.9%	57.1%	15.3%
Democrats	52.0%	10.3%	26.7%	37.0%	11.1%
Independents	37.7%	18.7%	22.3%	41.0%	21.4%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	35.1%	10.8%	39.1%	49.9%	14.9%
Somewhat red	37.9%	13.4%	35.1%	48.5%	13.6%
Lean red	41.5%	11.6%	31.5%	43.1%	15.3%
Lean blue	41.3%	13.4%	33.6%	47.0%	11.8%
Somewhat blue	46.2%	10.1%	31.1%	41.2%	12.5%
Very blue	38.4%	15.9%	30.5%	46.4%	15.3%

Q48c. the **woman** who gets an abortion

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	36.1%	13.7%	31.1%	44.8%	19.1%
Republicans	29.1%	15.9%	34.6%	50.5%	20.4%
Democrats	44.0%	9.9%	29.7%	39.6%	16.3%
Independents	31.2%	20.8%	22.5%	43.3%	25.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	33.0%	12.2%	33.9%	46.1%	20.9%
Somewhat red	34.8%	12.7%	32.3%	45.0%	20.1%
Lean red	37.7%	14.6%	29.0%	43.6%	18.7%
Lean blue	38.7%	12.1%	30.9%	43.0%	18.2%
Somewhat blue	39.0%	14.1%	29.8%	43.9%	17.1%
Very blue	35.3%	17.1%	29.1%	46.2%	18.5%

Make abortion a serious crime at **any point during the pregnancy** and punishing with prison time and/or major fines:

Q48d. the **doctor** who performs an abortion (who may also lose their license)

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	46.2%	9.0%	25.4%	34.4%	19.3%
Republicans	34.9%	10.6%	33.3%	43.9%	21.2%
Democrats	57.6%	6.1%	20.4%	26.5%	15.9%
Independents	44.2%	14.5%	14.9%	29.4%	26.4%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	42.2%	8.2%	28.2%	36.4%	21.3%
Somewhat red	45.1%	7.7%	27.3%	35.0%	19.9%
Lean red	44.7%	10.5%	25.0%	35.5%	19.7%
Lean blue	51.3%	7.6%	23.9%	31.5%	17.2%
Somewhat blue	49.3%	9.8%	23.9%	33.7%	17.0%
Very blue	48.1%	10.1%	22.2%	32.3%	19.5%

Q48e. the **woman** who gets an abortion

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	41.2%	11.7%	27.4%	39.1%	19.8%
Republicans	32.9%	13.6%	32.2%	45.8%	21.4%
Democrats	49.8%	8.0%	25.4%	33.4%	16.7%
Independents	38.5%	19.6%	16.0%	35.6%	25.9%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	36.5%	11.2%	30.4%	41.6%	21.9%
Somewhat red	39.8%	11.5%	28.3%	39.8%	20.5%
Lean red	40.7%	13.0%	26.1%	39.1%	20.1%
Lean blue	47.4%	11.5%	23.5%	35.0%	17.5%
Somewhat blue	43.5%	11.7%	27.9%	39.6%	16.9%
Very blue	42.8%	11.4%	25.7%	37.1%	20.1%

[Exceptions]

Now, let's turn to another issue. If abortion were to be a serious crime, some people say that there should be exceptions in certain cases.

Currently, all states which criminalize abortion at some point in the pregnancy allow for an abortion in case the mother's life is at risk if she continues with the pregnancy.

Some also allow for abortions in other cases:

- continuing the pregnancy will cause serious health problems to the woman
- the pregnancy was caused by rape or incest

- the fetus will likely die shortly after birth or the fetus has already died in the womb.²⁹

If abortion were to be made a serious crime, with punishment including prison time and/or a major fine, how acceptable would you find allowing the following exceptions:

Q49a. The pregnancy is the result of her being raped

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	19.7%	12.2%	64.1%	76.3%	4.0%
Republicans	20.5%	14.2%	61.9%	76.1%	3.4%
Democrats	18.6%	8.8%	68.3%	77.1%	4.3%
Independents	20.7%	18.1%	55.8%	73.9%	5.5%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	20.4%	14.1%	63.0%	77.1%	2.5%
Somewhat red	20.0%	11.9%	63.3%	75.2%	4.7%
Lean red	23.4%	12.6%	58.3%	70.9%	5.7%
Lean blue	17.8%	12.5%	66.5%	79.0%	3.2%
Somewhat blue	15.2%	10.6%	70.0%	80.6%	4.2%
Very blue	19.9%	11.1%	65.9%	77.0%	3.1%

Q49b. The pregnancy is the result of incest

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	18.2%	10.2%	61.6%	71.8%	10.0%
Republicans	19.0%	12.7%	59.4%	72.1%	8.9%
Democrats	17.4%	7.1%	66.3%	73.4%	9.2%
Independents	18.1%	13.0%	50.7%	63.7%	18.1%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	16.4%	12.6%	62.1%	74.7%	9.0%
Somewhat red	19.2%	9.7%	61.1%	70.8%	10.0%
Lean red	22.5%	8.3%	57.2%	65.5%	12.0%
Lean blue	15.5%	9.4%	64.5%	73.9%	10.6%
Somewhat blue	12.4%	10.4%	66.6%	77.0%	10.5%
Very blue	21.4%	10.8%	59.7%	70.5%	8.1%

Q49c. The life of the woman is at risk if she continues with the pregnancy

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	15.3%	9.2%	64.5%	73.7%	10.9%
Republicans	15.2%	10.3%	64.8%	75.1%	9.7%
Democrats	15.4%	6.8%	67.4%	74.2%	10.4%
Independents	15.4%	14.8%	51.7%	66.5%	18.1%

²⁹ Also known as fatal fetal anomalies, see AJOG. (2020) [How accurate is the prenatal diagnosis of a fatal fetal abnormality?](#); Prenatal Diagnosis. (2020) [The incidence of fatal fetal anomalies associated with perinatal mortality in Ireland](#)

Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	14.7%	10.5%	65.3%	75.8%	9.5%
Somewhat red	15.4%	9.3%	63.9%	73.2%	11.4%
Lean red	20.3%	7.5%	59.6%	67.1%	12.6%
Lean blue	11.0%	7.8%	69.0%	76.8%	12.2%
Somewhat blue	11.4%	10.5%	67.8%	78.3%	10.3%
Very blue	17.0%	9.0%	64.1%	73.1%	9.9%

Q49d. The woman is at risk of suffering a serious health problem if she continues the pregnancy

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	15.2%	9.1%	63.3%	72.4%	12.4%
Republicans	15.6%	11.0%	62.2%	73.2%	11.2%
Democrats	14.3%	6.1%	67.5%	73.6%	12.1%
Independents	17.6%	13.8%	50.2%	64.0%	18.4%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	15.3%	10.4%	64.3%	74.7%	9.9%
Somewhat red	16.4%	9.0%	61.6%	70.6%	13.0%
Lean red	17.9%	9.4%	57.8%	67.2%	14.8%
Lean blue	10.8%	8.0%	68.0%	76.0%	13.2%
Somewhat blue	11.1%	9.4%	67.4%	76.8%	12.1%
Very blue	17.3%	7.7%	63.6%	71.3%	11.4%

Q49e. The fetus has a severe physical or mental abnormality that will likely persist throughout their life

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	21.3%	12.8%	53.8%	66.6%	12.2%
Republicans	25.3%	14.8%	48.9%	63.7%	11.1%
Democrats	17.2%	8.9%	62.1%	71.0%	11.8%
Independents	21.6%	21.0%	39.2%	60.2%	18.2%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	23.1%	14.7%	50.8%	65.5%	11.4%
Somewhat red	21.7%	12.6%	54.0%	66.6%	11.8%
Lean red	24.0%	11.3%	51.7%	63.0%	13.1%
Lean blue	20.0%	11.1%	55.1%	66.2%	13.9%
Somewhat blue	15.1%	12.5%	60.4%	72.9%	12.0%
Very blue	22.3%	13.8%	52.3%	66.1%	11.6%

Q49f. The fetus will die shortly after birth

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	18.2%	11.4%	57.5%	68.9%	12.8%
Republicans	21.1%	13.0%	53.8%	66.8%	12.1%
Democrats	15.3%	7.6%	64.8%	72.4%	12.2%
Independents	18.6%	21.0%	42.0%	63.0%	18.4%

Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	18.4%	13.8%	55.2%	69.0%	12.7%
Somewhat red	20.5%	10.0%	57.6%	67.6%	11.8%
Lean red	21.7%	10.7%	53.2%	63.9%	14.4%
Lean blue	17.5%	8.3%	59.8%	68.1%	14.3%
Somewhat blue	12.1%	10.9%	64.5%	75.4%	12.6%
Very blue	16.9%	14.4%	56.7%	71.1%	12.0%

Q49g. The fetus has already died inside the womb.

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	13.3%	8.0%	66.3%	74.3%	12.4%
Republicans	11.9%	9.4%	66.8%	76.2%	11.8%
Democrats	14.4%	6.2%	67.7%	73.9%	11.6%
Independents	14.4%	9.7%	57.9%	67.6%	18.0%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	13.1%	8.6%	66.1%	74.7%	12.2%
Somewhat red	13.5%	7.1%	67.4%	74.5%	12.0%
Lean red	17.3%	8.8%	60.5%	69.3%	13.4%
Lean blue	11.4%	4.7%	70.2%	74.9%	13.7%
Somewhat blue	9.0%	8.3%	70.3%	78.6%	12.4%
Very blue	14.4%	9.4%	64.7%	74.1%	11.5%

Now that you have considered the various options, we would like you to make your final recommendations on whether abortion should be a serious crime and if so under what circumstances.

If you do choose to make abortion a crime, you will then be given the chance to choose whether the law should punish the doctor and/or the woman; and whether there should be exceptions to that law.

Q50. Please select which option you favor the most:

1. Do not make abortion a crime
2. Make abortion a serious crime **after the fetus is viable** (meaning it can very likely survive outside of the womb), with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines
3. Make abortion a serious crime **at any point during the pregnancy**, with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines

	Do not make abortion a crime	Make abortion a serious crime after fetus is viable, punishment inc prison time or major fines	Not a crime before viability	Make abortion a serious crime at any point in pregnancy, punishment inc prison time or major fines	Refused / Don't Know
National	57.2%	26.9%	84.1%	14.2%	1.8%
Republicans	42.3%	35.0%	77.3%	20.8%	1.9%
Democrats	69.9%	19.8%	89.7%	8.5%	1.8%
Independents	63.9%	23.8%	87.7%	11.1%	1.3%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	52.4%	27.0%	79.4%	19.1%	1.6%
Somewhat red	53.9%	29.4%	83.3%	14.1%	2.6%
Lean red	57.2%	27.3%	84.5%	14.8%	0.8%
Lean blue	59.9%	26.9%	86.8%	12.5%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	60.6%	25.0%	85.6%	12.0%	2.4%
Very blue	63.1%	24.2%	87.3%	10.8%	2.0%

[IF choose to make abortion a crime, when fetus is viable or at any point in the pregnancy, then present on the same screen Q51 and Q52a-h]

You have chosen to make abortion a serious crime [after the fetus is viable/at any point during the pregnancy].

Q51. Now please choose who you want to be punished with prison time and/or major fines for violating that law:

	the doctor who performed the abortion	the woman who got the abortion	both the woman and the doctor	Refused / Don't Know
National	7.2%	4.2%	15.1%	14.6%
Republicans	9.4%	5.0%	23.3%	18.2%
Democrats	5.3%	4.0%	8.4%	10.6%
Independents	6.3%	1.8%	10.2%	16.5%
Cook's PVI (D-R)				
Very red	9.2%	3.7%	19.3%	13.8%
Somewhat red	8.0%	4.2%	16.6%	14.6%
Lean red	5.1%	3.5%	17.0%	16.4%
Lean blue	7.8%	3.3%	15.2%	13.1%
Somewhat blue	6.0%	4.0%	9.2%	17.7%
Very blue	6.8%	6.3%	11.2%	10.7%

Now please choose what exceptions there should be, if any, to the law prohibiting abortions. You can choose more than one unless you choose the last option "No exceptions".

There should be an exception to the law prohibiting abortion when: [Respondents were allowed to choose one or more exception, unless they chose NO exceptions at the bottom of the list]

Q52a. ___ the pregnancy is the result of rape

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	15.4%	23.2%	2.4%
Republicans	23.8%	29.2%	2.8%
Democrats	8.1%	18.4%	1.8%
Independents	12.3%	18.9%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	18.0%	25.3%	2.7%
Somewhat red	18.2%	22.6%	2.7%
Lean red	12.9%	25.7%	3.4%
Lean blue	15.2%	21.4%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	10.6%	24.1%	2.2%
Very blue	15.9%	18.6%	0.5%

Q52b. ___ the pregnancy is the result of incest

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	15.8%	22.8%	2.4%
Republicans	23.4%	29.5%	2.8%
Democrats	9.2%	17.3%	1.8%
Independents	12.6%	18.6%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	19.7%	23.6%	2.7%
Somewhat red	17.7%	23.1%	2.7%
Lean red	14.1%	24.5%	3.4%
Lean blue	15.9%	20.7%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	10.5%	24.2%	2.2%
Very blue	15.3%	19.2%	0.5%

Q52c. ___ continuing the pregnancy will likely result in the death of the woman

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	16.9%	21.7%	2.4%
Republicans	26.2%	26.8%	2.8%
Democrats	9.0%	17.5%	1.8%
Independents	12.6%	18.7%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	19.1%	24.3%	2.7%
Somewhat red	18.5%	22.3%	2.7%
Lean red	17.1%	21.5%	3.4%
Lean blue	19.1%	17.5%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	10.0%	24.7%	2.2%
Very blue	17.1%	17.3%	0.5%

Q52d. ___ continuing the pregnancy will likely result in serious health problems for the woman

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	13.3%	25.3%	2.4%
Republicans	20.7%	32.3%	2.8%
Democrats	7.2%	19.3%	1.8%
Independents	9.2%	22.1%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	15.0%	28.3%	2.7%
Somewhat red	15.8%	25.0%	2.7%
Lean red	13.3%	25.4%	3.4%
Lean blue	12.9%	23.7%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	8.7%	26.0%	2.2%
Very blue	12.5%	21.9%	0.5%

Q52e. ___ the fetus has a serious physical or mental abnormality that will likely persist throughout their life

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	9.9%	28.7%	2.4%
Republicans	14.2%	38.8%	2.8%
Democrats	6.3%	20.1%	1.8%
Independents	7.0%	24.3%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	9.1%	34.2%	2.7%
Somewhat red	13.5%	27.3%	2.7%
Lean red	9.7%	28.9%	3.4%
Lean blue	8.3%	28.3%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	7.2%	27.6%	2.2%
Very blue	9.0%	25.4%	0.5%

Q52f. ___ the fetus will die shortly after birth

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	11.2%	27.4%	2.4%
Republicans	17.4%	35.6%	2.8%
Democrats	5.8%	20.7%	1.8%
Independents	8.7%	22.5%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	13.1%	30.2%	2.7%
Somewhat red	12.4%	28.3%	2.7%
Lean red	11.0%	27.7%	3.4%
Lean blue	11.3%	25.3%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	8.0%	26.7%	2.2%
Very blue	10.3%	24.2%	0.5%

Q52g. ___ the fetus has already died inside the womb

	Chosen	Not Chosen	No exceptions
National	15.0%	23.6%	2.4%
Republicans	25.1%	27.9%	2.8%
Democrats	5.9%	20.6%	1.8%
Independents	12.8%	18.5%	3.6%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)			
Very red	18.6%	24.8%	2.7%
Somewhat red	16.9%	23.9%	2.7%
Lean red	14.3%	24.4%	3.4%
Lean blue	16.2%	20.4%	2.9%
Somewhat blue	9.5%	25.2%	2.2%
Very blue	13.4%	21.1%	0.5%

OR Q52h. ___there should NOT be any exceptions [if chosen cannot choose other options]

	Chosen	Not Chosen
National	2.4%	38.6%
Republicans	2.8%	53.0%
Democrats	1.8%	26.5%
Independents	3.6%	31.3%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)		
Very red	2.7%	43.4%
Somewhat red	2.7%	40.8%
Lean red	3.4%	38.6%
Lean blue	2.9%	36.6%
Somewhat blue	2.2%	34.7%
Very blue	0.5%	34.5%

[Q53 and Q54 asked only if respondent selected “serious crime after the fetus is viable” or “at any point during the pregnancy”]

More recently, another option has been put forward that would be in between the options of making abortion a serious crime after the fetus is viable (22-24 weeks) and at any point in the pregnancy. This option would make it a serious crime after 15 weeks of pregnancy.

Q53. How acceptable do you find the proposal to make abortion a serious crime after 15 weeks, with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines?

	Unacceptable (0-4)	Just Tolerable (5)	Acceptable (6-10)	At Least Tolerable	Refused / Don't Know
National	8.1%	6.5%	26.3%	32.8%	0.2%
Republicans	9.5%	8.2%	37.9%	46.1%	0.2%
Democrats	5.7%	4.7%	17.6%	22.3%	0.2%
Independents	12.4%	7.1%	15.4%	22.5%	0.0%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	7.9%	7.7%	30.0%	37.7%	0.5%
Somewhat red	8.9%	7.8%	26.6%	34.4%	0.2%
Lean red	9.9%	5.5%	26.3%	31.8%	0.3%
Lean blue	7.7%	3.4%	28.2%	31.6%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	6.0%	7.3%	23.6%	30.9%	0.0%
Very blue	7.5%	5.3%	22.2%	27.5%	0.0%

Q54. In conclusion, adding this 15-week option, which of the following do you favor the most:

1. Do not make abortion a crime
2. Make abortion a serious crime **after the fetus is viable** (which is usually 22-24 weeks) with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines
3. Make abortion a serious crime **after 15 weeks** with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines
4. Make abortion a serious crime **at any point during the pregnancy**, with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines

	Do not make abortion a crime	Make abortion a serious crime after fetus is viable	Make abortion a serious crime after 15 weeks	Make abortion a serious crime at any point in pregnancy	Refused / Don't Know	Not a crime q50 + q54	Not a crime before viability	Crime after 15 weeks or earlier
National	1.6%	12.8%	14.6%	11.8%	0.3%	58.8%	71.6%	26.4%
Republicans	1.3%	15.9%	20.4%	18.1%	0.2%	43.6%	59.5%	38.5%
Democrats	1.5%	10.6%	10.2%	5.6%	0.4%	71.4%	82.0%	15.8%
Independents	3.0%	9.7%	9.4%	12.7%	0.0%	66.9%	76.6%	22.1%
Cook's PVI (D-R)								
Very red	1.1%	12.8%	15.6%	16.5%	0.1%	53.5%	66.3%	32.1%
Somewhat red	2.1%	12.7%	16.7%	11.7%	0.3%	56.0%	68.7%	28.4%
Lean red	0.9%	12.9%	13.5%	14.3%	0.4%	58.1%	71.0%	27.8%
Lean blue	1.0%	11.0%	17.8%	9.5%	0.2%	60.9%	71.9%	27.3%
Somewhat blue	1.5%	14.4%	13.0%	7.9%	0.2%	62.1%	76.5%	20.9%
Very blue	2.7%	12.7%	10.6%	8.6%	0.3%	65.8%	78.5%	19.2%

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q55. For this question we would just like to know your best guess. Approximately, what percentage of Americans do you think favor making abortion a serious crime at any point during the pregnancy, with the punishment including prison time and/or major fines. (Please enter a number from 0 to 100).

	Mean	Median
National	40.4	40
Republicans	40.1	40
Democrats	39.8	40
Independents	41.2	40
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)		
Very red	43.3	40
Somewhat red	40.4	40
Lean red	42.2	40
Lean blue	37.9	36
Somewhat blue	39.2	40
Very blue	37.4	40

As you may know, if a woman wants to get an abortion but it is illegal in her own state, she can travel to another state where it is legal and get an abortion.

In some states where abortions have been made a serious crime, some people are proposing laws making it a serious crime and punishing residents who go to another state to get to get an abortion that would have been illegal in her state of residence.

There is a debate about whether states should or should not be able to make such laws.

Here is an argument in favor of states being able to make such laws:

Q56. If most states continue to allow abortions, then women will just travel there and these laws against abortion will do nothing to actually reduce abortions. If, in the state where you live, something is illegal, then you should be

held accountable for that action no matter where you did it. Just traveling a few miles over the state line does not erase the fact that a woman got an abortion, and she should be held accountable for that action if it violates her own states laws.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	22.3%	26.5%	48.8%	19.7%	30.4%	50.1%	1.0%
Republicans	26.7%	30.2%	56.9%	21.7%	20.3%	42.0%	1.1%
Democrats	19.8%	21.5%	41.3%	16.6%	41.1%	57.7%	0.9%
Independents	15.3%	32.6%	47.9%	24.3%	26.5%	50.8%	1.2%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	23.2%	29.0%	52.2%	19.9%	26.5%	46.4%	1.3%
Somewhat red	25.3%	26.4%	51.7%	18.5%	29.1%	47.6%	0.7%
Lean red	21.3%	27.5%	48.8%	21.2%	28.8%	50.0%	1.2%
Lean blue	20.5%	22.9%	43.4%	20.3%	35.2%	55.5%	1.1%
Somewhat blue	20.4%	27.3%	47.7%	17.2%	33.9%	51.1%	1.3%
Very blue	21.2%	24.0%	45.2%	21.6%	32.5%	54.1%	0.6%

Here is an argument against:

Q57. This would be an absolute government overreach and a violation of people's basic freedoms. A state government does not and should not have power over you wherever you are. No government - city, state or national- can currently charge you with a crime for doing something that is perfectly legal while you are in another city, or in another state or another country. Furthermore, investigating what residents may be doing in other jurisdictions will lead to extreme violations of people's privacy.

	Very Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused / DK
National	43.6%	27.2%	70.8%	13.6%	7.8%	21.4%	7.8%
Republicans	32.6%	32.2%	64.8%	16.6%	11.0%	27.6%	7.7%
Democrats	56.6%	21.9%	78.5%	9.1%	5.2%	14.3%	7.2%
Independents	33.3%	29.2%	62.5%	20.3%	6.0%	26.3%	11.3%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	41.1%	32.5%	73.6%	9.4%	8.4%	17.8%	8.5%
Somewhat red	44.1%	27.6%	71.7%	12.7%	8.5%	21.2%	7.1%
Lean red	42.8%	26.3%	69.1%	16.7%	7.1%	23.8%	7.2%
Lean blue	47.2%	21.6%	68.8%	16.2%	6.7%	22.9%	8.3%
Somewhat blue	47.0%	24.8%	71.8%	12.7%	6.9%	19.6%	8.6%
Very blue	40.5%	27.3%	67.8%	15.6%	8.7%	24.3%	7.9%

Q58. Do you think states should or should not be able to pass laws making it a serious crime and punishing residents who go to another state to get an abortion that would have been illegal in her state of residence?

	Should be able to	Should NOT be able to	Refused / Don't Know
National	37.8%	61.7%	0.5%
Republicans	45.9%	53.3%	0.8%
Democrats	32.3%	67.3%	0.4%
Independents	27.6%	72.4%	0.0%

Cook's PVI (D-R)			
Very red	42.1%	57.6%	0.3%
Somewhat red	38.1%	61.4%	0.6%
Lean red	37.7%	61.9%	0.4%
Lean blue	33.8%	65.8%	0.3%
Somewhat blue	38.6%	60.8%	0.6%
Very blue	33.6%	65.6%	0.8%

Q59. Thinking about the upcoming state and Congressional elections, how big a role will a candidate's position on abortion play in your decision to vote for them.

	A lot	Some	A lot - Some	A little	Not at all	A little - not at all	Ref./DK
National	43.4%	31.6%	75.0%	15.3%	8.9%	24.2%	0.8%
Republicans	32.3%	37.3%	69.6%	18.0%	11.5%	29.5%	0.8%
Democrats	58.0%	25.7%	83.7%	10.8%	4.6%	15.4%	1.0%
Independents	26.9%	32.9%	59.8%	23.6%	16.3%	39.9%	0.2%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)							
Very red	41.2%	33.6%	74.8%	16.8%	7.8%	24.6%	0.7%
Somewhat red	43.2%	29.4%	72.6%	14.2%	12.1%	26.3%	1.1%
Lean red	44.8%	31.1%	75.9%	16.0%	7.6%	23.6%	0.6%
Lean blue	44.0%	32.7%	76.7%	13.5%	8.8%	22.3%	1.1%
Somewhat blue	46.2%	27.4%	73.6%	16.1%	9.2%	25.3%	1.1%
Very blue	41.3%	36.8%	78.1%	15.0%	6.4%	21.4%	0.5%

Q60. When elected officials are deciding on how to vote on laws about abortion, how much influence do you think the views of the majority of their constituents should have on the way they vote?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	(5-10)	Ref./DK
National	15.9%	13.5%	65.9%	79.4%	4.8%
Republicans	14.7%	14.2%	66.8%	81.0%	4.3%
Democrats	15.0%	10.3%	69.6%	79.9%	5.1%
Independents	24.6%	23.7%	46.3%	70.0%	5.4%
Cook's PVI of States (D-R)					
Very red	17.2%	14.2%	63.2%	77.4%	5.3%
Somewhat red	16.0%	13.1%	65.4%	78.5%	5.4%
Lean red	16.5%	13.6%	66.3%	79.9%	3.6%
Lean blue	15.7%	12.7%	66.7%	79.4%	4.8%
Somewhat blue	16.8%	12.5%	65.7%	78.2%	4.9%
Very blue	12.0%	14.5%	69.1%	83.6%	4.4%

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