



ABORTION & BIRTH CONTROL

- PENNSYLVANIA QUESTIONNAIRE -

Field Dates: June 18 – July 3, 2024
Sample Size: Pennsylvania: 624 Adults National: 1,214 Adults
Confidence Interval: Pennsylvania: +/- 4.5% National: +/- 3.2%
Sample Provided by: Multiple online opt-in panels, including Cint, Dynata and Prodege.
 Sample collection and quality control was managed by QuantifyAI under the direction of the University of Maryland’s Program for Public Consultation.

[Language—Respondents are allowed to change the language of the survey by clicking the “en español” button on the far upper left part of the screen]

To take the survey in English, please click Next.

Para realizar la encuesta en español, haga clic en el botón de idioma de la esquina superior derecha.

Welcome! This survey is going to address policies regarding abortion and birth control in the US. You will be provided background information, as well as arguments for and against each policy. This survey will take about 20 minutes to answer. Your answers will remain completely anonymous.

First, we are going to ask you a few questions about yourself, such as your age, ethnicity, income, and education. This information is important because it allows us to make sure we have a representative sample.

PRIVACY NOTICE: The answers to these questions and all of your personal information will be kept **completely anonymous and confidential**. We are both ethically committed to protecting your privacy, and as part of the University of Maryland we are legally required to do so.

As you may know, the subject of abortion is very much in the news these days. The Supreme Court recently made a decision in 2022 (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.

Q1.	Very comfortable	Somewhat comfortable	Lean toward comfortable	Comfortable	Neutral	Uncomfortable	Lean toward uncomfortable	Somewhat uncomfortable	Very uncomfortable	Refused/ DK
Pennsylvania	34.7%	15.0%	7.9%	57.6%	13.2%	29.2%	11.3%	5.4%	12.5%	0.1%
GOP	16.7%	13.0%	9.6%	29.7%	17.3%	43.1%	15.9%	9.9%	17.3%	0.3%
Dem.	52.5%	17.0%	6.9%	69.5%	7.6%	16.0%	7.6%	1.3%	7.1%	0.0%
National	32.9%	13.9%	6.8%	46.8%	19.5%	26.7%	7.4%	7.4%	11.9%	0.3%
GOP	18.0%	11.4%	7.2%	29.4%	18.4%	45.1%	10.7%	13.4%	21.0%	0.0%
Dem.	49.5%	17.3%	7.5%	66.8%	15.4%	10.3%	3.8%	1.9%	4.6%	0.0%
Indep.	24.8%	11.1%	3.9%	39.8%	32.5%	25.8%	8.9%	7.4%	9.5%	1.9%

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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	26.5%	18.8%	54.6%	0.1%
GOP	26.7%	25.6%	47.7%	0.0%
Dem.	25.3%	12.6%	62.0%	0.0%
National	29.7%	17.7%	51.8%	0.7%
GOP	36.2%	19.9%	43.5%	0.4%
Dem.	23.7%	11.9%	63.5%	0.9%
Indep.	30.5%	27.6%	41.1%	0.8%

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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	24.3%	15.4%	41.3%	19.0%
GOP	20.0%	15.5%	44.4%	20.0%
Dem.	28.9%	13.4%	38.5%	19.2%
National	24.9%	17.2%	39.7%	18.2%
GOP	23.6%	17.3%	41.0%	18.1%
Dem.	27.3%	15.3%	39.7%	17.7%
Indep.	22.0%	21.7%	36.5%	19.8%

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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	54.8%	8.2%	16.4%	20.6%
GOP	44.6%	10.3%	22.6%	22.5%
Dem.	63.9%	4.3%	11.6%	20.2%
National	55.6%	9.5%	15.6%	19.3%
GOP	47.9%	10.4%	22.2%	19.6%
Dem.	63.8%	6.2%	11.7%	18.3%
Indep.	52.6%	15.7%	10.8%	21.0%

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 declined. Currently, about one in five pregnancies end with an abortion. 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.

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](#)

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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	35.3%	42.6%	77.9%	9.1%	5.9%	15.0%	7.1%
GOP	28.0%	44.4%	72.4%	12.7%	5.9%	18.6%	9.0%
Dem.	43.1%	40.8%	83.9%	5.9%	4.7%	10.6%	5.6%
National	37.0%	40.0%	77.0%	11.4%	5.0%	16.4%	6.7%
GOP	28.5%	42.4%	70.9%	14.5%	8.1%	22.6%	6.5%
Dem.	47.6%	37.6%	85.2%	6.3%	3.3%	9.6%	5.2%
Indep.	29.6%	40.6%	70.2%	16.9%	2.1%	19.0%	10.8%

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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	12.7%	22.2%	34.9%	21.0%	31.8%	52.8%	12.4%

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

GOP	17.0%	24.8%	41.8%	24.9%	21.5%	46.4%	11.8%
Dem.	10.2%	20.1%	30.3%	15.4%	41.2%	56.6%	13.3%
National	13.5%	24.8%	38.3%	23.1%	27.8%	50.9%	10.8%
GOP	16.4%	31.0%	47.4%	26.1%	16.6%	42.7%	9.8%
Dem.	12.4%	19.2%	31.6%	18.2%	40.0%	58.2%	10.1%
Indep.	9.7%	25.0%	34.7%	28.3%	22.2%	50.5%	14.9%

[Respondents are Disqualified IF: Survey time < 75 seconds at this point in the survey]

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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	48.1%	38.8%	86.9%	9.4%	3.1%	12.5%	0.6%
GOP	36.4%	45.5%	81.9%	12.4%	4.9%	17.3%	0.8%
Dem.	58.1%	33.9%	92.0%	6.6%	0.8%	7.4%	0.6%
National	46.3%	40.2%	86.5%	8.8%	3.6%	12.4%	1.0%
GOP	35.6%	46.3%	81.9%	11.8%	5.4%	17.2%	1.0%
Dem.	57.7%	34.7%	92.4%	4.0%	2.6%	6.6%	1.0%
Indep.	41.9%	40.4%	82.3%	14.1%	2.4%	16.5%	1.1%

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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	12.7%	26.5%	39.2%	24.5%	23.7%	48.2%	12.5%
GOP	14.4%	29.7%	44.1%	25.8%	16.3%	42.1%	13.9%
Dem.	11.8%	23.4%	35.2%	21.6%	31.5%	53.1%	11.6%
National	14.7%	27.1%	41.8%	26.9%	21.2%	48.1%	10.1%
GOP	19.4%	29.3%	48.7%	28.1%	12.8%	40.9%	10.4%
Dem.	12.5%	25.3%	37.8%	25.3%	29.2%	54.5%	7.7%
Indep.	9.7%	26.6%	36.3%	28.4%	20.0%	48.4%	15.3%

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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	12.1%	13.0%	74.4%	0.5%
GOP	13.5%	17.3%	68.8%	0.4%
Dem.	10.4%	8.1%	81.0%	0.5%
National	14.6%	14.0%	70.8%	0.6%
GOP	19.5%	16.0%	64.0%	0.5%
Dem.	8.9%	9.9%	80.8%	0.4%
Indep.	17.5%	19.9%	61.1%	1.4%

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

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	82.4%	17.2%	0.3%
GOP	78.8%	20.7%	0.5%
Dem.	85.5%	14.2%	0.3%
National	80.0%	19.8%	0.3%
GOP	75.2%	24.8%	0.0%
Dem.	86.8%	13.0%	0.2%
Indep.	73.6%	25.4%	1.0%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	82.5%	17.5%	0.0%
	Women	82.4%	17.0%	0.7%
Age	18-29	77.8%	21.2%	1.0%
	30-49	86.6%	12.9%	0.5%
	50-64	83.7%	16.3%	0.0%
	65 or older	79.5%	20.5%	0.0%
Income	Less than \$50,000	76.1%	23.9%	0.0%
	\$50-100,000	82.1%	17.9%	0.0%
	\$100-150,000	84.7%	14.5%	0.7%
	More than \$150,000	87.3%	11.9%	0.7%
Education	High School or less	78.4%	21.6%	0.0%
	Some college	84.6%	14.9%	0.6%
	College degree	87.2%	12.2%	0.6%

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.

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

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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	51.9%	33.0%	84.9%	10.3%	4.1%	14.4%	0.6%
GOP	44.1%	36.7%	80.8%	12.4%	5.9%	18.3%	0.9%
Dem.	61.1%	28.5%	89.6%	8.5%	1.4%	9.9%	0.5%
National	48.2%	36.6%	84.8%	9.9%	4.6%	14.5%	0.7%
GOP	38.0%	41.2%	79.2%	13.6%	6.5%	20.1%	0.7%
Dem.	60.0%	31.0%	91.0%	5.6%	2.6%	8.2%	0.8%
Indep.	41.4%	40.2%	81.6%	12.6%	5.4%	18.0%	0.3%

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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	14.4%	19.9%	34.3%	25.9%	28.9%	54.8%	10.9%
GOP	17.1%	24.8%	41.9%	29.1%	17.8%	46.9%	11.2%
Dem.	12.5%	14.4%	26.9%	22.9%	39.5%	62.4%	10.7%

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](#)

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

National	15.1%	23.9%	39.0%	22.8%	27.8%	50.6%	10.4%
GOP	20.2%	27.7%	47.9%	26.4%	17.8%	44.2%	7.9%
Dem.	11.9%	20.0%	31.9%	18.3%	37.7%	56.0%	12.2%
Indep.	11.9%	24.9%	36.8%	25.7%	25.5%	51.2%	11.9%

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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	12.0%	14.7%	73.3%	0.0%
GOP	13.9%	18.5%	67.6%	0.0%
Dem.	8.8%	10.8%	80.4%	0.0%
National	13.7%	15.3%	70.5%	0.5%
GOP	19.7%	18.0%	61.9%	0.5%
Dem.	7.2%	10.3%	82.1%	0.4%
Indep.	16.5%	21.8%	61.1%	0.6%

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

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	83.1%	16.7%	0.2%
GOP	78.7%	21.3%	0.0%
Dem.	88.2%	11.4%	0.4%
National	79.3%	20.2%	0.5%
GOP	71.1%	28.4%	0.5%
Dem.	89.2%	10.3%	0.4%
Indep.	73.2%	26.5%	0.3%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	84.5%	15.5%	0.0%
	Women	81.7%	18.0%	0.4%
Age	18-29	76.0%	23.0%	1.0%
	30-49	84.4%	15.6%	0.0%
	50-64	86.3%	13.7%	0.0%
	65 or older	83.5%	16.5%	0.0%
Income	Less than \$50,000	76.8%	22.5%	0.7%
	\$50-100,000	82.4%	17.6%	0.0%
	\$100-150,000	88.9%	11.1%	0.0%
	More than \$150,000	85.7%	14.3%	0.0%
Education	High School or less	80.6%	18.9%	0.5%
	Some college	85.3%	14.7%	0.0%
	College degree	85.8%	14.2%	0.0%

As you may know, birth control used to be illegal for some women. Some states had laws that prohibited unmarried women from getting birth control, or married women from getting it without the permission of their husband.

In the 1960s and 70s the Supreme Court ruled that the government (federal or state) can not restrict or ban access to birth control.

Recently, a concern has arisen that those Supreme Court rulings may be overturned, and state governments will be allowed to pass laws that restrict or ban access to birth control. Legislators in some states have put forward proposals to do so.

A proposal has been put forward in Congress to **ensure that everyone has legal access to birth control, by prohibiting state governments from restricting or banning access to birth control.**

Q15: How acceptable do you find the following proposal:

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	13.4%	9.7%	74.3%	2.5%
GOP	18.4%	11.2%	68.1%	2.3%
Dem.	7.4%	7.1%	82.7%	2.9%
National	15.2%	13.3%	70.1%	1.4%
GOP	19.7%	15.2%	64.2%	1.0%
Dem.	9.7%	8.0%	80.6%	1.7%
Indep.	18.7%	22.2%	57.4%	1.7%

Q16: So, in conclusion, do you favor or oppose the proposal to **ensure that everyone has legal access to birth control, by prohibiting state governments from restricting or banning access to birth control?**

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	81.4%	17.7%	0.9%
GOP	71.6%	26.3%	2.1%
Dem.	91.1%	8.9%	0.0%
National	81.2%	18.4%	0.4%
GOP	74.0%	25.6%	0.4%
Dem.	90.1%	9.5%	0.4%
Indep.	75.4%	24.2%	0.3%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	80.1%	19.7%	0.2%
	Women	82.6%	15.9%	1.5%
Age	18-29	75.6%	22.8%	1.6%
	30-49	82.5%	16.8%	0.7%
	50-64	86.0%	12.6%	1.4%
	65 or older	79.7%	20.3%	0.0%
Income	Less than \$50,000	76.7%	22.9%	0.4%
	\$50-100,000	80.6%	19.4%	0.0%
	\$100-150,000	83.9%	16.1%	0.0%
	More than \$150,000	84.9%	12.2%	2.9%
Education	High School or less	77.0%	22.0%	1.0%
	Some college	83.0%	15.8%	1.3%
	College degree	86.6%	12.8%	0.6%

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:

Q17. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	45.6%	32.1%	77.7%	10.8%	7.7%	18.5%	3.8%
GOP	38.2%	36.7%	74.9%	12.7%	8.7%	21.4%	3.7%
Dem.	53.7%	27.2%	80.9%	8.4%	6.5%	14.9%	4.1%
National	45.3%	34.3%	79.6%	10.3%	6.4%	16.7%	3.7%
GOP	36.8%	38.0%	74.8%	12.6%	9.2%	21.8%	3.5%
Dem.	58.4%	29.2%	87.6%	5.5%	4.0%	9.5%	2.9%
Indep.	31.6%	39.0%	70.6%	17.3%	6.0%	23.3%	6.1%

Here is an argument against:

Q18. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	16.4%	24.8%	41.2%	23.4%	25.7%	49.1%	9.8%
GOP	20.2%	29.7%	49.9%	25.3%	15.2%	40.5%	9.6%
Dem.	12.7%	19.8%	32.5%	21.4%	36.0%	57.4%	10.1%
National	16.0%	26.6%	42.6%	24.4%	24.2%	48.6%	8.8%
GOP	21.2%	32.7%	53.9%	25.0%	13.2%	38.2%	8.0%
Dem.	12.8%	21.0%	33.8%	23.3%	34.5%	57.8%	8.4%
Indep.	12.4%	26.8%	39.2%	25.6%	23.5%	49.1%	11.7%

Q19. How acceptable do you find the following proposal:

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](#)

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

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	16.3%	13.4%	69.9%	0.4%
GOP	17.5%	17.6%	64.2%	0.7%
Dem.	14.4%	9.3%	76.0%	0.3%
National	15.8%	18.1%	65.5%	0.6%
GOP	20.1%	20.6%	58.7%	0.6%
Dem.	9.9%	14.5%	75.3%	0.3%
Indep.	21.1%	21.4%	56.4%	1.1%

Q20. 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	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	82.3%	17.3%	0.5%
GOP	78.1%	20.8%	1.1%
Dem.	86.8%	13.2%	0.0%
National	78.4%	21.4%	0.2%
GOP	71.3%	28.6%	0.2%
Dem.	88.0%	11.8%	0.2%
Indep.	70.7%	29.0%	0.3%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	79.1%	20.7%	0.2%
	Women	85.2%	14.0%	0.7%
Age	18-29	80.7%	17.7%	1.5%
	30-49	83.2%	16.8%	0.0%
	50-64	83.5%	16.5%	0.0%
	65 or older	80.9%	18.3%	0.8%
Income	Less than \$50,000	76.6%	23.0%	0.4%
	\$50-100,000	80.7%	18.6%	0.7%
	\$100-150,000	84.4%	14.6%	1.0%
	More than \$150,000	87.8%	12.2%	0.0%
Education	High School or less	80.5%	18.5%	1.0%
	Some college	81.4%	18.2%	0.4%
	College degree	86.3%	13.7%	0.0%

[IF "Disapprove," present Q20a]

Q20a. 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

Q20a.	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	Dk/ref	Approve + Approve w/no exemptions
Pennsylvania	8.80%	6.60%	1.80%	0.50%	88.90%
GOP	14.40%	5.40%	1.00%	1.10%	83.50%
Dem.	4.70%	7.90%	0.60%	0.00%	94.70%
National	9.4%	6.9%	4.9%	0.3%	85.30%
GOP	16.8%	6.8%	4.9%	0.2%	78.10%
Dem.	3.1%	6.0%	2.4%	0.5%	94.00%
Indep.	8.5%	9.2%	11.2%	0.3%	79.90%

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:

Q21. 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

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
Pennsylvania	48.4%	30.8%	79.2%	9.2%	8.5%	17.7%	3.1%
GOP	37.0%	36.6%	73.6%	10.7%	12.7%	23.4%	3.1%
Dem.	60.2%	26.0%	86.2%	6.7%	3.7%	10.4%	3.4%
National	48.6%	29.3%	77.9%	12.0%	7.8%	19.8%	2.2%
GOP	36.5%	31.9%	68.4%	16.7%	11.7%	28.4%	3.3%
Dem.	63.3%	24.7%	88.0%	5.7%	4.8%	10.5%	1.4%
Indep.	39.3%	35.1%	74.4%	17.1%	6.8%	23.9%	1.7%

Here is an argument against:

Q22. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	19.9%	21.7%	41.6%	17.8%	32.0%	49.8%	8.5%
GOP	26.1%	26.7%	52.8%	19.9%	18.3%	38.2%	8.9%
Dem.	14.9%	16.6%	31.5%	13.9%	46.3%	60.2%	8.3%

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](#)

National	16.9%	23.7%	40.6%	22.4%	29.4%	51.8%	7.7%
GOP	23.4%	28.6%	52.0%	23.8%	17.2%	41.0%	7.0%
Dem.	13.0%	18.2%	31.2%	19.8%	42.1%	61.9%	6.9%
Indep.	11.8%	26.0%	37.8%	25.4%	25.4%	50.8%	11.3%

Q23. 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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	16.9%	11.8%	71.0%	0.2%
GOP	26.6%	16.1%	56.7%	0.5%
Dem.	8.2%	7.6%	84.2%	0.0%
National	16.5%	14.8%	68.2%	0.5%
GOP	26.0%	19.7%	53.8%	0.5%
Dem.	6.6%	7.7%	85.2%	0.5%
Indep.	19.9%	21.5%	58.1%	0.6%

Q24. So, in conclusion, do you favor or oppose that proposal?

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	78.6%	20.3%	1.1%
GOP	68.8%	29.1%	2.1%
Dem.	87.8%	11.8%	0.4%
National	76.3%	23.3%	0.4%
GOP	64.1%	35.7%	0.2%
Dem.	89.3%	10.3%	0.4%
Indep.	71.5%	27.9%	0.6%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	76.3%	23.2%	0.5%
	Women	80.8%	17.5%	1.7%
Age	18-29	78.5%	20.4%	1.1%
	30-49	76.6%	22.9%	0.5%
	50-64	78.4%	20.9%	0.7%
	65 or older	80.9%	17.0%	2.1%
Income	Less than \$50,000	78.5%	20.4%	1.1%
	\$50-100,000	76.6%	22.9%	0.5%
	\$100-150,000	78.4%	20.9%	0.7%
	More than \$150,000	80.9%	17.0%	2.1%
Education	High School or less	77.7%	21.1%	1.2%
	Some college	80.1%	18.6%	1.3%
	College degree	80.1%	18.9%	1.0%

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:

Q25. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	30.0%	34.6%	64.6%	18.9%	16.1%	35.0%	0.3%
GOP	37.3%	39.7%	77.0%	14.4%	8.4%	22.8%	0.3%
Dem.	23.0%	30.5%	53.5%	22.6%	23.4%	46.0%	0.5%
National	30.1%	35.7%	65.8%	18.3%	15.0%	33.3%	0.9%
GOP	40.3%	36.7%	77.0%	14.6%	8.0%	22.6%	0.4%
Dem.	21.5%	33.6%	55.1%	21.9%	22.1%	44.0%	0.8%
Indep.	28.4%	38.9%	67.3%	17.8%	12.8%	30.6%	2.1%

Here is an argument against:

Q26. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	31.1%	28.1%	59.2%	17.7%	13.4%	31.1%	9.6%
GOP	17.4%	28.8%	46.2%	24.4%	16.9%	41.3%	12.4%
Dem.	44.8%	27.5%	72.3%	10.9%	9.3%	20.2%	7.4%
National	31.5%	29.4%	60.9%	17.7%	12.6%	30.3%	8.8%
GOP	20.6%	25.5%	46.1%	25.2%	20.0%	45.2%	8.6%
Dem.	44.0%	32.3%	76.3%	9.7%	6.3%	16.0%	7.7%
Indep.	24.8%	31.0%	55.8%	20.7%	11.5%	32.2%	12.0%

Here is another argument in favor:

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](#)

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](#)

Q27. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	17.9%	33.4%	51.3%	20.6%	27.2%	47.8%	0.9%
GOP	23.9%	38.5%	62.4%	19.7%	17.2%	36.9%	0.6%
Dem.	12.5%	28.6%	41.1%	20.9%	36.6%	57.5%	1.3%
National	18.8%	31.0%	49.8%	24.5%	24.8%	49.3%	0.9%
GOP	23.8%	35.2%	59.0%	24.5%	15.3%	39.8%	1.1%
Dem.	15.5%	26.9%	42.4%	22.5%	34.4%	56.9%	0.7%
Indep.	15.7%	31.8%	47.5%	29.7%	22.1%	51.8%	0.7%

Here is another argument against:

Q28. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	39.2%	28.8%	68.0%	13.0%	10.8%	23.8%	8.1%
GOP	22.9%	33.6%	56.5%	17.7%	15.5%	33.2%	10.3%
Dem.	55.4%	23.9%	79.3%	8.9%	5.2%	14.1%	6.6%
National	38.8%	28.4%	67.2%	14.3%	9.4%	23.7%	9.1%
GOP	27.4%	28.0%	55.4%	20.8%	14.5%	35.3%	9.3%
Dem.	51.5%	27.4%	78.9%	7.4%	5.3%	12.7%	8.4%
Indep.	32.5%	31.8%	64.3%	16.7%	8.5%	25.2%	10.6%

How acceptable do you find the following:

Q29a. Requiring doctors to show a woman seeking an abortion an ultrasound image of her fetus (or read a description) before getting an abortion.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	43.7%	17.7%	36.7%	1.9%
GOP	33.0%	18.5%	45.8%	2.7%
Dem.	53.9%	16.8%	27.9%	1.3%
National	42.4%	19.4%	37.1%	1.0%
GOP	31.2%	18.2%	50.0%	0.6%
Dem.	53.7%	19.5%	25.9%	0.9%
Indep.	39.6%	21.7%	36.2%	2.4%

Q29b. 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.

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

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	28.4%	11.3%	31.8%	28.5%
GOP	21.7%	10.5%	37.8%	30.0%
Dem.	35.0%	11.6%	25.8%	27.6%
National	31.7%	13.2%	29.2%	26.0%
GOP	22.2%	13.8%	40.4%	23.7%
Dem.	39.7%	11.7%	21.8%	26.9%
Indep.	33.1%	15.5%	22.4%	29.0%

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

Q30a. 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	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	45.8%	53.3%	0.9%
GOP	58.3%	40.4%	1.4%
Dem.	33.7%	65.7%	0.7%
National	48.0%	51.6%	0.4%
GOP	59.6%	39.5%	0.9%
Dem.	36.0%	63.8%	0.2%
Indep.	51.8%	48.2%	0.0%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	53.6%	45.5%	0.9%
	Women	38.4%	60.7%	0.9%
Age	18-29	45.3%	54.2%	0.6%
	30-49	49.8%	49.6%	0.6%
	50-64	42.0%	57.5%	0.5%
	65 or older	45.0%	53.1%	2.0%
Income	Less than \$50,000	50.1%	49.5%	0.4%
	\$50-100,000	51.2%	48.8%	0.0%
	\$100-150,000	40.3%	57.4%	2.3%
	More than \$150,000	40.0%	58.7%	1.3%
Education	High School or less	57.0%	41.5%	1.5%
	Some college	41.0%	58.1%	0.9%
	College degree	36.5%	63.1%	0.4%

Q30b. 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	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	44.5%	52.7%	2.8%
GOP	58.4%	37.8%	3.9%
Dem.	31.0%	66.8%	2.2%
National	43.7%	53.5%	2.8%
GOP	58.5%	38.4%	3.0%

Dem.	32.6%	64.3%	3.1%
Indep.	37.8%	60.6%	1.6%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		Favor	Oppose	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	53.0%	45.0%	2.0%
	Women	36.4%	60.1%	3.4%
Age	18-29	43.6%	55.8%	0.6%
	30-49	47.0%	50.3%	2.7%
	50-64	38.1%	57.4%	4.5%
	65 or older	48.7%	48.5%	2.8%
Income	Less than \$50,000	43.9%	52.1%	4.0%
	\$50-100,000	47.9%	50.2%	1.8%
	\$100-150,000	45.0%	52.6%	2.4%
	More than \$150,000	41.3%	56.0%	2.7%
Education	High School or less	54.8%	42.3%	2.8%
	Some college	35.3%	60.7%	4.0%
	College degree	39.7%	58.8%	1.4%

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:

Q31. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	24.9%	30.3%	55.2%	20.9%	23.5%	44.4%	0.4%
GOP	32.6%	37.9%	70.5%	18.6%	10.5%	29.1%	0.3%

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

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

Dem.	19.3%	22.0%	41.3%	23.1%	34.9%	58.0%	0.6%
National	26.0%	30.4%	56.4%	22.2%	20.5%	42.7%	0.9%
GOP	36.6%	33.5%	70.1%	19.2%	10.5%	29.7%	0.3%
Dem.	18.1%	23.9%	42.0%	25.7%	30.9%	56.6%	1.4%
Indep.	21.9%	39.5%	61.4%	20.4%	17.2%	37.6%	1.0%

Here is an argument against:

Q32. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	28.6%	33.6%	62.2%	17.5%	13.7%	31.2%	6.6%
GOP	16.8%	32.9%	49.7%	25.4%	19.3%	44.7%	5.7%
Dem.	40.6%	33.2%	73.8%	10.1%	8.1%	18.2%	8.0%
National	29.7%	32.9%	62.6%	17.3%	11.9%	29.2%	8.1%
GOP	18.3%	29.3%	47.6%	25.1%	20.1%	45.2%	7.2%
Dem.	42.6%	35.0%	77.6%	9.3%	4.7%	14.0%	8.3%
Indep.	23.4%	35.4%	58.8%	20.0%	11.6%	31.6%	9.6%

Q33. 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.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	43.3%	17.1%	38.7%	0.9%
GOP	28.6%	17.5%	52.3%	1.5%
Dem.	56.0%	15.8%	27.7%	0.5%
National	44.7%	20.0%	34.8%	0.5%
GOP	31.4%	20.9%	46.8%	0.9%
Dem.	56.2%	16.9%	26.6%	0.3%
Indep.	45.8%	25.7%	28.3%	0.3%

Q34. 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	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	45.1%	54.2%	0.8%
GOP	62.3%	35.9%	1.8%
Dem.	29.4%	70.6%	0.0%
National	44.2%	55.4%	0.4%
GOP	61.5%	38.0%	0.5%
Dem.	29.0%	70.6%	0.4%
Indep.	43.3%	56.7%	0.0%

		Approve	Disapprove	DK/Ref
Gender	Men	52.1%	47.7%	0.2%
	Women	38.4%	60.3%	1.3%
Age	18-29	41.4%	57.1%	1.5%
	30-49	46.8%	53.2%	0.0%
	50-64	38.4%	59.7%	1.9%
	65 or older	52.5%	47.5%	0.0%
Income	Less than \$50,000	42.5%	56.4%	1.1%
	\$50-100,000	53.0%	47.0%	0.0%
	\$100-150,000	42.6%	56.7%	0.6%
	More than \$150,000	41.2%	57.5%	1.3%
Education	High School or less	54.5%	44.0%	1.4%
	Some college	40.4%	58.7%	0.9%
	College degree	40.4%	59.6%	0.0%

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

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)

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

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

Here is an argument in favor:

Q35. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	18.5%	21.9%	40.4%	19.6%	32.0%	51.6%	8.0%
GOP	26.4%	29.2%	55.6%	18.9%	18.1%	37.0%	7.4%
Dem.	11.3%	14.7%	26.0%	20.1%	44.7%	64.8%	9.2%
National	22.7%	22.4%	45.1%	18.2%	29.3%	47.5%	7.4%
GOP	34.0%	26.8%	60.8%	17.5%	14.5%	32.0%	7.1%
Dem.	14.9%	18.0%	32.9%	16.5%	43.4%	59.9%	7.2%
Indep.	16.3%	23.5%	39.8%	23.8%	27.6%	51.4%	8.8%

Here is an argument against:

Q36. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	44.2%	23.8%	68.0%	10.9%	9.2%	20.1%	12.0%
GOP	32.2%	26.1%	58.3%	16.8%	13.3%	30.1%	11.5%
Dem.	55.6%	20.7%	76.3%	4.7%	5.3%	10.0%	13.6%
National	44.3%	25.1%	69.4%	11.1%	9.2%	20.3%	10.3%
GOP	30.4%	27.8%	58.2%	15.9%	15.5%	31.4%	10.4%
Dem.	60.3%	20.1%	80.4%	5.5%	4.0%	9.5%	10.1%
Indep.	35.4%	31.7%	67.1%	14.1%	7.9%	22.0%	10.8%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q37. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	16.9%	28.6%	45.5%	24.8%	27.9%	52.7%	1.8%
GOP	22.0%	36.8%	58.8%	23.5%	16.7%	40.2%	1.0%
Dem.	12.8%	20.6%	33.4%	25.1%	39.3%	64.4%	2.1%
National	22.3%	28.0%	50.3%	24.0%	24.7%	48.7%	1.0%
GOP	31.1%	33.3%	64.4%	22.0%	12.6%	34.6%	1.0%
Dem.	16.8%	22.1%	38.9%	23.5%	37.0%	60.5%	0.6%
Indep.	15.9%	31.0%	46.9%	29.5%	21.6%	51.1%	2.1%

Here is another argument against:

Q38. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	45.5%	25.6%	71.1%	10.9%	6.6%	17.5%	11.4%
GOP	35.9%	30.4%	66.3%	14.9%	8.5%	23.4%	10.4%
Dem.	55.3%	20.7%	76.0%	6.6%	4.1%	10.7%	13.3%
National	45.3%	29.6%	74.9%	10.4%	7.5%	17.9%	7.2%
GOP	33.0%	34.0%	67.0%	15.8%	10.3%	26.1%	6.9%
Dem.	58.6%	26.0%	84.6%	3.7%	4.9%	8.6%	6.9%
Indep.	39.5%	29.0%	68.5%	15.2%	7.8%	23.0%	8.5%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q39. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	23.2%	30.7%	53.9%	21.7%	22.4%	44.1%	2.0%
GOP	28.5%	39.4%	67.9%	17.9%	12.2%	30.1%	2.0%
Dem.	18.6%	23.0%	41.6%	24.4%	31.9%	56.3%	2.2%
National	23.1%	30.9%	54.0%	22.4%	23.0%	45.4%	0.7%
GOP	29.1%	36.2%	65.3%	21.9%	12.0%	33.9%	0.7%
Dem.	19.9%	25.5%	45.4%	20.0%	34.1%	54.1%	0.5%

Indep.	17.7%	32.2%	49.9%	29.4%	19.9%	49.3%	0.8%
--------	-------	-------	--------------	-------	-------	--------------	------

Here is another argument against:

Q40. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	35.3%	28.7%	64.0%	14.4%	7.6%	22.0%	14.0%
GOP	25.8%	33.8%	59.6%	19.7%	9.6%	29.3%	11.1%
Dem.	45.3%	23.1%	68.4%	9.1%	5.2%	14.3%	17.3%
National	38.3%	30.0%	68.3%	13.6%	8.8%	22.4%	9.2%
GOP	27.5%	33.0%	60.5%	17.9%	12.5%	30.4%	9.2%
Dem.	51.3%	25.6%	76.9%	8.5%	5.4%	13.9%	9.3%
Indep.	30.3%	34.6%	64.9%	16.6%	9.0%	25.6%	9.4%

Here is one last argument in favor:

Q41. 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.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
Pennsylvania	21.0%	28.5%	49.5%	20.1%	29.7%	49.8%	0.7%
GOP	25.4%	38.2%	63.6%	20.1%	15.3%	35.4%	1.0%
Dem.	17.4%	20.2%	37.6%	20.1%	42.0%	62.1%	0.2%
National	19.8%	28.4%	48.2%	22.3%	28.4%	50.7%	1.1%
GOP	27.5%	34.2%	61.7%	23.0%	14.3%	37.3%	1.0%
Dem.	15.3%	21.7%	37.0%	20.4%	41.6%	62.0%	1.0%
Indep.	14.0%	32.3%	46.3%	25.3%	26.9%	52.2%	1.5%

Here is one last argument against:

Q42. 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 / Don't know
--	-----------------	---------------------	------------------	-----------------------	-------------------	--------------------	----------------------

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](#)

²⁸ See [McFall v Shimp \(1978\)](#)

Pennsylvania	43.3%	24.2%	67.5%	12.7%	7.5%	20.2%	12.4%
GOP	31.2%	26.3%	57.5%	18.5%	12.4%	30.9%	11.5%
Dem.	55.2%	20.7%	75.9%	7.3%	3.1%	10.4%	13.7%
National	43.9%	24.4%	68.3%	13.2%	8.8%	22.0%	9.7%
GOP	29.0%	26.2%	55.2%	19.9%	15.3%	35.2%	9.6%
Dem.	60.9%	20.0%	80.9%	6.1%	3.4%	9.5%	9.5%
Indep.	35.0%	31.5%	66.5%	15.8%	7.3%	23.1%	10.4%

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**.

Q43. 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.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
Pennsylvania	32.6%	33.5%	66.1%	18.1%	13.8%	31.9%	2.1%
GOP	28.9%	37.6%	66.5%	20.7%	10.9%	31.6%	1.9%
Dem.	35.7%	30.9%	66.6%	15.4%	16.0%	31.4%	2.1%
National	27.9%	36.1%	64.0%	18.3%	16.0%	34.3%	1.7%
GOP	28.8%	33.6%	62.4%	20.3%	16.2%	36.5%	1.1%
Dem.	27.7%	39.4%	67.1%	15.4%	16.3%	31.7%	1.2%
Indep.	26.3%	33.3%	59.6%	21.3%	15.1%	36.4%	4.0%

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

Q44. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	17.3%	22.4%	39.7%	17.4%	34.1%	51.5%	8.7%
GOP	24.4%	27.3%	51.7%	16.1%	23.8%	39.9%	8.4%
Dem.	11.4%	17.4%	28.8%	16.6%	44.8%	61.4%	9.9%
National	20.7%	22.1%	42.8%	20.9%	28.7%	49.6%	7.7%
GOP	31.2%	25.1%	56.3%	22.8%	15.0%	37.8%	5.8%
Dem.	12.8%	18.8%	31.6%	19.1%	40.7%	59.8%	8.5%
Indep.	16.8%	23.6%	40.4%	20.7%	29.3%	50.0%	9.7%

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

Q45. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	38.2%	23.4%	61.6%	12.2%	8.8%	21.0%	17.4%
GOP	24.3%	23.5%	47.8%	19.3%	14.5%	33.8%	18.4%
Dem.	51.5%	21.5%	73.0%	6.5%	3.6%	10.1%	16.9%
National	38.1%	23.9%	62.0%	12.3%	9.9%	22.2%	15.8%
GOP	25.4%	24.5%	49.9%	19.0%	15.9%	34.9%	15.1%
Dem.	52.3%	21.7%	74.0%	4.8%	5.3%	10.1%	15.9%
Indep.	31.1%	28.4%	59.5%	15.8%	7.8%	23.6%	17.0%

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:

Q46. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	14.8%	24.3%	39.1%	20.0%	39.4%	59.4%	1.5%
GOP	18.7%	32.5%	51.2%	21.5%	25.6%	47.1%	1.8%
Dem.	12.1%	16.8%	28.9%	17.2%	52.2%	69.4%	1.5%
National	17.5%	23.3%	40.8%	22.3%	36.1%	58.4%	0.8%
GOP	25.3%	28.9%	54.2%	24.8%	20.7%	45.5%	0.4%
Dem.	13.0%	17.5%	30.5%	16.4%	52.0%	68.4%	1.1%
Indep.	11.4%	24.9%	36.3%	31.8%	30.9%	62.7%	1.0%

Here is an argument against:

Q47. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	45.8%	25.8%	71.6%	12.3%	9.1%	21.4%	6.9%
GOP	29.5%	31.0%	60.5%	18.0%	14.8%	32.8%	6.7%
Dem.	60.9%	21.8%	82.7%	6.0%	4.2%	10.2%	7.1%
National	42.8%	28.1%	70.9%	12.9%	9.6%	22.5%	6.6%
GOP	29.5%	29.2%	58.7%	20.3%	14.6%	34.9%	6.4%
Dem.	56.7%	25.9%	82.6%	6.0%	4.8%	10.8%	6.6%
Indep.	38.0%	30.9%	68.9%	13.9%	10.2%	24.1%	7.0%

Here is an argument in favor of charging the woman

Q48. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	18.1%	23.9%	42.0%	21.8%	35.0%	56.8%	1.2%
GOP	23.4%	31.1%	54.5%	21.6%	22.7%	44.3%	1.1%
Dem.	13.6%	17.0%	30.6%	21.9%	46.4%	68.3%	1.2%
National	19.7%	24.8%	44.5%	22.5%	32.4%	54.9%	0.6%
GOP	27.4%	30.6%	58.0%	23.8%	17.5%	41.3%	0.6%
Dem.	15.0%	20.2%	35.2%	18.3%	45.8%	64.1%	0.6%
Indep.	14.0%	23.3%	37.3%	29.9%	32.5%	62.4%	0.4%

Here is an argument against:

Q49. 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 / Don't know
Pennsylvania	43.6%	26.3%	69.9%	13.9%	9.5%	23.4%	6.8%
GOP	29.5%	32.5%	62.0%	16.9%	13.8%	30.7%	7.3%
Dem.	57.1%	21.5%	78.6%	10.0%	4.4%	14.4%	7.0%
National	38.9%	31.1%	70.0%	15.3%	8.5%	23.8%	6.2%
GOP	26.5%	32.0%	58.5%	21.6%	14.1%	35.7%	5.9%
Dem.	51.9%	28.9%	80.8%	9.0%	4.0%	13.0%	6.2%
Indep.	34.6%	34.5%	69.1%	16.8%	7.0%	23.8%	7.1%

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

Q50a. Not making abortion a crime.

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	20.4%	11.7%	66.0%	1.9%
GOP	26.9%	17.5%	54.1%	1.4%
Dem.	13.8%	5.9%	77.8%	2.5%
National	24.1%	15.8%	59.5%	0.6%
GOP	33.8%	19.7%	45.7%	0.9%
Dem.	16.2%	10.1%	73.2%	0.5%
Indep.	21.8%	21.3%	56.5%	0.3%

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:

Q50b. the **doctor** who provides an abortion (who may also lose their license)

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	45.4%	10.7%	28.2%	15.8%

GOP	29.8%	11.4%	37.3%	21.4%
Dem.	59.5%	9.7%	19.8%	11.0%
National	46.3%	13.5%	26.5%	13.7%
GOP	33.1%	15.5%	37.5%	13.9%
Dem.	59.0%	10.0%	20.0%	11.0%
Indep.	44.3%	18.0%	17.8%	19.9%

Q50c. the **woman** who gets an abortion

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	42.9%	12.2%	23.8%	21.1%
GOP	32.2%	14.5%	28.2%	25.1%
Dem.	52.9%	9.2%	20.8%	17.0%
National	41.6%	14.7%	23.9%	19.8%
GOP	34.6%	17.2%	28.2%	19.9%
Dem.	48.9%	10.1%	22.8%	18.1%
Indep.	38.8%	20.8%	16.7%	23.7%

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

Q50d. the **doctor** who performs an abortion (who may also lose their license)

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	52.1%	7.6%	18.7%	21.6%
GOP	38.3%	10.8%	24.4%	26.5%
Dem.	63.9%	4.9%	14.2%	17.0%
National	52.9%	9.3%	17.9%	19.9%
GOP	44.9%	11.4%	23.9%	19.7%
Dem.	61.6%	6.5%	13.9%	18.0%
Indep.	49.2%	11.9%	14.0%	25.0%

Q50e. the **woman** who gets an abortion

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	49.3%	9.1%	19.1%	22.5%
GOP	35.2%	12.7%	24.1%	28.0%
Dem.	61.0%	5.9%	15.6%	17.5%
National	48.7%	11.3%	19.7%	20.2%
GOP	42.7%	12.7%	24.2%	20.5%
Dem.	56.1%	7.8%	18.2%	17.9%
Indep.	44.0%	17.3%	13.2%	25.6%

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:

Q51a. The pregnancy is the result of rape or incest

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	17.2%	7.9%	69.3%	5.7%
GOP	17.5%	9.9%	67.6%	5.1%
Dem.	15.9%	4.5%	73.2%	6.4%
National	21.0%	10.4%	64.1%	4.5%
GOP	24.2%	12.0%	60.5%	3.3%
Dem.	17.7%	6.9%	70.4%	5.0%
Indep.	22.2%	15.4%	56.5%	5.8%

Q51b. The life of the woman is at risk if she continues with the pregnancy

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	11.9%	7.8%	68.6%	11.7%
GOP	10.9%	9.6%	66.2%	13.3%
Dem.	10.9%	5.8%	73.1%	10.2%
National	17.0%	8.8%	64.7%	9.6%
GOP	19.3%	9.6%	61.0%	10.1%
Dem.	13.4%	6.3%	72.6%	7.7%
Indep.	20.6%	13.2%	52.9%	13.3%

Q51c. The fetus has a severe physical or mental abnormality that will likely persist throughout their life

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	16.8%	11.3%	59.7%	12.2%
GOP	18.1%	15.6%	52.6%	13.6%
Dem.	13.9%	6.8%	68.0%	11.3%
National	21.1%	13.7%	54.9%	10.3%
GOP	26.4%	15.7%	47.1%	10.9%
Dem.	16.0%	10.0%	66.3%	7.6%
Indep.	21.7%	18.4%	44.2%	15.7%

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.

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](#)

Q52. 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	Make abortion a serious crime at any point in pregnancy, punishment inc prison time or major fines	Dk/ref	Not a crime + viability	DK + Not a crime
Pennsylvania	65.1%	24.5%	9.2%	1.1%	89.6%	66.2%
GOP	45.9%	38.1%	14.6%	1.4%	84.0%	47.3%
Dem.	83.3%	11.3%	4.5%	0.9%	94.6%	84.2%
National	63.9%	23.6%	11.7%	0.8%	87.5%	64.7%
GOP	48.1%	30.5%	20.2%	1.2%	78.6%	49.3%
Dem.	78.7%	15.6%	5.2%	0.5%	94.3%	79.2%
Indep.	62.4%	28.5%	8.6%	0.5%	90.9%	62.9%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania		Do not make abortion a crime	Make abortion a serious crime after fetus is viable, punishment inc prison time or major fines	Make abortion a serious crime at any point in pregnancy, punishment inc prison time or major fines	DK/Ref	Not a crime + viability	DK + Not a crime
Gender	Men	61.0%	26.1%	11.4%	11.4%	87.1%	72.4%
	Women	69.1%	23.1%	7.1%	7.1%	92.2%	76.2%
Age	18-29	62.2%	29.2%	7.6%	7.6%	91.4%	69.8%
	30-49	60.9%	23.9%	13.1%	13.1%	84.8%	74.0%
	50-64	67.4%	22.8%	9.4%	9.4%	90.2%	76.8%
	65 or older	70.5%	23.4%	5.3%	5.3%	93.9%	75.8%
Income	Less than \$50,000	60.2%	28.7%	8.9%	8.9%	88.9%	69.1%
	\$50-100,000	62.5%	25.2%	11.6%	11.6%	87.7%	74.1%
	\$100-150,000	69.1%	23.9%	6.5%	6.5%	93.0%	75.6%
	More than \$150,000	69.8%	20.2%	8.9%	8.9%	90.0%	78.7%
Education	High School or less	58.0%	31.1%	9.9%	9.9%	89.1%	67.9%
	Some college	69.1%	22.2%	8.0%	8.0%	91.3%	77.1%
	College degree	71.2%	18.3%	9.4%	9.4%	89.5%	80.6%

[IF choose [after the fetus is viable / at any point during the pregnancy], then reveal Q53 on the same screen and show:]

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

Q53. Now please choose who you want to be punished with prison time and/or major fines for violating that law:

1. the doctor who performed the abortion
2. the woman who got the abortion
3. both the woman and the doctor

	Doctor who performed the abortion	Woman who got the abortion	Both the woman and the doctor	Dk/ref
Pennsylvania	2.6%	2.2%	12.5%	16.5%
GOP	5.3%	3.1%	21.0%	23.3%
Dem.	0.1%	1.3%	4.5%	9.8%
National	5.0%	4.7%	9.8%	15.9%
GOP	8.5%	4.5%	16.0%	21.7%
Dem.	3.0%	4.5%	3.7%	9.6%
Indep.	2.2%	5.5%	11.0%	18.4%

[IF Q52 [after the fetus is viable / at any point during the pregnancy], reveal Q54 below:]

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: **[USE CHECK BOXES FOR OPTIONS BELOW—IF choose Q54d then prohibit the respondent from choosing other options Q54a-c. Otherwise, the respondent should be allowed to choose at least one or more of the options for Q54a - Q54c]**

Q54a. ___the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest

Q54a.	Chosen	Ref/DK	No Exceptions
Pennsylvania	12.8%	18.7%	2.2%
GOP	23.0%	26.6%	3.1%
Dem.	3.4%	10.9%	1.5%
National	12.8%	20.3%	2.2%
GOP	20.3%	26.4%	4.0%
Dem.	6.8%	13.6%	0.4%
Indep.	10.8%	23.6%	2.6%

Q54b. ___continuing the pregnancy will likely result in the death of the woman

Q54b.	Chosen	Ref/DK	No Exceptions
Pennsylvania	13.6%	17.9%	2.2%
GOP	23.5%	26.2%	3.1%
Dem.	4.0%	10.3%	1.5%
National	13.9%	19.2%	2.2%
GOP	21.7%	25.0%	4.0%
Dem.	7.8%	12.6%	0.4%
Indep.	11.8%	22.7%	2.6%

Q54c. ___the fetus has a serious physical or mental abnormality that will likely persist throughout their life

Q54c.	Chosen	Ref/DK	No Exceptions
Pennsylvania	8.0%	23.5%	2.2%
GOP	13.5%	36.1%	3.1%
Dem.	3.3%	11.0%	1.5%
National	8.9%	24.2%	2.2%
GOP	13.3%	33.4%	4.0%
Dem.	4.8%	15.6%	0.4%
Indep.	9.5%	24.9%	2.6%

OR -- Q54d. ___there should NOT be any exceptions [if chosen, cannot choose any other option above]

Q54d.	Chosen	Not Chosen
Pennsylvania	2.2%	31.5%
GOP	3.1%	49.6%
Dem.	1.5%	14.3%
National	2.2%	33.1%
GOP	4.0%	46.7%
Dem.	0.4%	20.4%
Indep.	2.6%	34.4%

[15-week option]

[if “Make abortion a serious crime after the fetus is viable,” or “Make abortion a serious crime at any point during the pregnancy,” or “did not answer”), Present Q55 and Q56]

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.

Q55. 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?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	7.1%	4.3%	22.0%	0.3%
GOP	9.6%	6.8%	36.0%	0.4%
Dem.	4.7%	2.0%	9.1%	0.0%
National	9.1%	6.3%	19.4%	0.6%
GOP	11.7%	7.5%	30.8%	0.8%
Dem.	5.8%	3.6%	11.0%	0.3%
Indep.	11.6%	10.2%	14.5%	0.7%

Q56. 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	Dk/ref	Not a crime q52 + q56	Not a crime + viability	15 weeks + total ban
Pennsylvania	1.1%	14.1%	10.1%	9.4%	0.1%	66.2%	80.3%	19.5%
GOP	2.3%	21.9%	15.3%	14.4%	0.3%	48.2%	70.1%	29.7%
Dem.	0.2%	7.2%	5.0%	4.4%	0.0%	83.5%	90.7%	9.4%
National	2.0%	11.2%	18.9%	19.0%	0.7%	65.9%	77.1%	37.9%
GOP	2.1%	11.2%	18.9%	19.0%	0.7%	50.2%	61.4%	37.9%
Dem.	2.5%	8.6%	5.4%	4.5%	0.3%	81.2%	89.8%	9.9%
Indep.	0.5%	15.5%	10.7%	9.1%	1.7%	62.9%	78.4%	19.8%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania									
		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	Dk/ref	Not a crime q52 + q56	Not a crime + viability	15 weeks + total ban
Gender	Men	1.2%	15.5%	12.7%	9.4%	0.2%	62.2%	77.7%	22.1%
	Women	1.0%	12.8%	7.6%	9.4%	0.0%	70.1%	82.9%	17.0%
Age	18-29	0.4%	15.3%	10.7%	10.8%	0.6%	62.6%	77.9%	21.5%
	30-49	2.8%	12.4%	12.2%	11.6%	0.0%	63.7%	76.1%	23.8%
	50-64	0.4%	13.7%	8.0%	10.5%	0.0%	67.8%	81.5%	18.5%
	65 or older	0.2%	15.8%	8.9%	4.6%	0.0%	70.7%	86.5%	13.5%
Income	Less than \$50,000	0.9%	16.6%	10.8%	11.1%	0.4%	61.1%	77.7%	21.9%
	\$50-100,000	0.7%	15.3%	11.8%	9.7%	0.0%	63.2%	78.5%	21.5%
	\$100-150,000	1.5%	11.4%	11.0%	6.9%	0.0%	70.6%	82.0%	17.9%
	More than \$150,000	1.4%	12.5%	7.0%	9.3%	0.0%	71.2%	83.7%	16.3%
Education	High School or less	0.9%	16.5%	14.4%	10.3%	0.0%	58.9%	75.4%	24.7%
	Some college	0.3%	14.8%	7.2%	8.2%	0.4%	69.4%	84.2%	15.4%
	College degree	2.1%	10.8%	7.6%	8.4%	0.0%	73.3%	84.1%	16.0%

Q57. You favored [IF Q52 = 1 OR Q56 = 1: “not making abortion a crime at any stage in the pregnancy; IF Q56 = 2: “making abortion a serious crime after the fetus is viable”; IF Q56 = 3: “making abortion a serious crime after 15 weeks”; IF Q56 = 4: “making abortion a serious crime at any point during the pregnancy”].

Do you think that policy should be:

- the law in your state, and other states can have their own abortion law, or
- the federal law that would apply to all states

	the law in your state, and other states can have their own abortion law	the federal law that would apply to all states	Refused / DK
Pennsylvania	29.7%	69.3%	1.0%
GOP	40.4%	58.2%	1.4%
Dem.	20.1%	79.4%	0.5%
National	28.0%	70.2%	1.8%
GOP	42.4%	56.0%	1.6%
Dem.	16.8%	82.4%	0.8%
Indep.	23.4%	71.9%	4.7%

Demographic Results for Pennsylvania				
		the law in your state, and other states can have their own abortion law	the federal law that would apply to all states	Refused / DK
Gender	Men	33.8%	64.8%	1.3%
	Women	25.8%	73.5%	0.6%
Age	18-29	34.3%	64.2%	1.5%
	30-49	30.9%	68.5%	0.6%
	50-64	24.5%	75.0%	0.5%
	65 or older	30.1%	68.5%	1.4%

Income	Less than \$50,000	33.6%	66.0%	0.4%
	\$50-100,000	30.3%	67.8%	1.9%
	\$100-150,000	24.7%	74.3%	1.0%
	More than \$150,000	29.0%	70.5%	0.5%
Education	High School or less	38.1%	60.9%	1.0%
	Some college	24.8%	74.3%	0.9%
	College degree	26.8%	72.9%	0.3%

Thank you for taking this survey. We greatly appreciate the time and thought you have put into this survey, and we hope you found it both enjoyable and informative.

Methodology

Fielding and Sample Size

The Pennsylvania survey was fielded online June 18 – July 3, 2024 by the Program for Public Consultation (PPC) at the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy, with a representative non-probability sample of 624 adults in Pennsylvania. Sample was obtained from multiple online opt-in panels, including Cint, Prodege and Dynata. The confidence interval is +/- 4.5%. The overall response rate was 4.5%.

Pre-Stratification and Weighting

The sample was pre-stratified and weighted by age, race, ethnicity, gender, education, household income, and metro/non-metro status, using benchmarks from the Census Bureau's 2022 American Community Survey and 2023 Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement. The sample was weighted by partisan affiliation using benchmarks obtained from the Pennsylvania Department of State. The maximum weight applied was 4.1.

Sample Collection

Sample collection was managed by QuantifyAI with oversight from PPC. Samples were drawn from multiple large online panels, including Cint, Prodege, and Dynata, whose members are recruited using non-probability sampling methods. The selected sample was invited to participate via email invitation, push notification, or SMS for cell phone users. Respondents were offered cash or cash-equivalent incentives to participate in the survey.

Data Collection and Privacy

Survey responses were collected directly on the Alchemer platform. Only respondents with a provided link could take the survey, using their computer or mobile phone.

Alchemer ensures that data is collected in adherence to the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation policies for data privacy and security, as well as the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA).

Quality Control

Quality control measures in the sample collection process to disqualify duplicate respondents and survey bots included:

- checking respondents' IP addresses to determine if there are duplicate respondents
- employing an "operating system & Web browser check" to determine if there are any cross-panel duplicates
- using hCaptcha to detect and disqualify survey bots.

Quality control measures within the survey disqualify dishonest or mischievous respondents, as well as survey bots, included:

- an attention-check question, e.g. Select the word that does not belong. [Tuesday]; [Friday]; [April]; [Wednesday]
- an honesty question, e.g. What have you done in the past week? Select all that apply. [Won a gold medal at the Olympics]; [Watched TV]; [Got a license to operate a Class SSGN submarine]; [Read a book]
- a speed limit, which disqualified respondents who moved through the first quarter of the survey at a pace roughly triple the average reading speed.

Lastly, respondents were removed from the sample who answered less than half the substantive questions, or who engaged in straight-lining.