Topline Results
Survey of Voters on Abortion
Fielded January 20 to January 27, 2016
N = 1,060 registered voters 18 and older
Margin of sampling error = ± 3.7 percentage points
February 29, 2016

Introduction

1. How often do you feel the topic of abortion comes up in political campaigns and debates?
   - Frequently ................................................................. 38
   - Sometimes ............................................................... 44
   - Not too often ......................................................... 15
   - Rarely or never ..................................................... 3
   - DK/REF ........................................................................ 0

2. Outside of politics, how often do you hear about the issue of abortion?
   - Frequently ................................................................. 10
   - Sometimes ............................................................... 38
   - Not too often ......................................................... 35
   - Rarely or never ..................................................... 17
   - DK/REF ........................................................................ 1

3. What do you tend to hear more from the news media?
   - The politics around abortion ..................................... 67
   - The facts around abortion ......................................... 7
   - I’m not sure ............................................................. 26
   - DK/REF ........................................................................ 1

4. How often does the topic of abortion come up in conversation in your daily life?
   - Frequently ................................................................. 2
   - Sometimes ............................................................... 14
   - Not too often ......................................................... 28
   - Rarely or never ..................................................... 57
   - DK/REF ........................................................................ 0
5. Have you ever talked with someone about the experience of having an abortion or the decision to have one?

Yes.................................................................37
No.................................................................63
DK/REF ..........................................................0

Views on abortion

6. Let’s say a woman has decided to have an abortion. Would you want the experience to be: RANDOMIZE PAIRS AND ORDER WITHIN PAIRS

With burden ......................................................30
Without burden .................................................68
DK/REF ..........................................................3

Supportive .......................................................76
Unsupportive ....................................................22
DK/REF ..........................................................2

Able to get an abortion in her community ..................76
Have to travel to another community to get an abortion...22
DK/REF ..........................................................3

Comfortable ......................................................77
Uncomfortable ..................................................21
DK/REF ..........................................................2

Informed by medically inaccurate or misleading information ....3
Informed by medically accurate and unbiased information ...95
DK/REF ..........................................................2

Respectful of her decision ....................................76
Pressure to change her mind ..................................22
DK/REF ..........................................................2

Affordable .........................................................74
Not affordable ....................................................23
DK/REF ..........................................................2

With picketers ...................................................17
Without picketers ..............................................79
DK/REF ..........................................................4

Legal ...............................................................81
Illegal ............................................................18
DK/REF ..........................................................2
Difficult in terms of travel and logistics ........................................23
Not difficult in terms of travel and logistics ..............................75
DK/REF .....................................................................................2

7. Let’s say a woman has decided to have an abortion. Would you want the abortion care to be...

In her community .................................................................63
10 to 30 miles away ............................................................13
30 to 60 miles away ............................................................6
60 to 100 miles away ..........................................................3
100 to 200 miles away .........................................................1
200 or more miles away .......................................................11
DK/REF ....................................................................................3

8. Do you label yourself as: ROTATE FIRST TWO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Split A (N=522)</th>
<th>Split B (N=538)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pro-choice</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-life</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPLIT B: I’m not sure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. In 1973, the Supreme Court’s Roe v. Wade decision established a woman’s constitutional right to have an abortion. Would you like to see the Supreme Court overturn its Roe v. Wade decision, or not?

Overturn Roe v. Wade .........................................................27
Do not overturn Roe v. Wade .................................................70
DK/REF .....................................................................................3
Knowledge

10. Would you say abortion is more common, less common, or about as common as it was about a decade ago?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More common</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less common</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About the same</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m not sure</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Based on what you have heard, how safe is having an abortion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very safe</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat safe</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not too safe</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not safe at all</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m not sure</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ROTATE Q12-Q14

12. If you had to guess, what is your sense: is giving birth more safe, less safe, or about as safe as an abortion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More safe than an abortion</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less safe than an abortion</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About as safe as an abortion</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13. If you had to guess, what is your sense: is a colonoscopy more safe, less safe, or about as safe as an abortion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More safe than an abortion</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less safe than an abortion</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About as safe as an abortion</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 According to a study published in the journal Obstetrics & Gynecology, the risk of death associated with childbirth is approximately 14 times higher than that with abortion

2 0.23% of abortions result in a major complication compared to 0.35% of colonoscopy (according to a study published by the American Society for Gastrointestinal Endoscopy).
14. If you had to guess, what is your sense: is getting a wisdom tooth removed more safe, less safe, or about as safe as an abortion?

More safe than an abortion ................................................. 54
Less safe than an abortion .................................................. 8
About as safe as an abortion .............................................. 36
DK/REF ............................................................................. 2

15. As far as you know, are most abortion procedures done through surgery, or not?

Yes ................................................................................... 22
No .................................................................................... 26
I’m not sure ......................................................................... 51
DK/REF ............................................................................. 1

16. How long do you think a typical abortion procedure takes? Your best guess is fine.

5 to 15 minutes .................................................................... 8
15 to 30 minutes .................................................................. 27
30 to 45 minutes .................................................................. 25
45 to 60 minutes .................................................................. 18
60 to 90 minutes .................................................................. 11
90 minutes to 2 hours .......................................................... 4
2 to 3 hours ......................................................................... 2
More than 3 hours ................................................................ 2
DK/REF ............................................................................. 3

17. Are all abortion clinics required to meet health and safety regulations like other similar health centers, or not?

Yes ................................................................................... 57
No .................................................................................... 8
I’m not sure ......................................................................... 35
DK/REF ............................................................................. 1

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3 0.23% of abortions result in a major complication compared to 7% of wisdom tooth extractions (according to a study published in the journal Obstetrics & Gynecology and a Time article).

4 According to Planned Parenthood, the two most common kind of in-clinic abortion are aspiration abortion and dilation & evacuation, neither of which require an incision or surgery.

5 According to Planned Parenthood, the most common in-clinic abortion is an aspiration abortion, which takes 5 to 10 minutes.
18. Are all doctors who provide legal abortions licensed medical professionals like other doctors, or not?

Yes.................................................................60
No.................................................................8
I’m not sure.....................................................31
DK/REF..........................................................1

19. Have you ever heard of a medication abortion? This is different from Plan B or the morning after pill.

Yes...............................................................31
No.................................................................44
I’m not sure.....................................................24
DK/REF..........................................................1

20. If you had to guess, what percent of women in the US do you think will have an abortion in her lifetime? Your best guess is fine.6

Less than 5%....................................................14
5% to 9% ..........................................................13
10% to 14% .....................................................14
15% to 19% ....................................................10
20% to 24% ....................................................10
25% to 29% .....................................................9
30% to 34% ....................................................8
35% to 39% ......................................................5
40% to 44% .....................................................3
45% to 49% .....................................................1
50% to 54% .....................................................5
55% to 59% .....................................................1
60% to 64% .....................................................2
65% to 69% .....................................................1
70% to 74% .....................................................0
75% to 79% .....................................................1
80% to 84% .....................................................1
85% to 89% .....................................................0
90% to 94% .....................................................0
95% to 100% ...................................................0
DK/REF..........................................................2

<30% ..............................................................70
30% to 34% .....................................................8
35%+ .............................................................20

6 According to a 2011 Guttmacher Institute report, approximately 30% of women will have an abortion in her lifetime.
21. As far as you know, is abortion care generally covered by health insurance, or not?

Yes.................................................................................................................14
No..................................................................................................................36
I’m not sure.....................................................................................................50
DK/REF..........................................................................................................1

22. Let’s say abortion care is not covered by health insurance. What is your sense – would the costs of an abortion be:

Very affordable .............................................................................................5
Somewhat affordable ...................................................................................22
Somewhat expensive .................................................................................45
Very expensive .............................................................................................11
I’m not sure..................................................................................................15
DK/REF..........................................................................................................2

23. Do you know what laws are in place around abortion, or not? It’s okay if you are not sure.

Yes.................................................................................................................17
No..................................................................................................................17
I’m not sure..................................................................................................66
DK/REF..........................................................................................................1
SPLIT A: Is each of these a law right now, either at the national level or in any states? It is okay if you are not sure – just say so. RANDOMIZE (N=522)\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes, this is a law in some states or nationally</th>
<th>No, this is not a law</th>
<th>I’m not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24. Women under age 18 must get a parent’s written consent before getting an abortion</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Women are required to undergo an ultrasound, whether or not the doctor says it is necessary, and the doctor must display the image in front of the woman</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Women are required to make multiple, medically unnecessary appointments for an abortion</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Doctors are required to give women medically inaccurate information about the risks of abortion</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Private insurance plans are prohibited from covering abortion care</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Doctors who provide abortions are required to get permission from nearby hospitals to become part of their admitting staff</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Abortion clinics are required to rebuild their centers to meet standards for ambulatory surgical centers or else shut down</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Specially trained, certified nurse midwives, physician assistants, and nurse practitioners can provide early abortions</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^7\) [http://www.guttmacher.org/statecenter/spibs/spib_OAL.pdf](http://www.guttmacher.org/statecenter/spibs/spib_OAL.pdf)
Supreme Court Case

32. Have you heard anything about the Supreme Court taking on a new case about abortion?

Yes..................................................................................................................15
No..................................................................................................................65
I'm not sure.....................................................................................................20
DK/REF..........................................................................................................1

The Supreme Court will actually be taking a new case about abortion. We’d like your opinion, but it takes a little while to explain the case.⁸

Here are the facts of the case. We also give some facts about abortion that relate to the case. If you want more information there will be a link at the end of the survey. Thank you for taking the time to read this and respond.

The Supreme Court case will be based on a recent law passed in Texas. In 2013, the Republican governor and Republican state legislators in Texas passed a law on abortion. The law has two parts that the Supreme Court will review.

One part of the law [ROTATE] requires all doctors who provide abortions in Texas to get admitting privileges from a hospital no further than 30 miles from the clinic they provide care in. The law does not require hospitals to grant those privileges.

To get admitting privileges, hospitals often require doctors to admit a certain number of patients in a year. One issue is that abortion procedures are very safe so doctors are unlikely to have any patients to admit. For example, complications from a wisdom tooth extraction are three times more likely to happen than complications from an abortion (7% of wisdom tooth extractions have a complication vs. 2% of abortions). The risk of hospitalization from an abortion is close to 0% (0.23%).

As a result of this law, several clinics in Texas have closed either because a hospital wouldn’t grant admitting privileges or because doctors don’t have any patients to admit.

This law only applies to abortion providers, not to any other type of doctor.

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33. Do you favor or oppose this Texas law that requires abortion providers to have admitting privileges?

Favor........................................................................................................27  
Oppose.....................................................................................................42  
I’m not sure............................................................................................30  
DK/REF .................................................................................................1

The Supreme Court is also looking at another part of the Texas law. [ROTATE] This part requires all abortion clinics to be remodeled or rebuilt into “ambulatory surgical centers” or else shut down. These are buildings for major surgery and have regulations covering things from the size of hallways and doors to specific details about the operating rooms. Abortion providers have said rebuilding a clinic into an ambulatory surgical center can cost more than $1 million dollars.

Most abortions happen in the first trimester. The methods tend to be medication abortion or a vacuum aspiration procedure, which is done without incisions. A typical abortion procedure takes between 5 and 15 minutes and is done in a clinic setting. There are health and safety regulations currently in place for clinics.

As a result of this law, clinics in Texas have closed and more could close depending on the Supreme Court ruling. They have closed because of the costs involved in rebuilding clinics into ambulatory surgical centers.

This law about ambulatory surgical centers only applies to abortion providers. It does not apply to any other outpatient clinics that perform surgical procedures.

34. Do you favor or oppose this law that requires abortion clinics to be remodeled or rebuilt into ambulatory surgical centers?

Favor........................................................................................................27  
Oppose.....................................................................................................46  
I’m not sure............................................................................................26  
DK/REF .................................................................................................1
In 2012, there were 41 abortion clinics in Texas. As a result of the 2013 law, 22 clinics have closed, leaving 19 that remain open. More clinics could close depending on the outcome of the Supreme Court ruling.9

The average county in Texas is now 111 miles from an abortion provider. In some parts of the state, women have to travel more than 250 miles to get to the nearest abortion clinic.10

Right now federal law says that women have a right to an abortion without “undue burden.” The law says an undue burden is “a state law or regulation that has the purpose or effect of placing a substantial obstacle in the path of a woman seeking an abortion of a nonviable fetus.”

35. Do you think the Texas law puts an undue burden on women who are seeking an abortion, or not?

Yes..............................................................................................................65
No ...............................................................................................................32
DK/REF .......................................................................................................3

36. Think about women in Texas who have decided to have an abortion. Do you think the Texas law makes women: ROTATE FIRST TWO

More safe....................................................................................................12
Less safe ......................................................................................................40
Has no effect on safety...............................................................................23
I’m not sure ..................................................................................................24
DK/REF .......................................................................................................1

9 http://bigstory.ap.org/article/a5e39eb9c1a646ecb4a1a31bbba9774c/supreme-court-blocks-texas-abortion-clinic-rules
37. Some groups say these laws are about women’s safety and some groups say these laws are about politics, not safety. Who would you trust on whether or not these laws help improve women’s safety? Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American Medical Association</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion providers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Right to Life</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat legislators</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican legislators</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the above</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. Who do you think should be in charge of setting standards for women’s health and safety when it comes to abortion? Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The American Medical Association</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National medical experts who study health and safety</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State legislatures</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat legislators</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of Congress</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican legislators</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the above</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK/REF</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Here are some other facts about abortion in Texas. Do you think each of these things adds an undue burden for women seeking an abortion, or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes, adds an undue burden</th>
<th>No, does not add an undue burden</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>39. Some women have to wait weeks for an appointment because clinics have closed. This delays the abortion until later in the pregnancy and increases costs.</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Women are required by law to have at least one medically unnecessary appointment for an in-clinic abortion and multiple medically unnecessary appointments for a medication abortion.</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Women are required by law to receive state directed counseling at the clinic prior to a mandatory 24-hour waiting period.</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Women who have Medicaid cannot use that coverage to pay for costs unless the abortion is for reasons of rape, incest, or if her life is in danger.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. When women have to travel many miles outside their community for an abortion, it means costs for transportation, food, taking time off work, and a motel. An overnight stay is often needed because the law requires one appointment to happen at least 24 hours before a second appointment.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. The law in Texas requires women to have a sonogram, whether or not it is medically necessary. The law requires doctors to display the image in front of the woman. The law also requires doctors to make the heartbeat audible and to describe parts of the fetus in detail. The law applies to all women except those who became pregnant as a result of rape or incest or those who found out their fetus had a medical problem.</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[11](http://data.rhrealitycheck.org/law/texas-omnibus-abortion-bill-hb-2-2013/)
45. Now that you've learned more about the laws in Texas, do you think all of the laws in Texas put an undue burden on women who are seeking an abortion, or not?

Yes..............................................................................................................61  
No..................................................................................................................36  
DK/REF..........................................................................................................3  

46. Many states have recently proposed or passed laws that put obstacles in the path of women seeking an abortion\textsuperscript{12}. The laws are very similar to those in Texas. Do you think these laws are moving in the right direction or the wrong direction?

Right direction ..............................................................................................32  
Wrong direction .............................................................................................65  
DK/REF..........................................................................................................4  

SPLIT B: Here are some laws that are in place either at the national level or in some states. Do you favor or oppose each of these current laws? RANDOMIZE (N=538)\textsuperscript{13}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Law</th>
<th>Favor this law</th>
<th>Oppose this law</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47. Women under age 18 must get a parent’s written consent before getting an abortion</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Women are required to undergo an ultrasound, whether or not the doctor says it is necessary, and the doctor must display the image in front of the woman</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. Women are required to make multiple, medically unnecessary appointments for an abortion</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Doctors are required to give women medically inaccurate information about the risks of abortion</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. Private insurance plans are prohibited from covering abortion care</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52. Doctors who provide abortions are required to get permission from nearby hospitals to become part of their admitting staff</td>
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<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. Abortion clinics are required to rebuild their centers to meet standards for ambulatory surgical centers or else shut down</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. Specially trained, certified nurse midwives, physician assistants, and nurse practitioners can provide early abortions</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{12} http://www.guttmacher.org/media/inthenews/2016/01/04/index.html  
\textsuperscript{13} http://www.guttmacher.org/statecenter/spibs/spib_OAL.pdf
Here is more information about the case if you are interested:

## Demographics

### Gender
- Female: 48
- Male: 52

### Race
- White: 70
- Black/African-American: 11
- Latino: 13
- Other: 5
- 2+ races: 1

### Age
- 18 to 29: 16
- 30 to 44: 24
- 45 to 59: 29
- 60+: 32

### Income
- <$25,000: 14
- $25,000 to $49,999: 20
- $50,000 to $99,999: 37
- $100,000+: 27

### Education
- High school or less: 35
- Some college: 31
- Bachelor’s degree or higher: 34

### Marital status
- Married: 54
- Widowed: 5
- Divorced: 12
- Separated: 2
- Never married: 24
- Living with partner: 4
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party ID</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strong Republican</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not strong Republican</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leans Republican</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent/Undecided</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leans Democrat</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not strong Democrat</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong Democrat</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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