

To: Interested Parties  
Fr: Celinda Lake, Cate Gormley, and Izzy Vinyard  
Re: Key Findings from Packard Foundation Survey on Abortion  
Date: January 25, 2023

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As a follow up to our September 2022 survey, we conducted another survey, designed with several objectives in mind: to understand likely 2024 voters' awareness of and attitudes toward threats to abortion access in post-*Dobbs* America, to explore reactions to policies designed to expand abortion access and funding as well as reactions to policies designed to ban or limit access to abortion.

### Key Findings

- Voters hold pro-choice views (59%), and a plurality (42%) believes abortions should be legal and generally available and subject to only limited regulation. This attitude translates to voters' preferences on policies and laws.
- Voters support pro-active policies that either guarantee or expand access to abortion and other reproductive health care, and they oppose by wide margins most laws that would criminalize abortion or restrict access to abortion and birth control.

### Context

Voters hold pro-choice views by wide margins, and they want abortion to be legal, they want everyone to have access to abortion, and they disagree with federal and state laws that would ban abortion. Contrary to some claims, these numbers have held since the pre-election period.

- A solid majority (59%) hold “pro-choice” views, that is they say “abortions should be legal and generally available and subject to only limited regulation” is closest to their own view (42%) or “regulation of abortion is necessary, although it should remain legal in many circumstances” is closest to their own view (17%).
  - The subgroups who are most likely to say that “abortions should be legal and generally available and subject to only limited regulation” is closest to their own view include Democrats (62%), secular voters<sup>1</sup> (55%), younger Native/Indigenous voters (54%), voters who know someone who has had an abortion (53%), college-educated men of color<sup>2</sup> (53%), college-educated women (52%), urban women (51%), voters in the Pacific region (51%), voters who are unmarried with a partner (51%), unmarried women (50%), Black voters (50%), and younger AAPI voters (50%).
  - Independent voters are pro-choice by wide margins (56% hold pro-choice views and 29% hold anti-choice views). A solid majority of both Independent men and women hold

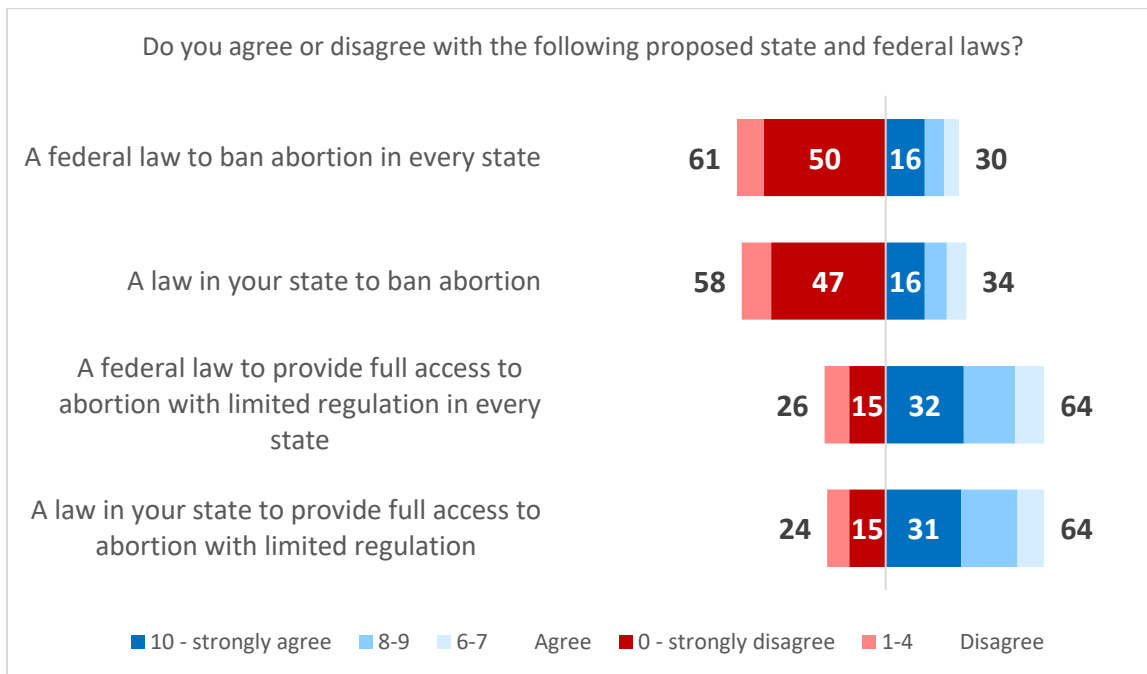
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<sup>1</sup> Secular voters are defined as those who say they almost never attend religious services.

<sup>2</sup> Men of color include men who identify as Black, Latinx, Asian American or Pacific Islander, Native/Indigenous, Middle Eastern, or none of these (including white). Biracial or multiracial individuals who identify as white and some other race are included.

pro-choice views (56% of each), as do both younger (58%) and older<sup>3</sup> (53%) Independent voters.

- Solid majorities of Black (66% pro-choice), Latinx (62%), Asian American or Pacific Islander (64%), and Native/Indigenous voters (58%) hold pro-choice views.
- When considering states that have already banned abortion and the possibility of laws that would allow exceptions for rape, incest, severe fetal diagnoses, and cases where the pregnant patient’s life or health are at risk, voters split between preferring those exceptions (45% prefer) and restoring abortion access for all (42% prefer). Only 8% prefer keeping abortion banned with no exceptions for rape, incest, severe fetal diagnoses, and cases where the pregnant patient’s life or health are at risk.
- As we saw in the initial survey, there is more intense disagreement with a federal law to ban abortion in every state (50% strongly disagree) and a law in their state to ban abortion (47% strongly disagree) than intense agreement with a federal law to provide full access with limited regulation (32% strongly agree) and a law in their state to provide full access with limited regulation (31% strongly agree).

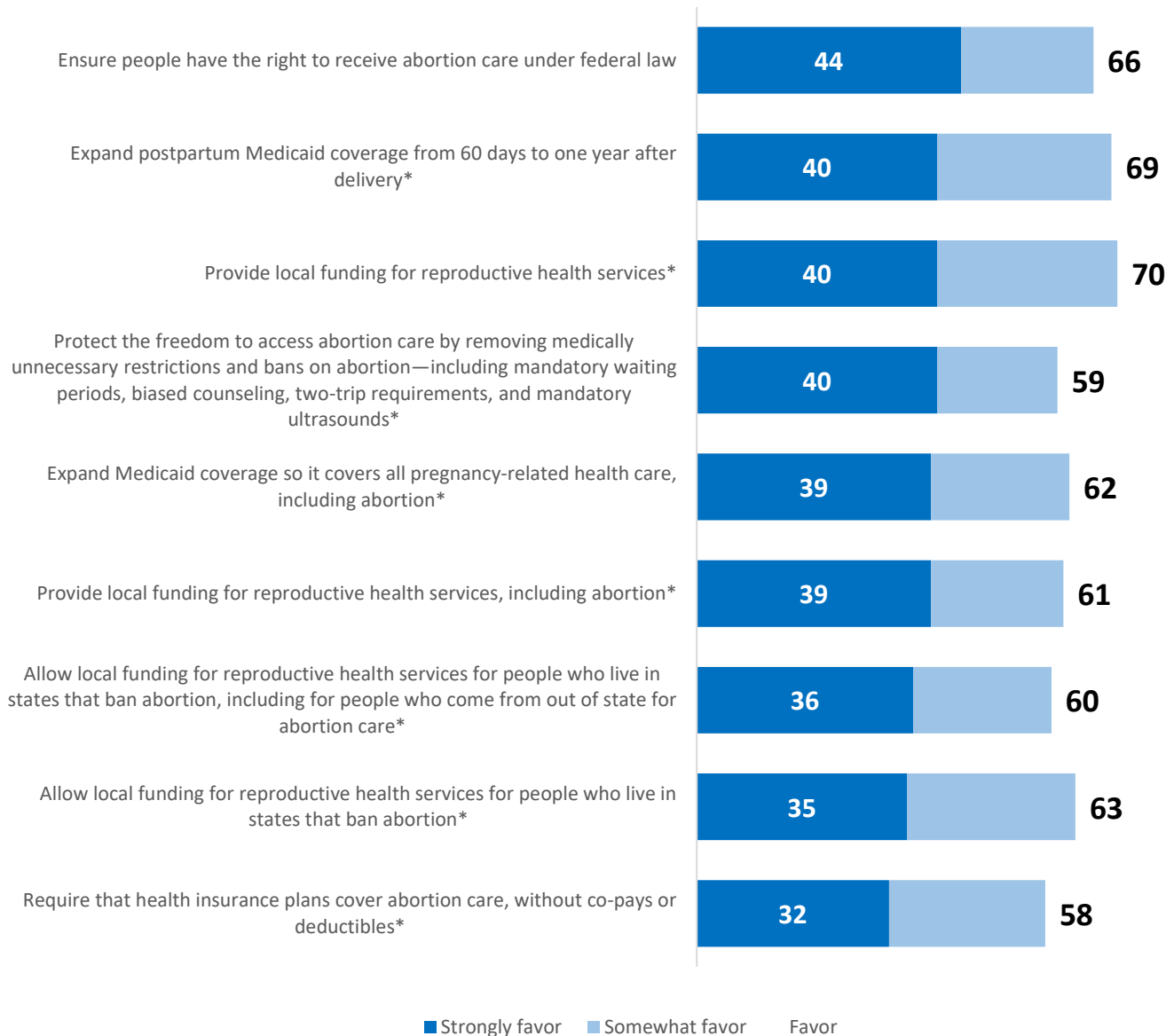


<sup>3</sup> Note small sample size.

**Policies**

There are a number of pro-active laws that voters strongly support. Voters are most intensely favorable toward pro-active policies that enshrine the right to abortion care, remove medically unnecessary restrictions and bans on abortion, and expand Medicaid coverage and local funding. While majorities of voters favor other policies, intensity and reach are lower.

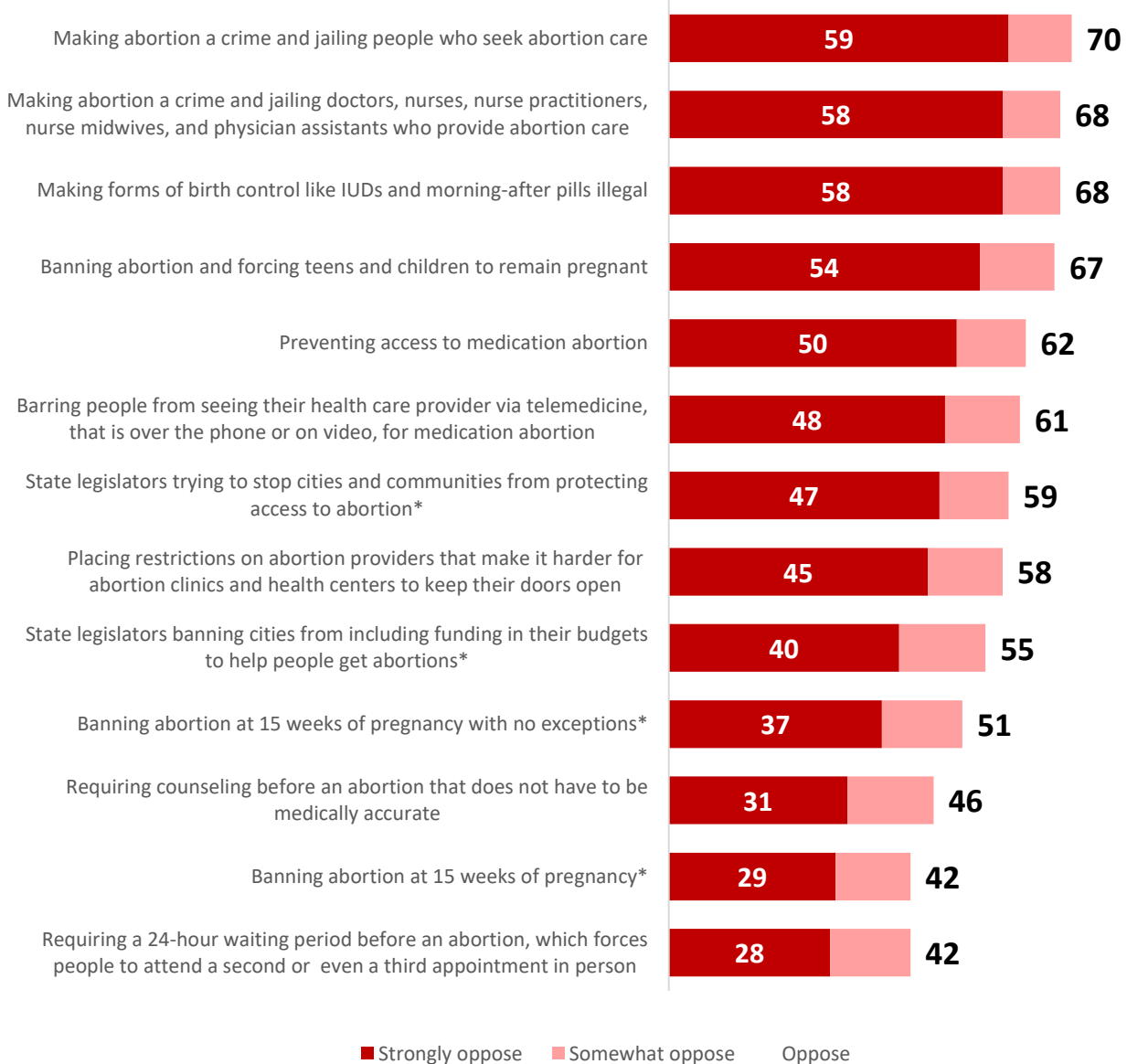
Would you favor or oppose the following policies?



\*Split sampled questions

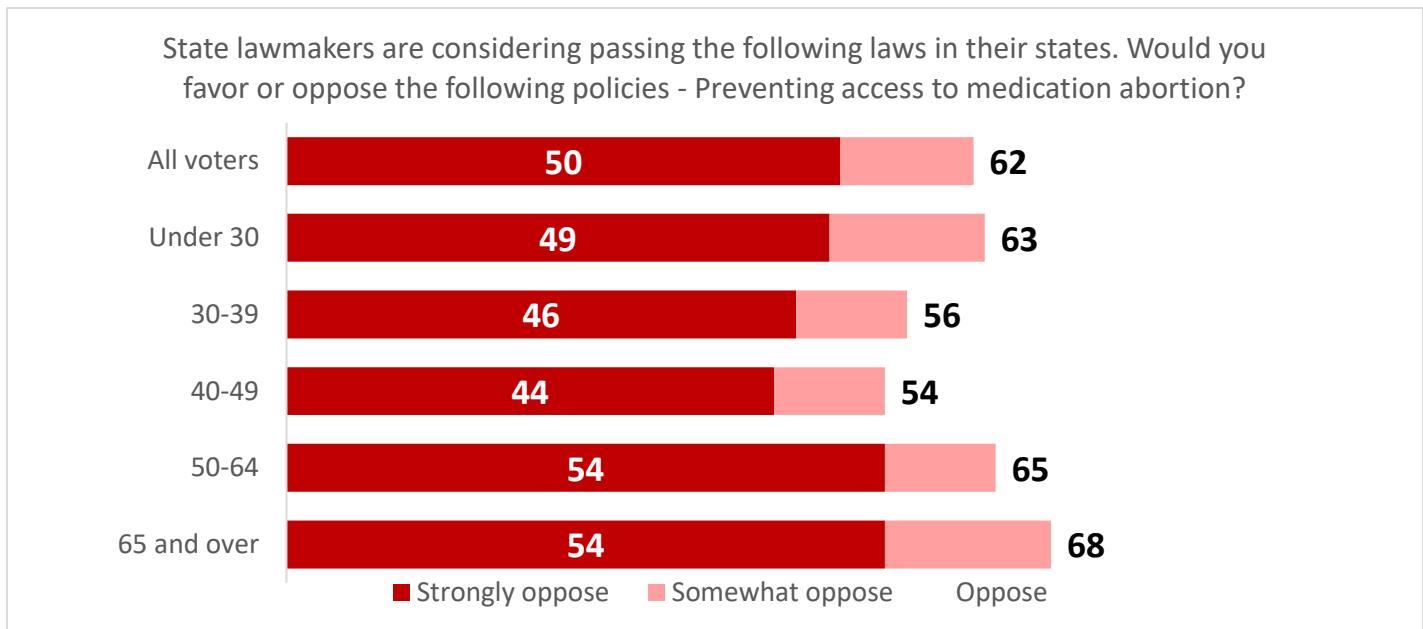
Voters also oppose by wide margins anti-choice policies and laws. Intense opposition to anti-choice laws is higher than intense favorability toward laws that affirm access to reproductive health care and abortion care. The most intense opposition is for criminalizing abortion and jailing people who seek abortion care, criminalizing abortion and jailing health care providers, making birth control forms illegal, and banning abortion and forcing teens and children to remain pregnant. These are very strong messages for accountability projects and forming contrasts.

State lawmakers are considering passing the following laws in their states.  
 Would you favor or oppose the following policies?



\*Split sampled questions

Half of voters strongly oppose a law that would prevent access to medication abortion. There is little difference between younger and older age cohorts in opposing this law, which may indicate increased awareness of medication abortion among older cohorts.



Two anti-choice policies are more complicated. Voters lean toward favoring a law to ban abortion at 15 weeks of pregnancy<sup>4</sup> (47% favor, 42% oppose). When saying there are “no exceptions,” to banning abortion at 15 weeks<sup>5</sup>, 38% favor and 51% oppose.

Voters also lean toward favoring requiring a 24-hour waiting period before an abortion (48% favor, 42% oppose). Voters are more evenly split on requiring counseling before an abortion that does not have to be medically accurate (43% favor, 46% oppose).

### Methodology

Lake Research Partners in partnership with HIT Strategies designed and administered this online survey that was conducted January 3-12, 2023. The survey reached a total of 1,665 likely 2024 voters nationwide which includes a base sample of 1,001 likely 2024 voters, with oversamples of 150 African American, 150 Latinx, 150 Asian American Pacific Islander, and 214 Native American/Indigenous likely 2024 voters. The oversamples were weighed down into the base sample to their proper proportion of the universe for a total sample size of 1,001.

The margin of error is +/-2.4%.

<sup>4</sup> Split sampled.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid