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Thursday, September 16th

Communicating on Abortion Bans: A Guide for Advocates







Key Takeaways:

- A majority of Americans identify as "pro-choice" and feel abortion rights are at risk nationally.
- Majorities oppose the Texas abortion law and are most concerned about the law's lack of exceptions, its deputizing of civilians to enforce the law, and the possibility of increased illegal, unsafe abortions that may result from it.
- Biden and Democrats are more trusted to handle issues related to abortion and reproductive healthcare than Republicans.

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Texas Abortion Law Getting Nearly as Much Attention as the Delta Variant

Three in five are hearing "a lot" about the Delta variant, followed by nearly half who are hearing about the Texas law.

• Viewers of Fox News are the least likely to be hearing "a lot" about the Texas abortion law compared to consumers of other news sources.

Please indicate how much you have seen, read, or heard about each issue that has recently been in the news.

% Hearing a lot: Cable news viewership* A little/Nothing Fox News OANN Newsmax CNN A lot Some **MSNBC** The spread of the Delta variant of the coronavirus A new abortion law being enacted in Texas The damage caused by Hurricane Ida The Taliban unveiling a new Afghan government Negotiations in Congress over a new spending bill proposed by President Biden An upcoming right-wing rally in support of jailed January 6 rioters who attacked the Capitol



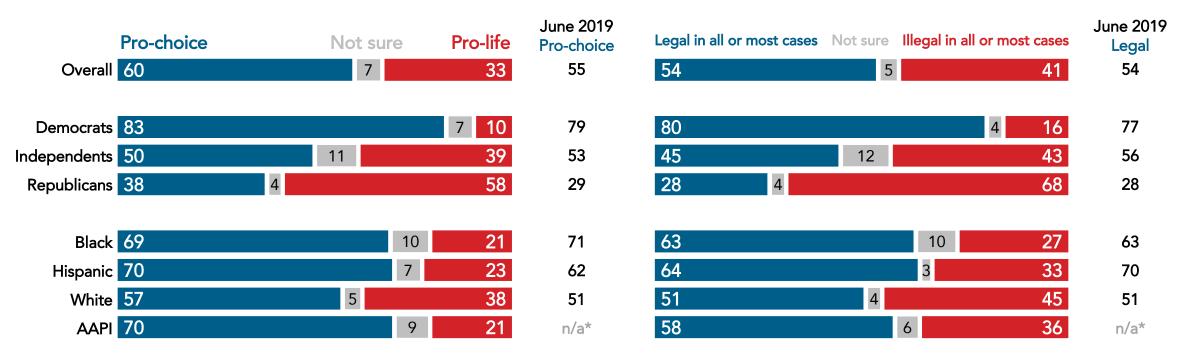
^{*}Fox News, OANN, Newsmax, CNN, and MSNBC viewers are defined as those who report watching each channel at least a few times a month. Nationwide survey of 995 registered voters conducted September 9-September 13, 2021. For more info, visit navigatorresarch.org.

Majority of Americans Identify as "Pro-Choice" and Say Abortion Should Be Legal in All or Most Cases

The share of Americans who identify as "pro-choice" has increased 5 points since June of 2019, driven largely by a 9-point increase among Republicans (from 29% to 38%).

When it comes to the issue of abortion, which of the following best describes your position?

Which of the following comes closest to your position regarding the issue of abortion? Abortion should be...



^{*}Previous survey's sample size of AAPI interviews is too small for statistical analysis.

Nationwide surveys of registered voters; Each wave represents approximately 1,000 interviews taken over the prior three-five days.

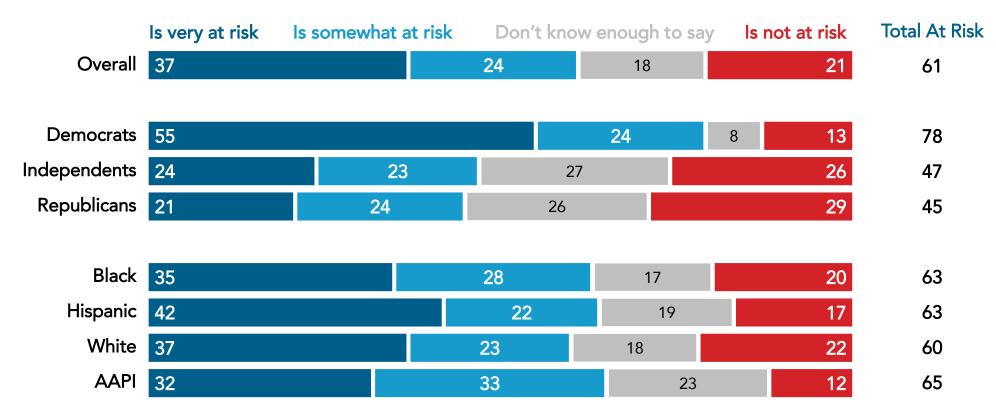
Latest wave conducted September 9-September 13, 2021. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org



Three in Five Say Abortion Rights Are at Risk Nationally

On a separate question, a plurality of Americans feel that the right to an abortion in their own state is at risk (44%).

What is your impression: the right to an abortion in our country...



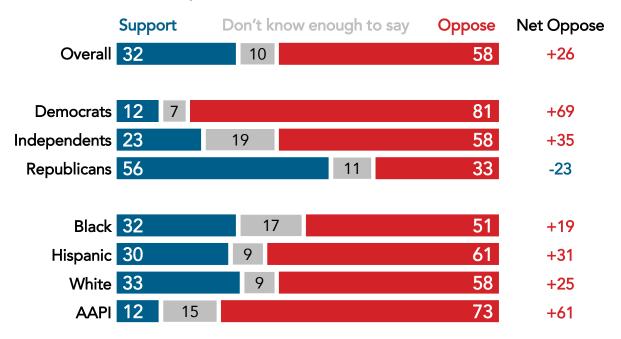


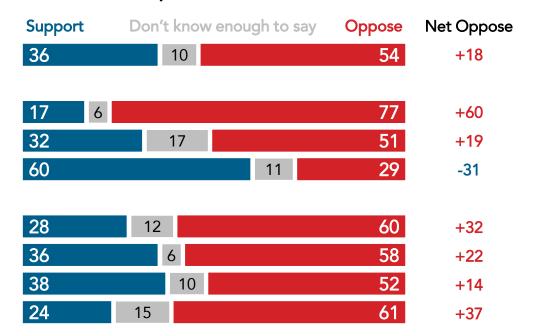
Framing the Texas Abortion Law as the Nation's Most Restrictive Increases Opposition Even More

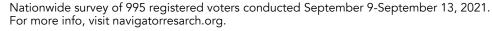
While a majority oppose the Texas abortion law when framed as a law that "bans most abortions after six weeks of pregnancy," when framing it also as the "nation's most restrictive," net opposition grows 8 points (from +18 to +26).

(Split sample) As you may know, Texas recently enacted <u>the nation's most restrictive abortion law</u> that bans most abortions after six weeks of pregnancy, including in cases of rape or incest. Do you support or oppose the new abortion law passed in Texas?

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Americans View Texas Abortion Law as Attack on Women's Rights

When asked to describe their reaction to the new abortion ban in Texas, many say they feel the law is an attack on women's rights and an attempt by men in Texas to control women's bodies; when asked to choose between descriptors of the law, nearly half say it takes "away women's rights and freedoms."

What one or two words would you use to describe your personal emotions about the new abortion ban that has been enacted in Texas?



"Against women's rights."

"It should be a woman's right."

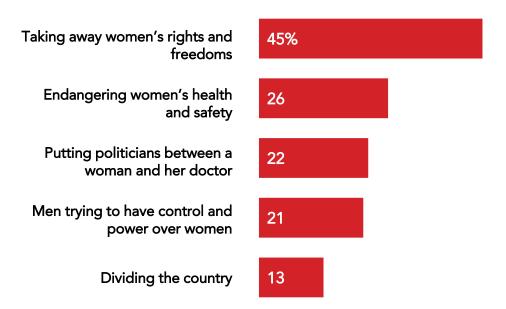
"I think it should be left up to the woman to choose."

"It is frightening that women's rights are taken away."

"Men again trying to control women when it is their bodies."

"Texas has no right to tell women what they can or can't do."

The following are ways to describe the law in Texas that effectively bans abortions. Which do you think best describes it? Select up to two.



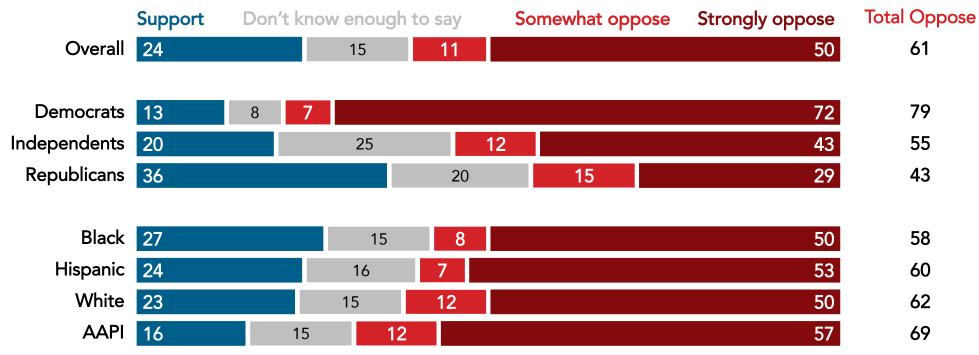


Nationwide survey of 995 registered voters conducted September 9-September 13, 2021. For more info, visit navigatorresarch.org.

Half of Americans "Strongly Oppose" Deputizing Private Citizens to Enforce the Texas Abortion Law

Half of Americans "strongly oppose" deputizing private citizens to enforce this law, including 43% of independents.

And as you may know, the Texas law deputizes private citizens to sue anyone who performs or assists with an abortion, which could mean lawsuits against nurses, clinic staff, or even taxi or Uber drivers taking people to a clinic appointment. Anyone who brings one of these lawsuits and wins would be rewarded with as much as \$10,000. Do you support or oppose deputizing private citizens to enforce this law?





Lack of Exceptions, Civilian Enforcement, and Possibility of Increased Illegal Abortions Are Most Concerning

Across party lines, lack of exceptions for illness, rape, or incest in the new law are most concerning for Democrats, independents, and Republicans.

Below is a list of statements from opponents of the Texas abortion law. Please indicate how concerning you find each one.

T 40 (45)	V	Somewhat	Nick comments		Very concerning		
Top 10 messages of 15 total tested	very concerning	concerning	Not	concerning	Dem	Ind	Rep
This law offers no exemptions for cases of illness, rape, or incest.	59		23	18	81	57	36
This law creates vigilante justice by rewarding civilians up to \$10,000 to enforce this law.	54		24	22	72	50	34
By outlawing abortion in nearly all cases, this law will lead to more unsafe, illegal abortions.	52	2	5	23	74	49	27
By giving private citizens the ability to sue anyone they suspect to have had an abortion or helped someone have an abortion, this law will clog up the courts with frivolous lawsuits that will cost taxpayers money and make it even more difficult for Americans to seek justice in cases related to other matters.	51	2	.8	21	69	47	31
This law bans abortion at 6 weeks, well before many women even know they are pregnant.	49	23		28	74	43	24
This law is an example of Republican overreach – it effectively outlaws abortion in the state of Texas and authorizes private citizens to enforce the law.	48	23		29	74	44	21
This law is an example of government overreach – it effectively outlaws abortion in the state of Texas and authorizes private citizens to enforce the law.	48	25		27	71	44	24
land for nearly 50 years in the United States. This takes Texas and the country backwards, not forwards, and other	47	24		29	73	40	20
This law is another example of politicians trying to interfere with personal health care decisions between a woman and her doctors.	47	23		30	69	44	23
This law prevents women from determining the direction of their own lives, including how and when to become a parent.	// /	23		30	72	44	20



Statements Focused on Undermining Right to Abortion and Dangers of Civilian Enforcement Are Both Compelling

Progressive responses to supporters of the Texas abortion ban that focus on the law's undermining of Roe v. Wade and on deputizing citizens to enforce the law are both effective.

Who do you agree with more?

Statement 1: Those who say that before Texas enacted this law, a child whose heart was already beating could be aborted as a form of birth control. This new law puts reasonable limits in place to protect unborn children from these painful, life-ending procedures while providing exceptions for the health of the mother.

Statement 2: Those who say Roe v. Wade established the legal right to an abortion nearly 50 years ago in this country, and this new state law in Texas – written by politicians, not doctors – undermines that decision by banning abortion after six weeks, before many women even know they are pregnant. This new law goes so far that it does not even have exceptions for cases of rape, incest or the health of the mother, putting millions of Texas women at risk.

Statement 1: 37%

Statement 2: 63%

Net Statement 2: +26

Statement 3: Those who say America was built on a foundation of laws, where citizens do their best to follow the law and trained law enforcement officers do their best to enforce it. This new law throws the rules out the window and creates a slippery slope by giving untrained, private citizens the ability to win \$10,000 by turning in their neighbors based on a hunch. We do not need civilians taking the law into their own hands.

Statement 1: 38%

Statement 3: 62%

Net Statement 3: +24

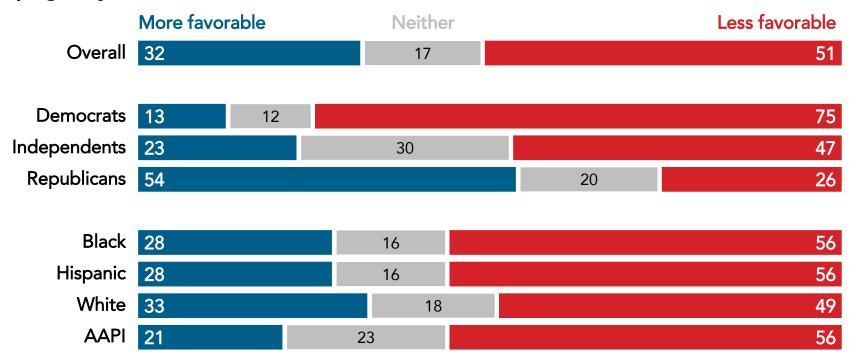
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A Majority Would Be Less Favorable to an Elected Official Who Supported a Law Like the Texas Abortion Ban

Nearly half of independents (47%) and more than one in four Republicans (26%) say they would be less favorable to an elected official who supported a law like the Texas abortion ban.

Would you be more or less favorable to an elected official representing you that supported a law like the Texas abortion ban after six weeks of pregnancy?

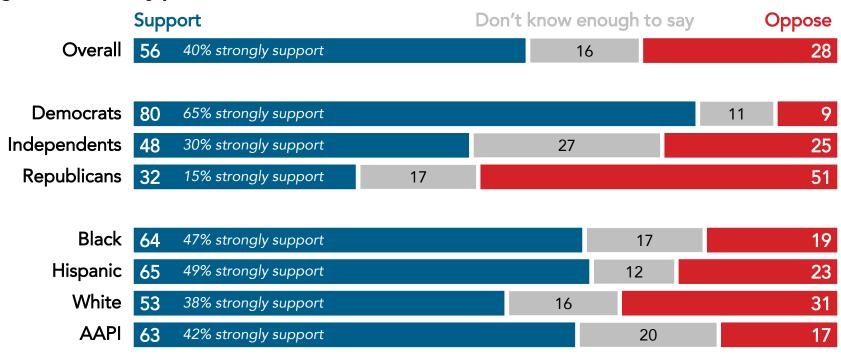




In Wake of Texas Ban, Support Is Strong for Congress to Pass Legislation to Federally Protect Abortion Rights

While almost three in five Americans support Congress passing legislation to ensure abortion rights are federally protected, two in five "strongly support."

As you may know, the U.S. House of Representatives is planning to debate and vote on legislation aimed at stopping states from enacting radical anti-abortion laws like the one in Texas. Do you support or oppose Congress passing legislation to ensure abortion rights are federally protected?

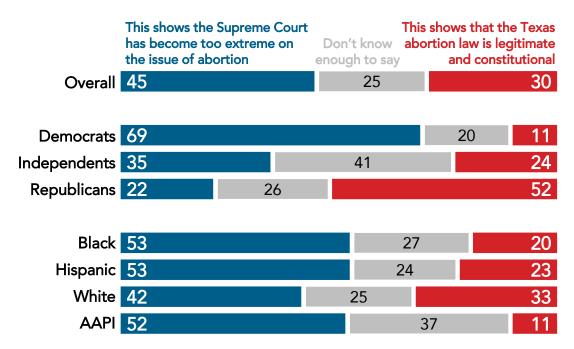




A Plurality Say Texas Law Is Proof SCOTUS Has Become Too Extreme and Support Adding Seats to Balance the Court

Among independents, 61% agree more with Democrats who would add seats to the Court than with Republicans.

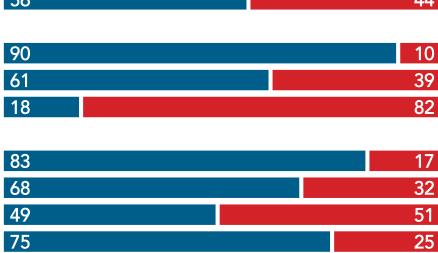
As you may know, the Texas abortion law went into effect after the U.S. Supreme Court refused to block it. Which best describes how you feel about this?

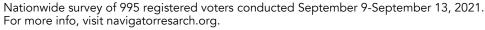


Who do you agree with more?

Democrats who say that the Texas abortion law shows the Supreme Court has become too conservative, and that it is time to add seats to the Supreme Court to provide more balance that better represents America

Republicans who say the Supreme Court is fair and balanced, and that adding justices is a power grab by Democrats to bring imbalance to the Court



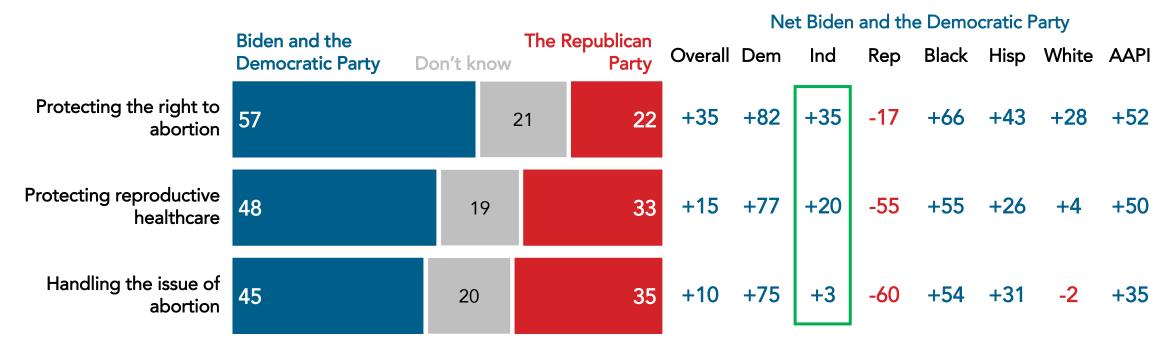




Biden and Democrats Much More Trusted on Issues Related to Abortion and Reproductive Healthcare

Among independents, Biden and Democrats are more trusted by 35 points to protect the right to abortion, 20 points to protect reproductive healthcare, and 3 points to handle the issue of abortion.

Below is a list of issues. Please indicate who you trust more to handle each one.







About Navigator

In a world where the news cycle is the length of a tweet, our leaders often lack the real-time public-sentiment analysis to shape the best approaches to talking about the issues that matter the most. Navigator is designed to act as a consistent, flexible, responsive tool to inform policy debates by conducting research and reliable guidance to inform allies, elected leaders, and the press. Navigator is a project led by pollsters from Global Strategy Group and GBAO along with an advisory committee, including: Andrea Purse, progressive strategist; Arkadi Gerney, The Hub Project; Joel Payne, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; Delvone Michael, Working Families; Felicia Wong, Roosevelt Institute; Mike Podhorzer, AFL-CIO; Jesse Ferguson, progressive strategist; Navin Nayak, Center for American Progress Action Fund; Stephanie Valencia, EquisLabs; and Melanie Newman, Planned Parenthood Action Fund.

About the Study

Global Strategy Group conducted public opinion surveys among a sample of 995 registered voters from September 9-September 13, 2021. 100 additional interviews were conducted among Hispanic voters. 79 additional interviews were conducted among Asian American and Pacific Islander voters. 100 additional interviews were conducted among African American voters. 100 additional interviews were conducted among independent voters. The survey was conducted online, recruiting respondents from an opt-in online panel vendor. Respondents were verified against a voter file and special care was taken to ensure the demographic composition of our sample matched that of the national registered voter population across a variety of demographic variables.

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