## navigator.

Friday, July $8^{\text {th }}$
Protecting Abortion


Rights: A Guide for Advocates

## Key Takeaways:

- Three in five Americans are "pro-choice" and an even larger share feel the decision to get an abortion should be between a woman and her doctor.
- Democrats in particular show high levels of planned civic engagement and are more motivated to vote in 2022 following Roe being overturned.
- The popularity of the Supreme Court continues to decline in the wake of its decision to overturn Roe, and views of the Republican Party are also in decline.
- Messaging that meets the moment focuses on lack of exceptions for rape and incest, turning back the clock on progress and stripping women of their rights, and the ruling harming the most vulnerable women in America.


## Americans Remain "Pro-Choice" and Feel the Decision Overwhelmingly Should Be Left to Women and Their Doctors

Majorities of Democrats, independents, and Americans across race and ethnicity identify as "pro-choice," as do nearly three in four Americans who report knowing someone who has had an abortion (73\%).

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


## Nearly Eight in Ten Say It Will Be Harder to Access an Abortion in the United States in the Future

More than seven in ten independents believe it will be harder to access an abortion in the future (73\%) - a 9-point increase since early May (from 64\%).
In thinking about the next 5 years, do you think it will become harder to access an abortion in America, easier to access an abortion in America, or will there be no change in difficulty in accessing an abortion in America?

|  | Much harder to access an abortion | Somewhat harder to access an abortion | Accessibility will not change | Easier to access an abortion |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Overall | 46 |  | 32 | 17 | 5 |
| Democrats | 56 |  | 30 | 10 | 4 |
| Independents | 49 |  | 24 | 18 | 9 |
| Republicans | 34 |  |  | 24 | 5 |
| Black | 44 |  | 28 | 18 | 11 |
| Hispanic | 42 |  | 35 | 17 | 7 |
| White | 47 |  | 32 | 17 | 4 |
| AAPI | 42 |  | 42 | 14 | I |

Total Harder to Access
July 3 June 28 May 9 Post-Dobbs Post-Leak
$78 \quad 74$81
$73 \quad 67 \quad 64$
$71 \quad 70 \quad 64$
$72 \quad 72 \quad 68$

| 77 | 67 | 73 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |

$79 \quad 76$
$84 \quad 79$
65

## Majorities Say Abortion Rights at Risk in Their State; Midwest, South, and States with Trigger Laws Feel It Most Acutely

In states with trigger laws*, there has been a 7-point increase in the share who say the right to an abortion is at risk since late June (from 66\% to 73\%).
What is your impression: the right to an abortion in [STATE]...

*"Trigger law states" are states in which abortion was outlawed by state-level bans following the overturning of Roe v. Wade.
Nationwide surveys of registered voters; Each wave represents approximately 1,000 interviews taken over the prior three-five days. Latest wave conducted June 30-July 3, 2022. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org

## Majorities Disapprove of Court Overturning Roe, But Even Greater Share Supports Codifying Abortion Rights into Law

Republicans are the lone approvers of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade ( $64 \%$ approve). Every other partisan, racial, and ethnic group disapproves by double-digit margins, including independents ( $55 \%$ disapprove).

As you may know, the Supreme Court recently decided to overturn Roe v. Wade, eliminating the federal right to an abortion as a result. Do you approve or disapprove the Supreme Court eliminating federal protections for abortion?


Nationwide survey of 999 registered voters conducted June 30-July 3, 2022.
For more info, visit navigatorresarch.org.

Do you support or oppose a nationwide law that protects the right of a woman to have an abortion?

## More Than Half of Americans Support Modifying the Filibuster to Pass Federal Legislation Protecting Abortion Rights

Nearly three in four Democrats (73\%) and a plurality of independents (42\%) support modifying the filibuster to pass federal legislation to protect the right to an abortion.
In order to pass a federal law protecting the right to an abortion, the U.S. Senate may have to modify the current filibuster process. As you may know, the filibuster allows a small minority of U.S. Senators to block legislation that a majority of senators support by requiring 60 votes instead of a simple majority. Do you support or oppose modifying the Senate filibuster in order to pass federal legislation protecting the right to an abortion?


## Almost Half of Americans Plan to Talk or Post About Abortion Rights, Another Third Will Donate/Attend Events/Volunteer

Nearly seven in ten Democrats (68\%), and $41 \%$ of independents, plan to talk or post about abortion rights; a majority of Democrats ( $51 \%$ ) say they will also donate to organizations or candidates, attend events, or volunteer for candidates and organizations.
Below is a list of actions some people may be planning to take following the Supreme Court overturning Roe $\mathbf{v}$. Wade, the ruling that established the legal right to an abortion. Please select all that you might do.

|  |  | Dem | Ind | Rep | Black | Hisp. | White | AAPI |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total might talk or post about abortion rights | 49 | 68 | 41 | 30 | 52 | 55 | 47 | 49 |
| Talk about abortion rights with friends | 36 | 53 | 29 | 20 | 35 | 37 | 36 | 43 |
| Talk about abortion rights with family members | 33 | 47 | 29 | 18 | 34 | 33 | 32 | 28 |
| Post about or discuss abortion rights on social media (e.g. Facebook, Twitter) | 21 | 31 | 21 | 10 | 21 | 27 | 20 | 20 |
| Total might donate/attend rally or town hall meetings/volunteer | 34 | 51 | 28 | 18 | 48 | 44 | 30 | 43 |
| Donate to an abortion rights organization | 16 | 27 | 13 | 6 | 19 | 20 | 15 | 21 |
| Attend a political rally or a protest in support of abortion rights | 15 | 24 | 12 | 6 | 19 | 17 | 14 | 21 |
| Donate to a political candidate | 9 | 14 | 4 | 6 | 10 | 12 | 9 | 14 |
| Attend an event or rally by an elected official or political candidate | 9 | 14 | 6 | 5 | 12 | 13 | 8 | 9 |
| Volunteer for an abortion rights organization (e.g. go door-to-door, phone bank) | 9 | 11 | 9 | 6 | 12 | 14 | 8 | 6 |
| Attend a town hall meeting | 7 | 10 | 6 | 4 | 16 | 9 | 5 | 5 |
| Volunteer for a political candidate (e.g. go door-to-door, phone bank) | 5 | 6 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 4 | 5 |

Nationwide survey of 999 registered voters conducted June 30-July 3, 2022.
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## Three in Four Democrats Are More Motivated to Vote Following SCOTUS's Decision on Roe

More than half of Democrats (56\%) say the ruling makes them "much more motivated to vote," compared to just 30\% of Republicans who say the same.

Regardless of how you plan to vote in November...Does this news about the Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade make you feel more or less motivated to vote?

| Overall | More motivated to vote |  | Makes no difference | Less motivated to vote |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 42\% much more motivated |  | 37 | 6 |
| Democrats | 72 | 56\% much more motivated |  | 22 | 5 |
| Independents | 44 | 25\% much more motivated | 47 |  | 10 |
| Republicans | 43 | 30\% much more motivated | 51 |  | 5 |
| Black | 59 | 44\% much more motivated |  | 29 | 12 |
| Hispanic | 62 | 48\% much more motivated |  | 31 | 7 |
| White | 56 | 41\% much more motivated |  | 40 | 5 |
| AAPI | 54 | 29\% much more motivated |  | 39 | 7 |

## Views of the Supreme Court Continue to Decline in the Aftermath of Overturning Roe

Net favorability for the Supreme Court has fallen by 17 points since last asked in early May and by 29 points since February. - Since February, there has been a 28-point decline in net favorability among independents (from net +4 to net -24).

Please indicate how favorable or unfavorable you are to: The U.S. Supreme Court.


Nationwide surveys of registered voters; Each wave represents approximately 1,000 interviews taken over the prior three-five days Latest wave conducted June 30-July 3, 2022. For more info, visit navigatorresearch.org

Net Favorable
July 3 June 27 May 9 Feb 7 Post-Dobbs Post-leak Pre-leak ruling
$-3 \quad+11$
+23

| -47 | -40 | -14 | +12 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -24 | -25 | +7 | +4 |
| +43 | +43 | +40 | +40 |


| -7 | -4 | +13 | +5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| -13 | -18 | +19 | +19 |
| -3 | 0 | +9 | +24 |
| -29 | -11 | +12 | +48 |

## Pluralities Say the Supreme Court Is "Too Conservative"

Two in three Democrats (65\%) and nearly half of independents (43\%) say the Supreme Court is too conservative following its decision to overturn Roe v. Wade - even 19\% of Republicans say the same.

Given the Supreme Court's decision to overturn Roe v. Wade...would you say the United States Supreme Court is headed down a path of being too conservative, too liberal, or middle of the road?


Nationwide survey of 999 registered voters conducted June 30-July 3, 2022. For more info, visit navigatorresarch.org

## As SCOTUS Continues to Decline in Public Trust, Support Grows for Court Expansion

Since mid-April, the share who say they "trust the Supreme Court to make the right decisions in the future" has declined by a net of 62 points among Democrats (from net +26 to net -36 ) and 40 points among independents (from net +12 to net -28 ).
How much do you trust the Supreme Court to make the right decisions in the future?


## The Republican Party's Favorability Has Declined By Double Digits Since Roe Was Overturned

Since late May, the share who view the Republican Party favorably has declined by a net of 10 points overall (from net -7 to net -17) and 24 points among independents (from net -19 to net -43), while views of the Democratic Party have remained more consistent.

Please indicate how favorable or unfavorable you are to: The Democratic Party.


## Republicans Who Stand on the Side of Abortion Bans or Opposing the Right See Potential Consequences on the Vote

Against a Republican who wants to ban abortion nationally, a Democrat who supports abortion access has an 18-point advantage on a Congressional ballot (54\% Democrat to 36\% Republican). Among independents, the Democrat has a 36-point lead (48\% Democrat to 12\% Republican, 40\% undecided).
If the general election for U.S. Congress were today, for whom would you vote?


## Majorities Support Federal Action on Abortion Including Codification, Protecting Mailing of and Access to Abortion Pills

At least seven in ten Democrats support each potential policy step Biden and the federal government could take.
Below is a list of policies that some have suggested Biden and the federal government take following the overturning of Roe v. Wade. Please indicate whether you support or oppose Biden and the federal government taking each action.


## Bipartisan Majorities Find a Range of Potential Consequences of Roe Being Overturned Concerning

Two in three independents find each concerning (at least 66\%), with up to $77 \%$ finding women seeking unsafe abortions concerning.
Below is a list of some potential consequences from the Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade. Please indicate how concerning you find each one.

|  | Very concerning | Somewhat concerning | Don't know | Not concerning | Total Concerning Overall Dem Ind Rep |  |  |  | \% Believable |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Victims of rape and incest will be forced to give birth | 61 |  | 19 | 20 | 80 | 90 | 71 | 71 | 70 |
| Women will seek unsafe, dangerous abortions | 60 |  | 20 | 19 | 81 | 92 | 77 | 69 | 82 |
| Women will die in pregnancy, including from ectopic pregnancies that can be lifethreatening without medical intervention to end the pregnancy | 59 |  | 23 | 18 | 82 | 91 | 74 | 74 | 66 |
| Children will be born into homes that are unable to financially afford to care for them | 53 |  | 25 | 22 | 78 | 92 | 72 | 65 | 79 |
| Contraception like birth control will become less available or even possibly illegal in some states | 53 |  | 19 | 27 | 73 | 90 | 65 | 55 | 61 |
| Women will go to jail for seeking an abortion | 52 |  | 21 | 28 | 72 | 89 | 68 | 56 | 66 |
| Doctors will go to jail for helping facilitate abortions | 51 |  | 21 | 28 | 72 | 89 | 67 | 54 | 71 |
| Higher income women will continue to get abortions by traveling to states that allow them while lower income women will be forced to give birth in states where abortion is banned | 47 |  | 26 | 27 | 73 | 86 | 66 | 60 | 81 |

## Most Concerning \& Believable Roe Consequences Are Women Seeking Unsafe Abortions and Lack of Exceptions

On a list of potential consequences from Roe being overturned, half of respondents were asked to rate each on a scale of "concerning" and the other, "believability." Consequences that were most concerning and believable include women seeking dangerous abortions and victims of rape and incest being forced to give birth.

\% Very concerning consequence
Nationwide survey of 999 registered voters conducted June 30-July 3, 2022. For more info, visit navigatorresarch.org.

# Lack of Exceptions, Stripping Women of Their Rights, and Harming the Vulnerable Are Most Concerning on Roe 

Below is a list of statements from supporters of Roe $v$. Wade. For each statement, please indicate how concerning you find it.

|  | Very concerning | Somewhat concerning | Don't believe |  | Not <br> rning | Total Overall |  |  | Rep |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Overturning Roe v. Wade gives states the power to ban abortions and force women and girls to carry pregnancies to term even when they became pregnant as the result of a rape or incest | 51 |  | 18 | 15 | 16 | 69 | 89 | 69 | 47 |
| We should not be banning abortion when the mother's life is in danger or there are fetal abnormalities. These are medical decisions to be made between patients and doctors, not political decisions made by candidates for office | 51 |  | 20 | 10 | 19 | 71 | 87 | 73 | 53 |
| The decision to overturn Roe v. Wade turns the clock back on women's rights and takes away a constitutional right that women in the United States have had for almost fifty years | 50 |  | 17 | 19 | 14 | 67 | 91 | 73 | 38 |
| Overturning Roe $v$. Wade will hurt some of the most vulnerable women in America - younger women, women living in rural areas, victims of domestic violence, women without healthcare coverage, and women of color | 49 |  | 21 | 14 | 16 | 70 | 90 | 69 | 48 |
| Overturning Roe v. Wade goes beyond abortion. Some on the Supreme Court made clear in their decision that they would revisit and consider overturning other Constitutional protections including same-sex marriage and the right to contraception | 48 |  | 16 | 17 | 19 | 64 | 89 | 70 | 34 |
| The politicians who support overturning Roe v. Wade are hypocrites - they are forcing people to have children but they're against things like sex education and contraception that prevent unwanted or unplanned pregnancies in the first place | 47 |  | 19 | 21 | 13 | 66 | 88 | 77 | 39 |
| Overturning Roe v. Wade goes beyond abortion. The Supreme Court is taking away the power and the authority from people and doctors to make medical decisions, and how and when people become parents | 47 |  | 20 | 18 | 15 | 67 | 91 | 61 | 43 |
| Overturning Roe v. Wade and states criminalizing abortion will put women's lives at risk while also risking the possibility of women and the doctors who help them of going to jail for getting or facilitating an abortion | 47 |  | 19 | 14 | 20 | 66 | 88 | 67 | 41 |
| The same politicians who support overturning Roe $v$. Wade and want to control your decisions about becoming a parent also want to control what books children read and insert political control into the classroom | 47 |  | 20 | 19 | 14 | 67 | 90 | 59 | 44 |
| Overturning Roe v. Wade would eliminate the protection for abortion, putting more women at health risk and even risk of death from pregnancy. The same politicians who support it also put more kids at risk in our schools by opposing stronger gun laws | 47 |  | 16 | 21 | 16 | 63 | 87 | 69 | 34 |
| The same politicians who support overturning Roe $v$. Wade are also against laws helping kids and families thrive, including affordable childcare, paid family leave, affordable healthcare, and affordable housing | 47 |  | 21 | 19 | 13 | 68 | 90 | 62 | 44 |
| Nationwide survey of 999 registered voters conducted June 30-July 3, 2022. For more info, visit navigatorresarch.org. | $\square \odot r^{\circ}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Most Concerning Statements About GOP Focus on Lack of Exceptions, Erasing Progress, and Harming the Vulnerable

Three in five find each of a range of criticisms of Republicans for their stances on abortion concerning.
Please indicate how concerning you find each statement from critics of Republicans for their stances on abortion and Roe v. Wade.

|  | Very concerning | Somewhat concerning | Don't believe |  | Not concerning | Total Concerning Overall Dem Ind Rep |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republicans are no longer just supporting restrictions on abortion: they are now overturning Roe v. Wade and banning abortion, even in cases of rape, incest, or when the women is a victim of human trafficking | 49 |  | 15 | 21 | 15 | 64 | 91 | 69 | 33 |
| Republicans are forcing women to give birth, regardless of how they became pregnant or whether having children is right for them | 48 |  | 15 | 23 | 14 | 63 | 88 | 70 | 33 |
| Republicans are forcing women to have children, regardless of whether it is right for them, while blocking policies that help kids and families succeed, including affordable healthcare or childcare | 47 |  | 17 | 23 | 13 | 64 | 86 | 62 | 40 |
| Republicans support taking away the ability of women to control their own bodies and lives and want to turn that power over to politicians | 47 |  | 17 | 21 | 15 | 63 | 88 | 66 | 35 |
| Republicans are no longer just supporting restrictions on abortion: they are now overturning Roe v. Wade and banning abortion, even in cases of rape, incest, or when the mother's life is at risk | 47 |  | 18 | 19 | 16 | 65 | 89 | 66 | 38 |
| Republicans want to insert politicians and government into a decision that should be made by a woman and her doctor by taking away the right to an abortion | 47 |  | 19 | 18 | 16 | 66 | 89 | 78 | 36 |
| Republicans want to control a decision that should be made by a woman and her doctor by taking away the right to an abortion | 46 |  | 18 | 19 | 17 | 65 | 88 | 62 | 39 |
| Republicans are not just pushing to ban abortion, but to take away other private rights, such as the right to buy and use contraception, marriage equality, and interracial marriage | 45 |  | 17 | 23 | 15 | 62 | 90 | 65 | 30 |
| Republicans are deeply out of touch with how women feel and what matters to them, listening instead to their radical base | 45 |  | 16 | 23 | 16 | 62 | 89 | 71 | 28 |
| For years, Republicans in Congress have been putting extreme nominees on the Supreme Court while Republicans at the state level have been passing abortion bans so that eventually an ultra-conservative Supreme Court would be able to eliminate the right to an abortion | 45 |  | 17 | 21 | 17 | 62 | 89 | 61 | 32 |
| Instead of focusing on the economy and bringing down costs for working families, Republicans are obsessed with banning abortions - going against the majority of Americans who support the right | 45 |  | 18 | 22 | 15 | 63 | 89 | 67 | 34 |
| We no longer have a separation of church and state: Republicans are held hostage by religious voters in their base who are imposing their beliefs about abortion and choice on the rest of the country | 43 |  | 20 | 22 | 15 | 63 | 86 | 59 | 40 |

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## "Women's Rights" Dominate Concerns About SCOTUS and Republicans Overturning Abortion Rights

Many Americans bring up concerns about the Supreme Court and Republicans stripping women's rights, dictating women's rights, and doing so in the name of religion. Others mention the danger the decision poses to women who may seek alternatives to safe abortion and the Supreme Court pushing religious ideas or overstepping their duty.

Of all that you have read about what the Supreme Court and Republicans are doing to overturn the right to an abortion, what one word or phrase describes what concerns you the most about it?


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"No more women's rights."
"Dictating women's rights."
"That it is very dangerous for women's rights."
"Rights being taken away from women."
"Taking away rights in the name of religion."
"I think it's a dangerous thing to do."
"The dangerous alternatives to safe abortions people will turn to."
"Sets a dangerous precedent for other rights."
"The start of a dangerous path where government has too much control of our personal lives."
"It borders on the Supreme Court pushing religious dogma, not upholding what the majority of what Americans want."

## Two in Five Americans Report Knowing Someone Close to Them Who Has Had an Abortion

While the gender gap in knowing someone who has had an abortion is 18 points ( $30 \%$ of men compared to $48 \%$ of women), the partisan gap is just 10 points ( $45 \%$ of Democrats know someone compared to $35 \%$ of Republicans).

- Pro-choice Americans (48\%) are 18-points more likely to know someone who has had an abortion than pro-life Americans (30\%).

This may be a tough question to answer, but to the best of your knowledge, have any members of your household, your close friends, or family members ever had an abortion?


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## 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: Arkadi Gerney, The Hub Project; Joel Payne, The Hub Project; Christina Reynolds, EMILY's List; 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 999 registered voters from June 30July 3, 2022. 100 additional interviews were conducted among Hispanic voters. 81 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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