

# navigator\*

Thursday, October 5<sup>th</sup>

Abortion: A Guide for  
Advocates



Credit: Traci Hahn/Shutterstock

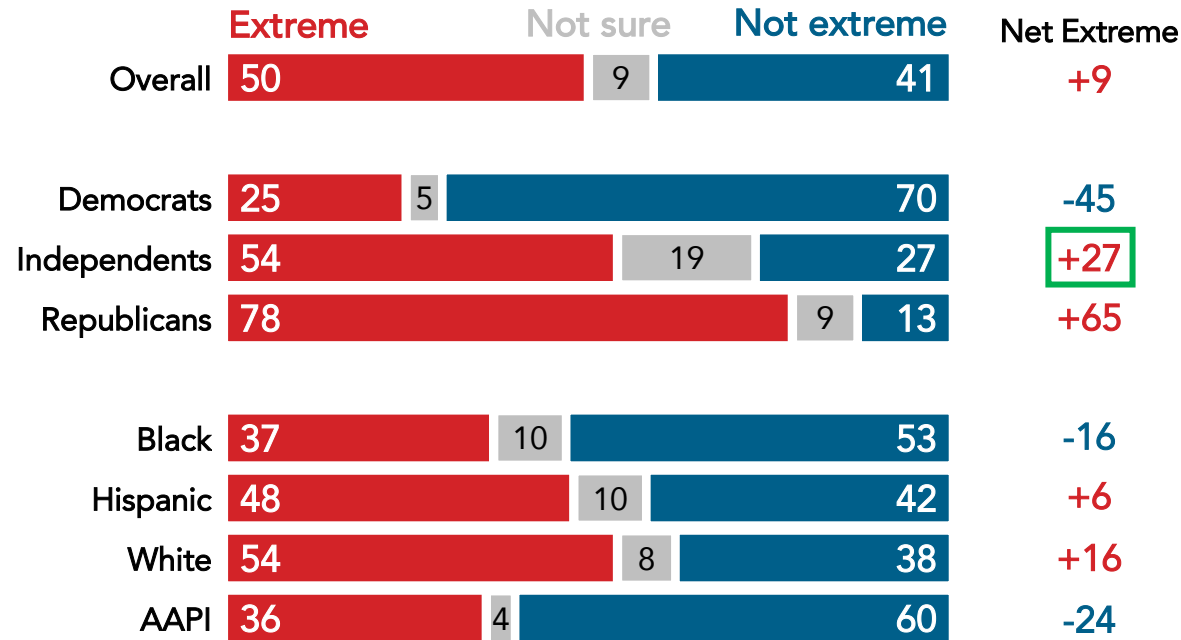
## Key Takeaways:

- Majorities view the Republican Party as “extreme” – both in general and for their stance on abortion.
- Three in five Americans say abortion should be legal in all or most cases.
- Most say both Donald Trump and the Republican Party’s positions are that abortion should be illegal in all or most cases, but there is less certainty around Trump’s position.
- The most convincing and credible messages on abortion focus on Democrats ensuring any decision about having an abortion is made between a patient and their doctor and protecting abortion rights with some restrictions. Majorities believe it is true Republicans want to ban abortion nationwide.

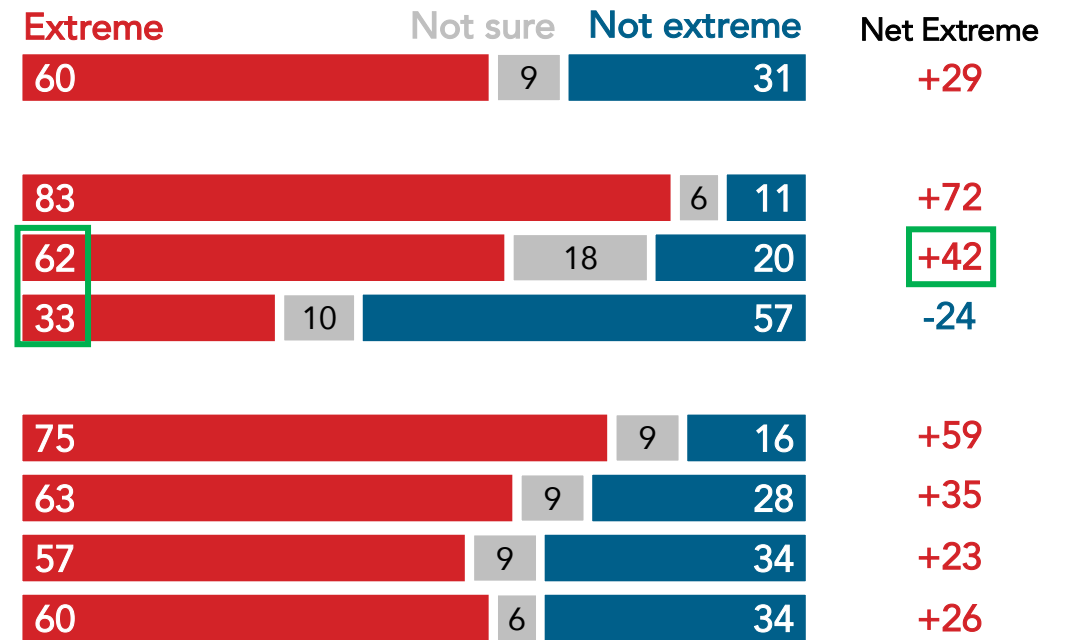
# The Republican Party Is Seen as More Extreme Overall Than the Democratic Party, Including By Independents

A higher share of independents describe the Republican Party as "extreme" (62% very or somewhat extreme) than say the same of the Democratic Party (54%).

Would you describe the **Democratic Party** as...



Would you describe the **Republican Party** as...



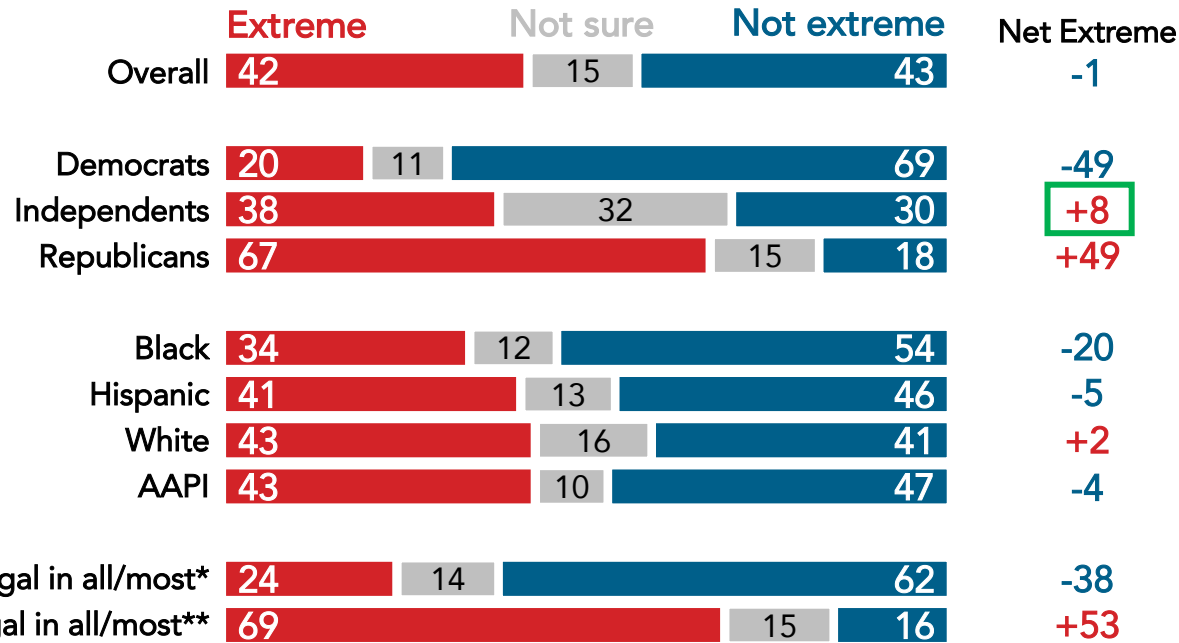
Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted September 21-September 25, 2023. For more info, visit [navigatorresearch.org](https://navigatorresearch.org).

# Three in Five Say the GOP Position on Abortion Is Extreme, While Just Two in Five Say the Same of the Democratic Party

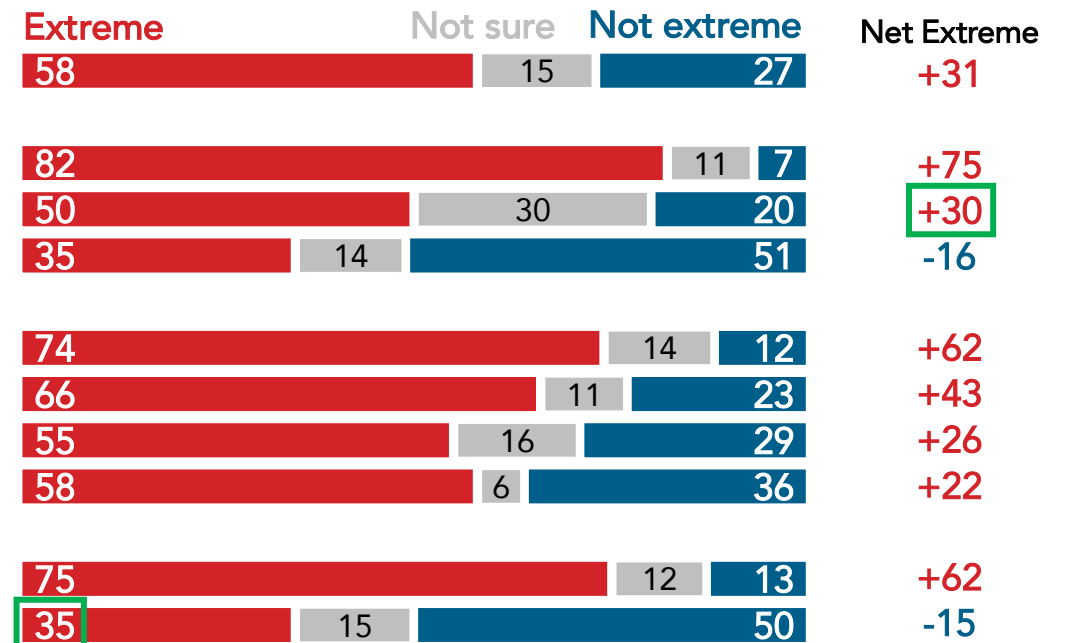
Americans are divided on whether the Democratic Party has an extreme position on abortion, while a clear majority say the Republican Party's position is extreme. Independents are more likely to say the Republicans' position is extreme (50%) than the Democrats' (38%).

- Even one in three (35%) who think abortion should be illegal in all or most cases\*\* say the GOP's position is extreme.

Would you describe the **Democratic Party's** position on abortion as...



Would you describe the **Republican Party's** position on abortion as...



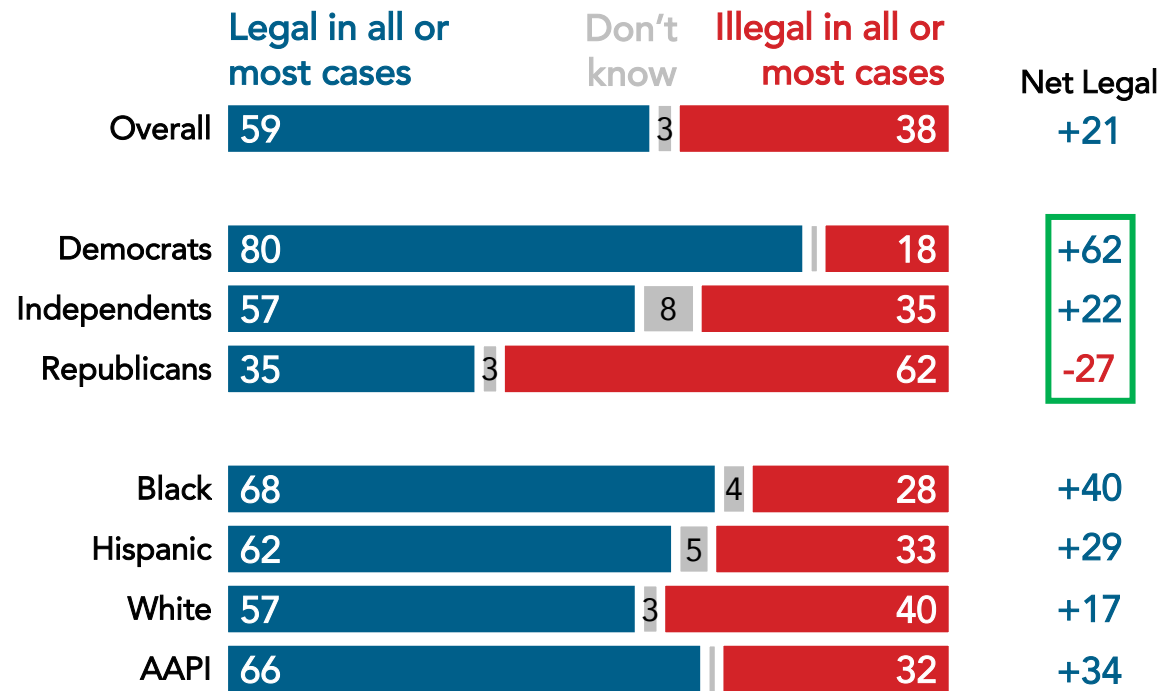
\*"Legal in all/most" indicates respondents say they believe abortion should be legal in all or most cases on a separate question.  
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# Three in Five Americans Personally Believe Abortion Should Be Legal in All or Most Cases

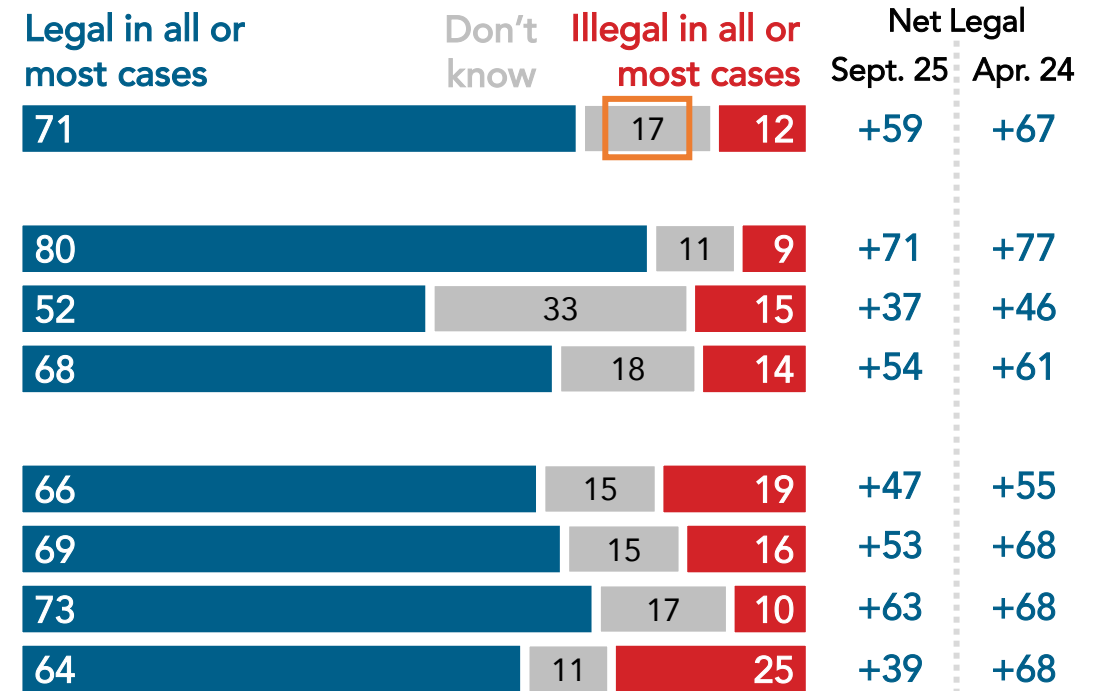
A clear majority of independents (57%) say abortion should be legal in all or most cases.

- The share who say they “don’t know” where the Democratic Party stands on abortion has increased from 12% in April to 17% today, as the share who say Democrats think abortion should be legal in all or most cases has declined from net +67 legal to net +59.

Which of the following comes closest to your position regarding the issue of abortion?



Which of the following do you think comes closest to the Democratic Party's position regarding the issue of abortion?



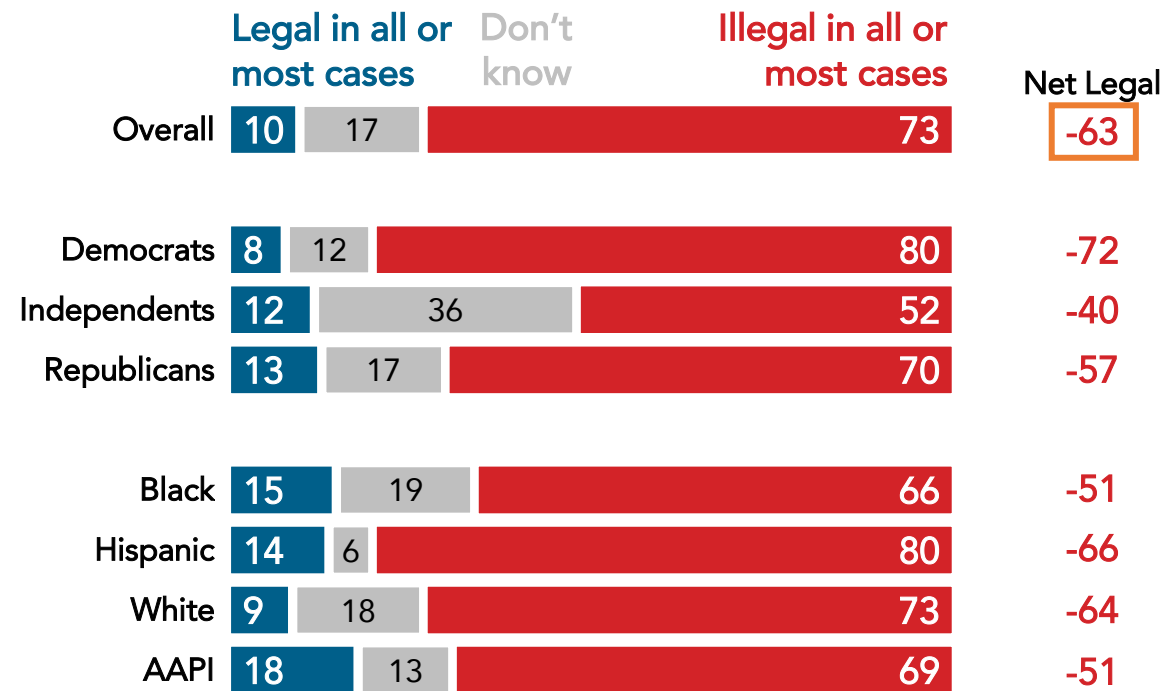
Nationwide surveys of registered voters; Each wave represents approximately 1,000 interviews taken over the prior three-five days. Latest wave conducted September 21-September 25, 2023. For more info, visit [navigatorresearch.org](https://navigatorresearch.org).

# Most Say the GOP Stands for Making Abortion Illegal in All/ Most Cases, Smaller Majority Believe the Same About Trump

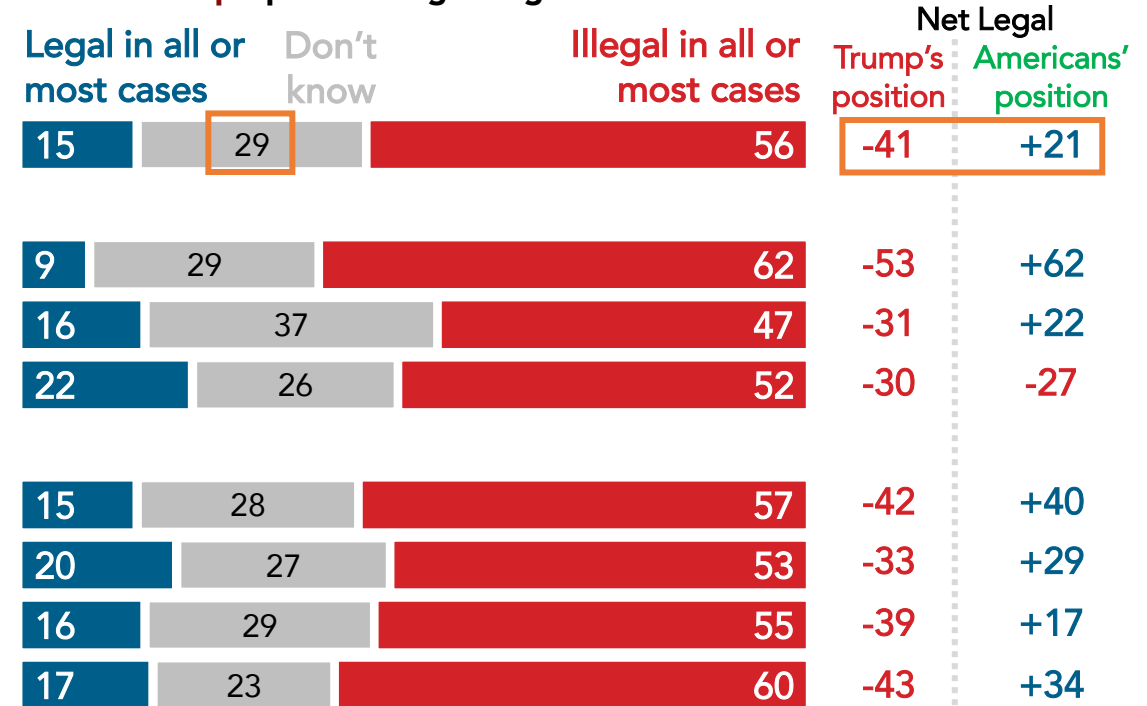
While majorities say both the Republican Party and Donald Trump think abortion should be illegal in all or most cases, significantly more say that is the party's position (73%) than say the same of Trump (56%), with nearly three in ten (29%) unsure of what Trump's position is.

- The Republican Party (net -63 legal) and Trump (net -41) are deeply out of step with Americans' views on abortion (net +21 legal).

**(Split sample)** Which of the following do you think comes closest to the **Republican Party's** position regarding the issue of abortion?



**(Split sample)** Which of the following do you think comes closest to **Donald Trump's** position regarding the issue of abortion?



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# Most Convincing Messaging: Democrats Protecting Abortion Access, GOP Opposing *Roe*/Abortion Access & Supporting Bans

Below is a list of statements about where the political parties stand on abortion. Please indicate how convincing you find each statement as a reason to support the Democratic Party's stance on abortion.

|   | Very convincing | Somewhat convincing | Not convincing | Total Convincing |     |     |     |
|---|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-----|-----|-----|
|   |                 |                     |                | Overall          | Dem | Ind | Rep |
| Democrats believe we should avoid one-size-fits-all policies and continue to ensure that any decision about having an abortion is made by the patient and their doctor, not politicians and the government  | 41              | 26                  | 33             | 67               | 86  | 66  | 46  |
| Republicans have always opposed <i>Roe v. Wade</i> and abortion rights: they fought for decades to overturn it, and will continue that fight at the state level   | 35              | 28                  | 37             | 63               | 72  | 62  | 55  |
| Republicans will ban abortion nationwide if they win a majority in Congress and the White House, while most Democrats support the right to an abortion  | 35              | 28                  | 37             | 63               | 78  | 60  | 47  |
| Democratic-led states across the country continue to protect abortion access, but also already have restrictions to ensure that abortion later in pregnancy only happens in serious circumstances, such as threats to the health or life of the woman or severe fetal anomalies | 31              | 36                  | 33             | 67               | 85  | 63  | 48  |
| Republicans say Democrats support abortion up until birth, but the reality is that abortion later in pregnancy happens only in serious circumstances, like threats to the health or life of the woman or severe fetal anomalies   | 29              | 33                  | 38             | 62               | 72  | 57  | 53  |

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# At Least Three in Four Say It Is True Republicans Will Ban Abortion Nationwide

Below is a list of statements about where the political parties stand on abortion. Please indicate whether you think each statement is true or false.

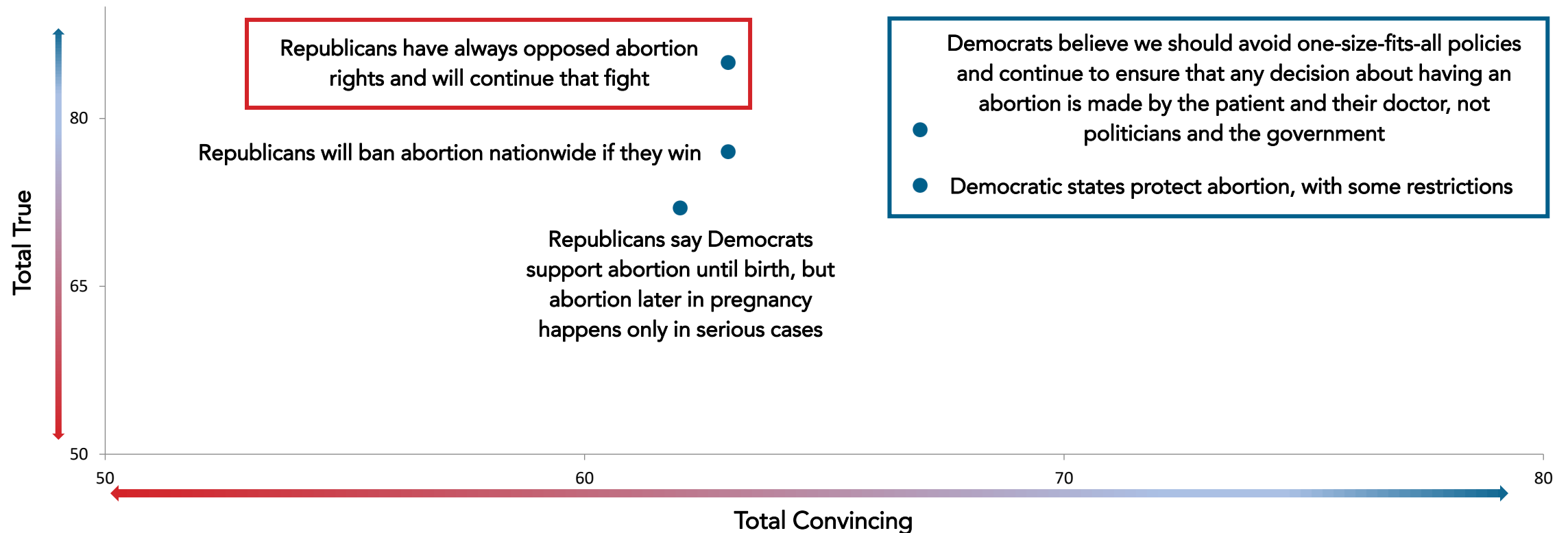
|   | Definitely true | Probably true | False | Overall | Total True |     |     |
|---|-----------------|---------------|-------|---------|------------|-----|-----|
|   |                 |               |       |         | Dem        | Ind | Rep |
| Republicans have always opposed <i>Roe v. Wade</i> and abortion rights: they fought for decades to overturn it, and will continue that fight at the state level   | 41              | 44            | 15    | 85      | 92         | 83  | 79  |
| Democrats believe we should avoid one-size-fits-all policies and continue to ensure that any decision about having an abortion is made by the patient and their doctor, not politicians and the government  | 38              | 41            | 21    | 79      | 90         | 86  | 65  |
| Republicans will ban abortion nationwide if they win a majority in Congress and the White House, while most Democrats support the right to an abortion  | 33              | 44            | 23    | 77      | 90         | 75  | 63  |
| Republicans say Democrats support abortion up until birth, but the reality is that abortion later in pregnancy happens only in serious circumstances, like threats to the health or life of the woman or severe fetal anomalies   | 28              | 44            | 28    | 72      | 80         | 80  | 60  |
| Democratic-led states across the country continue to protect abortion access, but also already have restrictions to ensure that abortion later in pregnancy only happens in serious circumstances, such as threats to the health or life of the woman or severe fetal anomalies | 25              | 48            | 26    | 74      | 89         | 78  | 55  |

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# The Most Effective Messages Focus on Protecting Abortion Rights and Keeping Decisions Between Patients and Doctors

While they find it slightly less convincing, Americans are most likely to believe the message that “Republicans have always opposed *Roe v. Wade* and abortion rights: they fought for decades to overturn it, and will continue that fight at the state level” (85% true).

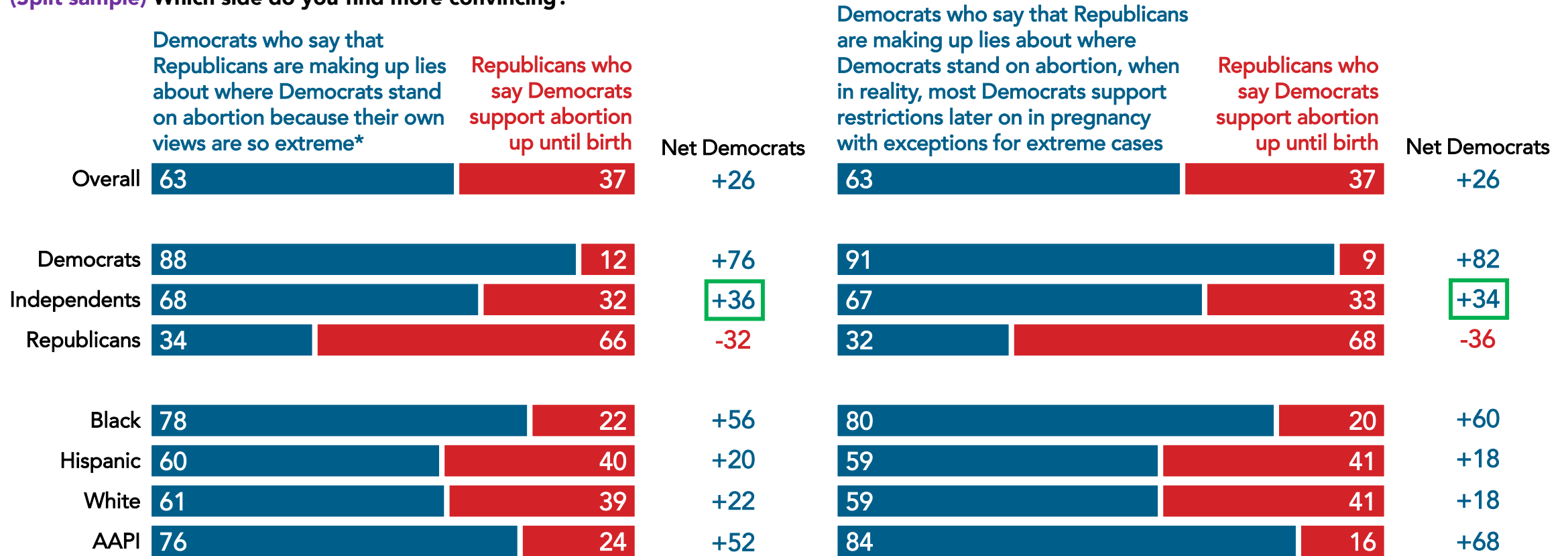


\*Full text of messages included on previous slide – several have been truncated for spacing purposes. Nationwide survey of 1,000 registered voters conducted September 21-September 25, 2023. For more info, visit [navigatorresearch.org](http://navigatorresearch.org).

# Pointing Out GOP Extremism, Distortion of Democrats' Stance on Abortion Are Good Rebuttals to Republican Attacks

Both rebuttals are convincing to independents, who side with Democrats by about a two-to-one margin on each.

**(Split sample) Which side do you find more convincing?**

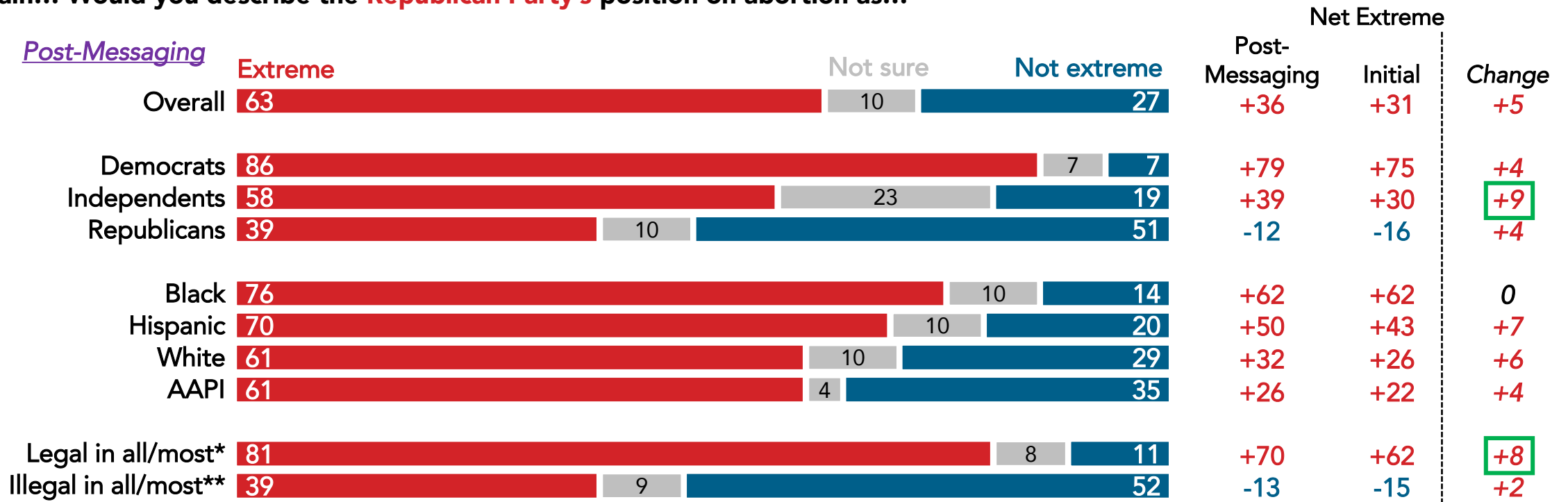


\*Question text included: "like banning abortion before most women know they are pregnant with no exceptions for rape or incest."  
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# More Americans See GOP as Extreme on Abortion After Messaging

Independents and those who say abortion should be legal in all or most cases\* shift the most toward saying the Republican Party's position is extreme after messaging (from net +30 to net +39 extreme and from net +62 to net +70 extreme, respectively).

Again... Would you describe the **Republican Party's** position on abortion as...



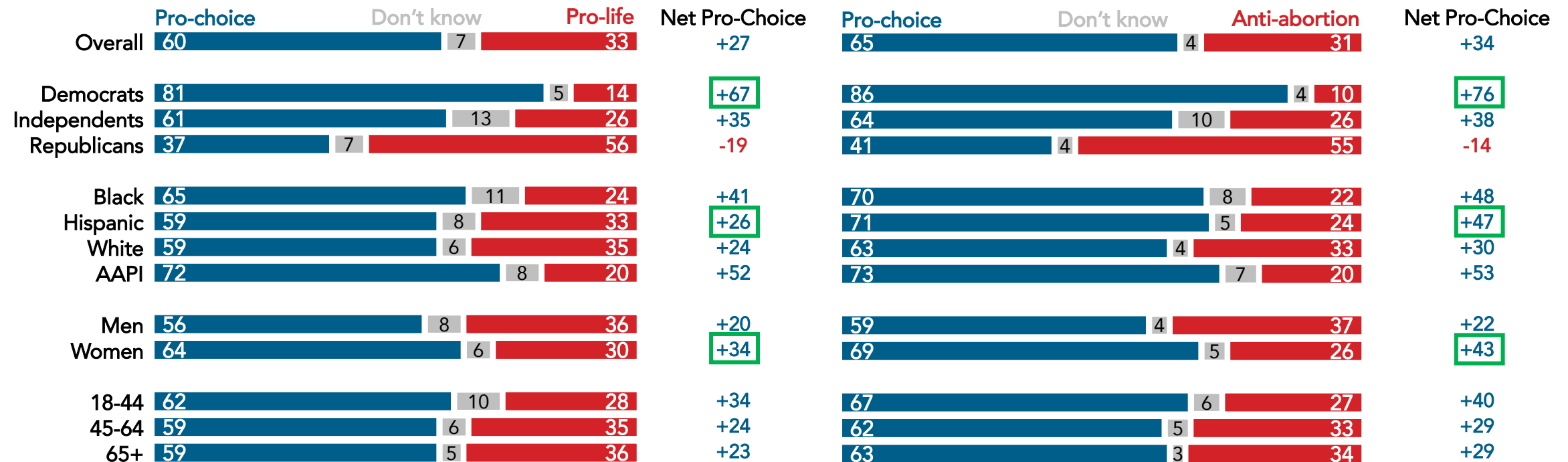
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# “Pro-Choice” Identification Grows Slightly When the Alternative Is “Anti-Abortion” Rather Than “Pro-Life”

While three in five say they are “pro-choice” (60%) when the other option is “pro-life” (33%), nearly two in three say they are “pro-choice” (65%) when the other option is “anti-abortion” (31%).

- The groups most likely to consolidate as “pro-choice” against “anti-abortion” as compared to “pro-life” are Democrats (net +67 pro-choice against “pro-life” versus net +76 pro-choice against “anti-abortion”); Hispanic Americans (net +26 versus net +47); and women (net +34 versus +43).

**(Split sample)** When it comes to the issue of abortion, which of the following best describes your position?



Over the last 4 waves of Navigator, we have fielded this split sample question asking whether respondents identify as “pro-choice” or “pro-life,” while the other half of the split sample was asked whether they identify as “pro-choice” or “anti-abortion.” The data on this slide comes from a combined dataset of those 4 waves. Nationwide surveys of registered voters; Each wave represents approximately 1,000 interviews taken over the prior three-five days. Latest wave conducted September 21-September 25, 2023. For more info, visit [navigatorresearch.org](http://navigatorresearch.org).

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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: Jessica Floyd, 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 1,000 registered voters from September 21-September 25, 2023. 105 additional interviews were conducted among Hispanic voters. 75 additional interviews were conducted among Asian American and Pacific Islander voters. 104 additional interviews were conducted among African American voters. 102 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.

For Press inquiries contact:

[press@navigatorresearch.org](mailto:press@navigatorresearch.org)

To learn more about Navigator:

<http://navigatorresearch.org>

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