



## Analysis of Voters' Opinions on Abortion in Women's Lives: Exploring Links to Equal Opportunity and Financial Stability

To: Interested Parties  
From: PerryUndem Research/Communication  
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Earlier this year, state legislatures in New York and Pennsylvania considered packages of bills on issues that would advance women's equality and improve women's financial stability. Lawmakers in New York considered Governor Cuomo's Women's Equality Act and Pennsylvania legislators debated the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women's Health. Both agendas include laws that address barriers women face to being able to plan their future and support their families.

The National Institute for Reproductive Health commissioned PerryUndem Research/Communication to conduct polling in New York and Pennsylvania to better understand the degree of support for legislative packages for women, to assess the extent to which voters believe abortion access belongs in such policy agendas, to explore why voters feel abortion access is important, and to identify the links voters make between reproductive health and rights – especially abortion – and other timely women's issues.

PerryUndem conducted a survey among n=802 registered voters in New York from May 20 to 26, 2014. The Pennsylvania poll was conducted among n=802 registered voters statewide from May 22 to 26, 2014. Both surveys were administered by telephone and used random-digit-dialing sample for both landlines and cell phones. The margin of sampling error for results in each state is  $\pm 3.5$  percentage points.

Following are key insights and detailed findings.

## Analysis and Key Insights

Results from both polls are very similar: large majorities of voters in each state support their state's proposed legislative agenda around women's issues. A majority of New York and Pennsylvania voters also support policies within these agendas that would specifically work to protect a woman's right and access to abortion. This is not surprising given that a majority of voters in Pennsylvania and New York – like the country overall – supports the U.S. Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. What is new, however, are findings that suggest voters recognize links between control over one's reproductive health – and even access to abortion – and financial stability and equal opportunities. Both polls also show voters say they are more likely to vote for elected officials who support these agendas when they address protections around access to abortion.

Key insights include:

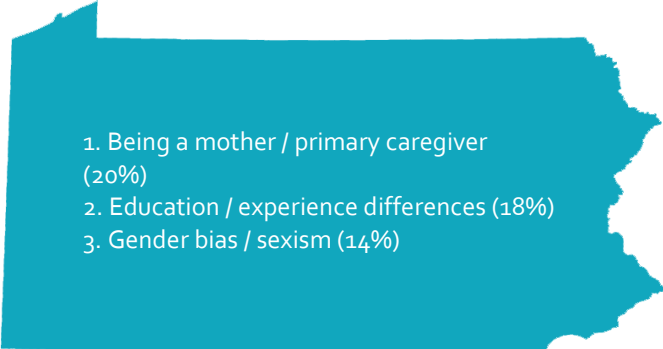
- "Being a mother / primary caregiver" is one of the most-commonly cited reasons for why women may not have that same opportunities for the same degree of financial stability as men.
- A majority of voters in each state says a woman's ability to control whether or when she has children has an effect on her financial stability, and a majority connect it to having equal opportunities with men.
- Half of voters in each state connect access to safe and legal abortion to financial stability and equal opportunities for women.
- Majorities in both states agree that access to legal abortion is an important part of women's rights, health care, and equality.
- Eight in ten voters in each state support their state's package of bills around women's issues.
- Voters prefer that comprehensive women's agendas include – rather than exclude – measures that specifically address and protect access to abortion.
- Voters say they are more likely to vote for elected officials who support reproductive health, including abortion, through women's agendas.

# 10 Insights from Polling

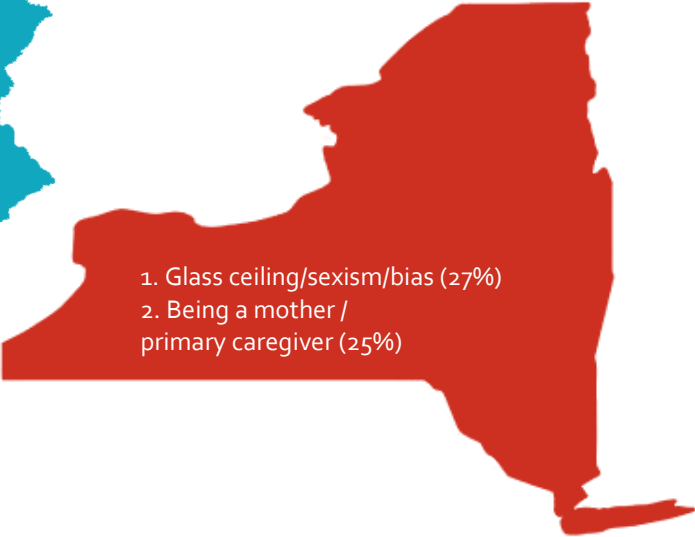
- 1. Being a mother / caregiver is a top-of-mind factor that voters believe prevents women from having the same level of financial stability and opportunities as men. The survey explored what voters thought might prevent women from having the same level of financial stability (asked in Pennsylvania) and the same opportunities (asked in New York) as men. "Being a mother / primary caregiver" is among the top responses in each state.

## Top-of-Mind Responses from Open-Ended Questions:

"What things might prevent women from having the same level of financial stability as men?" *Most common responses*



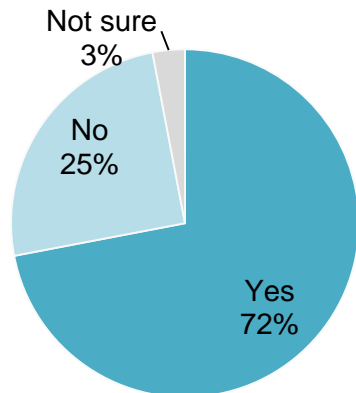
"What things might prevent women from having the same opportunities (SPLIT: in life) as men?" *Most common responses – combined splits*



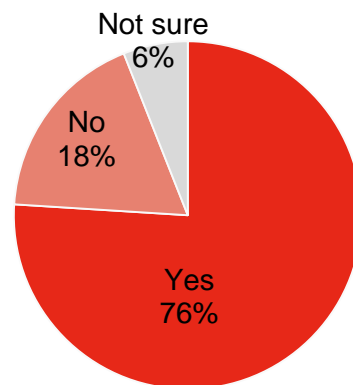
2. A majority of voters in each state says that a woman’s ability to control whether or when she has children is an important part of equality for women and is related to women’s financial stability. Eighty-three percent of voters in Pennsylvania think that a woman’s ability to control when or whether she has children is an important part of women’s equality and seventy-two percent think it is related to a woman’s financial stability. A similar proportion of New York voters say it has an effect on women’s equality (81 percent) and is related to her financial stability (76 percent).

### Effect of a Woman’s Ability to Control Whether and When She Has Children on Financial Stability & Equal Opportunities

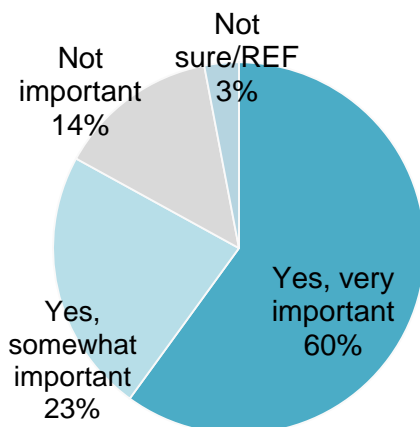
Pennsylvania Poll:  
Do you think a woman’s ability to control whether or when she has children is related to her financial stability?  
*N = 802 registered voters*



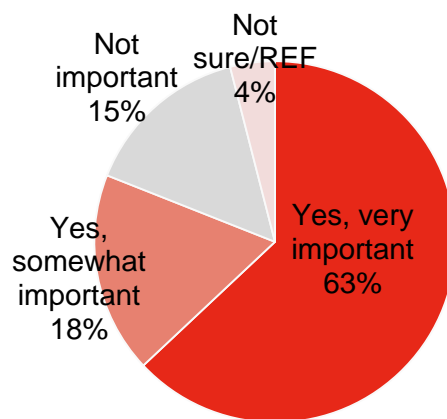
New York Poll:  
Do you think a woman’s ability to control whether or when she has children is related to her financial stability?  
*N = 802 registered voters*



Pennsylvania Poll:  
Do you think a woman’s ability to control whether or when she has children is an important part of equality for women?  
*N = 802 registered voters*



New York Poll:  
Do you think a woman’s ability to control whether or when she has children is an important part of equality for women?  
*N = 802 registered voters*



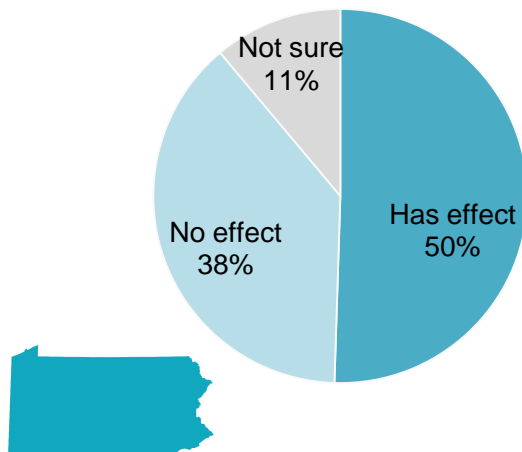
3. Half of voters also connect access to safe and legal abortion care to financial stability and equal opportunities for women. One in two Pennsylvania voters (51 percent) say issues around access to safe and legal abortion can have an effect on women's opportunities for financial stability. About the same proportion in New York (55 percent) says access to abortion can have an effect on equal opportunities for women.

### Effect Access to Safe and Legal Abortion Has on Financial Stability & Equal Opportunities

Pennsylvania Poll:

Do you think issues around access to safe and legal abortion care has an effect on women's opportunities for financial stability?

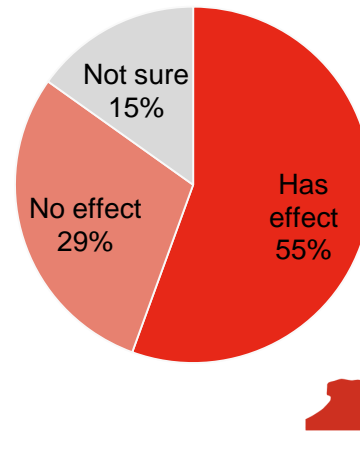
*N = 401 registered voters*



New York Poll:

Do you think issues around access to safe and legal abortion care has an effect on equal opportunities for women?

*N = 403 registered voters*



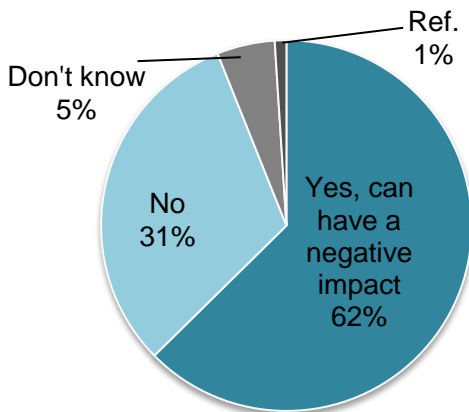
4. Many Pennsylvania voters think that laws and restrictions that make it harder to access abortion can have a negative impact on women’s financial stability. Again, the data suggest voters make connections between access to abortion and a woman’s ability to be financially stable. Six in ten voters (62 percent) say abortion restrictions can have a negative impact on a woman’s financial stability.

Almost the same proportion (60 percent) says they would be less likely to vote for their elected official if he or she was in favor of laws that make it harder to get an abortion. (These questions were not asked in the New York survey).

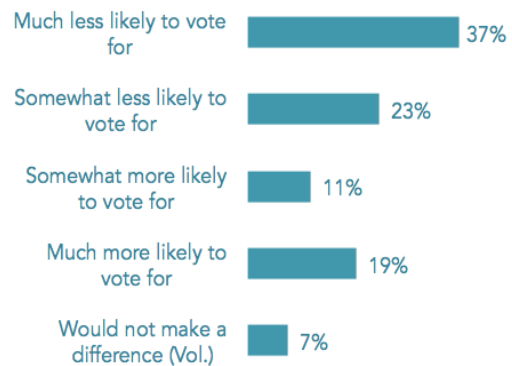
### Potential Impact of Abortion Restrictions On a Woman’s Financial Stability

Do you think laws and restrictions that make it harder to access abortion can have a negative impact on a woman’s financial stability?

*N = 401 registered voters*



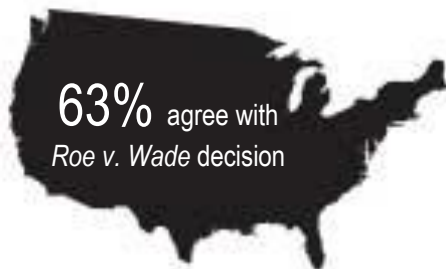
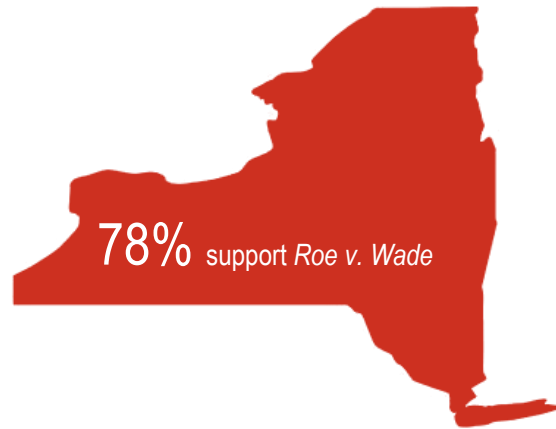
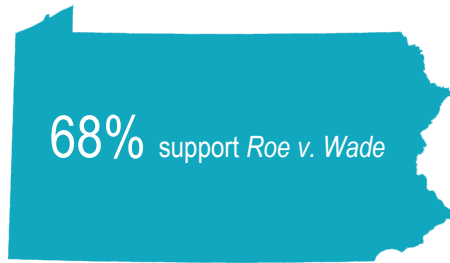
### PA Poll If your elected official was in favor of laws that make it harder to get an abortion, would you be...



60% less likely vs. 30% more likely

5. Majorities in Pennsylvania and New York are favorable toward the *Roe v. Wade* decision. Sixty eight percent of Pennsylvania voters support the landmark Supreme Court decision, while 30 percent oppose it. Nearly eight in ten New York voters (78 percent) support *Roe v. Wade*; 19 percent oppose it.

Would you say you tend to support or oppose *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark Supreme Court decision that said a woman has a right to have a legal abortion?



*Quinnipiac Poll, January 30 – February 4, 2013 among  
n = 1,772 registered voters nationwide:*

*"In general, do you agree or disagree with the 1973  
*Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision that established  
a woman's right to an abortion?"*

6. Majorities of voters in both states agree that access to legal abortion is an important part of women’s rights, health care and equality. Eight in ten New York voters (80%) say that access to legal abortion is an important part of women’s rights; nearly two-thirds (63%) strongly agree with this statement. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Pennsylvania voters also agree including 51% who strongly agree.

Three-quarters of New York voters agree access to legal abortion is an important part of women’s health care (76%) and equality for women (75%). There is also a majority support for these ideas among Pennsylvania voters, with two thirds agreeing that access to legal abortion is an important part of women’s health care (66%) and equality for women (65%).

Having access to legal abortion...	New York		Pennsylvania	
	Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Can be necessary for a woman to be able to achieve her goals	71	50	59	34
Can allow a woman to continue her education	73	52	63	40
Can enable a woman to take care of her family	71	50	59	35
SSA: Can enable a woman to be more financially stable (Base NY n=399; PA n=401)	71	50	58	34
SSB: Can enable a woman to be more financially stable for her family (Base NY n=403; PA n=401)	71	48	65	39
Is an important part of equality for women	75	58	65	45
Is an important part of women’s health care	76	60	66	46
Is an important part of women’s rights	80	63	72	51
Is an important part of women’s ability to be financially stable	72	53	60	35

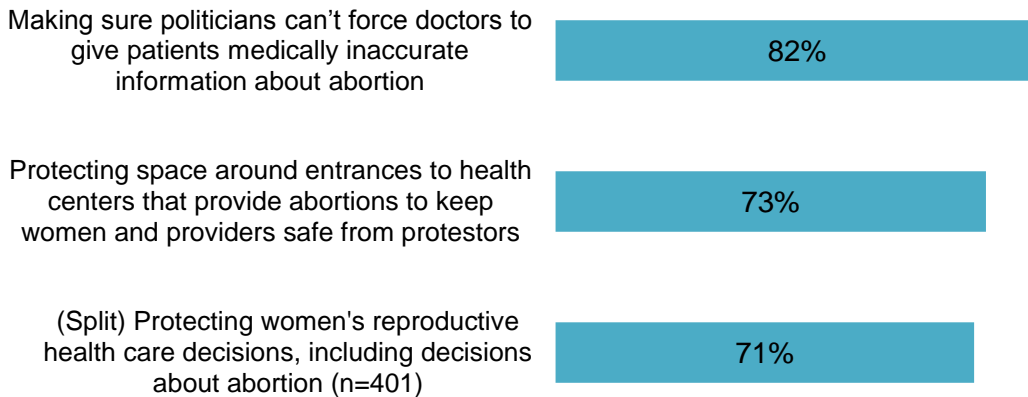


7. When asked about legislative agendas relating to women’s equality, health, and financial well-being, seven in 10 voters support the abortion specific proposals in each state. In Pennsylvania, voters support proposed bills that would prohibit elected officials from forcing doctors to give patients inaccurate information about abortion (82 percent), protect the space around entrances of health centers that provide abortions (73 percent), and protect women’s reproductive health care, including decisions around abortion (71 percent). (Note that this latter provision is not part of the Agenda for Women’s Health.) More than three-quarters of New York voters (77 percent) support protecting abortion rights as decided in the Supreme Court case, *Roe v. Wade*.



### Support for Abortion-Specific Proposals in the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women’s Health

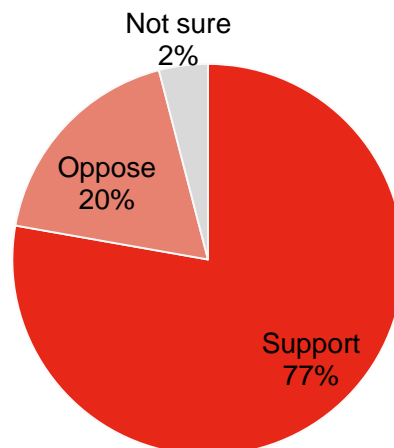
*N = 802 registered PA voters except where noted*  
*% Support*



### Support for Abortion-Specific Proposal in New York’s Women’s Equality Act

*N = 802 registered NY voters*

Do you support or oppose protecting a woman’s right to decide to have an abortion, including if her health is at risk later in pregnancy? The Governor proposes that the New York law should reflect the protections recognized in the landmark *Roe v. Wade* case. Do you support or oppose this point of the 10-point plan to protect a woman’s right to have an abortion?

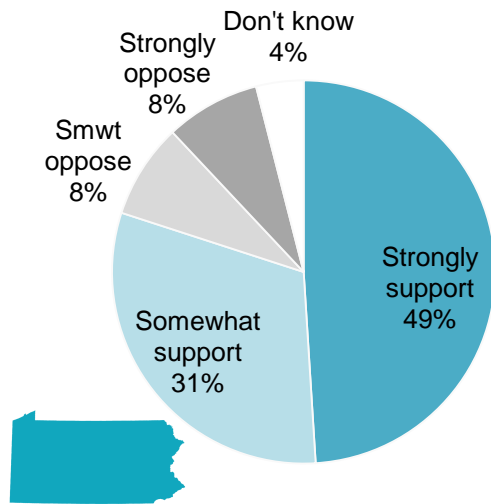


8. A large majority of voters in each state supports their proposed agendas around women’s issues. After hearing about a range of policies included in the agenda, eight in ten Pennsylvania voters (80 percent) say they support the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women’s Health. A similar majority (84 percent) of New York voters says they support the Women’s Equality Act after hearing about the range of policies proposed.

### Support for Pennsylvania’s Agenda for Women’s Health

Based on the ideas you just heard, would you support or oppose this package of laws?

*N = 802 registered voters*

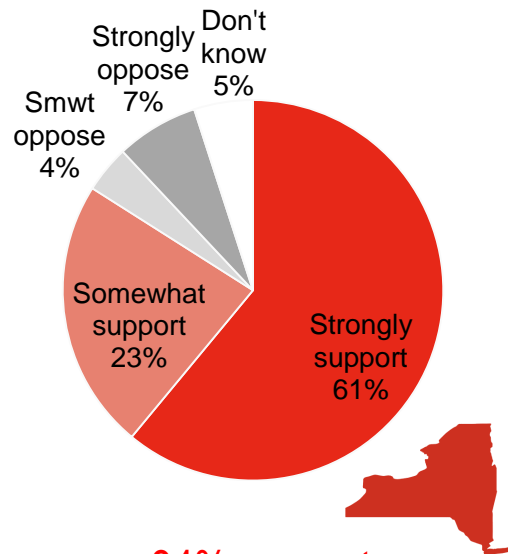


**80% support**

### Support for New York’s Women’s Equality Act

Based on the ideas you just heard, would you support or oppose the governor’s Women’s Equality Act?

*N = 802 registered voters*



**84% support**

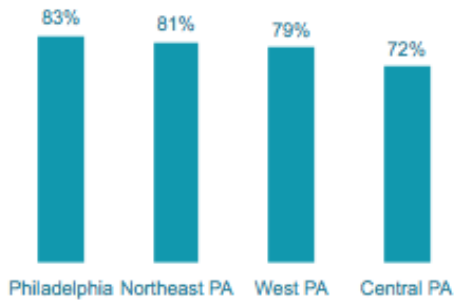
Support for both agendas is high across all regions of both states, especially in large cities, but also in suburban and rural areas. Likewise, support is high among all demographics, and especially high among unmarried women, African Americans, Latinos, and lower income voters.

## Geographic and Demographic Results

### Support for Pennsylvania's Agenda for Women's Health

Based on the ideas you just heard, would you support or oppose this package of laws?

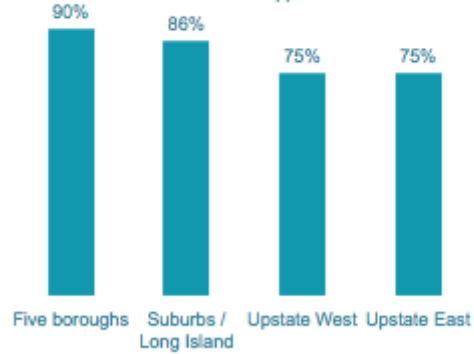
■ Support



### Support for New York's Women's Equality Act

Based on the ideas you just heard, would you support or oppose the governor's Women's Equality Act?

■ Support



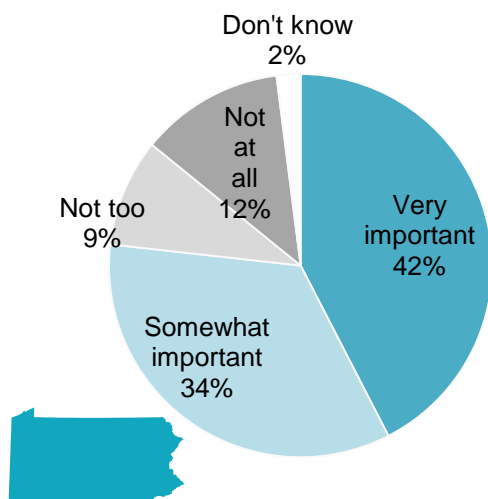
	Support for PA's Agenda for Women's Health	Support for NY's Women's Equality Act
Total	80%	84%
Men	74%	79%
Women	85%	89%
White	78%	81%
Latino	88%	89%
African American	92%	92%
Democrat	95%	94%
Independent	74%	79%
Republican	63%	76%
Unmarried women	91%	87%
18-34 years old	86%	88%
35-44	78%	81%
45-64	76%	82%
65+	82%	86%
HS or less	80%	83%
Some college	83%	80%
College	78%	87%
<\$50K Household inc.	86%	88%
\$50K-\$110K	78%	85%
\$110K>	77%	83%

9. Voters prefer to include - rather than exclude - protections for abortion access in their agendas. New York legislators debated a 10-point Women’s Equality Act that included abortion protections versus a 9-point plan that excluded the protection. Voters in the survey were asked about both. By a margin of 50 points, New York voters agree more with elected officials who support the 10-point plan, which includes protecting a woman’s right to have an abortion (73 percent), compared to those who want a 9-point plan (23 percent).

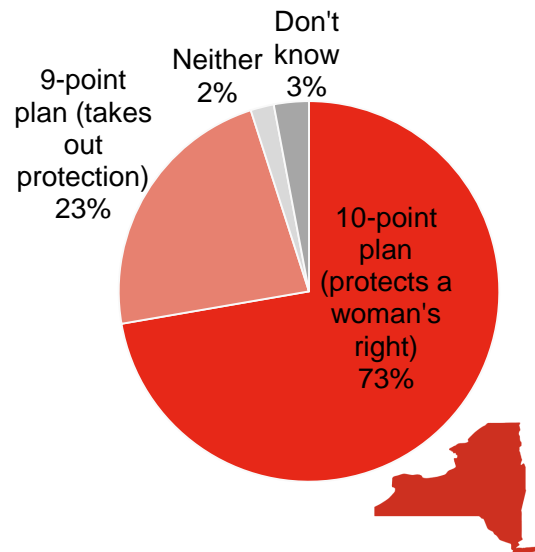
In Pennsylvania, respondents were asked how important it is that the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women’s Health addresses issues around reproductive health care, including abortion. Three-quarters of voters (76 percent) say it is important.

### Preferences on Including and Addressing Abortion within Agendas

How important is it that the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women’s Health addresses issues around reproductive health care, including abortion?  
*N = 802 registered voters*



Which elected officials do you agree with more – those who want the 10-point plan or those who want the 9-point plan?  
*N = 802 registered voters*

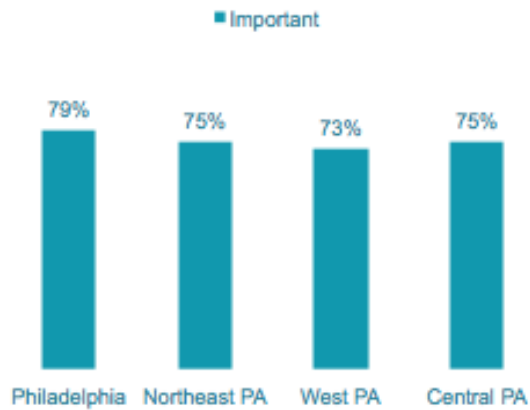


Majorities of voters across all regions of both states feel it is important to or agree with including protections for abortion in these agendas. Likewise, support is high among all demographics, and especially high among African Americans, Latinos, unmarried women, 18- to 34-year olds, and lower income voters.

## Geographic and Demographic Results

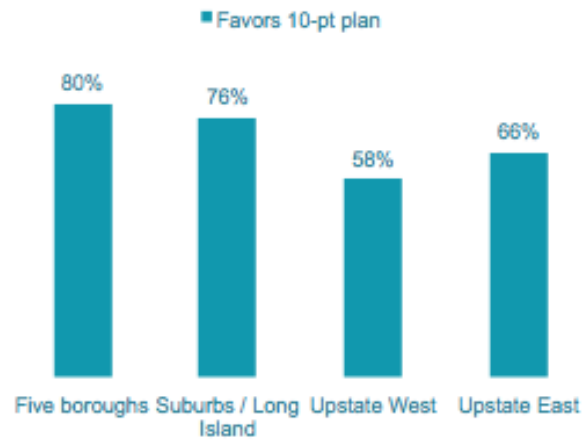
### Important to Address RH Including Abortion

How important is it that the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women's Health addresses issues around reproductive health care, including abortion?



### Support for 10-Point Plan over 9-Point Plan

Which elected officials do you agree with more – those who want the 10-point plan or those who want the 9-point plan?

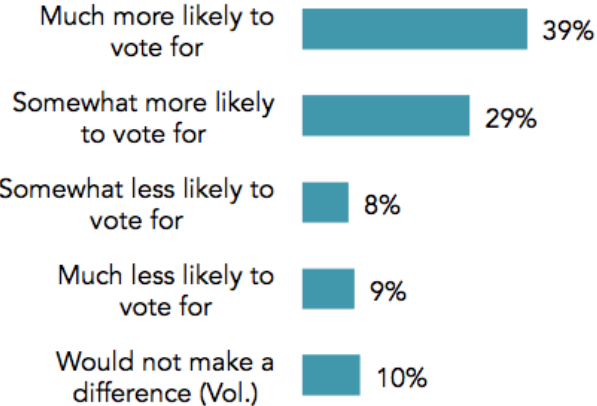


	% Important to Address Reproductive Health Issues	% Favors NY's 10-Point Plan over 9-Point Plan
Total	76	73
Men	73	69
Women	78	76
White	74	71
Latino	73	89
African American	93	84
Democrat	84	86
Independent	77	68
Republican	63	56
Unmarried women	87	79
18-34 years old	87	82
35-44	73	67
45-64	71	71
65+	76	71
HS or less	76	67
Some college	78	71
College	75	76
<\$50K	80	74
\$50K-\$110K	73	74
\$110K>	72	72

10. Voters say they are more likely to reelect elected officials who support women’s agendas that protect access to reproductive health care, including abortion. Two-thirds of voters in Pennsylvania (68 percent) say they would be more likely to vote to reelect an elected official who supported the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women’s Health. The same proportion (68 percent) in New York says they would be more likely to vote to reelect an official who supported the 10-point Women’s Equality Act.

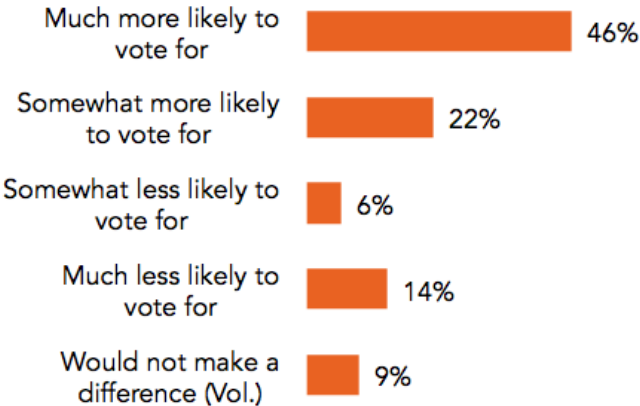
Likelihood to Reelect an Elected Official Who Supports Agenda

**PA Poll**  
 If your elected official supported the Pennsylvania Agenda for Women’s Health, would you be more or less likely to vote to re-elect him or her?



68% more likely vs. 17% less likely

**NY Poll**  
 If your elected official supported the 10-point plan [that includes protecting a woman’s right to have an abortion], would you be more or less likely to vote to re-elect him or her?



68% more likely vs. 20% less likely

Support to reelect an official who supported these agendas is especially high among African Americans in Pennsylvania and Latinos in New York, unmarried women, 18- to 34-year olds, and lower income voters. A majority of voters across demographics in each state – with the exception of Republicans – says they would be more likely to vote to reelect an official who supported their agenda.

	% More Likely to Reelect (PA)	% More Likely to Reelect (NY)
Total	68	68
Men	62	63
Women	74	72
White	66	65
Latino	65	89
African American	89	78
Democrat	85	85
Independent	65	63
Republican	47	42
Unmarried women	79	77
18-34 years old	77	78
35-44	64	61
45-64	63	65
65+	71	66
HS or less	67	62
Some college	69	67
College	69	70
<\$50K	79	70
\$50K-\$110K	64	70
\$110K>	74	66