



Abortion Attitudes: Statistics & Stories

Kristen N. Jozkowski, PhD

Abortion Attitudes Project

Department of Applied Health Science, School of Public Health

The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, & Reproduction

Topics

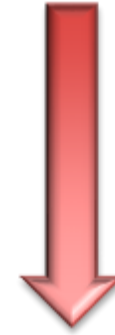
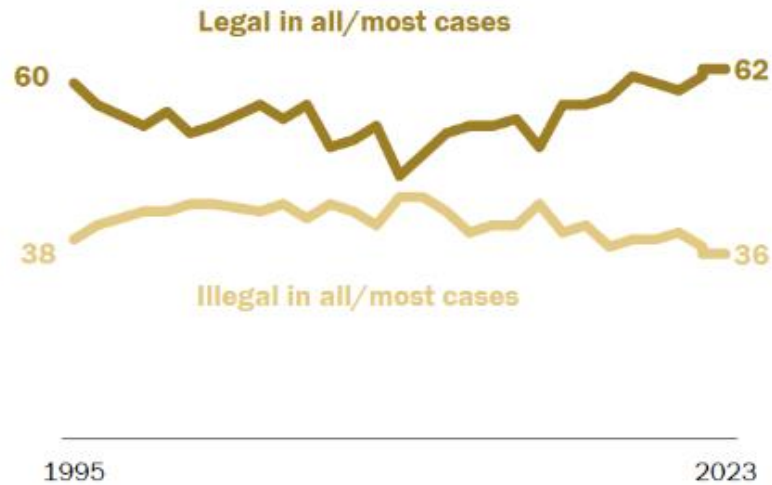
- Abortion Legality & Restrictions
- Abortion Labels: Prolife & Prochoice
- Abortion Narratives: Abortion Tolerance
- Abortion Legality Contexts (Circumstances & Timing)
- Abortion Legality & Punishment



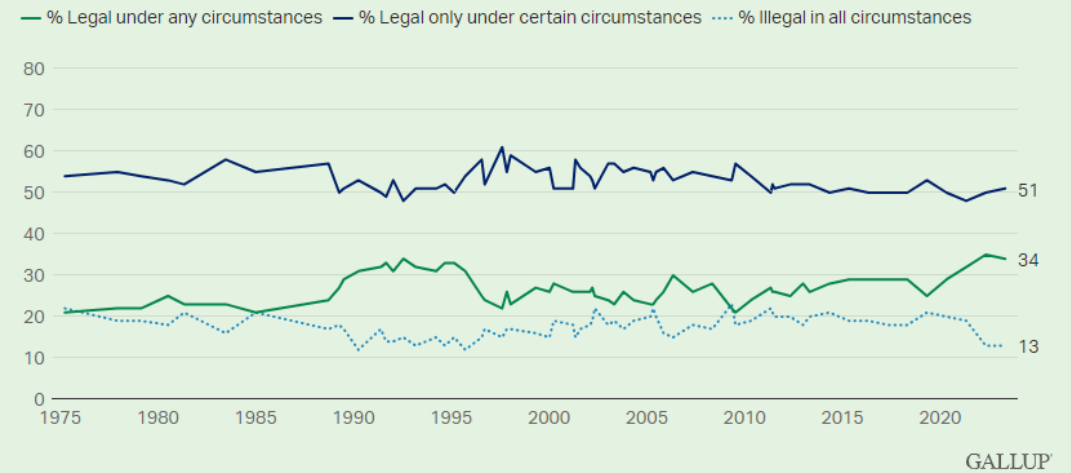
Abortion Legality & Regulation

Trends in Abortion Attitudes: Pew & Gallup

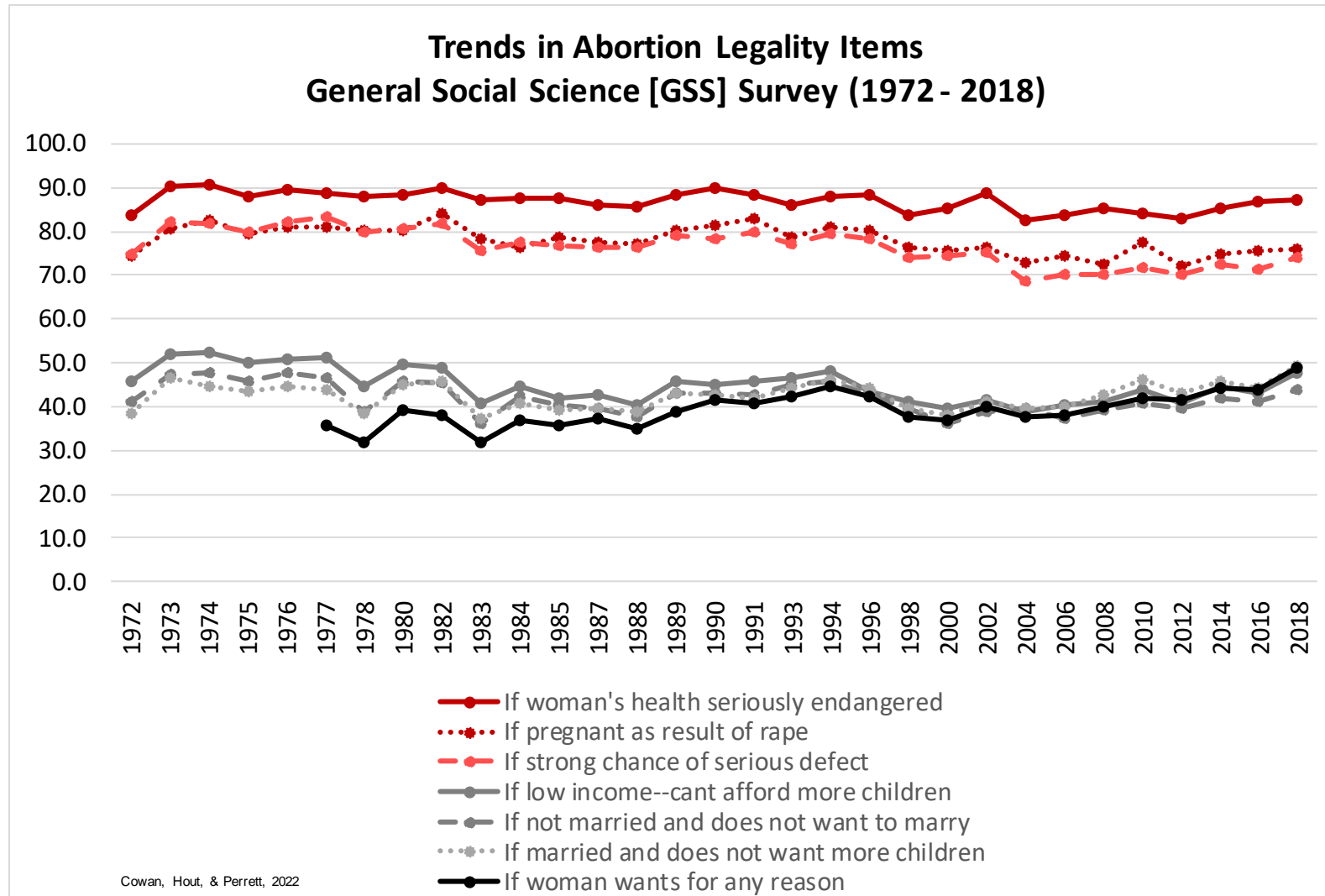
% who say abortion should be ...



Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances or illegal in all circumstances?



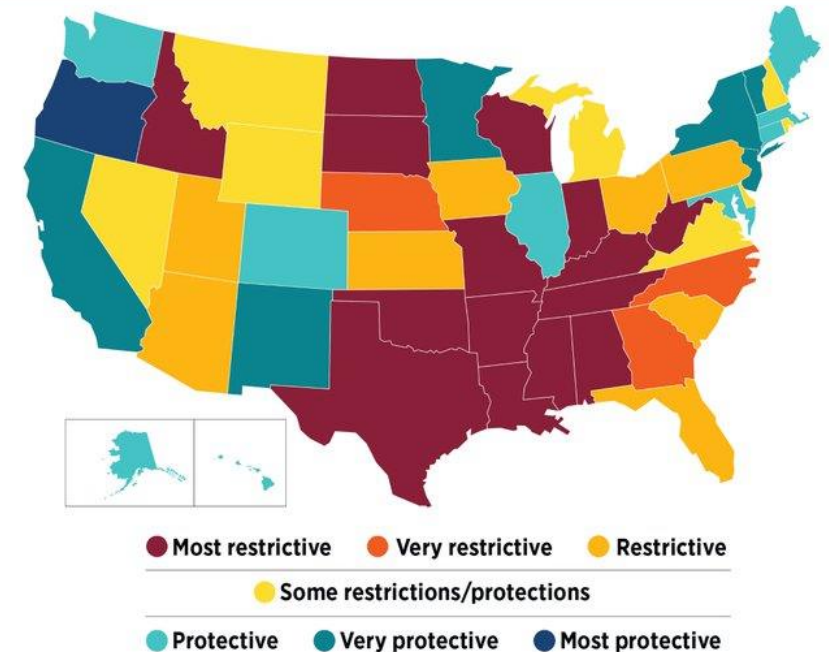
General Social Survey: Abortion Attitudes



State-level Abortion Legislation

- 14 states ban abortion (usually with exceptions)
- 2 states ban abortion at 6 weeks LMP
- 2 states ban abortion at 12 weeks LMP
- 2 states ban abortion at 15 weeks LMP
- 1 state ban abortion at 18 weeks LMP
- 4 states ban abortion at 22 weeks LMP
- 4 states ban abortion at 24 weeks LMP
- 12 states impose a ban at viability
- 1 state imposes a ban in the third trimester (beginning at 25 weeks LMP)

GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE
**Abortion policies in effect
as of August 21, 2023**



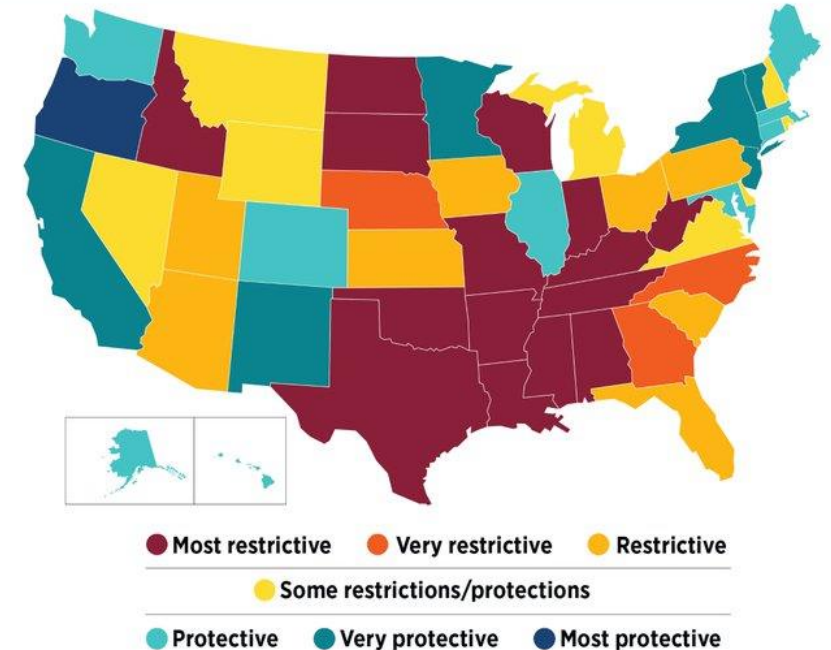
Guttmacher Institute, 2023



State-level Abortion Legislation

- Genetic anomaly, race selection, and sex selection bans
- Method bans
- Clinic access regulations
- Targeted Regulations of Abortion Providers
- Medical provider refusals
- Abortion coverage restrictions in Medicaid and private health insurance
- Counseling requirements
- Mandatory waiting periods
- Telemedicine regulations

GUTTMACHER INSTITUTE
**Abortion policies in effect
as of August 21, 2023**

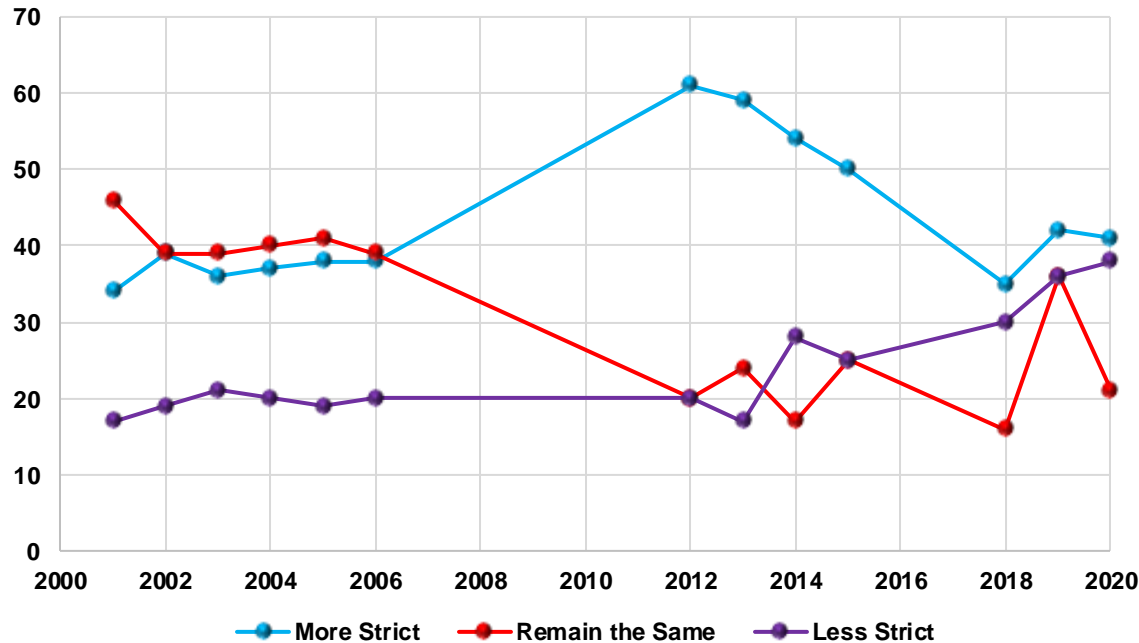


Guttmacher Institute, 2023

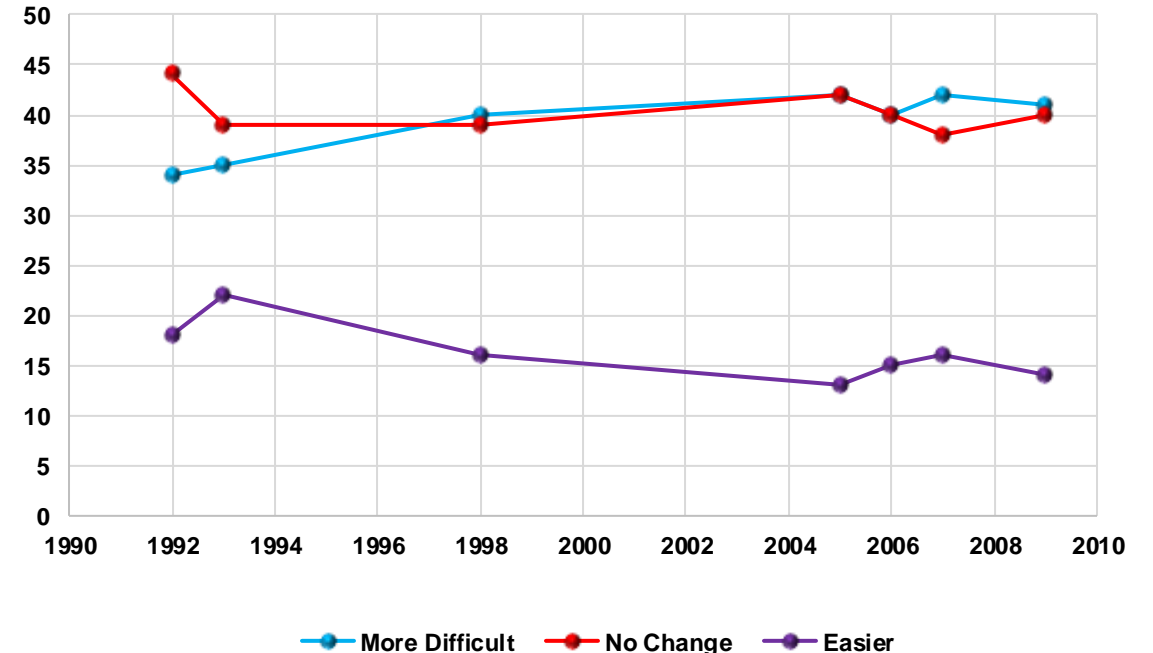


Attitudes toward Abortion Restriction & Access

Gallup: Would you like to see abortion laws in this country made more strict, less strict, or remain as they are?



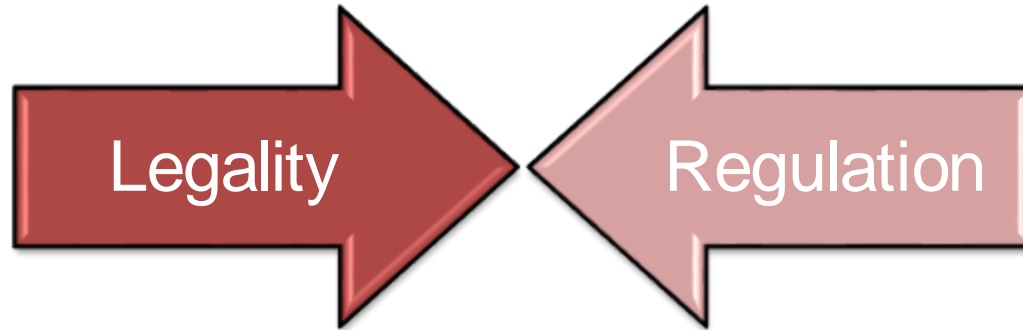
Harris: Do you favor laws that would make it more difficult for a woman to get an abortion, favor laws that would make it easier, to get an abortion, or should no change be made to existing laws?



(Bowman & Goldstein, 2021)



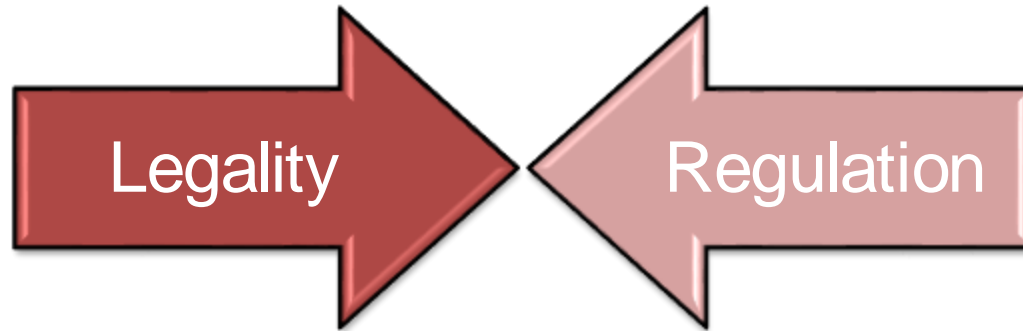
What are people's “*abortion attitudes*”?



Most people think abortion should be legal at least under some circumstances and many people also endorse some degree of regulation.



What are people's “*abortion attitudes*”?



Most people think abortion should be legal at least under some circumstances and many people also endorse some degree of regulation.

- Researchers are unable to concurrently examine people's attitudes toward whether/to what extent abortion should be legal and their attitudes toward legislative restrictions.
- Doing so will provide helpful insight to understand people's attitudes toward abortion legality more comprehensively.



Examining Legality & Restrictions

Purpose: Compare response patterns across commonly used abortion attitude items to examine profiles of people who may respond in consistent ways, using Latent Class Analysis.

1. Explore patterns in participants' responses to questions assessing both attitudes toward legal abortion and abortion restrictions to examine emerging latent classes
2. Examine differences in socio-demographic characteristics across latent classes
3. Compare profiles of people across groups of states

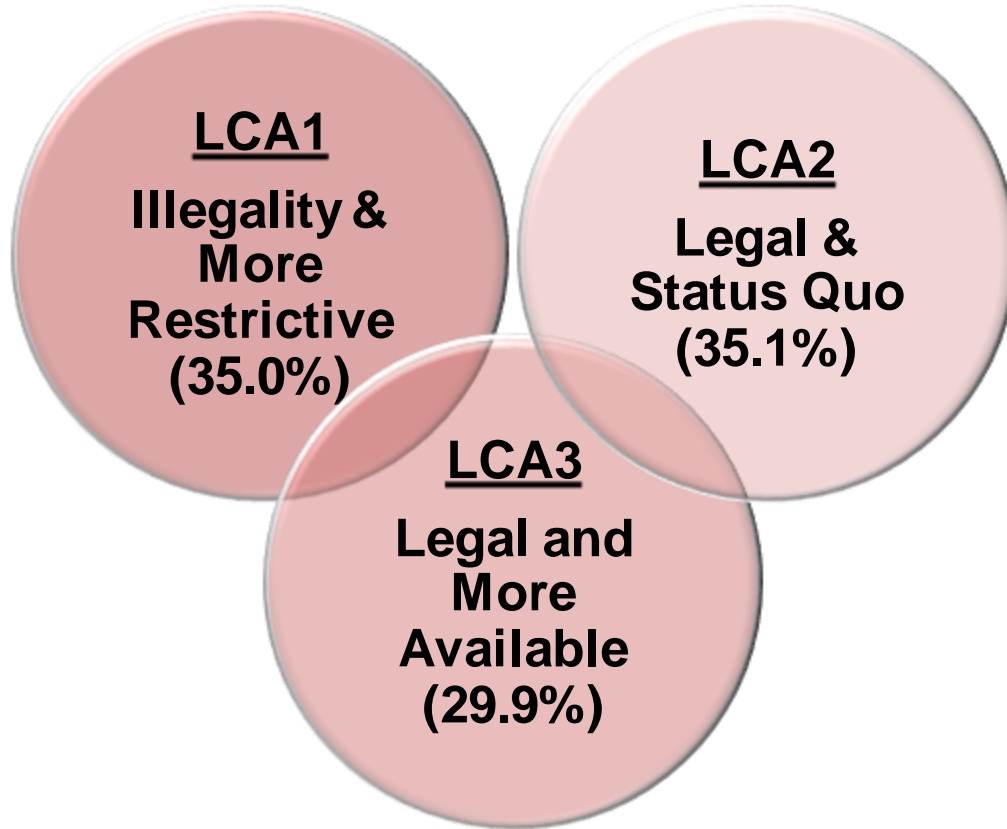


Method: Measures

- Main outcome items were adapted from different national polls/surveys:
 - **Pew Research Center:** Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?
 - **Gallup:** Would like abortion laws in this country to be made more strict, less strict, or remain as they are?
 - **Harris Poll:** Do you think laws in this country should make abortion easier to obtain, more difficult to obtain, or remain as they are?
 - **General Social Survey:** Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if...?



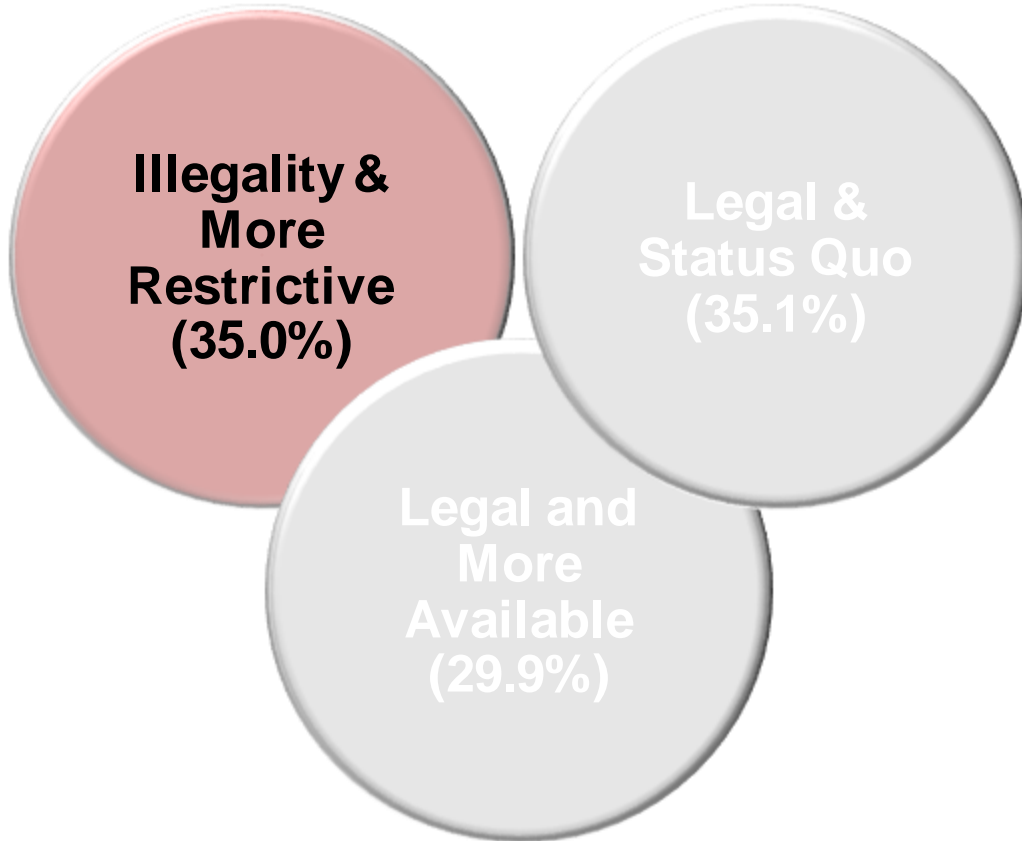
Results: 3 Subgroups Emerged



The model with **3 latent classes** was identified as the best fitting, most parsimonious model.



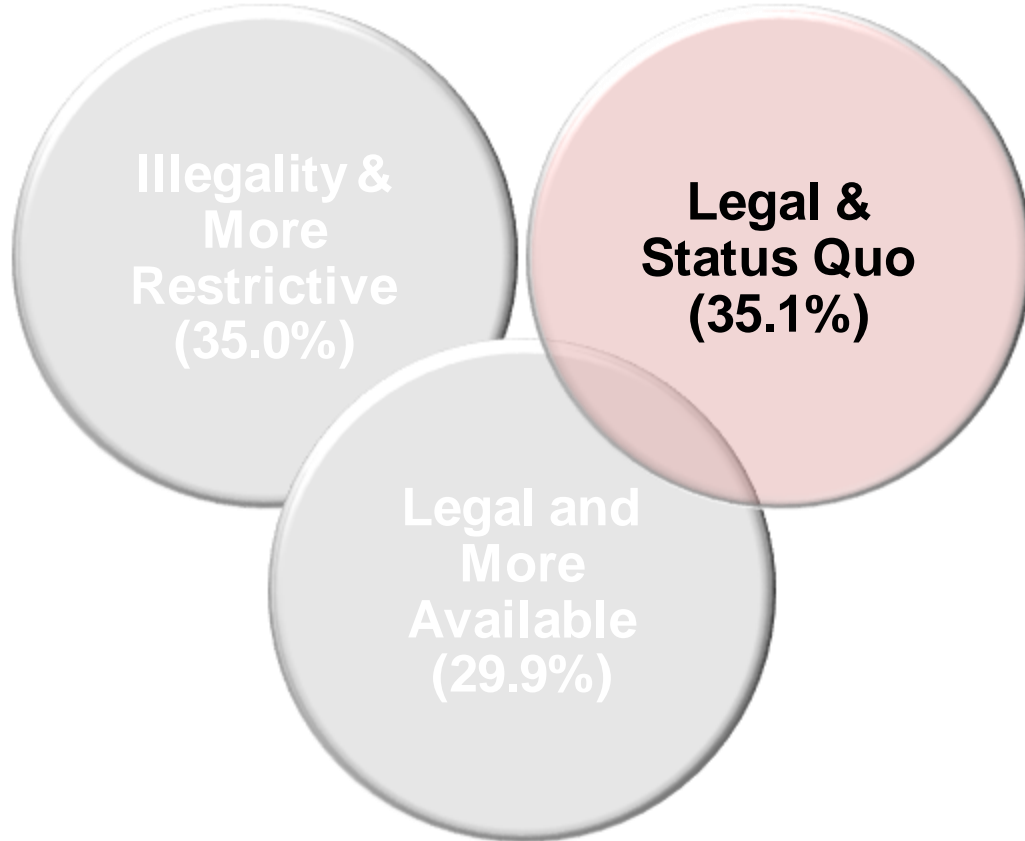
LCA 1: Illegal & More Restrictive



- Pew: **83.9%** abortion should be **Illegal** in most or all cases
- Gallup: **92.7%** abortion laws should be **more strict**
- Harris: **94.9%** laws should make abortion **more difficult** to obtain



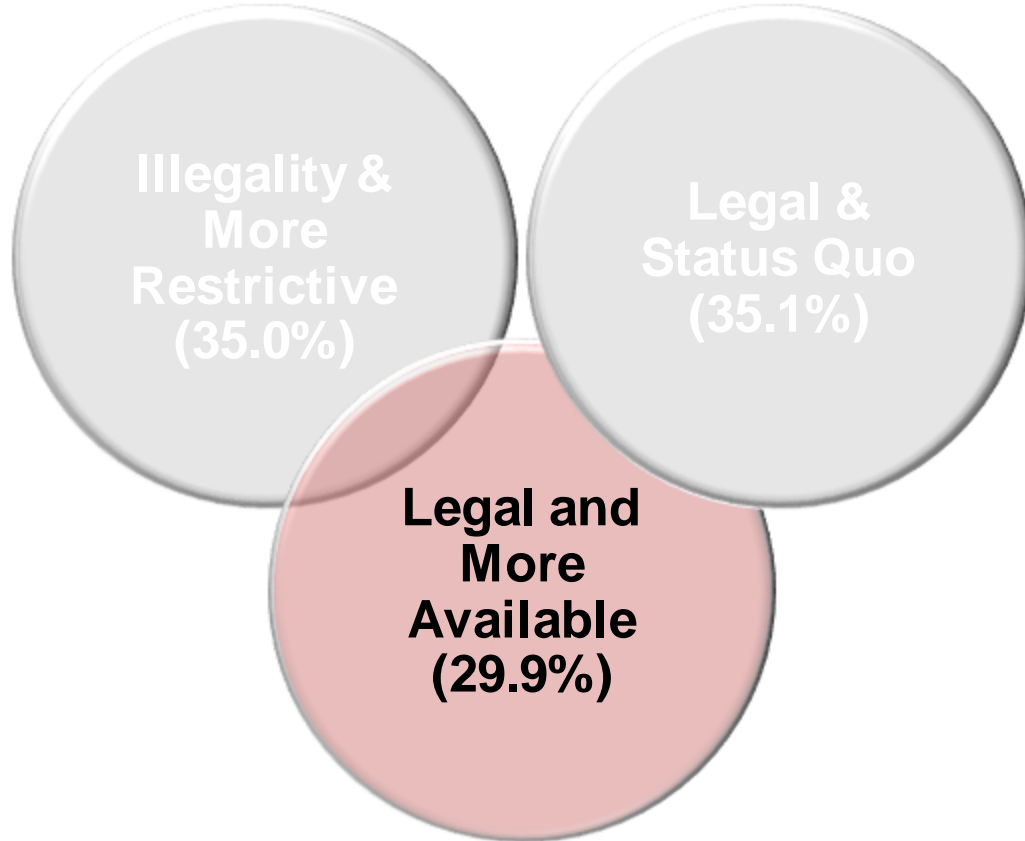
LCA 2: Legal & Status Quo



- Pew: **91.7%** abortion should be **legal** in all or most cases
- Gallup: **67%** abortion laws should **remain as they are**
- Harris: **67%** abortion access should **remain as it is now**



LCA 3: Legal & More Available



- Pew: **99.7%** abortions should be **legal** in all or most cases
- Gallup: **96.6%** abortion laws should be made **less strict**
- Harris: **98.9%** abortions should be **easier** to obtain



America's Abortion Quandary

A majority of Americans say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, but many are open to restrictions; many opponents of legal abortion say it should be legal in some circumstances



NEWSLETTERS SIGN IN NPR SHOP

NEWS CULTURE MUSIC PODCASTS & SHOWS SEARCH

POLITICS

Poll: Majority Want To Keep Abortion Legal, But They Also Want Restrictions

June 7, 2019 - 5:00 AM ET

Domenico Montanaro



Georgia state Rep. Erica Thomas speaks during a protest against recently passed abortion-ban bills at the state Capitol on May 21 in Atlanta. Eliph Newsweek/Getty Images

Three-quarters of Americans say they want to keep in place the landmark Supreme Court ruling, *Roe v. Wade*, that made abortion legal in the United States, but a strong majority would like to see restrictions on abortion rights, according to a new NPR/PBS NewsHour/Marist Poll.

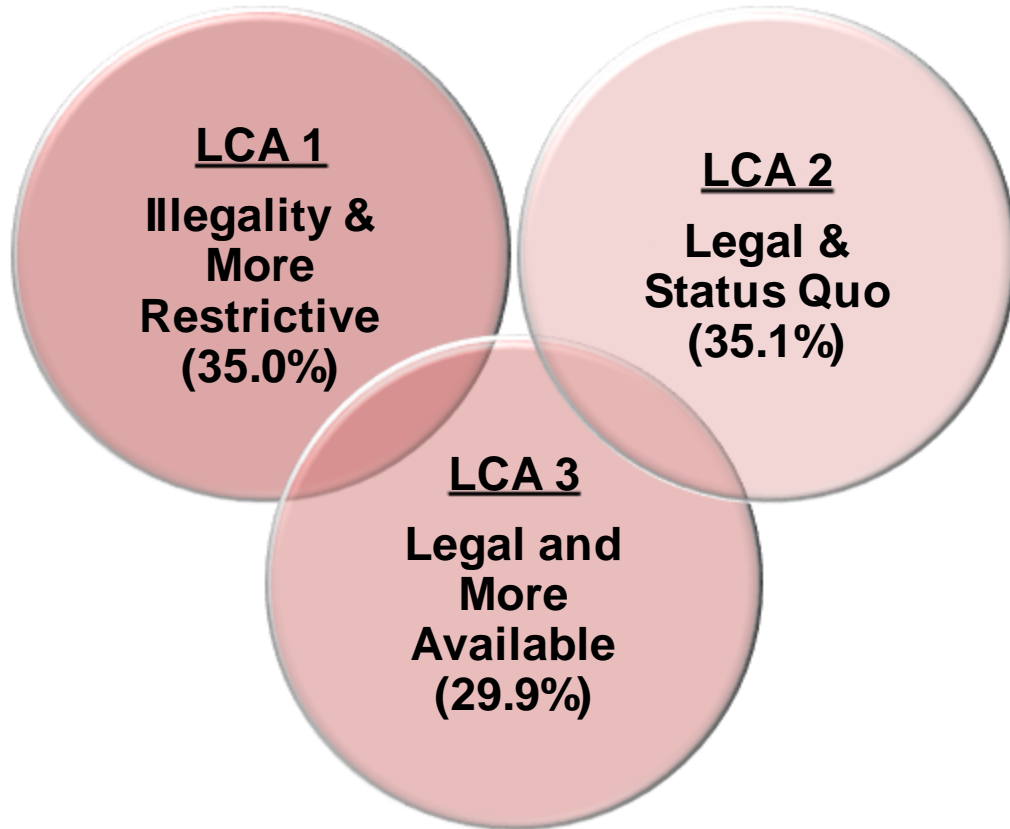
What do these findings mean?

- **Legality v. Restrictions**
 - Preference for abortion to be broadly legal and restricted
 - Abortion legality items in isolation are insufficient measures of “abortion attitudes”, despite being commonly used (Adamczyk et al., 2020)
- **“Safe, Legal, & Rare”**
 - Abortion should be available (in theory), but rarely used (in practice), or only used under certain, specific conditions.
 - *“It [abortion] should be the rarest of rare”*

“I don’t think that you should use it as a birth control. I don’t think that you should have five of them a year or whatever. If you were in a situation... Yes. I think that you should be able to obtain one. And if you cannot afford to pay for it, then I think there should be options. But do I think, necessarily, that they should all be funded? No.”



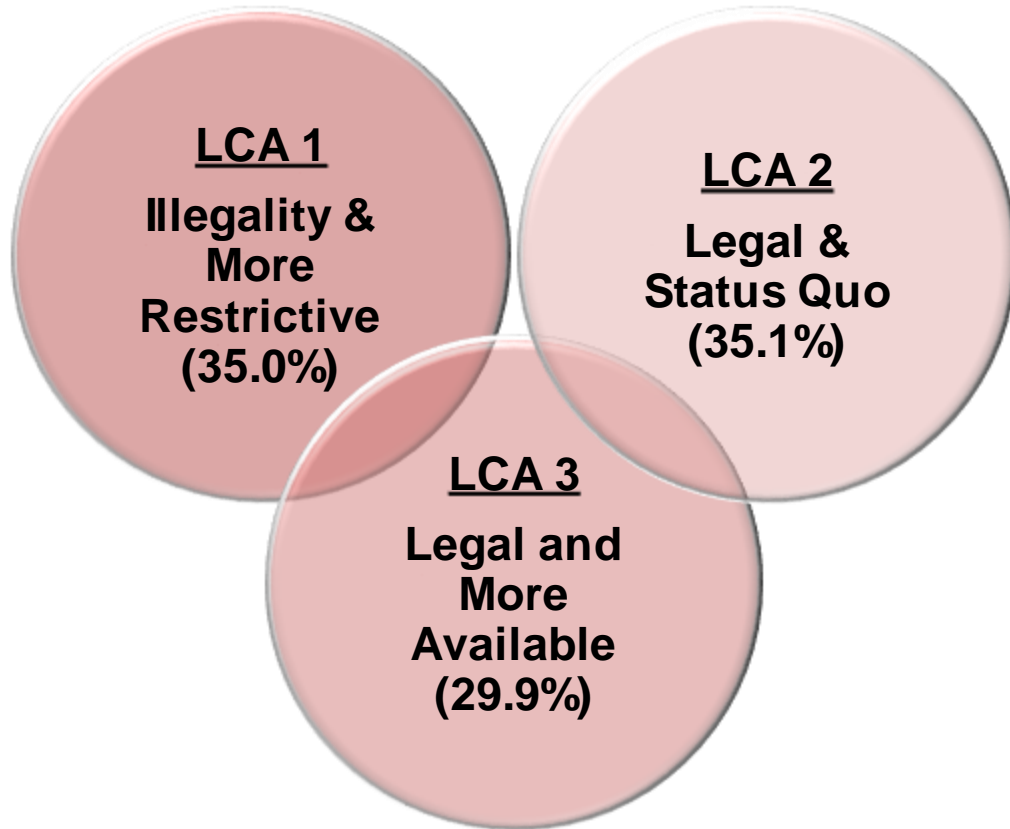
Latent Classes & Abortion Complexity



Complexity Score	LCA 1	LCA 2	LCA 3
0	24.2	41.3	90.1
1	16.9	12.7	2.6
2	30.9	17.8	4.2
3	20.8	28.3	3.0



Latent Classes & Abortion Complexity



Complexity Score	LCA 1	LCA 2	LCA 3
0	24.2	41.3	90.1
1	16.9	12.7	2.6
2	30.9	17.8	4.2
3	20.8	28.3	3.0



What do these findings mean?

- Abortion attitudes (legality) are contextual (Hans & Kimberly, 2014; Jelen & Wilcox, 2004; Jozkowski et al., 2018)



What do these findings mean?

- Abortion attitudes (legality) are contextual (Hans & Kimberly, 2014; Jelen & Wilcox, 2004; Jozkowski et al., 2018)
- More unified attitudes toward abortion legality emerged among those endorsing legality and accessibility (Jozkowski et al., 2021)
- GSS abortion circumstances do not fully align with legislation
- Measurement considerations:
 - Different circumstances (Cowan et al., 2022)
 - Gestational duration (Crawford et al., 2022)
 - Other

Missouri's Eight-Week Abortion Ban Is Blocked by Federal Judge

A Federal Judge Has Blocked Ohio's 6-Week Abortion Ban

Ohio is one of several states to pass strict abortion bans in the past few months.

Emma O'Connor
BuzzFeed News Reporter

Zoe Tillman
BuzzFeed News Reporter

Reporting From
Washington, DC

Posted on July 3, 2019, at 4:49 p.m. ET

Tweet Share Copy



A supporter of Planned Parenthood walks past anti-abortion demonstrators.
Saul Loeb / AFP / Getty Images

WASHINGTON — A federal judge on Wednesday blocked after 6 weeks of pregnancy, finding the law's challengers were "certain" to win in arguing the law is "unconstitutional on its face."

Mississippi's controversial six-week abortion ban struck down by federal judge panel

BY KATE SMITH
UPDATED ON: FEBRUARY 20, 2020 / 7:29 PM / CBS NEWS

Mississippi's controversial "fetal heartbeat" ban, an effective six-week ban on abortion, was just struck down by a federal judge, according to a spokesperson for the Center for Reproductive Rights, the law firm that challenged the state law.

A three-judge panel of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals issued its decision Thursday afternoon, writing, "[A]ll agree that cardiac activity can be detected well before the fetus is viable. That dooms the law. If a ban on abortion after 15 weeks is unconstitutional, then it follows that a ban on abortion at an earlier stage of pregnancy is also unconstitutional."

Thursday's decision temporarily will block the law from going into effect, upholding a lower court's decision from May 2019. In December, the Fifth Circuit also struck down a 15-week abortion ban passed by Mississippi.

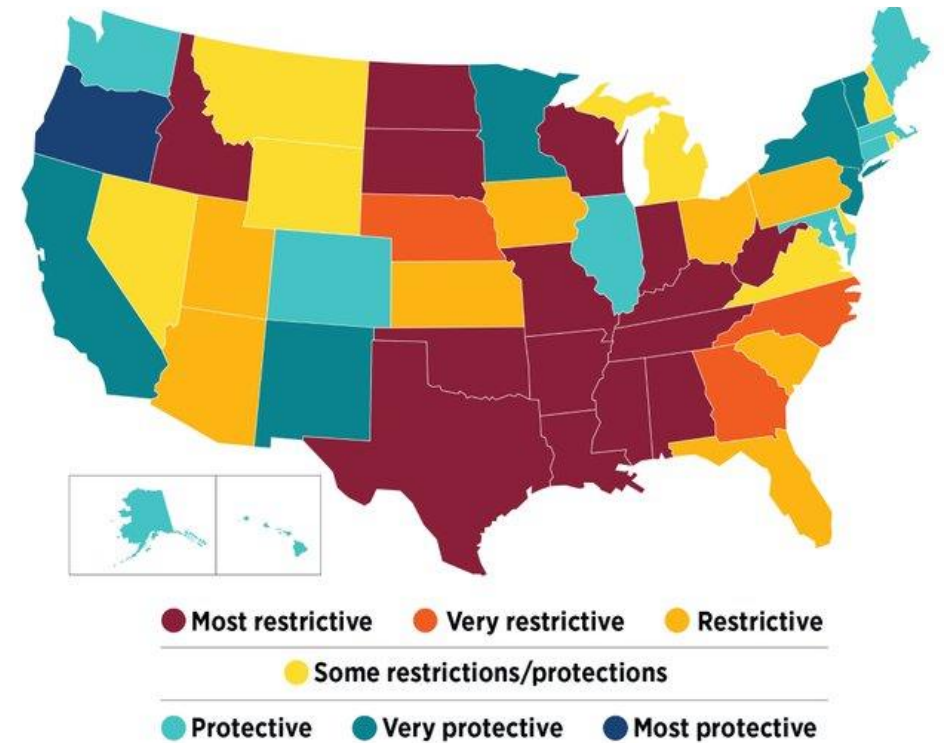


Does Abortion Public Opinion Align with Policy?

Before *Dobbs v. Jackson*



After *Dobbs v. Jackson*



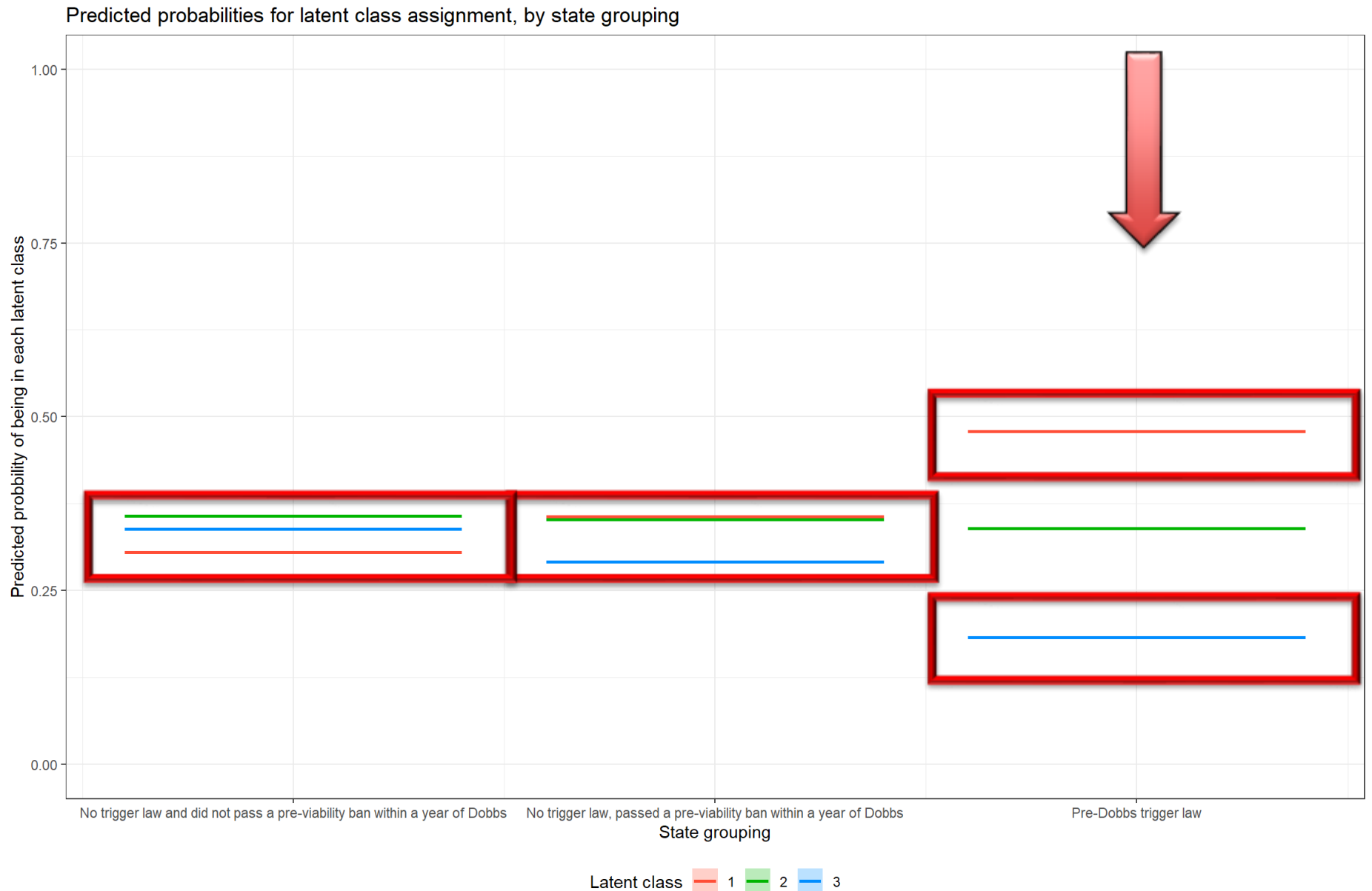
State Comparisons



Pre- <i>Dobbs</i> Trigger Laws	No Trigger law; Pre-viability ban within 1-year post- <i>Dobbs</i>	No trigger law nor pre-viability ban 1-year post- <i>Dobbs</i>	
Arkansas Idaho Kentucky Louisiana Mississippi Missouri North Dakota Oklahoma South Dakota Tennessee Texas Utah Wyoming	Alabama Arizona Florida Georgia Indiana Iowa Kansas Nebraska North Carolina Ohio South Carolina West Virginia Wisconsin (unclear)	Alaska California Colorado Connecticut Delaware Hawaii Illinois Maine Maryland Massachusetts Michigan Minnesota Montana Nevada New Hampshire New Jersey New Mexico	New York Oregon Pennsylvania Rhode Island Vermont Virginia Washington



State Comparison



What do these findings mean?

States with the most restrictive abortion laws also seem to comprise the largest proportion of people who think abortion should be illegal and less accessible

States with the least restrictive abortion laws comprise similar proportions of people from all three classes



What do these findings mean?

Many restrictions in states where majorities generally oppose abortion

	% WHO SAY ABORTION SHOULD BE ___ IN ALL/MOST CASES		BANS DURING 1ST TRIMESTER ● ENACTED	HOSPITAL ADMITTING PRIVILEGES REQUIRED ● ENACTED	MANDATED PRE-ABORTION COUNSELING ● IN PERSON ○ BY PHONE	MANDATED WAIT PERIOD AFTER COUNSELING OR ULTRASOUND (IN HOURS)	ULTRASOUND ● MANDATED ○ NO MANDATE; OTHER RULES
	ILLEGAL	LEGAL					
ARKANSAS	60%	38	●*		●	48	○
MISSISSIPPI	59	36	●*	●*	●	24	●
ALABAMA	58	37	●*	●*		48	●
WEST VIRGINIA	58	35			○**	24	○
LOUISIANA	57	39	●*	●*	●	72	●
KENTUCKY	57	36	●*		●	24	●
TENNESSEE	55	40		●*	●	48	○

*Enacted law is not enforced or is not in effect due to court rulings or ongoing legal challenges.

**Counseling can be conducted by phone or in person.

Note: In all states, requirements generally do not apply in cases of medical emergencies. States are marked as having mandated counseling if abortion providers are required to supply the pregnant person with information such as child support rights or the availability of medical assistance benefits for prenatal care, childbirth and neonatal care. Requirements that an abortion provider describe the procedure and the risks do not, by themselves, get a state marked as having mandated counseling.

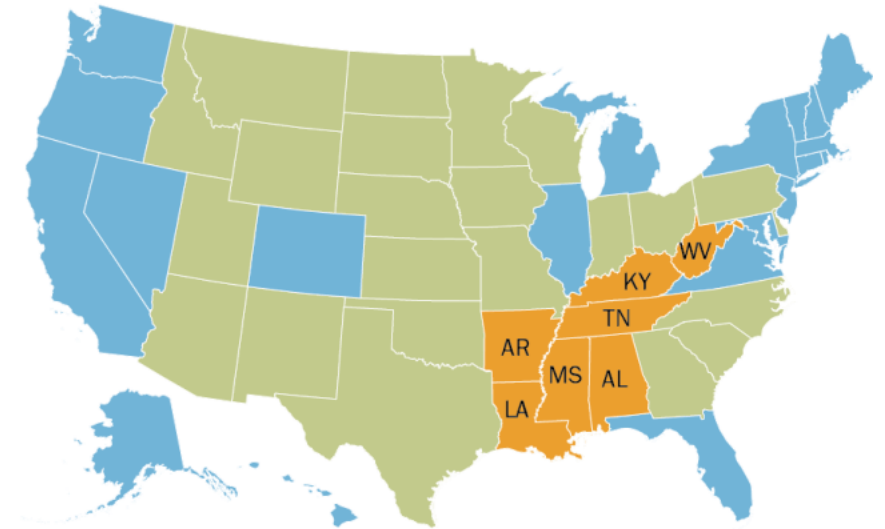
Source: Survey data from 2014 U.S. Religious Landscape Study, conducted June 4-Sept. 30, 2014. Information on laws from state legislative websites.

In seven states, majorities say abortion should be illegal in all or most cases

Majority say abortion should be **illegal**

NO majority say abortion should be **legal or illegal**

Majority say abortion should be **legal**



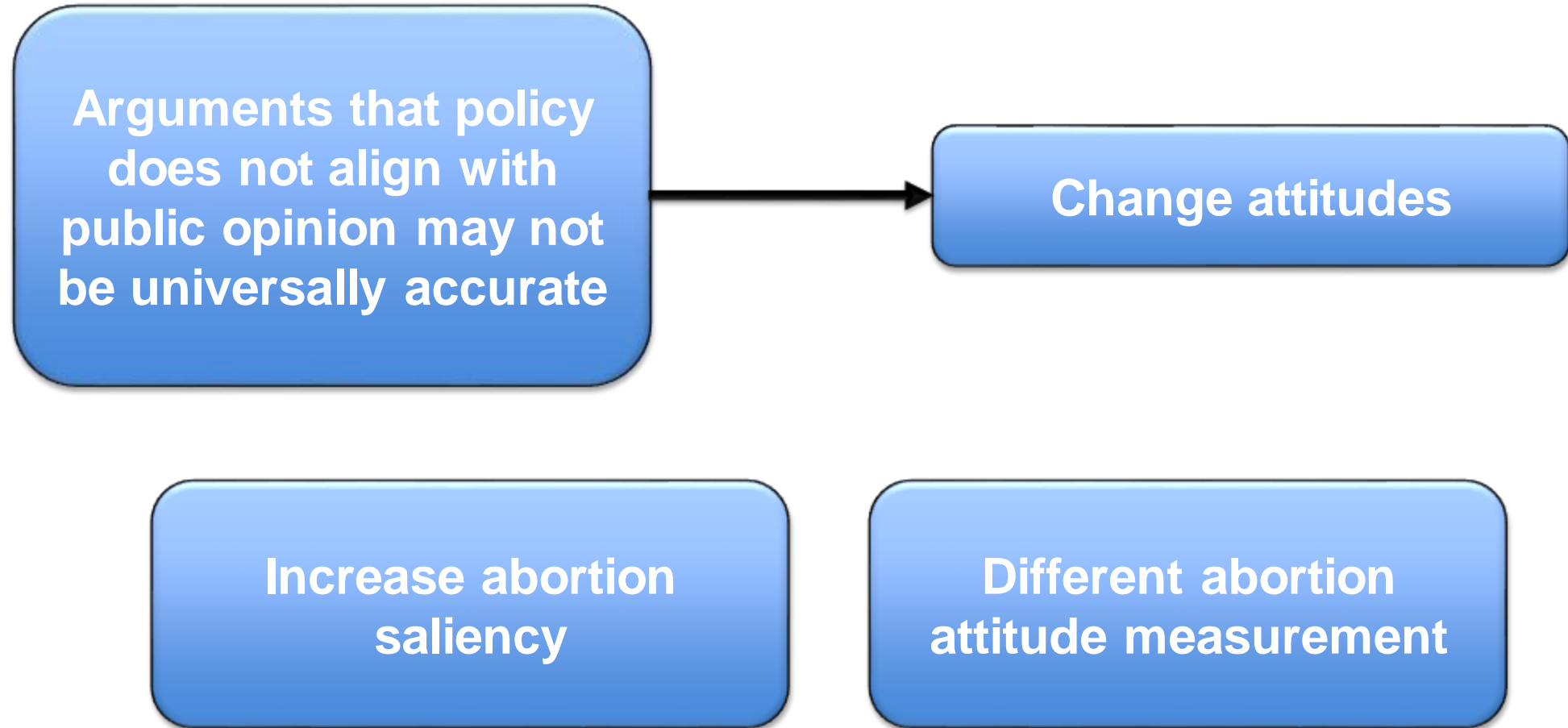
Note: States are considered to have a “majority” when the share of adults who believe abortion should be either legal or illegal exceeds 50% by more than the margin of sampling error for that state. If either estimate in a state is greater than 50%, but by less than the margin of error, it is considered to have “no majority.”
Source: 2014 U.S. Religious Landscape Study, conducted June 4-Sept. 30, 2014.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Pew Research Center, 2020

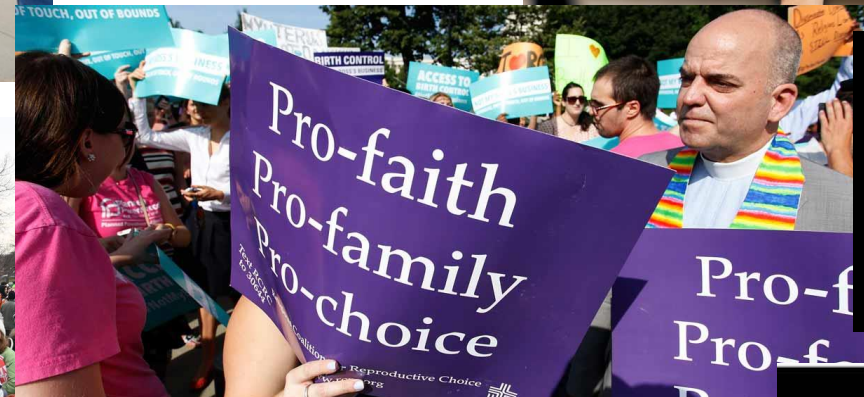
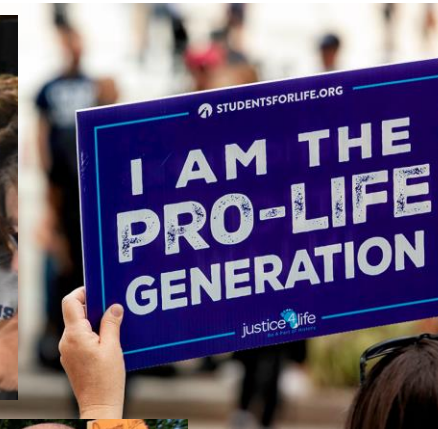


Concluding Thoughts



Abortion Identity Labels

Abortion Labels are Ubiquitous



INDIANA UNIVERSITY BLOOMINGTON

The Obvious Solution:
Elect Pro-choice Women



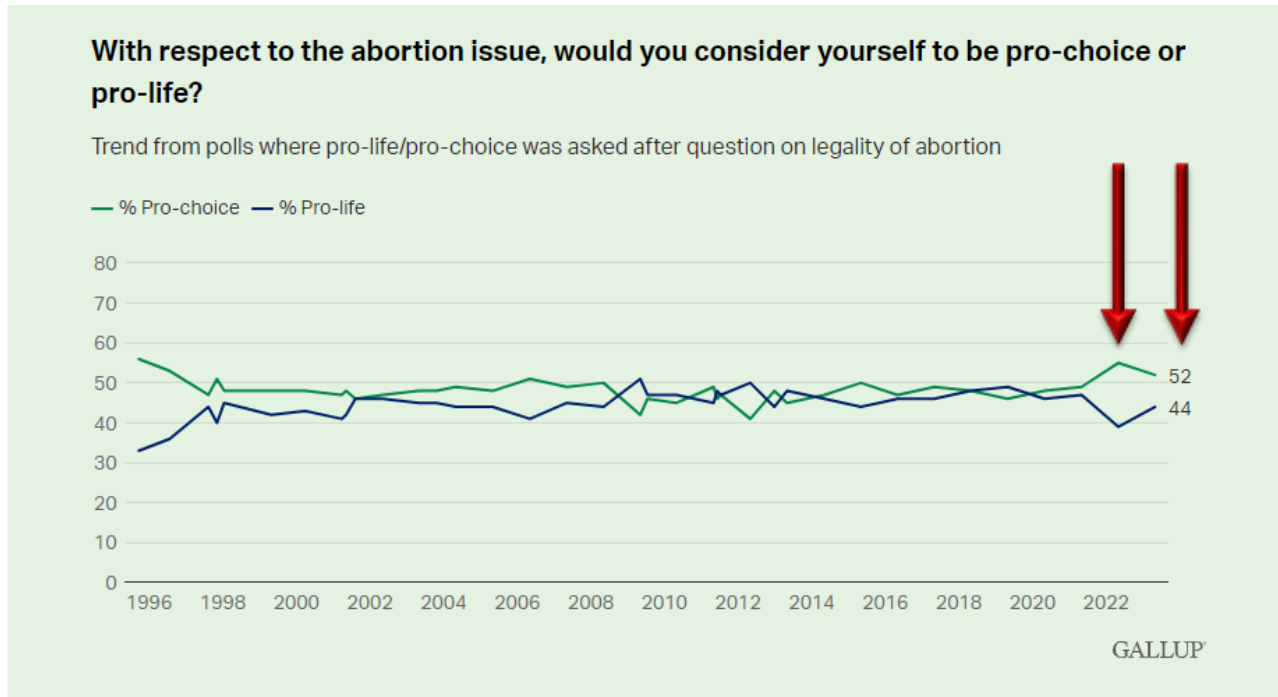
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Gallup Abortion Labels: Single Item, dichotomous

With respect to the abortion issue, would you consider yourself to be pro-choice or pro-life?

Pro-choice

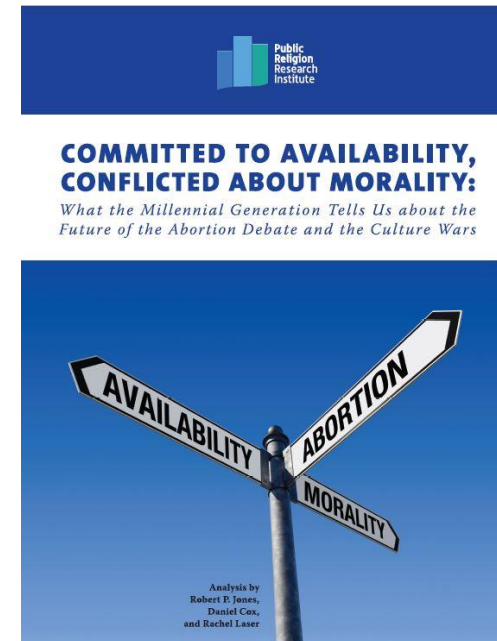
Pro-life



PRRI Abortion Labels: Single Item, 4-point

Now as I read a couple of terms, please tell me how well the following describe you...

- Pro-choice
- Pro-life
- Both
- Neither Pro-choice nor Pro-life

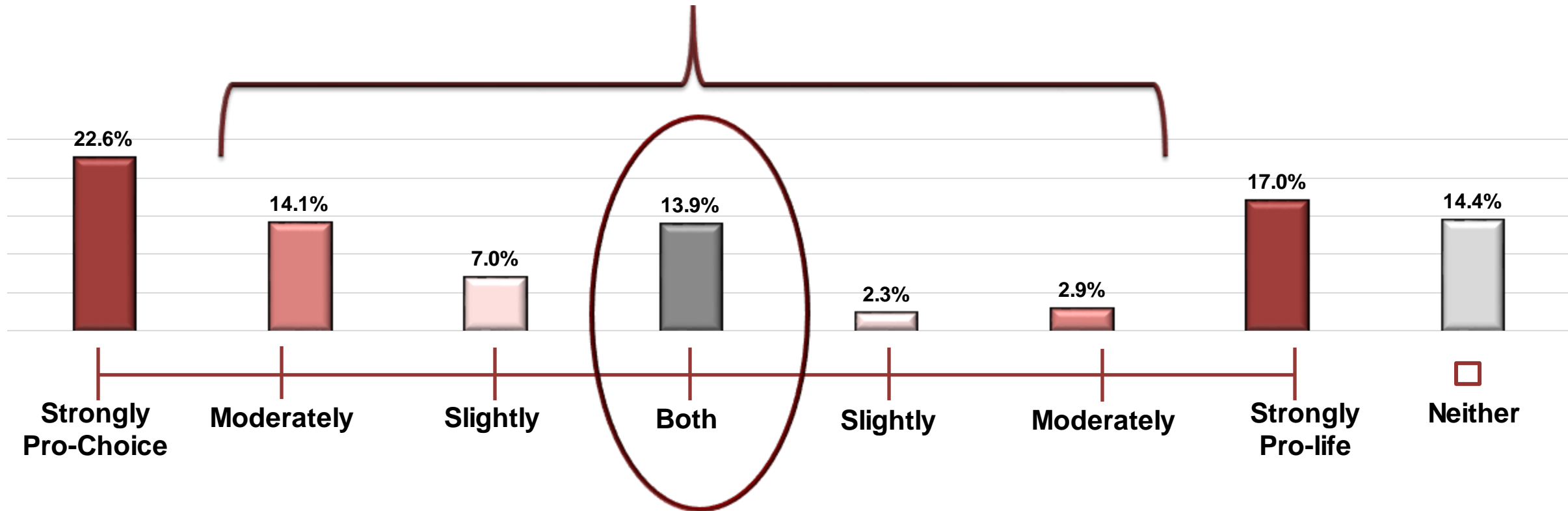


Exploratory Abortion Labels: Single Bidirectional Item

Which of the following best represents you in terms of your belief about abortion?



Exploratory Abortion Labels: Single Bi-directional Item



Abortion is contextual

I believe that after the first six months you are too late to make the decision to have an abortion



I believe abortion should be a last resort and alternative when you've exhausted all other options.



Tensions between competing ideological frameworks


It is my right to decide whether or not I should have a baby. I would not get an abortion. However, I am not every woman. Each should be able to choose what is right for herself and the prospective child




I don't believe in destroying a life, but I do believe people have a right to make decisions regarding their lives



Abortion is serious and undesirable



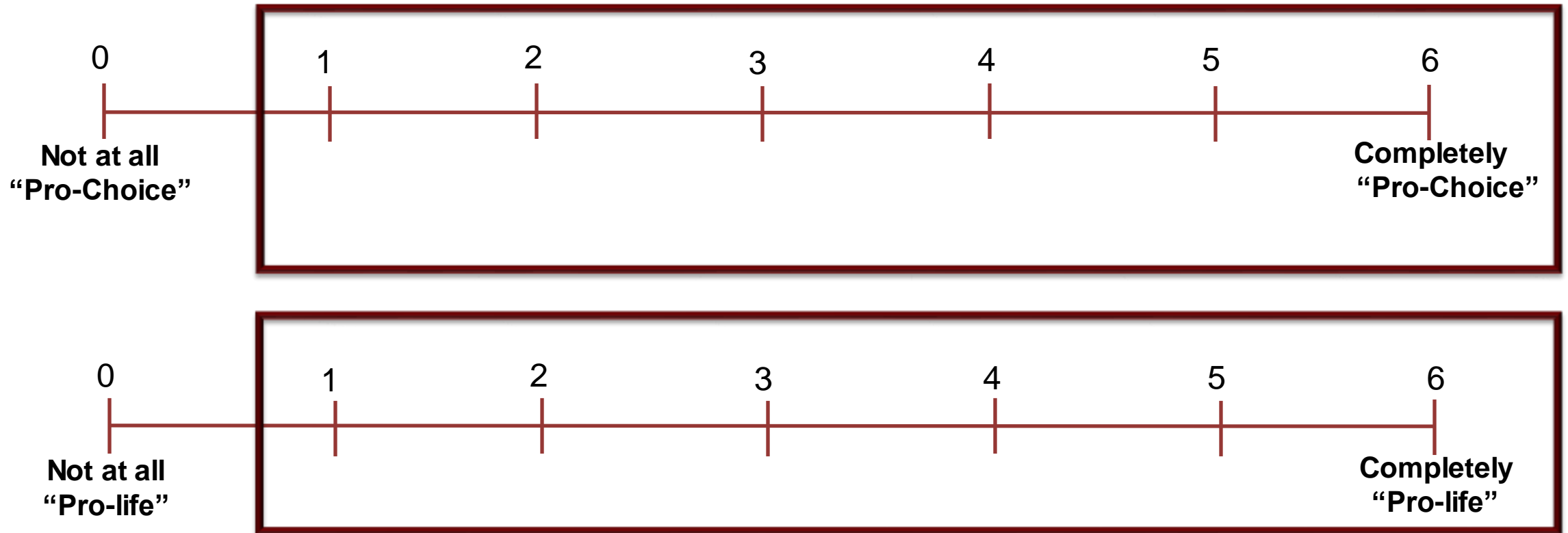
I think abortion is
a difficult choice
to make



I do not like
abortion, but it
should be a
woman's right



Exploratory Abortion Label: Dual Unidirectional Items



Abortion Labels: Concluding Thoughts

- Abortion labels (e.g., pro-life; pro-choice) are flawed, but consistently used in media, polling, and by the general public
- Abortion labels are strong predictors of abortion-related outcomes, including abortion attitudes



Abortion Tolerance

An interesting observation...

*Imagine that you are a film director and are going to make a movie or a documentary about abortion. **What would your movie or documentary look like?***



Participants often wanted to “present all the options”

A happy ending involved the birth of a baby...

suggesting abortion may be considered relative to parenting and adoption.



Tolerance Emerging

**I'd like you to pretend you are making a movie or documentary about abortion—
what would that movie or documentary be about?**

Both of them are in the predicament where some people might think it's okay to get an abortion. They might say, hey, she don't have this much money and all this other stuff. She's poor. They can barely take care of themselves. Yeah, she can get an abortion. The other girl, she was raped and trying to hold up this perfect life. She can get an abortion too. But neither one of them do.



Tolerance Emerging

I'd like you to pretend you are making a movie or documentary about abortion—what would that movie or documentary be about?

*Both of them are in the predicament where some people might think it's okay to get an abortion. They might say, hey, she don't have this much money and all this other stuff. She's poor. They can barely take care of themselves. Yeah, she can get an abortion. The other girl, she was raped and trying to hold up this perfect life. She can get an abortion too. **But neither one of them do.***

*You know later down the line as the bougie girl's looking and seeing the girl, just looking at her stomach and just talking to her stomach. I can see the cameras just zooming in on her, just staring at her like that. **Just kind of rethinking her decision of getting an abortion...**Maybe it's not so bad. It looks like she's enjoying it. It seems like she might be a great mom and stuff like that. That's when I can just see them both maybe just leaving the mall and just randomly seeing a park or something with a bunch of kids there. **Then they just both have that little moment in silence where they are just contemplating their options** and stuff like that.*



Tolerance Emerging

Can there be other happy endings?

She can have the child, but give it up for adoption and see how we can also better other people. Then the other people can be a gay family, the ones that maybe want to adopt that's been trying for a while. They can't try. The one that's been wanting to adopt for a while. Maybe she do go with the adoption instead of actually keeping the baby. She just sees how happy she just made that family. Okay, well it's good. I still didn't want to have the baby, but look how happy ... Look how bad situation, my rape situation helped someone else, another family... This could be a way to make a happy ending by allowing... the same sex couple, having them in the background wanting a kid, then actually holding a kid for the first time like they actually birthed it. I want it to be instant love. Like love at first sight. Like they actually popped out that baby. And then for her to see that and like, wow, okay, I did make the right decision. I'm glad I didn't get an abortion.



Tolerance Emerging

Taking your movie and this great happy ending and switching, kind of making the reverse happen--do you think there could be a happy ending if they chose to have abortions, the two girls?

*I want to say yes, to a certain extent. I feel like of course there would be ... I feel like their life would get back on track and stuff like that. I feel like I would also want them to **take what they learned from that and maybe make better decisions**. Maybe with the girl that was raped and she got an abortion, maybe she can become more of an advocate for self-defense and rape and stuff like that. The other girl who was just poor who wanted to keep the child, it was consensual. She can take that lesson of being an advocate of more safe sex and stuff like that...*



Tolerance Emerging

Taking your movie and this great happy ending and switching, kind of making the reverse happen--do you think there could be a happy ending if they chose to have abortions, the two girls?

*...They can also teach about abortion, but speak on it more so towards for the **earlier stages**. Then after the earlier stages they'll do the pro-life thing. If they start seeing, oh, the baby starts forming so we're no longer learning towards abortion. This is leaning more towards pro-life, maybe adoption or just having a baby too.*

*I still think they both could have happy endings as long as they both take, the abortion one takes more, I guess maybe responsibility or life lessons to help other people...As long as the abortion is **doing it in earlier stages**. If it's like during the late, four, five months, then it would be a bad movie. I forgot the term, but not a happy ending. That's what it was.*



Tolerance Emerging

Taking your movie and this great happy ending and switching, kind of making the reverse happen--do you think there could be a happy ending if they chose to have abortions, the two girls?

*...They can also teach about abortion, but speak on it more so towards for the **earlier stages**. Then after the earlier stages they'll do the pro-life thing. If they start seeing, oh, the baby starts forming so we're no longer learning towards abortion. This is leaning more towards pro-life, maybe adoption or just having a baby too.*

*I still think they both could have happy endings as long as they both take, the abortion one takes more, I guess maybe responsibility or life lessons to help other people...As long as the abortion is **doing it in earlier stages**. If it's like during the late, four, five months, then it would be a bad movie. I forgot the term, **but not a happy ending**. That's what it was.*



Abortion Tolerance

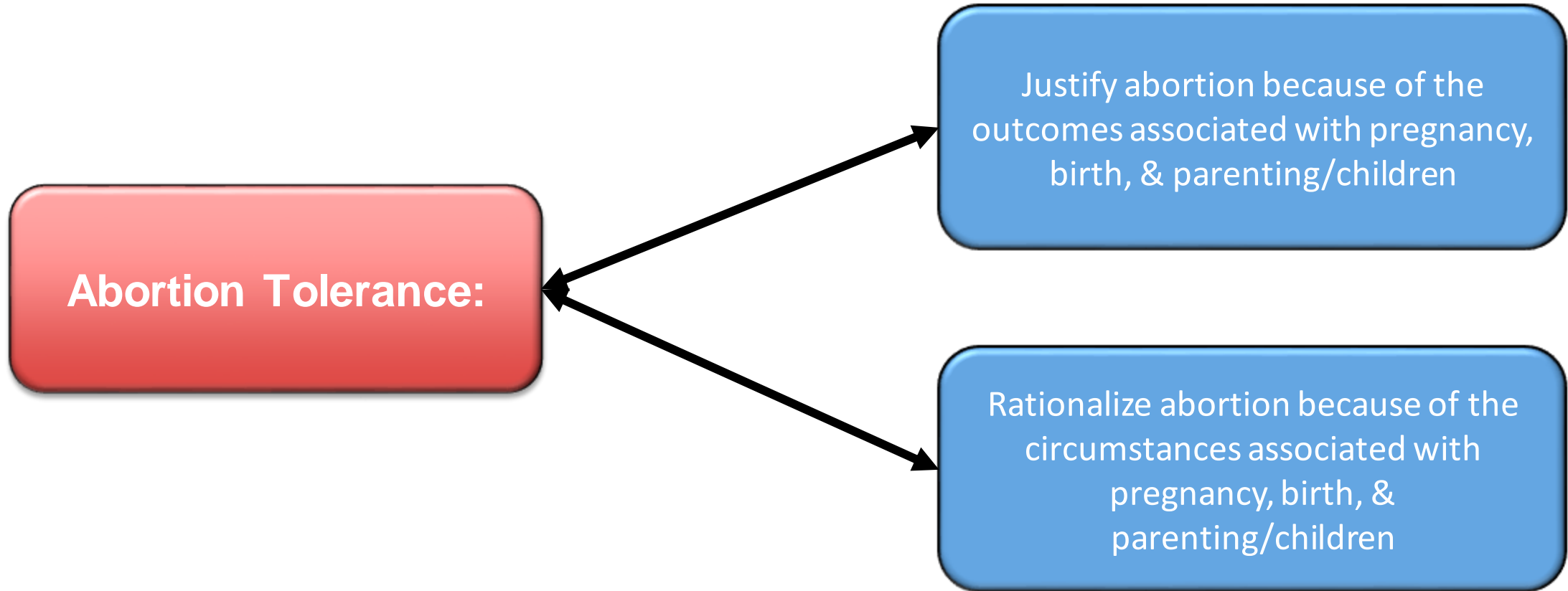
Tolerance: the ability or willingness to endure or put up with something, in particular the existence of opinions or behaviors that one does not necessarily agree with.

Abortion Tolerance: we found that people will endure or accept the notion of abortion (in practice or in theory), which is distinctly different than supporting or opposing abortion.

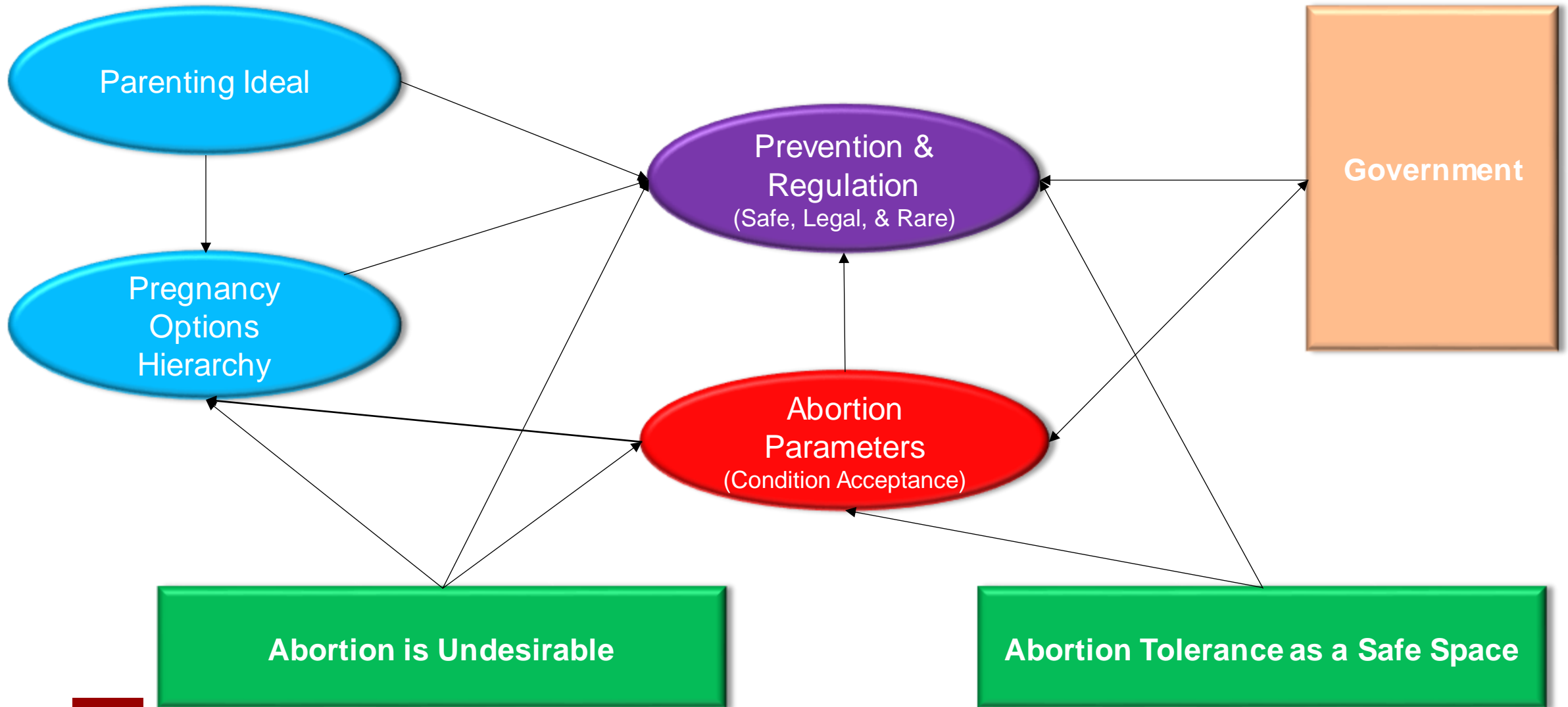
This analysis captures participants' articulation of how they make space for abortion in their worldview (indicating they do not fully oppose it), even if they do not agree with or support it.



Abortion Tolerance



Abortion Tolerance



Abortion Tolerance

Abortion is not something people seek out, but rather something people may need and it should be avoided whenever possible.

*Because I don't think ... **anybody** doesn't really want to abort children, do they?*

*...**it's awful, it's never happy**, but that it is a reality and that it is a personal decision between a person and their physician.*

Abortion is Undesirable



Abortion Tolerance

Parenting Ideal

People make room for abortion only in the absence of parenting and adoption or after deeply considering parenting and adoption because the assumption is that people want to or should parent.

Abortion is Undesirable



The Parenting Ideal

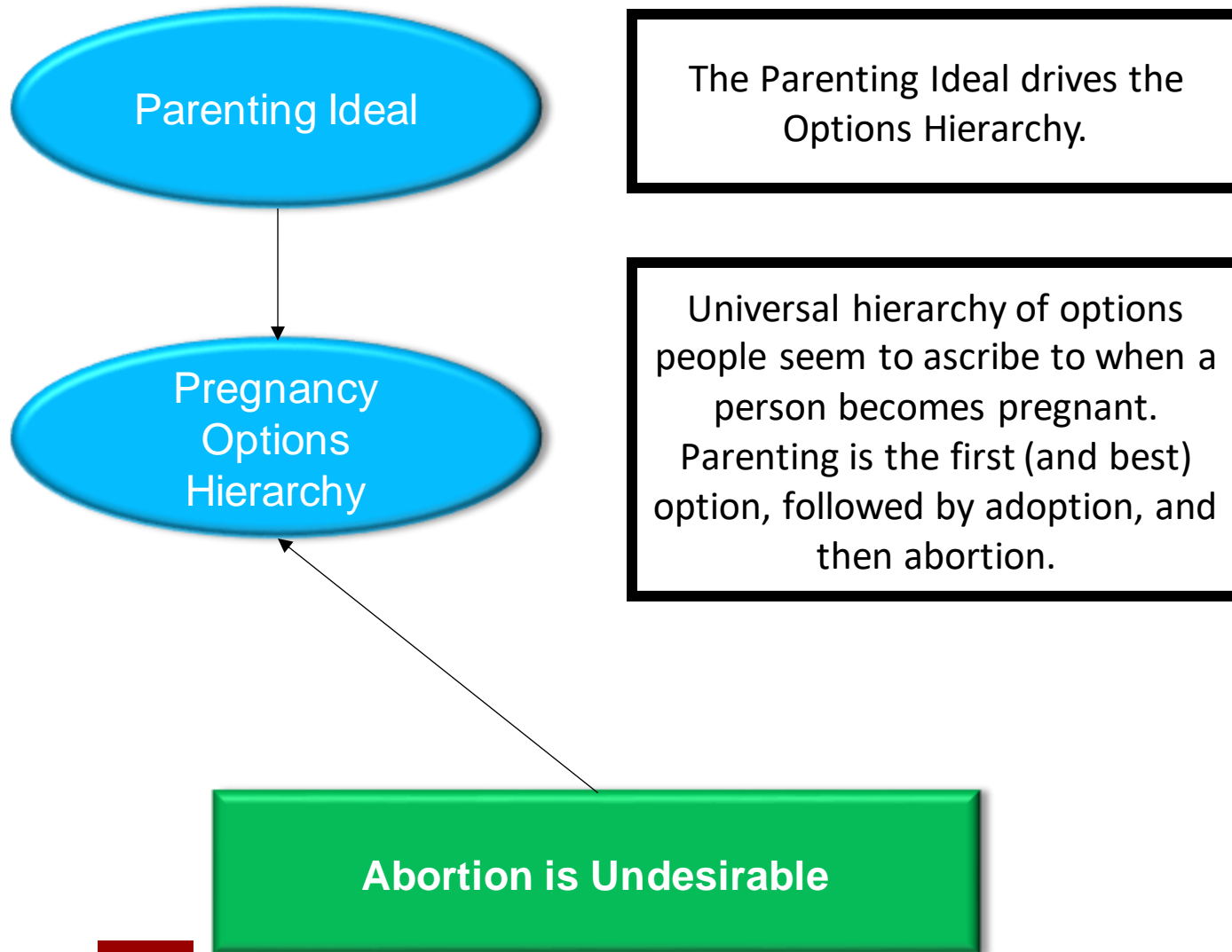
The way it *should be* is, if you get pregnant then, “Oh, well *let’s take care of this child.*”

And then for her to see that and like, wow, okay, *I did make the right decision. I’m glad I didn’t get an abortion.* Even though even if she did, I would still kind of understand.

If you go to school and everybody’s looking at you and saying, “Oh, oh, she’s pregnant. Oh, she’s a bad girl.” No, you got pregnant and *you’re a good person because you’re deciding, “I want to keep this child and I want to raise it.”*



Abortion Tolerance



Pregnancy Options Hierarchy

*I would much rather they **look into giving it up for adoption.***

*So, okay, maybe you don't want to have the child, but let's, then we can have the baby...then **maybe you can put it up for adoption.***

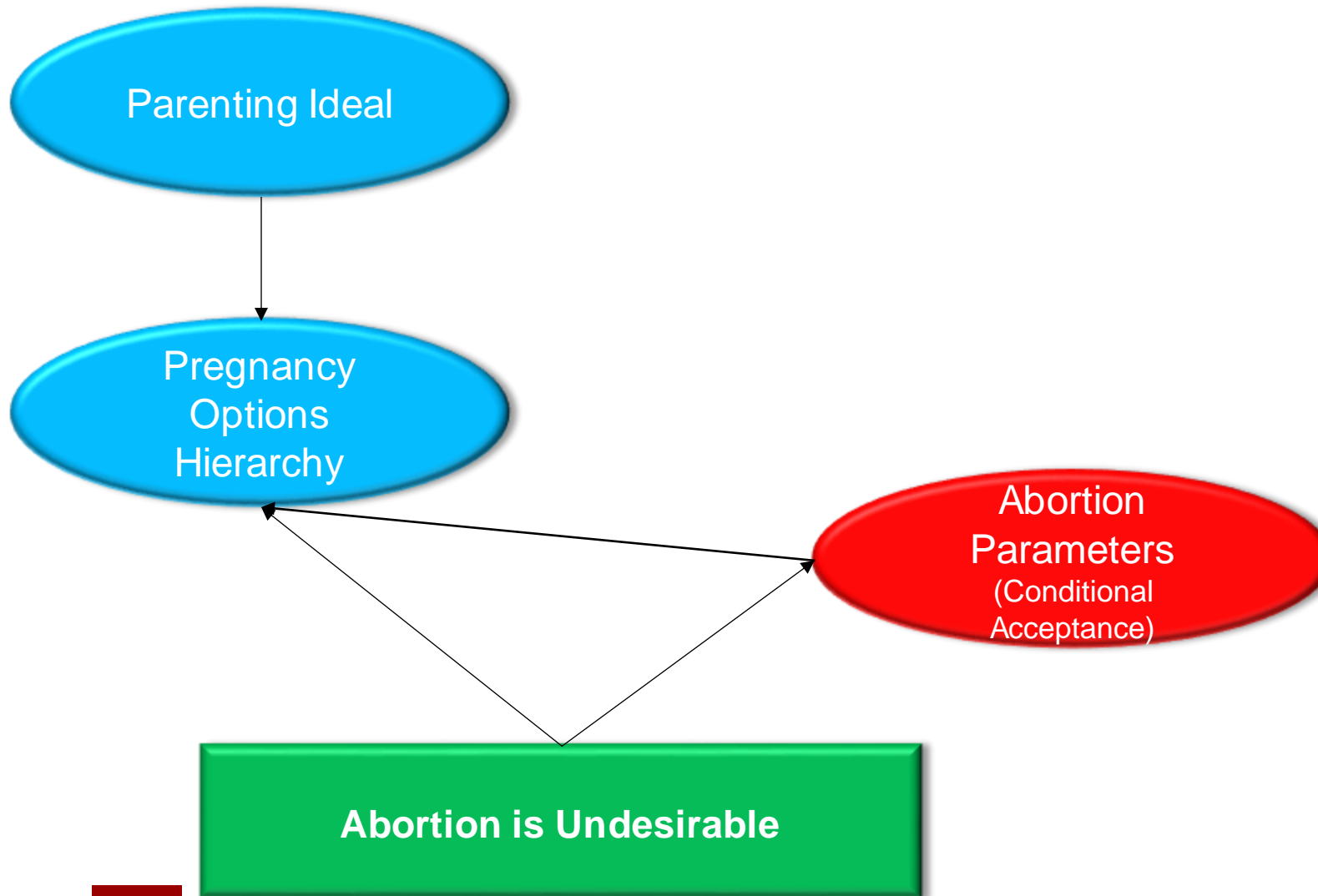
*I feel like that's why in most cases, most times, **I would prefer or I think it might be better if people would just adopt instead of trying abortion.***

*And if there's a **possibility for adoption,** like I said, then **let's move towards that.***

*And then, well, there's a lot of people that can't have children, and would love to, and so we could **open up the adoption market***



Abortion Tolerance



Abortion Parameters represent the reasons or justifications for abortion to be tolerable, understandable, or acceptable. Parameters include factors, circumstances, or contexts that participants use to classify abortion as understandable or permissible.

Parameters suggest that abortion is accepted or understandable in specific circumstances and under specified conditions. And people use these circumstances to justify the existence of abortion or retaining abortion as legal.



Abortion Parameters: Conditional Acceptance

The [pregnant] person makes the decision *as early as possible*.

Probably the *age of the people involved*. If you're *21 and get pregnant*, that's much different than if you're *16 and get pregnant*.

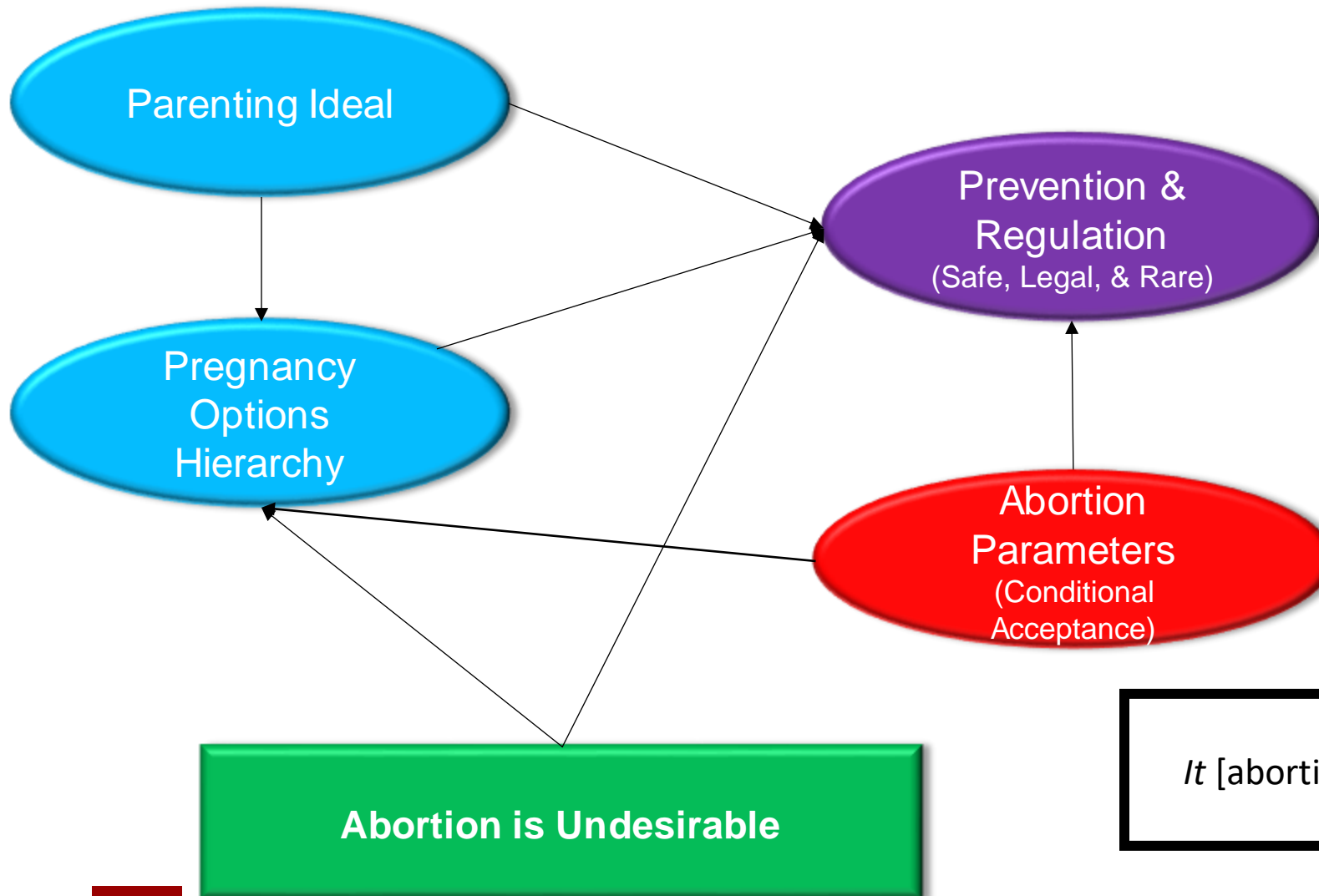
So *rape and incest* then, I think those two instances, it is the victim's choice [whether to have an abortion].

If the mother, if they said you have to pick, it's your life, or the baby's life. *You're going to die if you try to deliver this child*, then I'm going to say that the mother should make that choice.

If they may be attempt and *contraception failed* ... Obviously incest. For me, *obviously incest and rape, absolutely*. There should be no question about that. Whether I was totally pro-life, that provision has to be in there no matter what, for me. That's ridiculous.



Abortion Tolerance



Abortion should be available (in theory), but rarely used (in practice), or only used under certain, specific conditions. Instead, abortion should be prevented—through preventing pregnancy OR through parenting/adoption, regulated, and thought about deeply.

*It [abortion] should be the **rarest of rare***



Prevention & Regulation

“I mean, as I said before, I don’t think that you should use it as a birth control. I don’t think that you should have five of them a year or whatever. If you were in a situation... Yes. I think that you should be able to obtain one. And if you cannot afford to pay for it, then I think there should be options. But do I think, necessarily, that they should all be funded? No.”

(Chelsea, 35-year-old white woman)



Abortion Parameters: Conditional Acceptance

The [pregnant] person makes the decision *as early as possible*.

Probably the *age of the people involved*. If you're *21 and get pregnant*, that's much different than if you're *16 and get pregnant*.

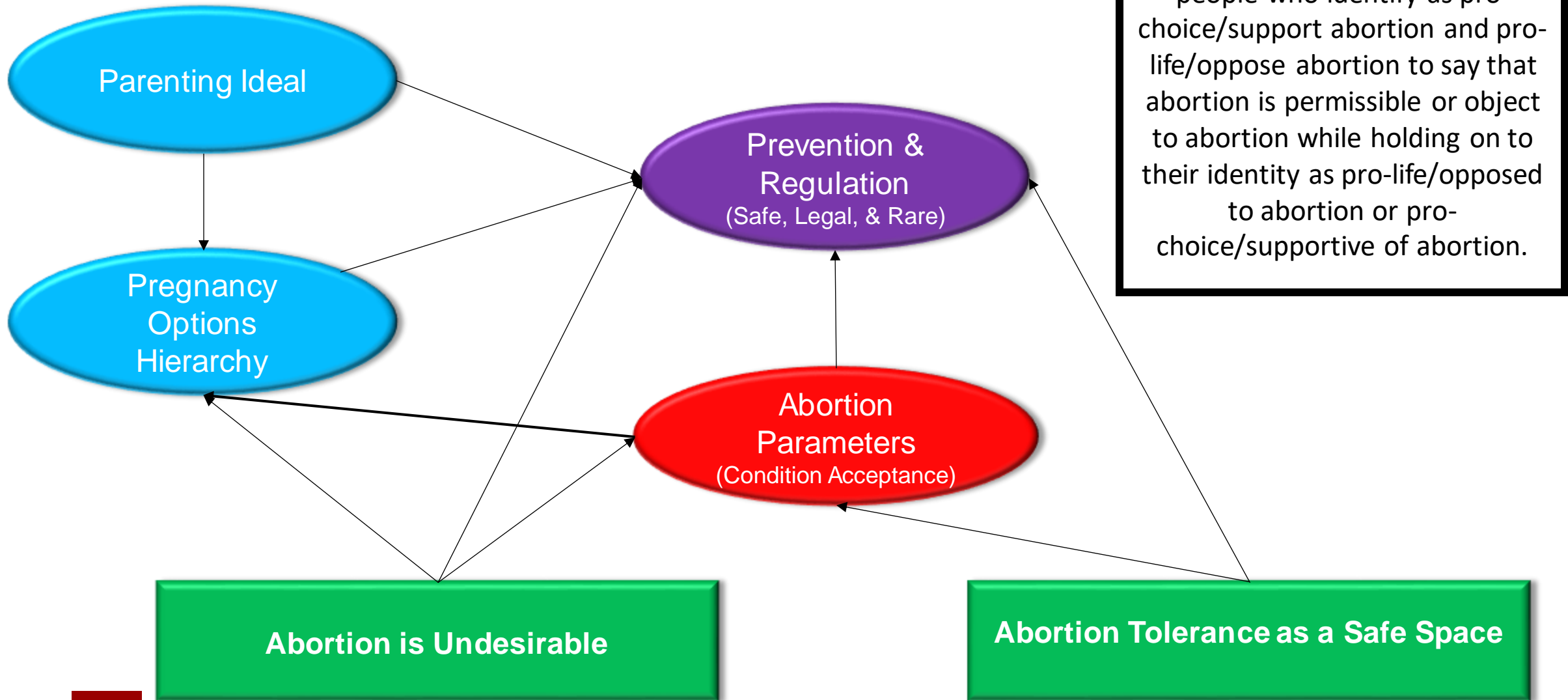
So *rape and incest* then, I think those two instances, it is the victim's choice [whether to have an abortion].

If the mother, if they said you have to pick, it's your life, or the baby's life. *You're going to die if you try to deliver this child*, then I'm going to say that the mother should make that choice.

If they may be attempt and *contraception failed* ... Obviously incest. For me, *obviously incest and rape, absolutely*. There should be no question about that. Whether I was totally pro-life, that provision has to be in there no matter what, for me. That's ridiculous.



Abortion Tolerance



Tolerance as a Safe Space

*“Well, I believe that women should have the right to control their own body. ...I think there’s two principles, ethical principles. **Autonomy, and also beneficence**... One is that, you choose your own way, **that’s your autonomy, you control it**. The other one is **life is precious**. And I agreed with both of these, but I think the autonomy is more important. Now it might not be for me, if I was presented with a pregnancy. I might do something different, but I still think that my beliefs, I should not put them on to somebody else.”*



Tolerance as a Safe Space

*“Well, I believe that women should have the right to control their own body. ...I think there’s two principles, ethical principles. **Autonomy, and also beneficence**... One is that, you choose your own way, **that’s your autonomy, you control it**. The other one is **life is precious**. And **I agreed with both of these**, but I think the autonomy is more important. Now it might not be for me, if I was presented with a pregnancy. I might do something different, but I still think that my beliefs, I should not put them on to somebody else.”*



Tolerance as a Safe Space

*“Well, I believe that women should have the right to control their own body. ...I think there’s two principles, ethical principles. **Autonomy, and also beneficence**... One is that, you choose your own way, **that’s your autonomy, you control it**. The other one is **life is precious**. And **I agreed with both of these**, but I think the autonomy is more important. **Now it might not be for me, if I was presented with a pregnancy. I might do something different, but I still think that my beliefs, I should not put them on to somebody else.**”*



Tolerance as a Safe Space

But I guess I do lean more pro-life. I'm not so, I guess pro-life open minded. I'm not sure if that's a thing...Even though I would prefer or I like the idea of a mother either doing adoption or just actually having the baby, I can see why in some cases they would get an abortion. In some cases, I can respect that. Like I said too, to a certain extent I started to think "well, that's none of my business". That's why I'm like kind of pro-life but open mind- I feel like I'm kind of pro-choice too because, like I said, I think it's more so it's not 100% for either. For me, it's not 100% for the pro-life. It's not 100% for the pro-choice. Definitely not 100% for pro-choice because I don't agree with getting an abortion in the long term, like when you're further along. I do feel like that's when your pro-choice kind of expires. You don't get that chance anymore. That's why I feel like it goes to pro-life. I kind of almost look at it maybe in stages along with factors. First couple of months, first few months, yeah, pro-choice. Then once the baby starts to form and coming to term that's when that kind of shuts off and go to pro-life.



Tolerance as a Safe Space

But I guess I do lean more pro-life. I'm not so, I guess pro-life open minded. I'm not sure if that's a thing...Even though I would prefer or I like the idea of a mother either doing adoption or just actually having the baby, I can see why in some cases they would get an abortion. In some cases, I can respect that. Like I said too, to a certain extent I started to think "well, that's none of my business". That's why I'm like kind of pro-life but open mind- I feel like I'm kind of pro-choice too because, like I said, I think it's more so it's not 100% for either. For me, it's not 100% for the pro-life. It's not 100% for the pro-choice. Definitely not 100% for pro-choice because I don't agree with getting an abortion in the long term, like when you're further along. I do feel like that's when your pro-choice kind of expires. You don't get that chance anymore. That's why I feel like it goes to pro-life. I kind of almost look at it maybe in stages along with factors. First couple of months, first few months, yeah, pro-choice. Then once the baby starts to form and coming to term that's when that kind of shuts off and go to pro-life.



Tolerance as a Safe Space

But I guess I do lean more pro-life. I'm not so, I guess pro-life open minded. I'm not sure if that's a thing...Even though I would prefer or I like the idea of a mother either doing adoption or just actually having the baby, I can see why in some cases they would get an abortion. In some cases, I can respect that. Like I said too, to a certain extent I started to think "well, that's none of my business". That's why I'm like kind of pro-life but open mind- I feel like I'm kind of pro-choice too because, like I said, I think it's more so it's not 100% for either. For me, it's not 100% for the pro-life. It's not 100% for the pro-choice. Definitely not 100% for pro-choice because I don't agree with getting an abortion in the long term, like when you're further along. I do feel like that's when your pro-choice kind of expires. You don't get that chance anymore. That's why I feel like it goes to pro-life. I kind of almost look at it maybe in stages along with factors. First couple of months, first few months, yeah, pro-choice. Then once the baby starts to form and coming to term that's when that kind of shuts off and go to pro-life.



Tolerance as a Safe Space

But I guess I do lean more pro-life. I'm not so, I guess pro-life open minded. I'm not sure if that's a thing...Even though I would prefer or I like the idea of a mother either doing adoption or just actually having the baby, I can see why in some cases they would get an abortion. In some cases, I can respect that. Like I said too, to a certain extent I started to think "well, that's none of my business". That's why I'm like kind of pro-life but open mind- I feel like I'm kind of pro-choice too because, like I said, I think it's more so it's not 100% for either. For me, it's not 100% for the pro-life. It's not 100% for the pro-choice. Definitely not 100% for pro-choice because I don't agree with getting an abortion in the long term, like when you're further along. I do feel like that's when your pro-choice kind of expires. You don't get that chance anymore. That's why I feel like it goes to pro-life. I kind of almost look at it maybe in stages along with factors. First couple of months, first few months, yeah, pro-choice. Then once the baby starts to form and coming to term that's when that kind of shuts off and go to pro-life.



Tolerance as a Safe Space

But I guess I do lean more pro-life. I'm not so, I guess pro-life open minded. I'm not sure if that's a thing...Even though I would prefer or I like the idea of a mother either doing adoption or just actually having the baby, I can see why in some cases they would get an abortion. In some cases, I can respect that. Like I said too, to a certain extent I started to think "well, that's none of my business". That's why I'm like kind of pro-life but open mind- I feel like I'm kind of pro-choice too because, like I said, I think it's more so it's not 100% for either. For me, it's not 100% for the pro-life. It's not 100% for the pro-choice. Definitely not 100% for pro-choice because I don't agree with getting an abortion in the long term, like when you're further along. I do feel like that's when your pro-choice kind of expires. You don't get that chance anymore. That's why I feel like it goes to pro-life. I kind of almost look at it maybe in stages along with factors. First couple of months, first few months, yeah, pro-choice. Then once the baby starts to form and coming to term that's when that kind of shuts off and go to pro-life.



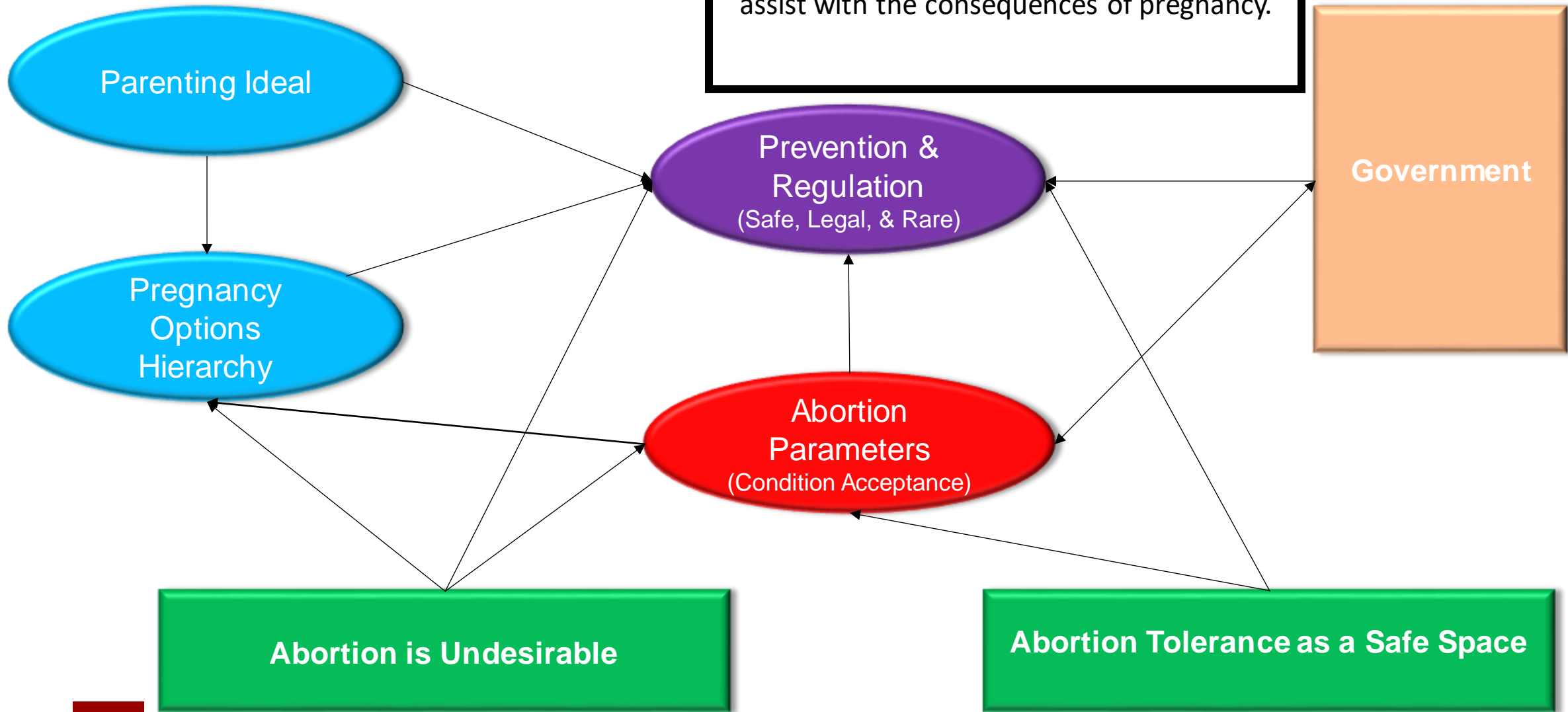
Tolerance as a Safe Space

But I guess I do lean more pro-life. I'm not so, I guess pro-life open minded. I'm not sure if that's a thing...Even though I would prefer or I like the idea of a mother either doing adoption or just actually having the baby, I can see why in some cases they would get an abortion. In some cases, I can respect that. Like I said too, to a certain extent I started to think "well, that's none of my business". That's why I'm like kind of pro-life but open mind- I feel like I'm kind of pro-choice too because, like I said, I think it's more so it's not 100% for either. For me, it's not 100% for the pro-life. It's not 100% for the pro-choice. Definitely not 100% for pro-choice because I don't agree with getting an abortion in the long term, like when you're further along. I do feel like that's when your pro-choice kind of expires. You don't get that chance anymore. That's why I feel like it goes to pro-life. I kind of almost look at it maybe in stages along with factors. First couple of months, first few months, yeah, pro-choice. Then once the baby starts to form and coming to term that's when that kind of shuts off and go to pro-life.



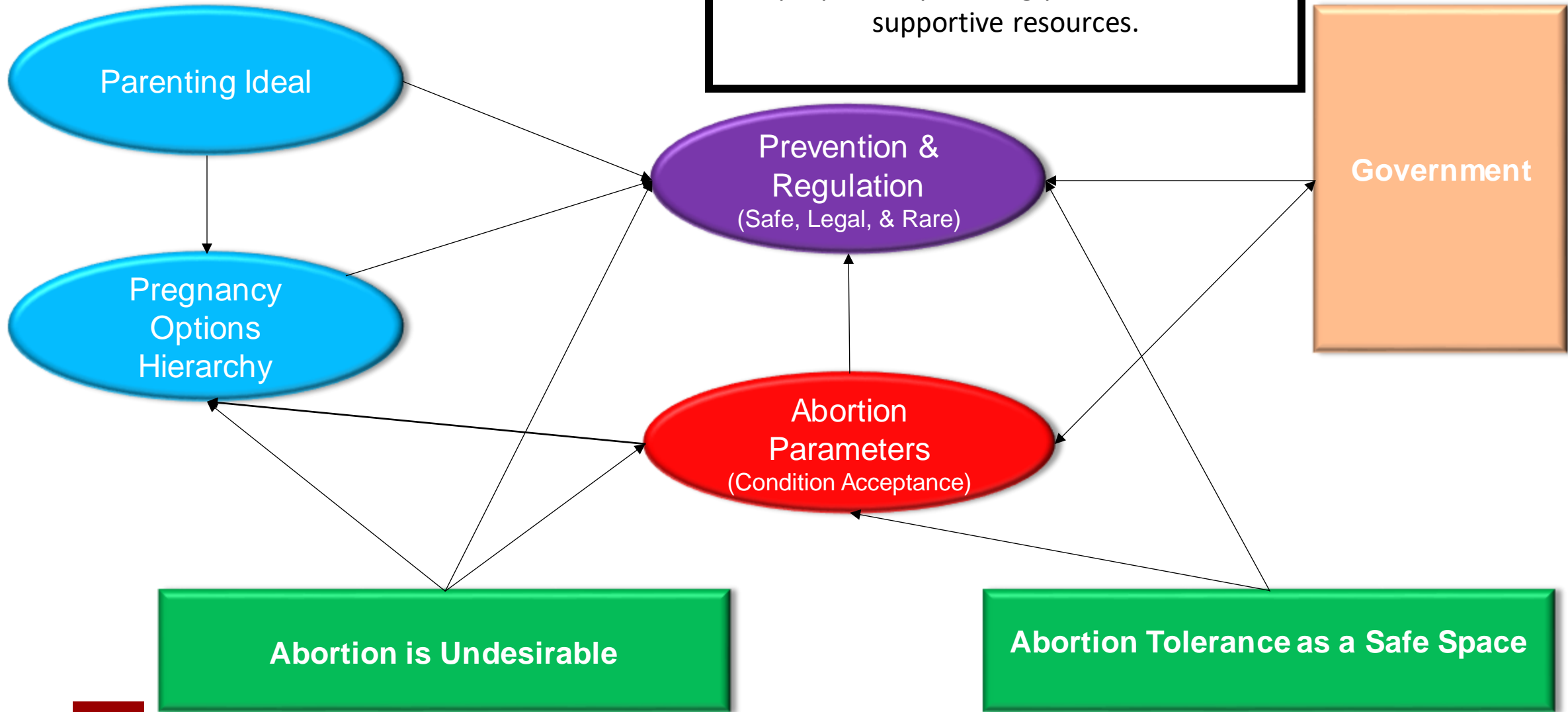
Abortion Tolerance

If the government regulates abortion access, then they should provide the resources to assist with the consequences of pregnancy.



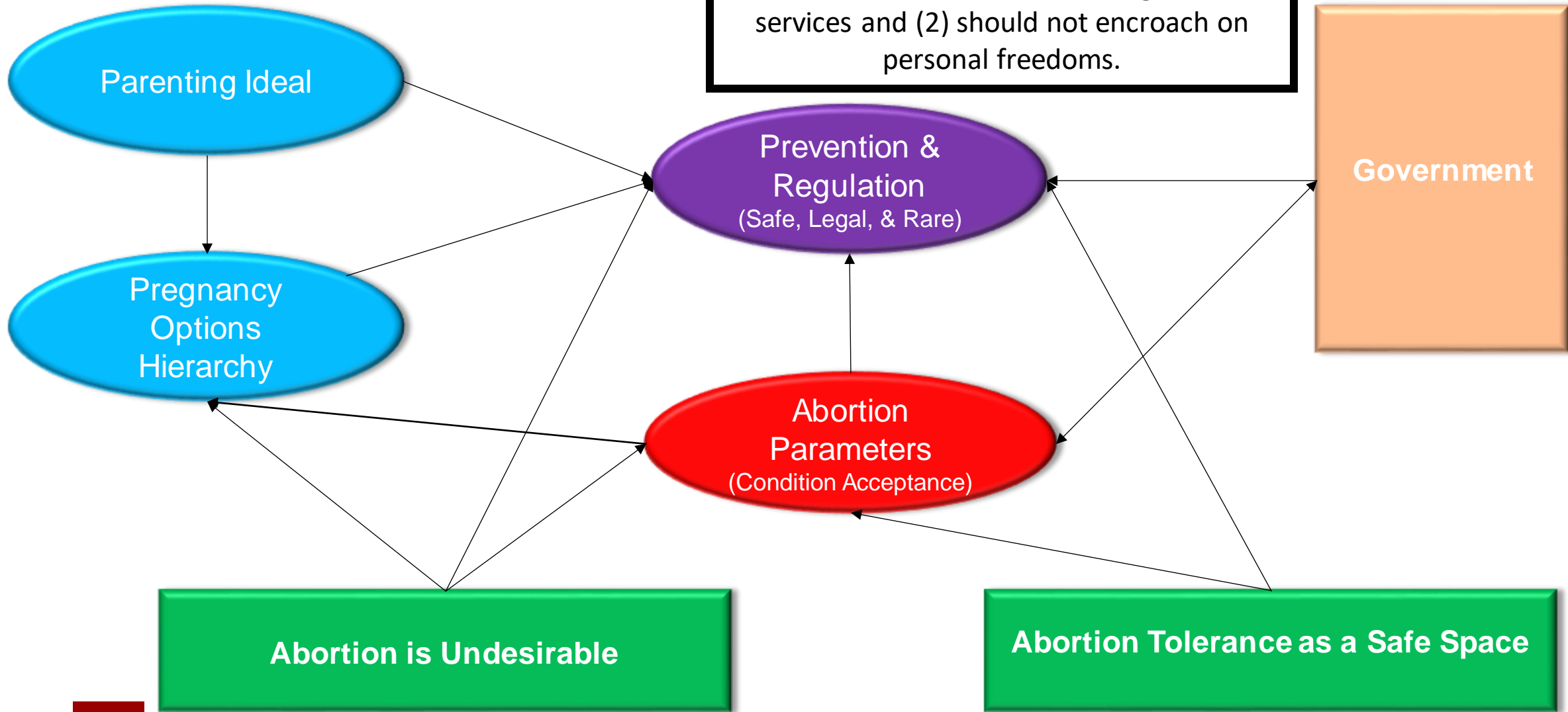
Abortion Tolerance

The government should not be involved in making abortion decisions, unless it is for the purpose of providing preventative or supportive resources.



Abortion Tolerance

The government (1) has a responsibility to prevent abortion through education, and to care for women/families through social services and (2) should not encroach on personal freedoms.



Government

*We as a society need to do better at providing good information so that people can make **good decisions**. And we **as a government need to start providing support before we start legislating what you can or can't do**.*

*If the government wants to make it their business, then **they need the programs in place before they say it's their business**...How can they [government] say, "We want decision-making authority, but we're not going to take any responsibility"?... we want some help from the parent [referring to the government as a "third parent"] that has said we have to have this child.*

*[If] I were a female, then I would start petitioning the state for child support--**State, you just said I had to have a baby--And take the state to court for child support**.*

*I think that is an extreme **overreach of authority without any responsibility** [referring to Texas' SB8].*

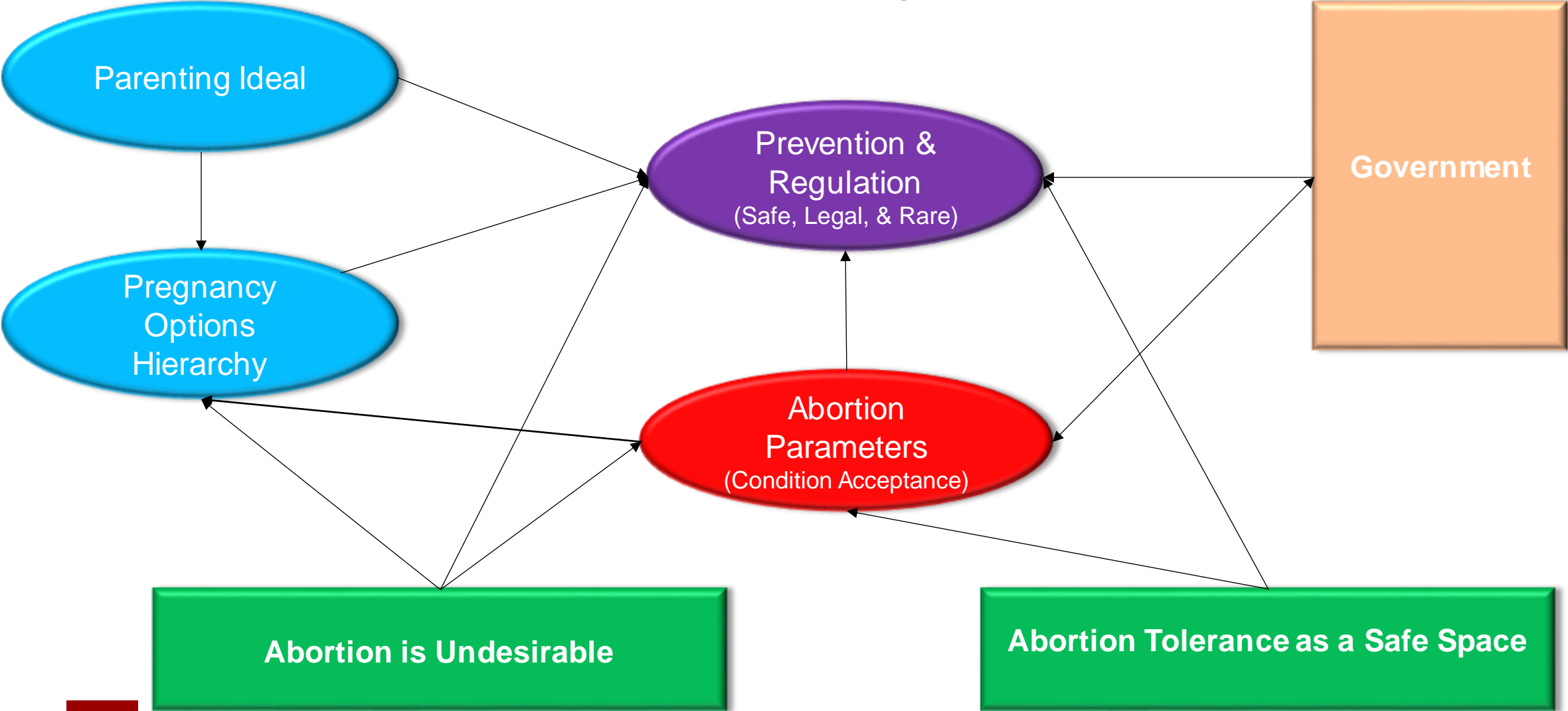


Government

I think specifically, if someone is going to try to limit, legislate that you can't do something, then they should have the programming to make sure that their requirement is then an acceptable answer. There aren't programs, there may be here and there programs, but systematically there aren't programs that if a person gets pregnant while still in school, then that person is financially assisted to ensure that the person can continue through school and still have the child. And that's what you need, is you need the ability to ensure that people can continue their education. If they're so dead set that no, you have to have an abortion, that you can't have an abortion, then well, pay for my education. You just told me I can't do this, then I'm going to have a child to raise, how am I going to do that and go, let's say, college? How am I going to do that and go to college? Because college is really expensive, not as expensive as daycare, but pretty expensive.



Abortion Tolerance: Summary



Abortion Tolerance: Concluding Thoughts

- Abortion often yields a series of complicated, complex feelings, stemming from people experiencing competing tensions, which influence their attitudes
 - Tension of Opposites
 - Dual-patient dilemma
- It is important to recognize that people feel different ways about abortion that may seem contradictory, but make sense to the individual
- Recognizing these competing tensions can yield a more comprehensive understanding of the “pulse of the nation” regarding abortion



Abortion Legality Contexts (Circumstances & Timing)

Previous Research: Abortion Legality & Context

- Context is relevant when examining attitudes
 - Circumstances
 - Pew & Gallup – All/Most



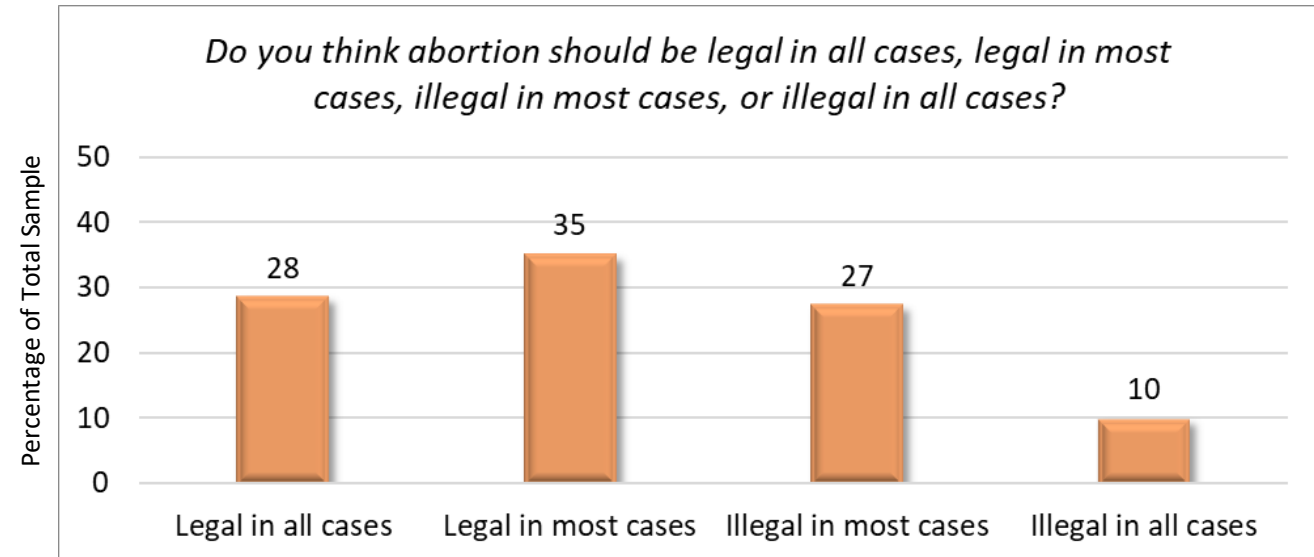
How do people respond to the Pew “general” abortion legality question?

Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?

The most common response is “legal in most cases” (35%).

Legal in all cases (28%) and illegal in most cases (27%) have similar endorsement.

Illegal in all cases is the least endorsed (10%).



Jozkowski, Kristen; Crawford, Brandon; Turner, Ronna; Lo, Wen-juo (2022). Dobbs Data Wave 1. Sponsored by a private foundation. *Developing and Assessing Measures for the Social Sciences* project: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.

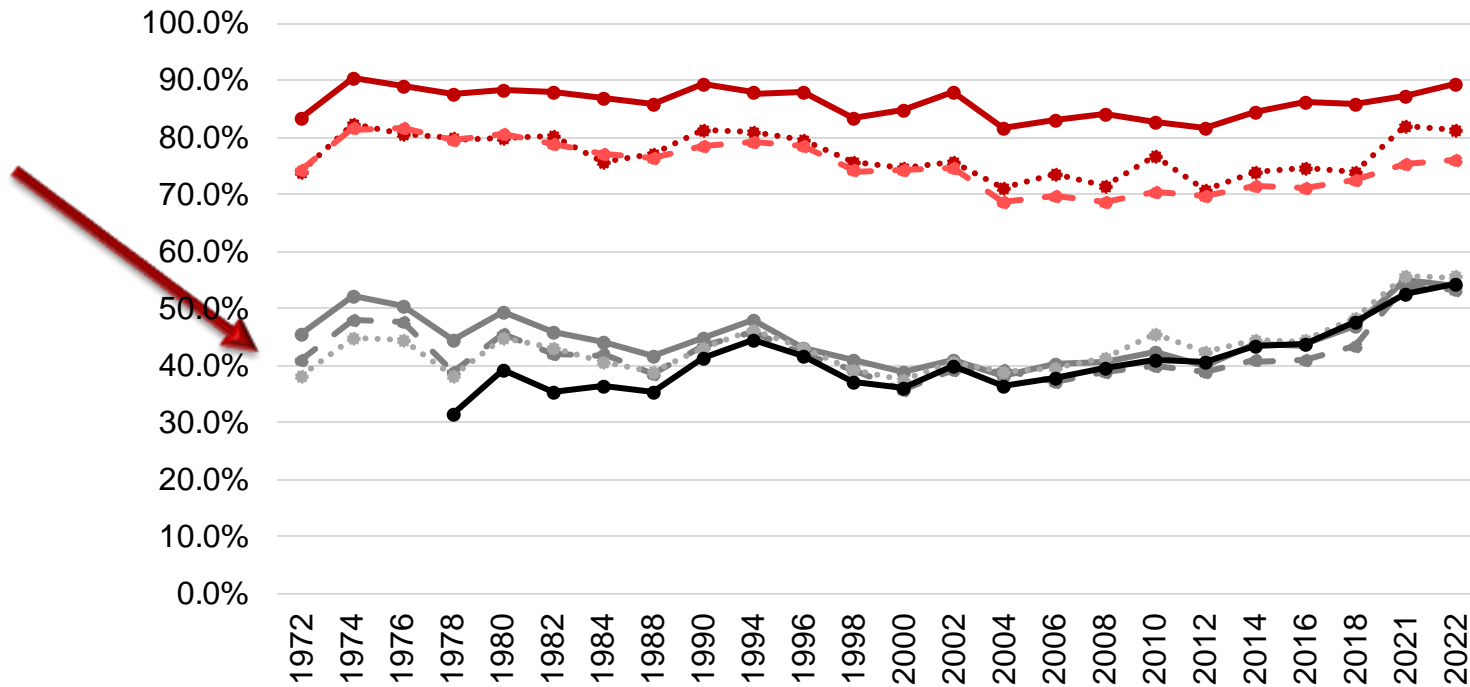


Previous Research: Abortion Legality & Context

- Context is relevant when examining attitudes
 - Circumstances
 - Pew & Gallup – All/Most
 - GSS/ANES – specific circumstances



General Social Survey: Abortion Attitudes



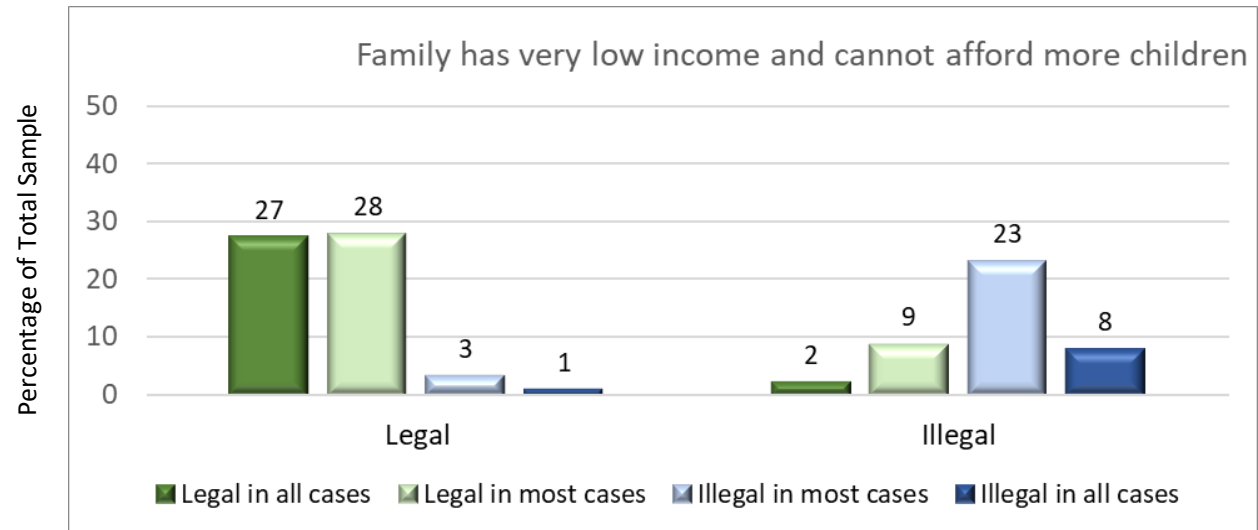
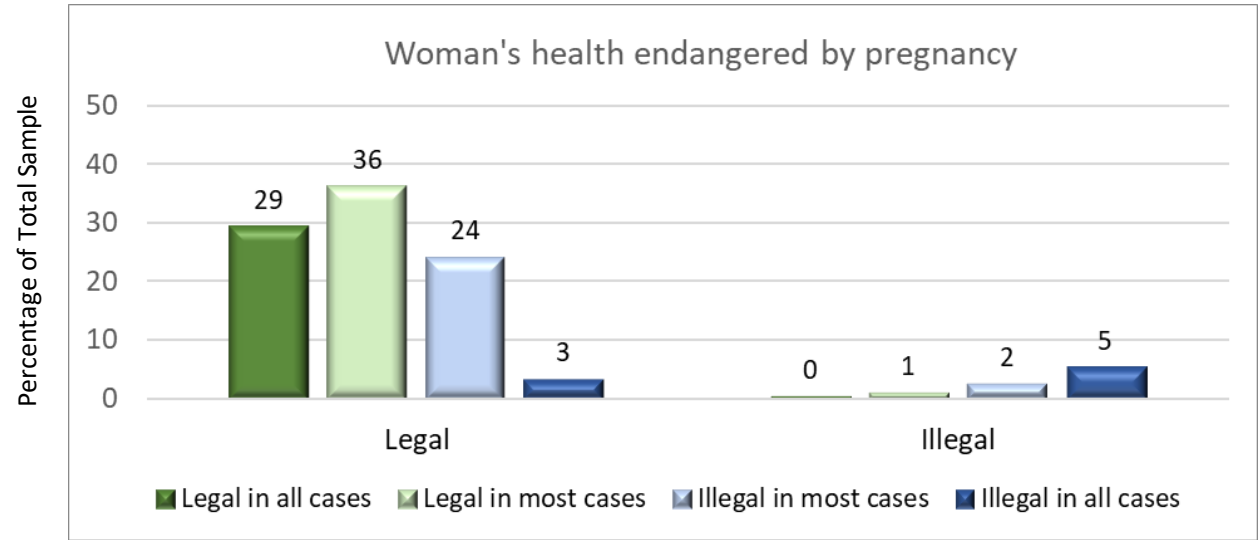
- If woman's health seriously endangered
- If strong chance of serious defect
- - -●- - - If pregnant as result of rape
- If low income--cant afford more children
- - -●- - - If not married and does not want to marry
- If married and does not want more children
- If woman wants for any reason

Smith, et al., General Social Surveys, 1972-2018 [machine-readable data file] Sponsored by National Science Foundation. -- NORC ed.-- Chicago: NORC, 2018: NORC at the University of Chicago [producer and distributor]. Data accessed from the GSS Data Explorer website at [gssdataexplorer.norc.org](https://gssdataexplorer.norc.umd.edu/).



How do the GSS circumstance questions align with the Pew general abortion legality question?

Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases vs. should abortion be legal or illegal when a woman's health is endangered or when a family has very low income?



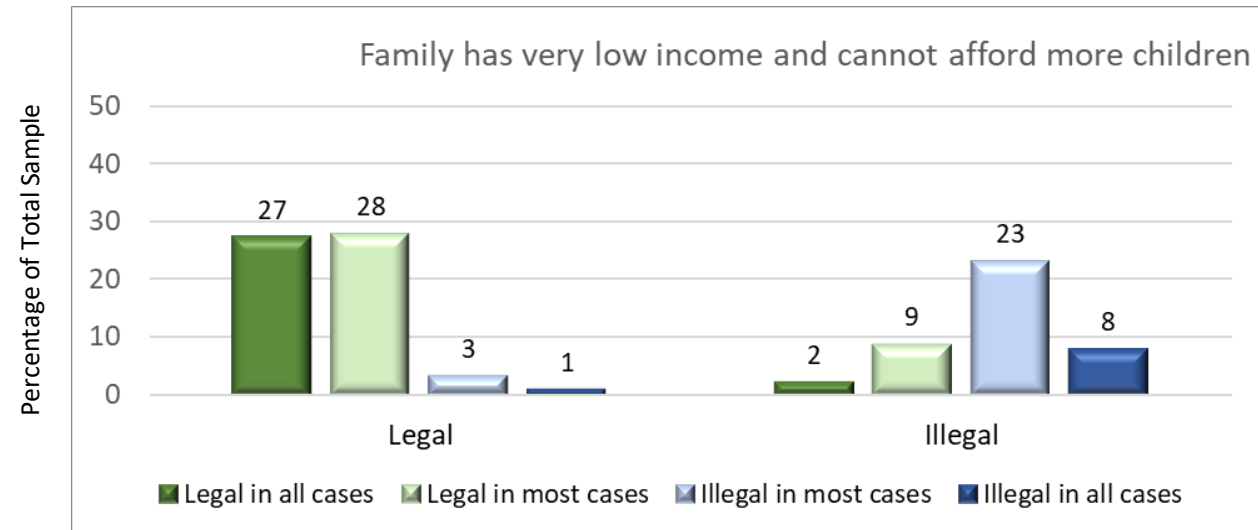
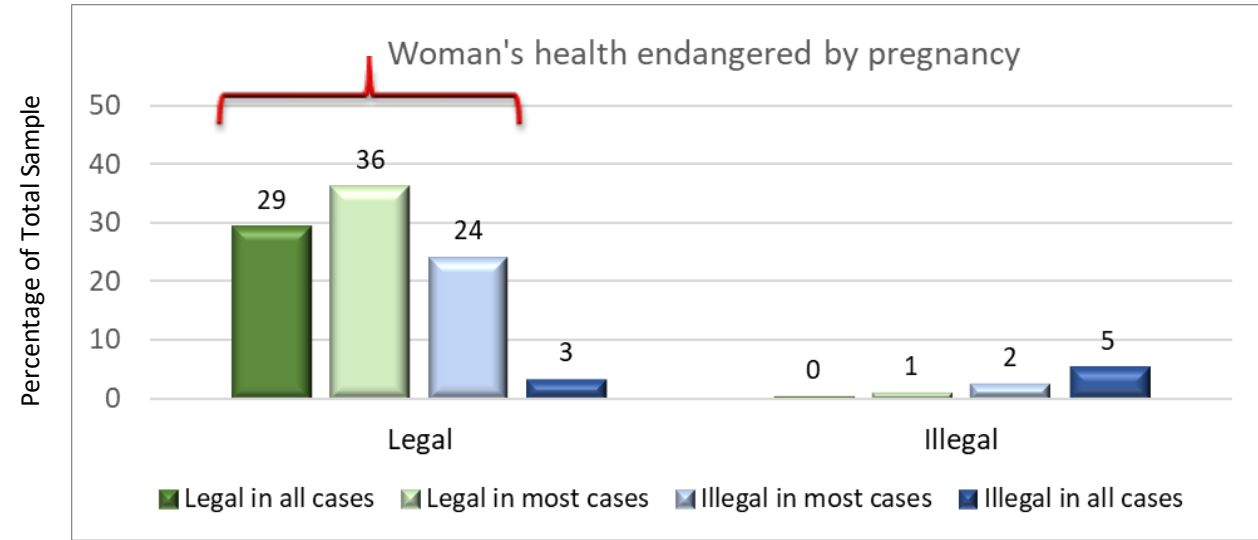
Jozkowski, Kristen; Crawford, Brandon; Turner, Ronna; Lo, Wen-juo (2022). Dobbs Data Waves 1 and 2. Sponsored by a private foundation. *Developing and Assessing Measures for the Social Sciences* project: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.



How do the GSS circumstance questions align with the Pew general abortion legality question?

Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases vs. should abortion be legal or illegal when a woman's health is endangered or when a family has very low income?

Nearly all participants who indicate abortion should be *legal in all cases, legal in most cases, or illegal in most cases* indicate that abortion should be *legal* when a woman's health is endangered.



Jozkowski, Kristen; Crawford, Brandon; Turner, Ronna; Lo, Wen-juo (2022). Dobbs Data Waves 1 and 2. Sponsored by a private foundation. *Developing and Assessing Measures for the Social Sciences* project: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.



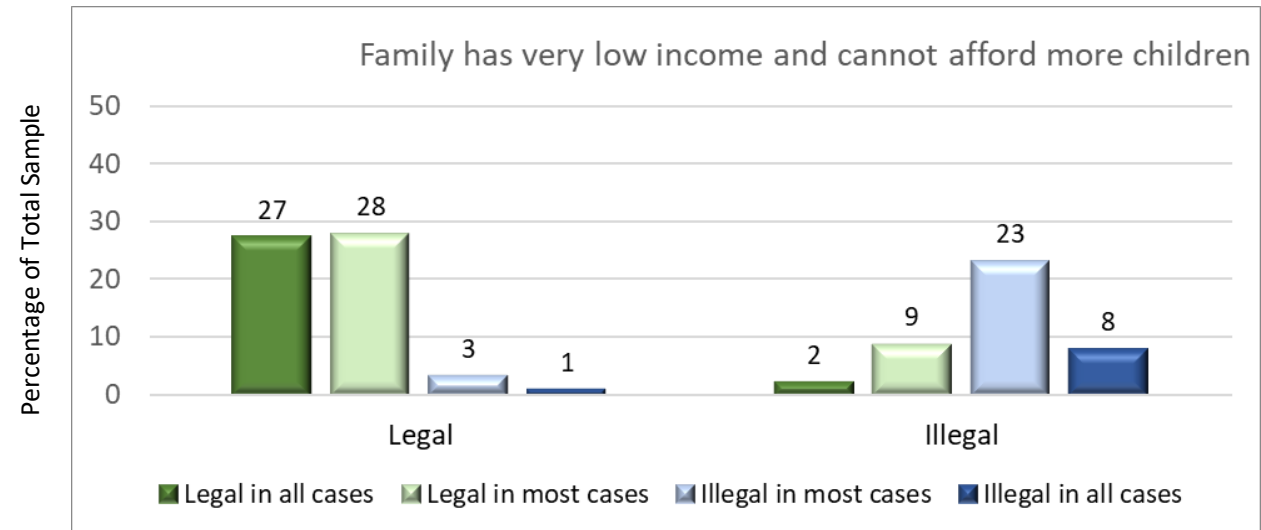
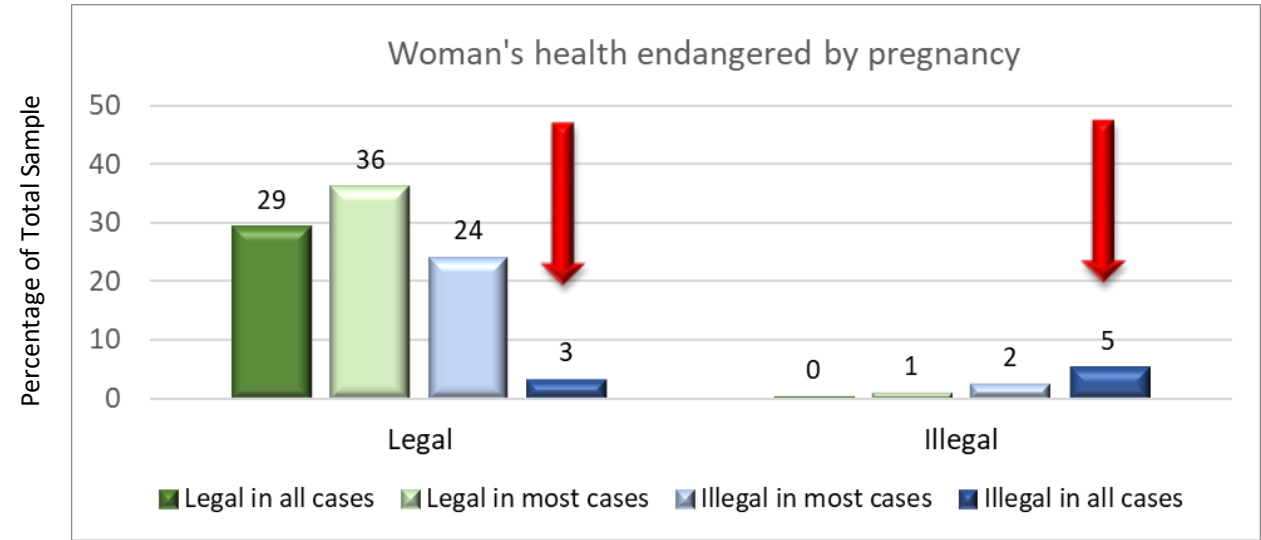
How do the GSS circumstance questions align with the Pew general abortion legality question?

Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases vs. should abortion be legal or illegal when a woman's health is endangered or when a family has very low income?

Nearly all participants who indicate abortion should be *legal in all cases, legal in most cases, or illegal in most cases* indicate that abortion should be *legal* when a woman's health is endangered.

37% of participants who indicate abortion should be *illegal in all cases* select "legal" when a woman's health is endangered. The specificity of circumstance can result in different responses.

Jozkowski, Kristen; Crawford, Brandon; Turner, Ronna; Lo, Wen-juo (2022). Dobbs Data Waves 1 and 2. Sponsored by a private foundation. *Developing and Assessing Measures for the Social Sciences* project: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.



How do the GSS circumstance questions align with the Pew general abortion legality question?

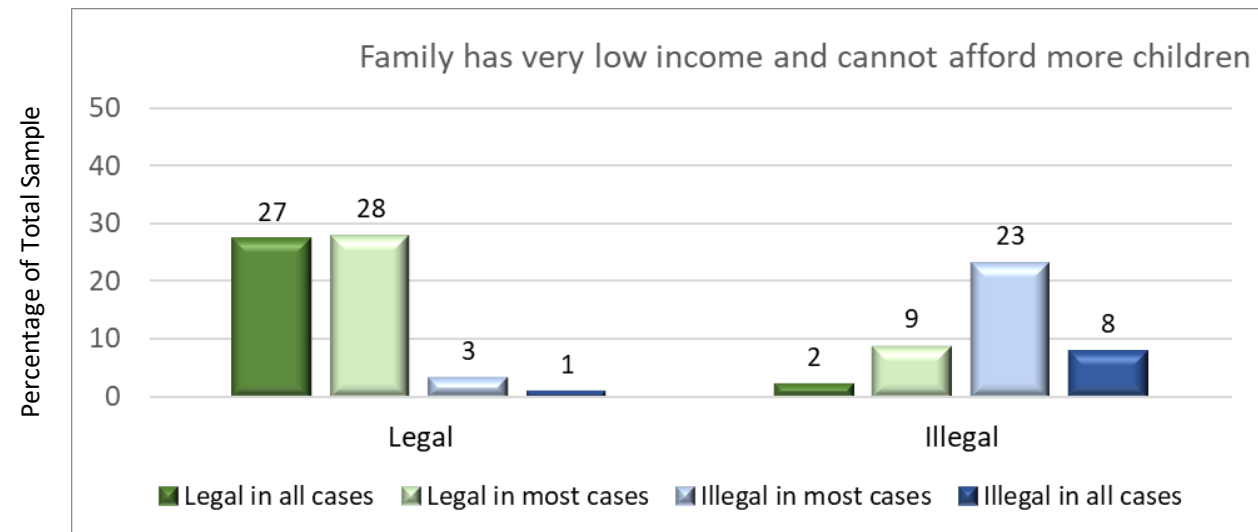
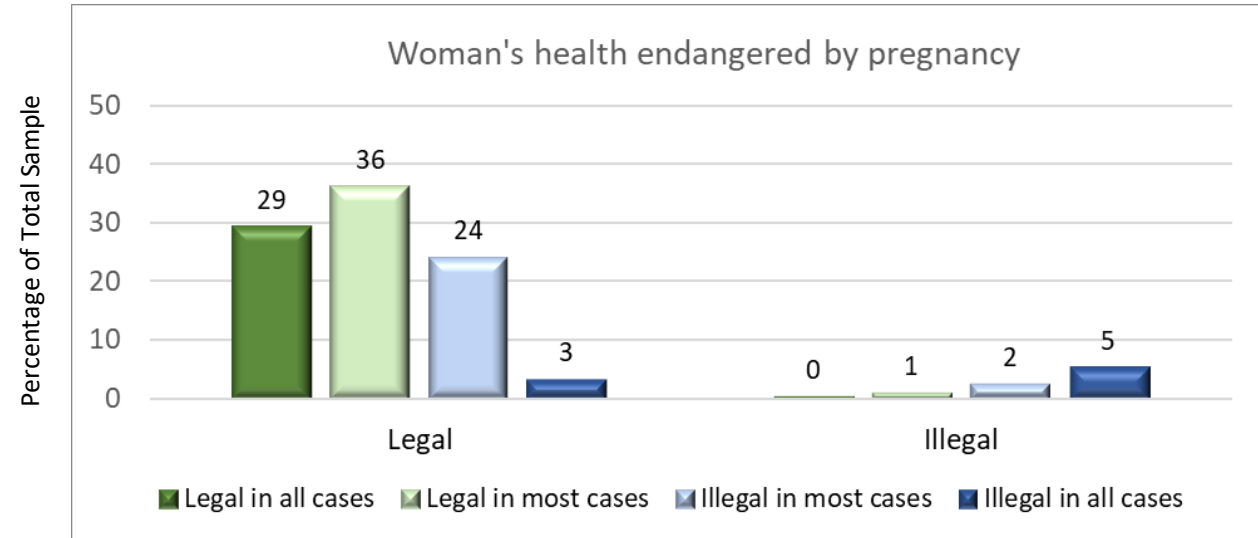
Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases vs. should abortion be legal or illegal when a woman's health is endangered or when a family has very low income?

Nearly all participants who indicate abortion should be *legal in all cases, legal in most cases, or illegal in most cases* indicate that abortion should be *legal* when a woman's health is endangered.

37% of participants who indicate abortion should be *illegal in all cases* select "legal" when a woman's health is endangered. The specificity of circumstance can result in different responses.

In situations where a family has a low income and cannot afford more children, we see where the split between *legal in most cases* and *illegal in most cases* occurs.

Jozkowski, Kristen; Crawford, Brandon; Turner, Ronna; Lo, Wen-juo (2022). Dobbs Data Waves 1 and 2. Sponsored by a private foundation. *Developing and Assessing Measures for the Social Sciences* project: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.



Participant-driven Circumstances

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Participant-driven salient beliefs regarding abortion: Implications for abortion attitude measurement

Kristen N. Jozkowski^{1,2} | Xiana Bueno¹ | Kathryn LaRoche³ |
 Brandon L. Crawford¹ | Ronna C. Turner⁴ | Wen-Juo Lo⁴

¹Department of Applied Health Science, School of Public Health, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

²The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

³Department of Public Health, College of Health and Human Sciences at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, USA

⁴Educational Statistics and Research Methods in the College of Education & Health Professions, University of Arkansas, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

Correspondence
 Kristen N. Jozkowski, Department of Applied Health Science, School of Public Health, Indiana University, IN 47405, USA.
 Email: knjozkow@iu.edu

Funding information
 Confidential Foundation

Abstract

Objective: Guided by the Reasoned Action Approach, we used a salient belief elicitation (SBE) to elicit participant-generated beliefs regarding abortion. SBE is a formative research technique used to elicit people's control (i.e., perceived facilitators and barriers associated with a behavior), behavioral (i.e., perceived positive and negative consequences of doing a behavior), and normative (i.e., influence of important people/peers regarding a behavior) beliefs regarding a particular behavior (i.e., abortion).

Methods: We administered our SBE to English- and Spanish-speaking U.S. adults ($N = 608$) from NORC's AmeriSpeak® panel. We used inductive content and thematic analyses to assess open-ended questions.

Results: We found that participants' control and behavioral beliefs referenced circumstances used to assess abortion attitudes in polling item (e.g., rape) and reasons people seek abortion (e.g., financial reasons) as well as potential negative emotions (e.g., shame) and positive consequences (e.g., autonomy) associated with abortion. Participants indicated pregnant people's partners and people seeking abortion as salient referents.

Conclusion: Participants mentioned several contexts reflected

	Circumstance	Reason	Participant	Researcher	Legislation
Goals	Don't want to change lifestyle		x		
	Avoid career interruption	x	x		
	Wrong time for pregnancy/parenting	x	x		
Partner	Abusive relationship	x	x		
	Abandonment by or lack of support from man involved	x	x		
	Divorce, unstable relationship, unstable home	x	x		
	Partners' disagreement on pregnancy outcome		x		
	Man does not want the child	x	x		
	Woman does not want to be linked to the man	x	x		
	One night stand		x		
	Unknown partner		x		
	Prostitution		x		
	Woman does not want to parent alone/single parenting undesirable	x	x		
	Man involved in pregnancy does not want to be involved in parenting	x	x		
Gestational Age	<i>If she is not married and does not want to marry the man</i>	x	x	x	
	Weeks' gestation	x	x	x	x
	Fetal development markers (e.g., heartbeat, viability, pain)	x	x	x	x
Contraception	Perceptions of when life begins		x	x	
	Accidental/Unplanned/Unexpected pregnancy	x	x		
Coercion & Rape	Contraception not used / Lack of family planning	x	x		
	Partner pressure/coercion to have abortion		x		
	Pressure from others rather than partner		x		
	Incest		x		x
	Being tricked/brainwashed		x		
	Social pressure/peer pressure		x		
Emotional / Mental Health	<i>If she became pregnant as a result of rape</i>		x	x	x
	Mental health issues of woman/pregnant person	x	x	x	x
	Personal reasons		x		
	Uncertainties about the future		x		
	Lack of emotional support	x	x		
	Hiding / Afraid from someone will find out they had sex		x		
	Fear / Anxiety of pregnancy or parenthood		x		
	Fear of social stigma (of being pregnant/having child)		x		
Fear of parents' reaction to pregnancy		x			



Previous Research: Abortion Legality & Context

- Context is relevant when examining attitudes
 - Circumstances
 - Pew & Gallup – All/Most
 - GSS/ANES – 6 circumstances
 - Timing
 - Weeks gestation (Bumpass, 1997)
 - After 20 weeks (Bowman & Goldstein, 2021)
 - Trimesters (Gallup)
 - “Late-term”/“PBA” (Gallup)



Abortion Attitudes & Gestation Duration

- Examined endorsement of legal abortion across circumstance considering:
 - Weeks' Gestation
 - 6 weeks
 - 12 week
 - 20 weeks
 - Any time
- Compared GSS wording to item wording with different weeks' gestation

ORIGINAL ARTICLE

Examining abortion attitudes in the context of gestational age

Brandon L. Crawford¹  | Kathryn J. LaRoche¹  |
Kristen N. Jozkowski^{1,2} 

¹Department of Applied Health Science, Indiana University Bloomington, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

²The Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, USA

Correspondence

Brandon L. Crawford, Department of Applied Health Science, School of Public Health, Indiana University Bloomington, Bloomington, ID, USA.
Email: Brancraw@iu.edu

Abstract

Objective: The aim of this study is to examine how situational abortion attitudes differ when including additional context related to the gestational age of the pregnancy.

Method: Ordinary Least Squares Regression models predicting abortion attitudes across four different sets of abortion attitude questions, using data collected from an online panel weighted to match U.S. benchmarks.

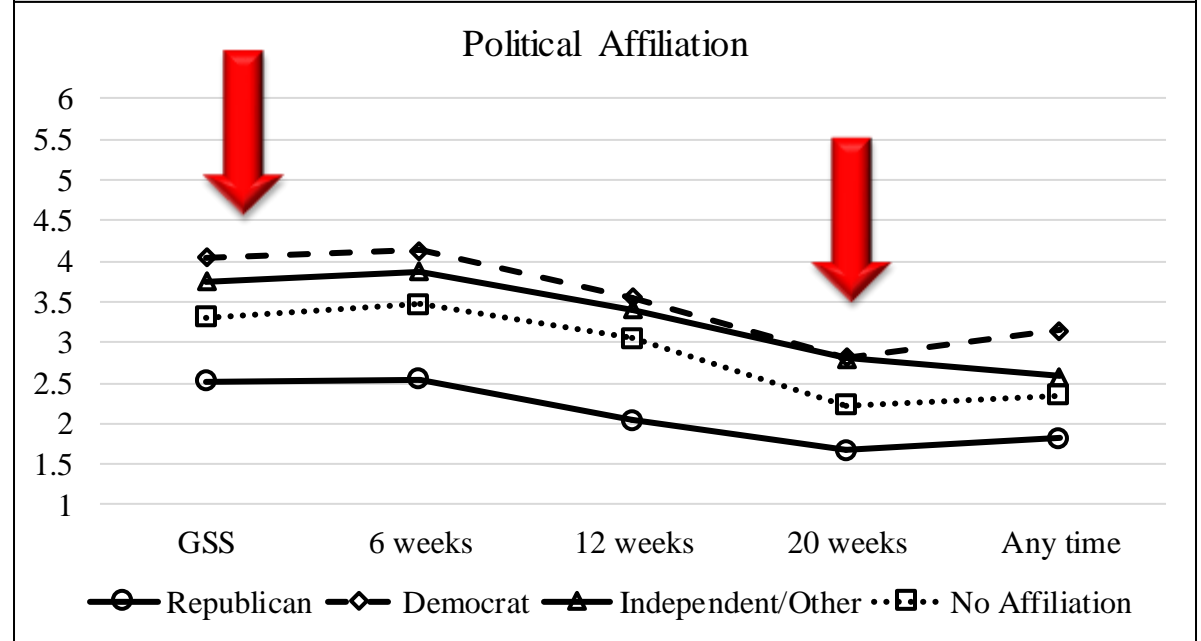
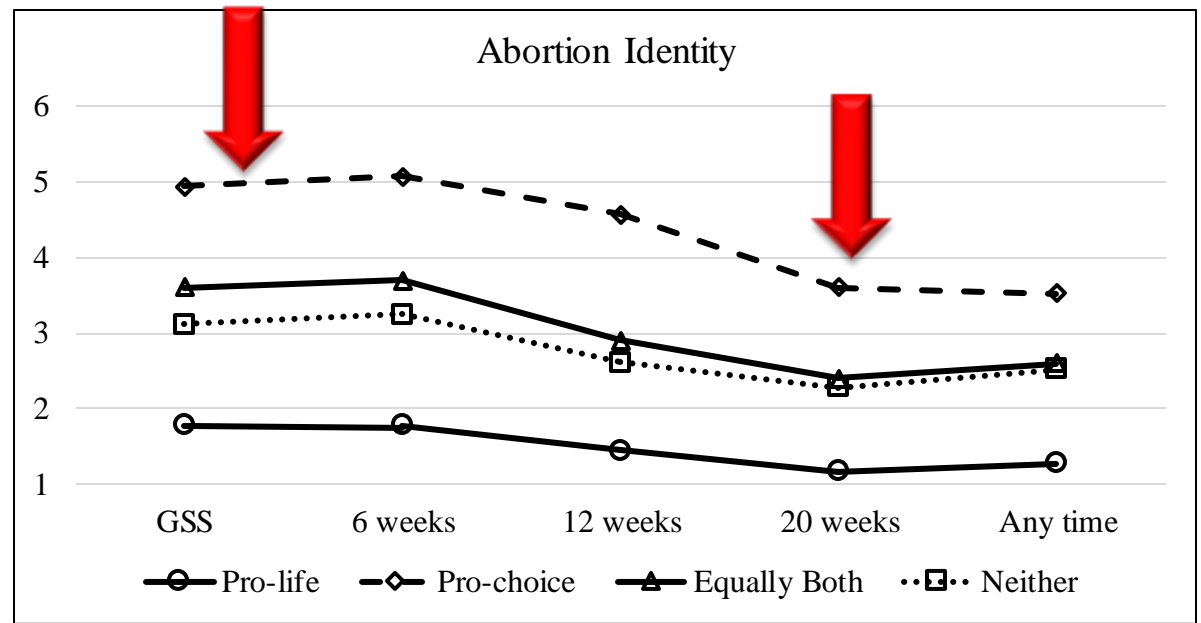
Results: Later gestational ages are associated with less support for abortion. Although there is some variation in the amount that support decreases across different socio-demographic groups, the predictors of abortion attitudes remain relatively stable across gestational ages. Abortion attitudes questions with no reference to weeks' gestation appear to be the most similar to questions referencing early weeks' gestation.

Conclusion: When answering abortion attitude questions that do not include any reference to weeks' gestation, respondents may be more likely to think about abortion early in pregnancy. Including references to weeks' gestation may provide a more nuanced and complete understanding of abortion attitudes.



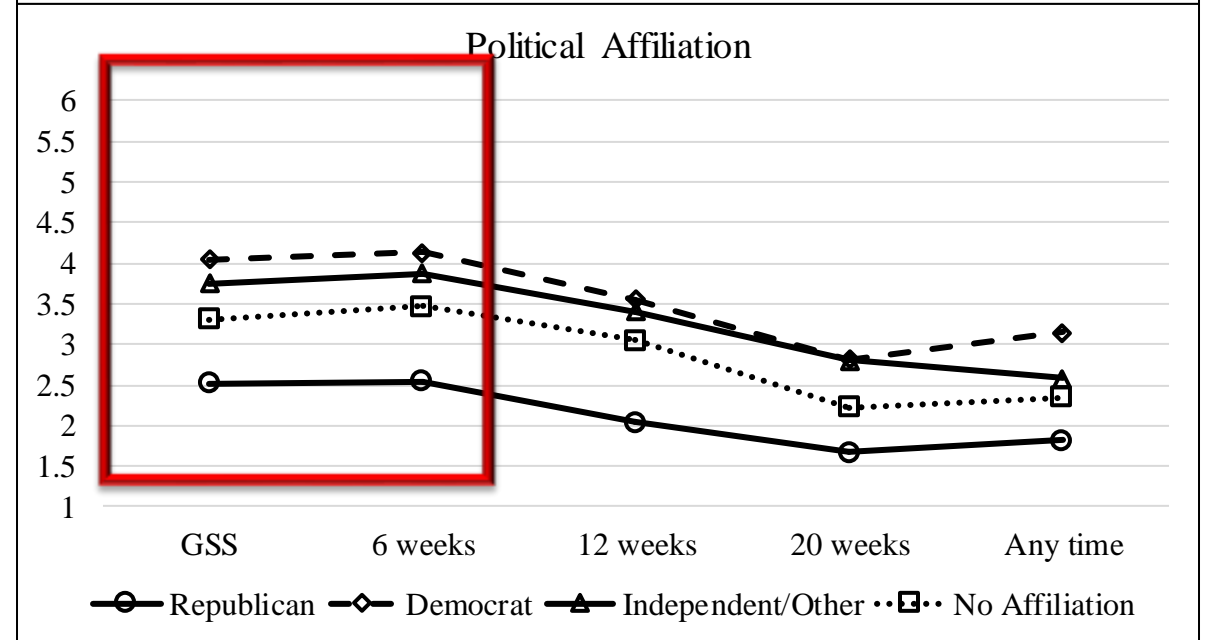
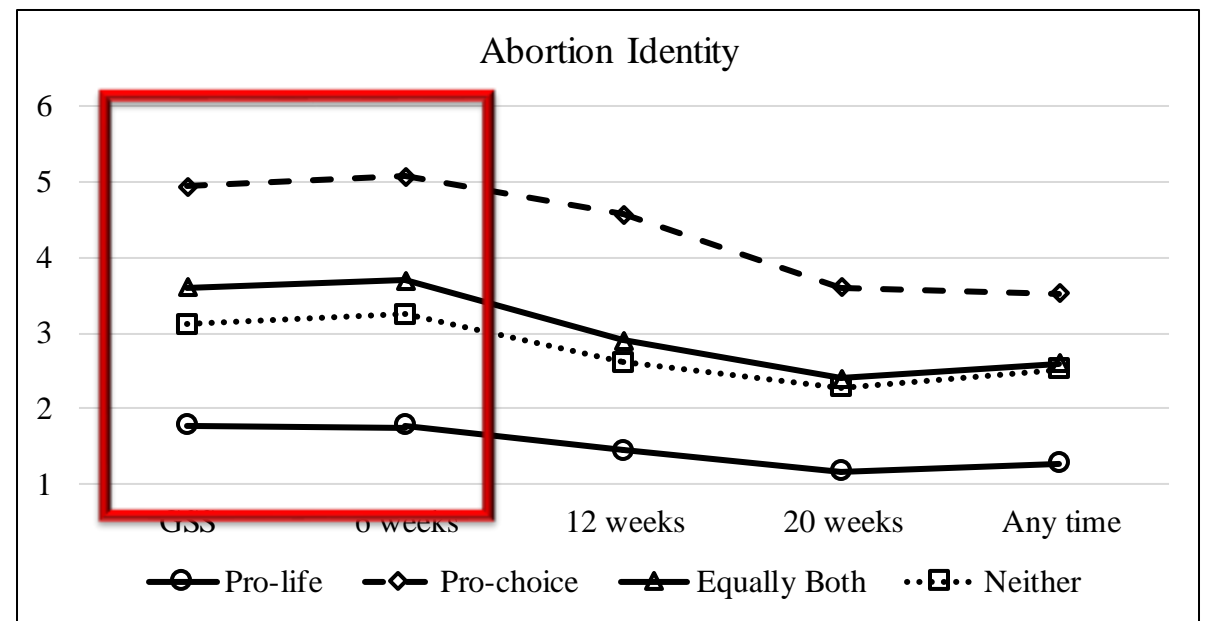
Summary of Findings

- People endorsed legal abortion at higher rates earlier than later in pregnancy



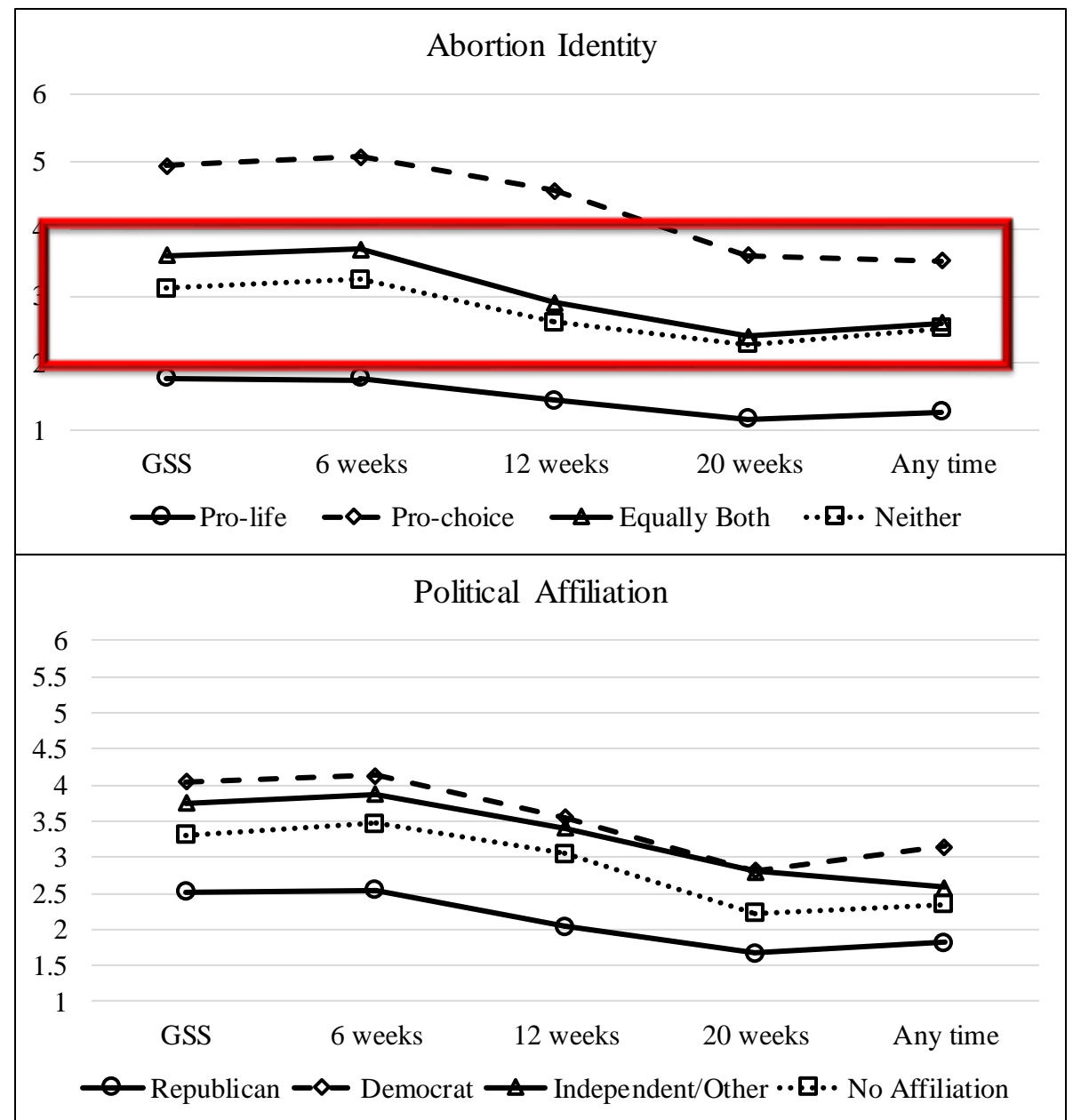
Summary of Findings

- People endorsed legal abortion at higher rates earlier than later in pregnancy
- GSS wording and 6-weeks are similar



Summary of Findings

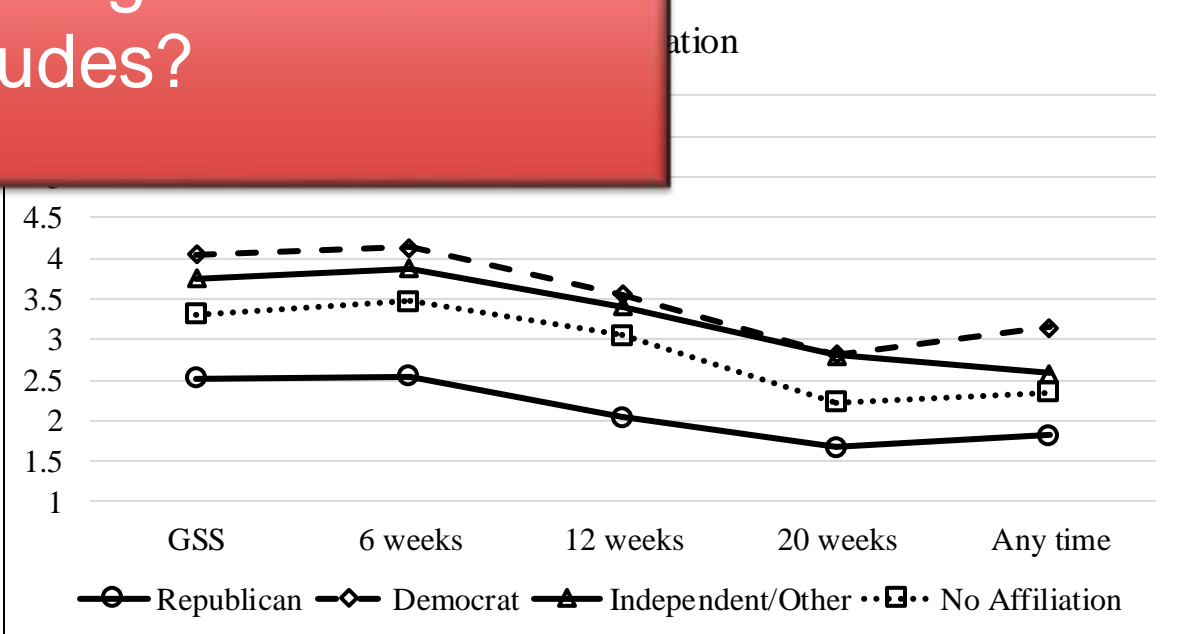
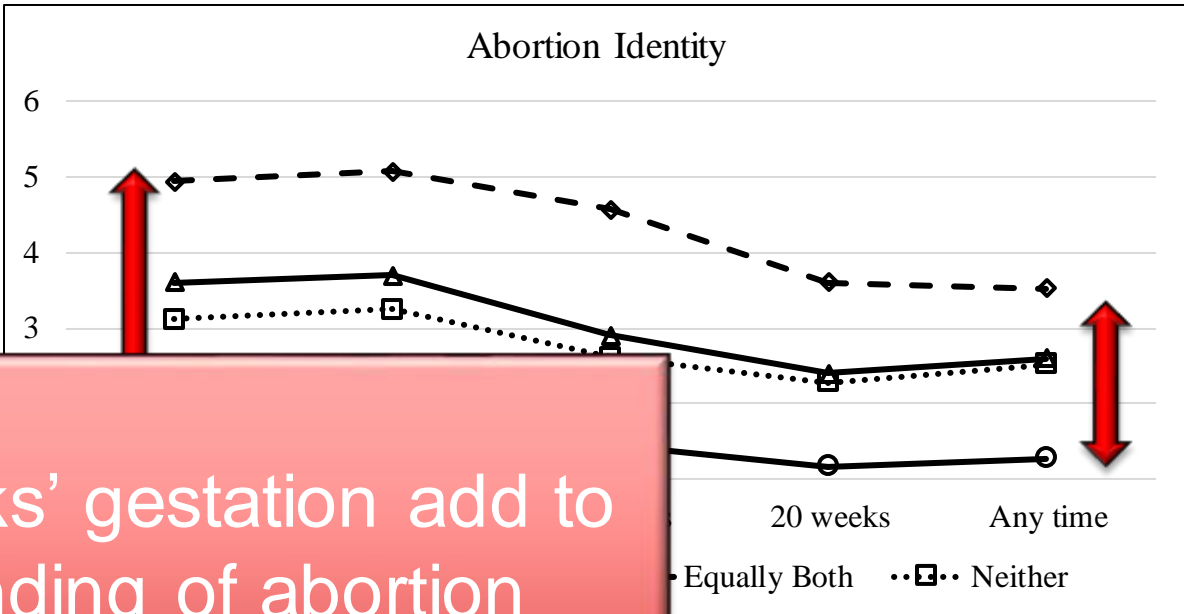
- People endorsed legal abortion at higher rates earlier than later in pregnancy
- GSS wording and 6-weeks are similar
- Distributions of scores across abortion identity label and political affiliation are different
- Equally Both and Neither fall in the middle



Summary of Findings

- People endorsed legal abortion at higher rates earlier than later in pregnancy
- GSS wording and () similar
- Distributions of scores for abortion identity label and political affiliation are different
- Equally Both and Neither fall in the middle

What does weeks' gestation add to our understanding of abortion attitudes?



Abortion Legality Items

<i>Do you think it should be legal for a pregnant women to obtain a legal abortion...</i>	Yes	No	Unsure
If there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?			
If she is married and does not want any more children?			
If the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?			
If the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children?			
If she became pregnant as a result of rape?			
If she is not married and does not want to marry the man?			
The woman wants it for any reason?			
If they were using contraception, but it failed?			
If the woman's mental health is at risk?			
If the baby is a different sex than the parents desired?			
If she could not continue her education?			



Abortion Legality at Different Gestational Times

*When is the latest that you think it **should be legal** for a pregnant woman to obtain an abortion in these circumstances...*

If there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?

If she is married and does not want any more children?

If the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy?

If the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children?

If she became pregnant as a result of rape?

If she is not married and does not want to marry the man?

The woman wants it for any reason?

If they were using contraception, but it failed?

If the woman's mental health is at risk?

If the baby is a different sex than the parents desired?

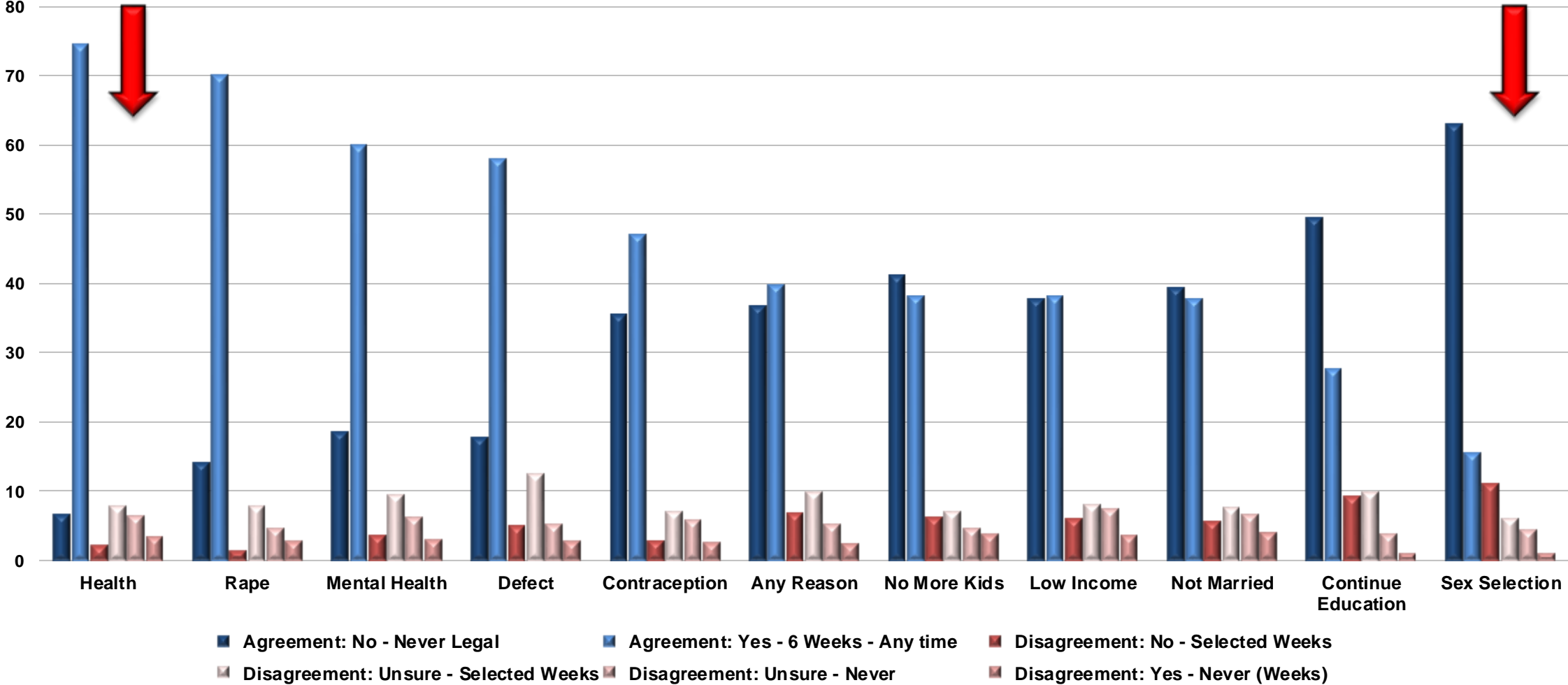
If she could not continue her education?

Response Options

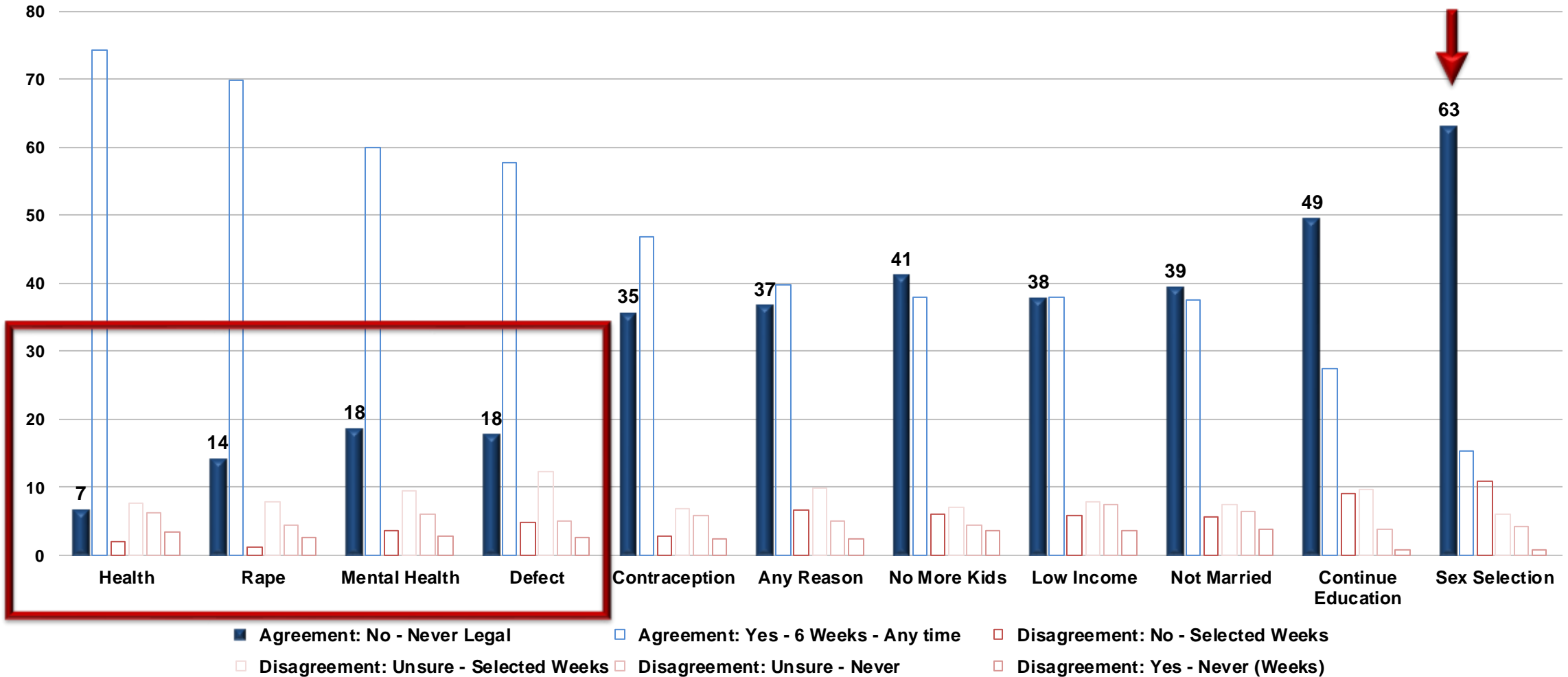
- Never
- 6 weeks (1.5 months)
- 12 weeks (3 months)
- 16 weeks (4 months)
- 20 weeks (5 months)
- 24 weeks (6 months)
- Any time
- Don't know



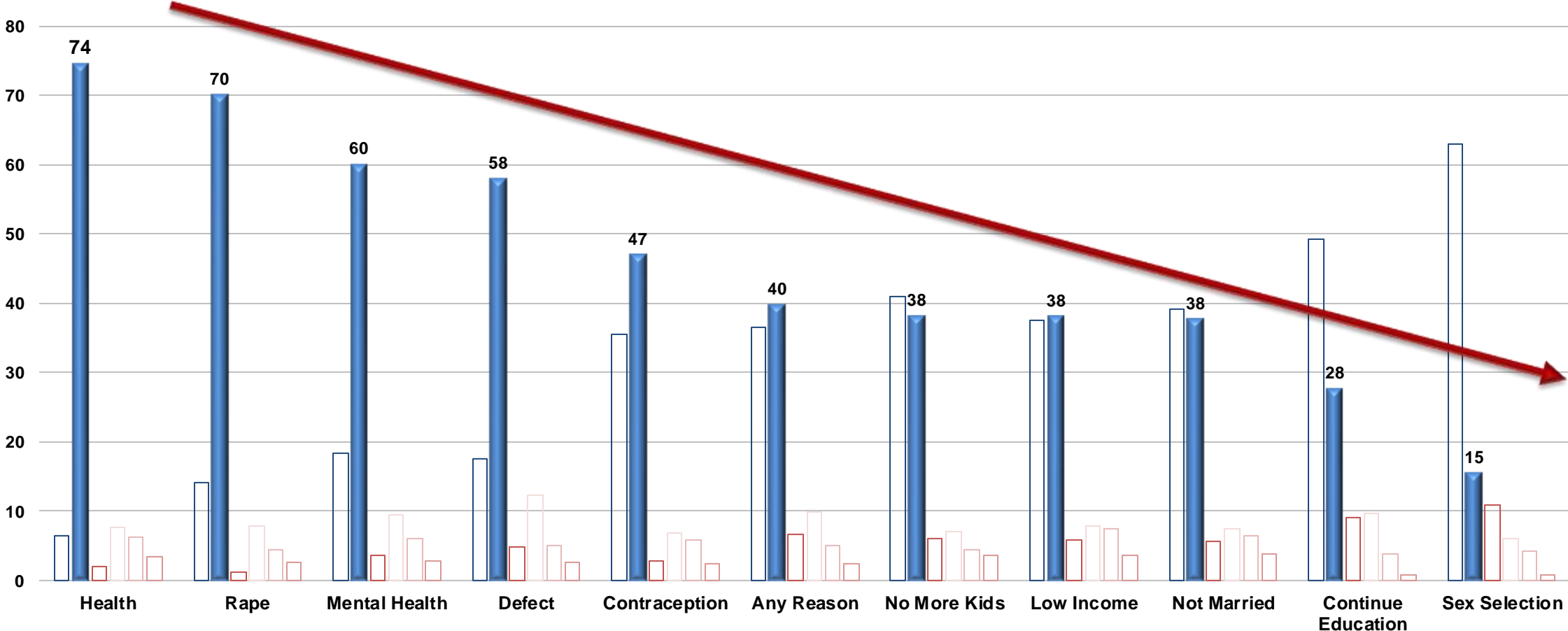
Abortion Legality: General v. Weeks Gestation



Consistent Responding: No (General) v. Never (Weeks)



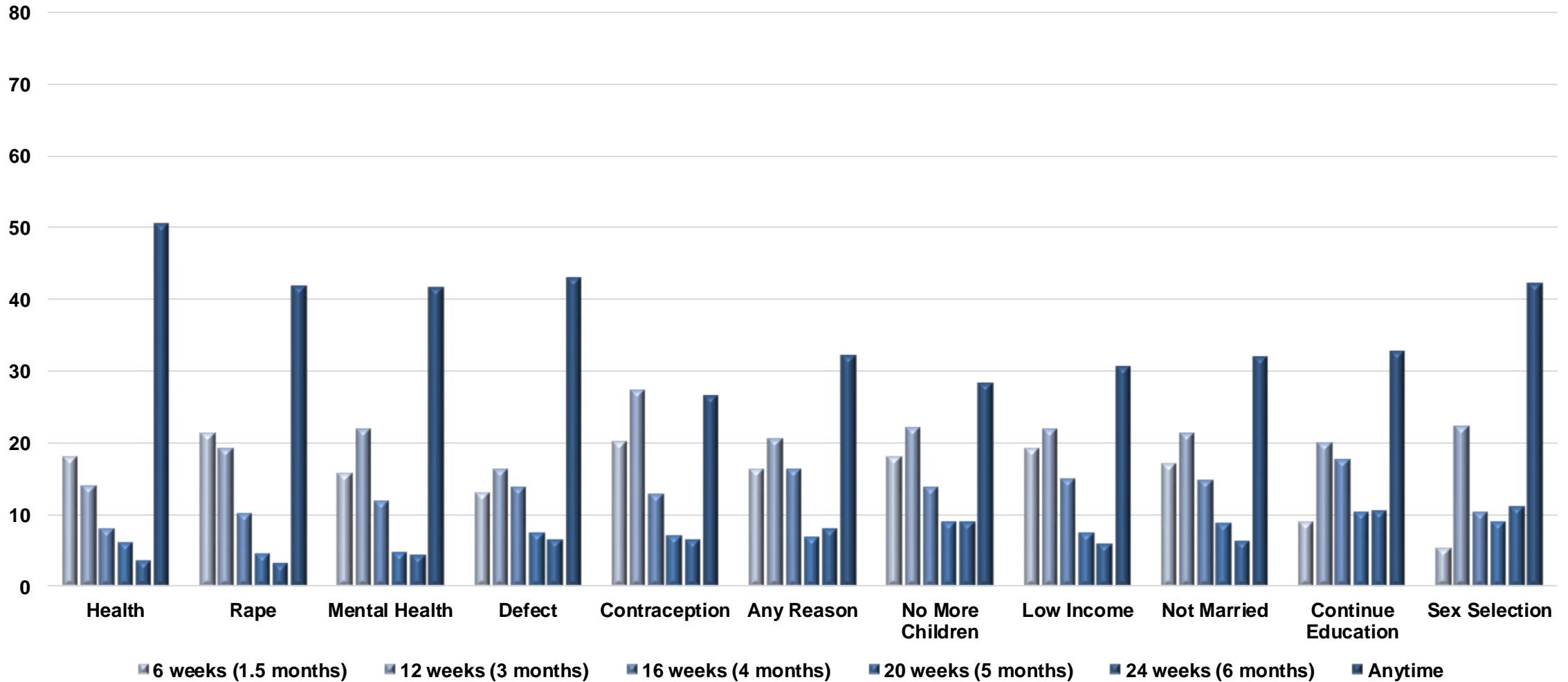
Consistent Responding: Yes (General) v. 6 weeks-Anytime (Weeks)



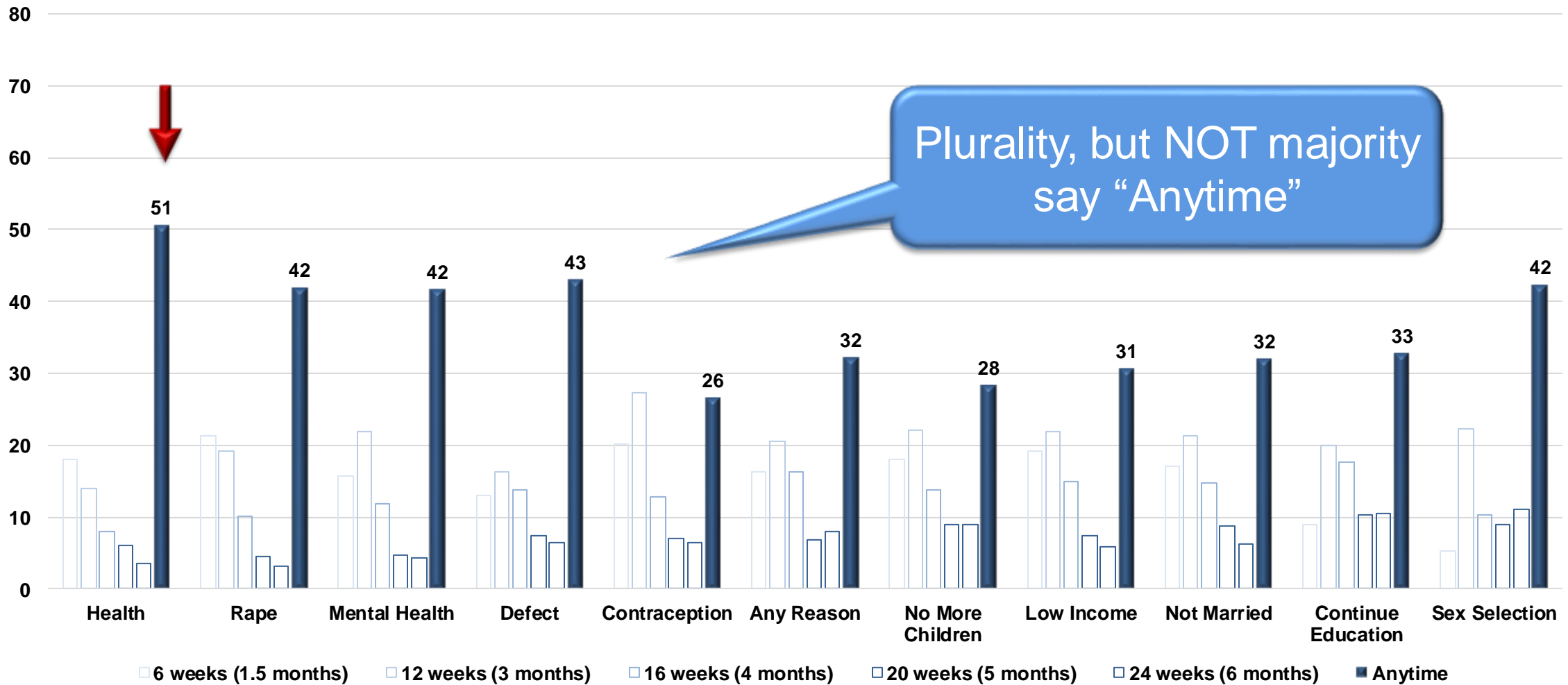
■ Agreement: Yes - 6 Weeks - Any time
 ■ Disagreement: No - Selected Weeks
 □ Disagreement: Yes - Never (Weeks)

□ Agreement: No - Never Legal
 □ Disagreement: Unsure - Selected Weeks
 □ Disagreement: Unsure - Never

Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say YES



Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say YES



What Does Consistent Responses look like?

YES v. 6 WEEKS → to ANYTIME:

Interviewer: And then you said up to **six weeks** for if the woman's own health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy. Could you talk me through the difference between these scenarios for you?

Respondent: Well, because I kind of see that if the woman's at the point to where it's going to be in danger to her, within six weeks, they should really know if she has a condition that she's not going to be able to have the baby. So, **I stay up to six weeks** on that one. But I guess if something come along later, and they tried to go ahead and have her have the baby, and then the baby died, then that would be a little different. But just to me, I think six weeks would be a long enough time because she would know if she'd be able to have it or not because of her health.

Interviewer: What about those situations when a pregnancy develops and then the mother develops a health issue in the second or third trimester, and they find out that this pregnancy could seriously impact her health, or potentially die, what are your thoughts on that?

Respondent: With something like that, then I would say that they could go ahead and do it if they felt like they needed to...But if there was a chance the baby would live, then do their best to try to save it, you know? But if it's a risk to the mother's health, **then yeah, anytime.**



What Does Consistent Responses look like?

YES v. 12 WEEKS & 20 WEEKS:

Interviewer: I'm wondering if you can tell me how you arrived at **12 weeks** [continue education] and then **20 weeks** [fetal anomalies].

Respondent: Well, I was just thinking that a lot of times, you don't know until your **20-week scan of health issues**, which is why I picked that for that one.

Interviewer: Okay. Okay. Yeah. And then, for 12 weeks, how did you arrive at that number, if you can remember?

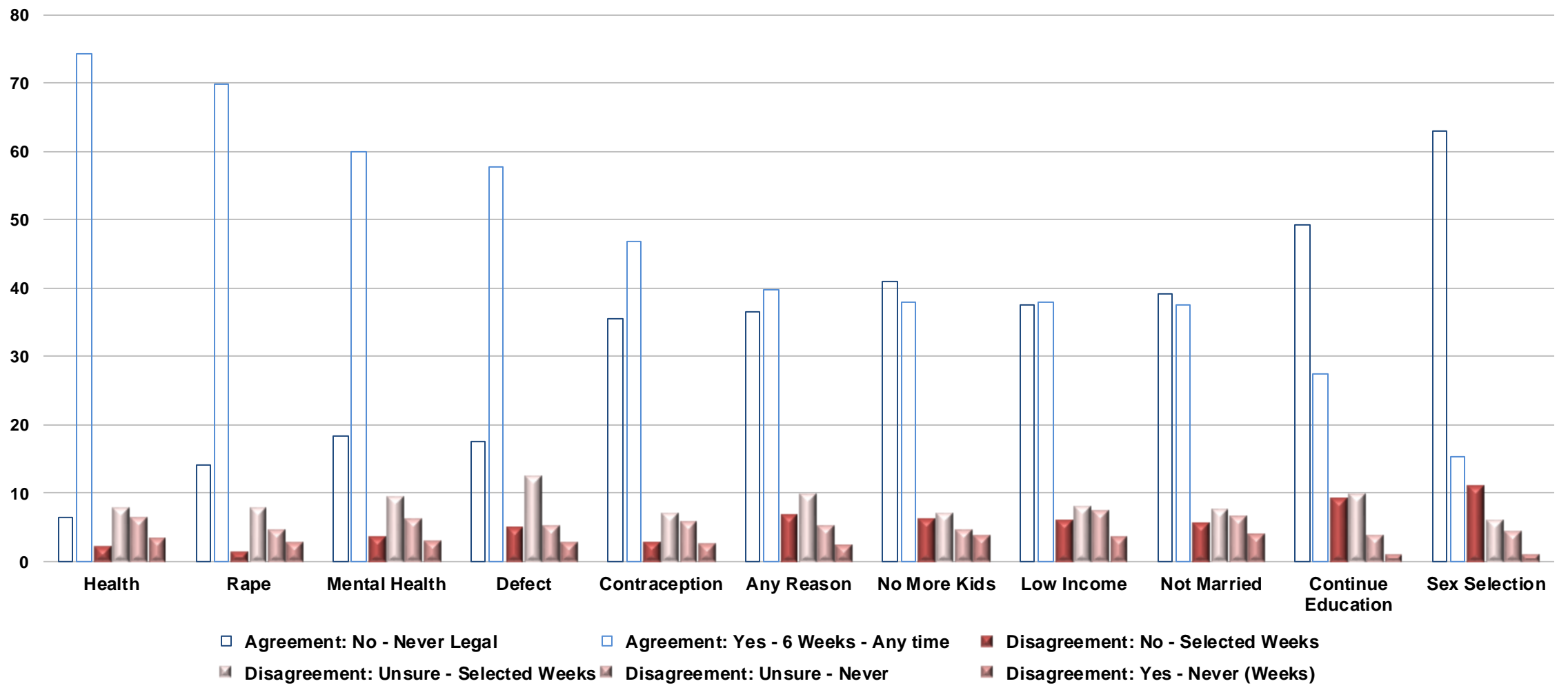
Respondent: I don't know. **I just picked something low**, honestly...And six weeks, you probably wouldn't maybe even know that you were pregnant, so...

Interviewer: ... If there had been, say, like an eight or a 10, do you think that you would've gone lower?

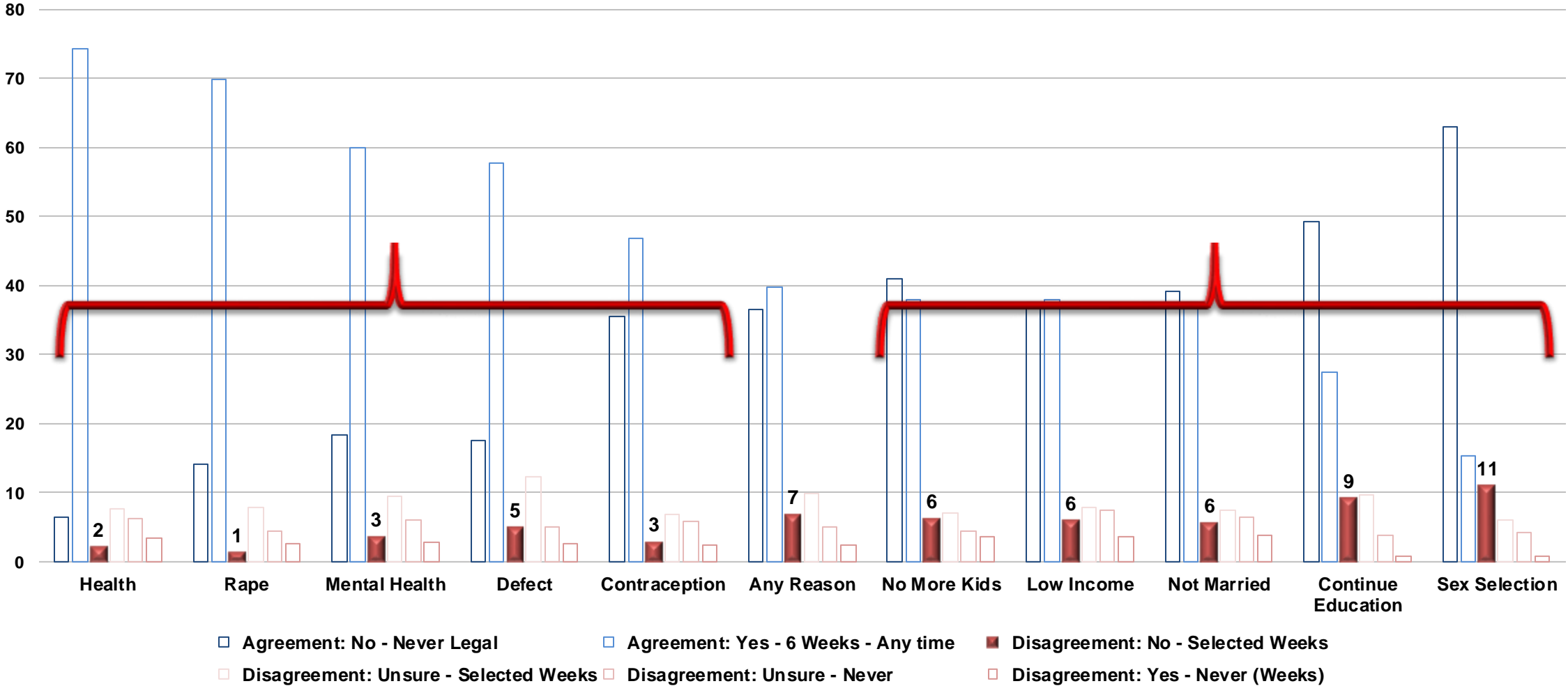
Respondent: I mean, maybe...Maybe. I probably would've stuck with 12, because **12 weeks is around the time that you have your first doctor's appointment**, usually, so I think 12 weeks is a good increment.



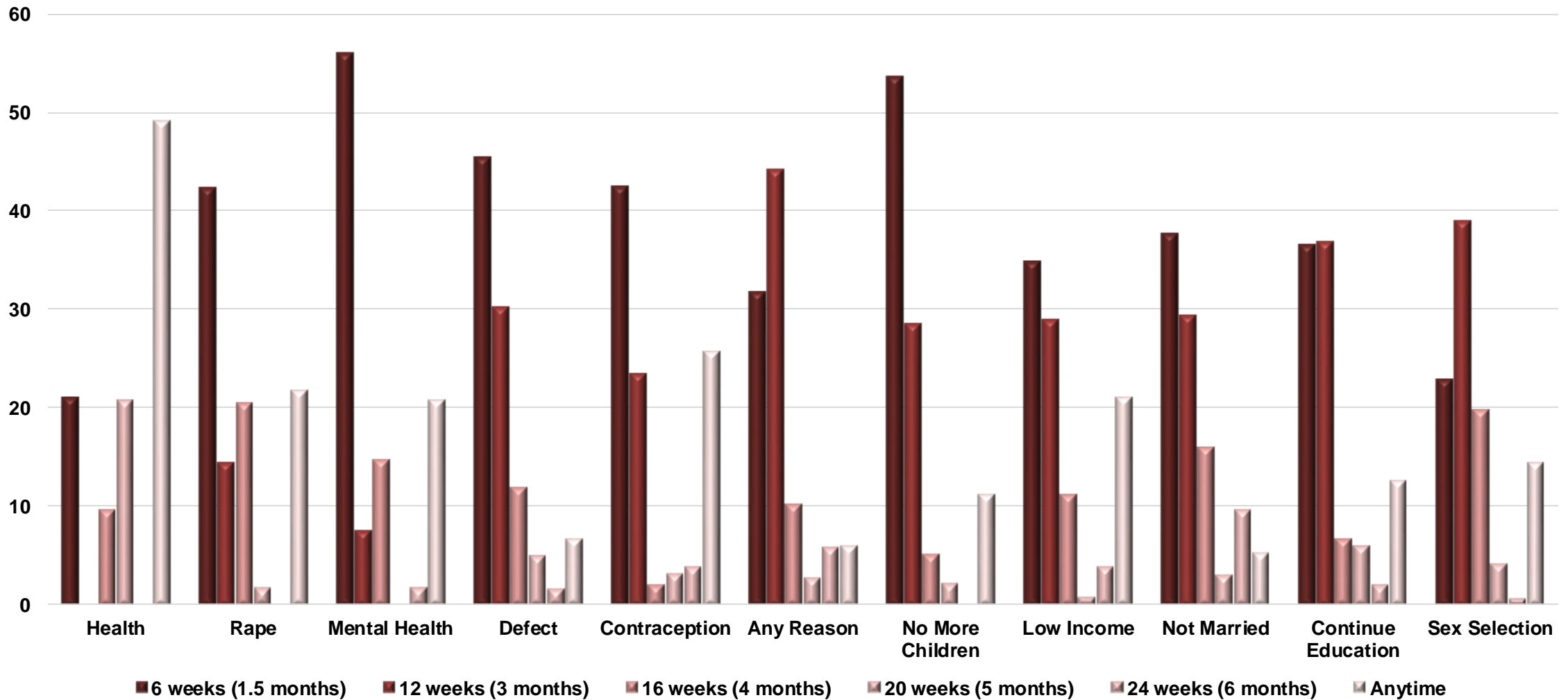
Discrepancies: General v. Weeks Gestation



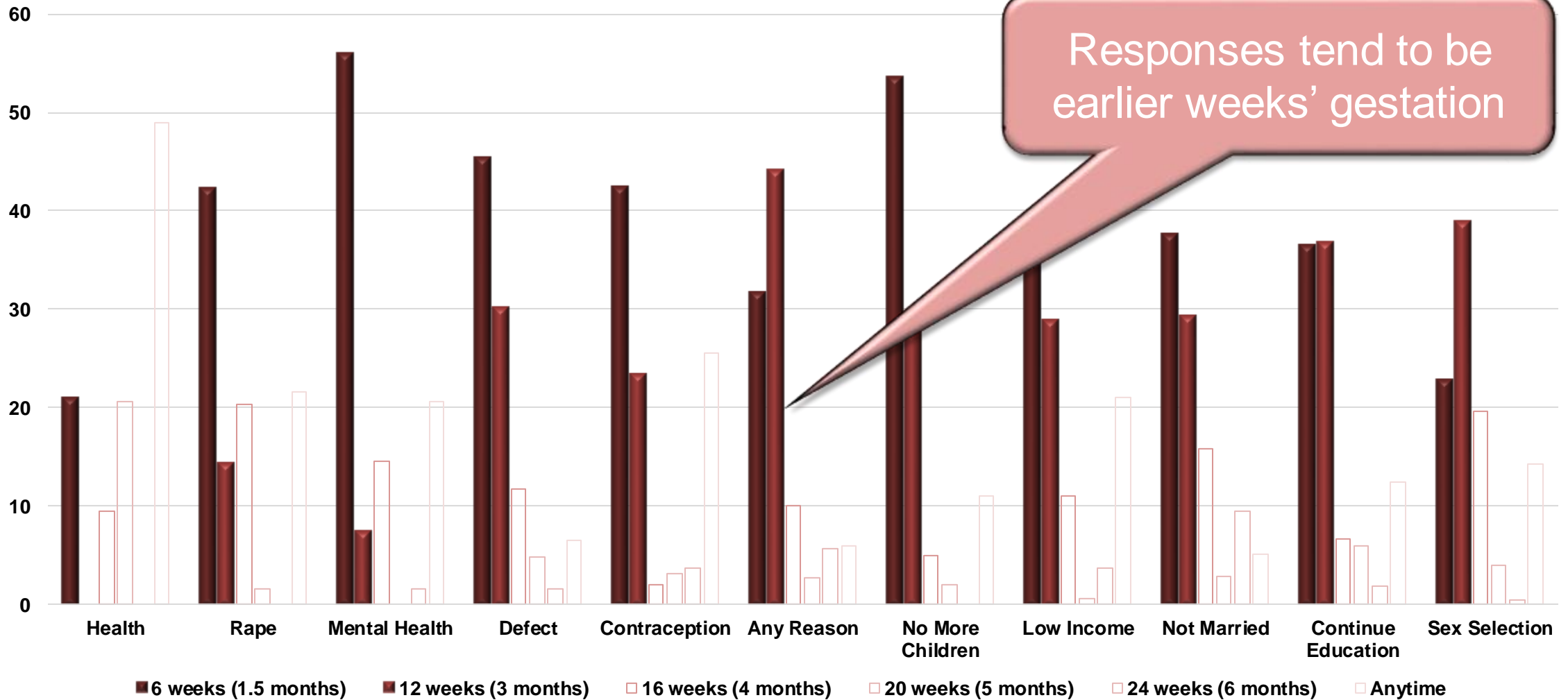
Discrepant Responding: No (General) v. 6 weeks-Anytime (Weeks)



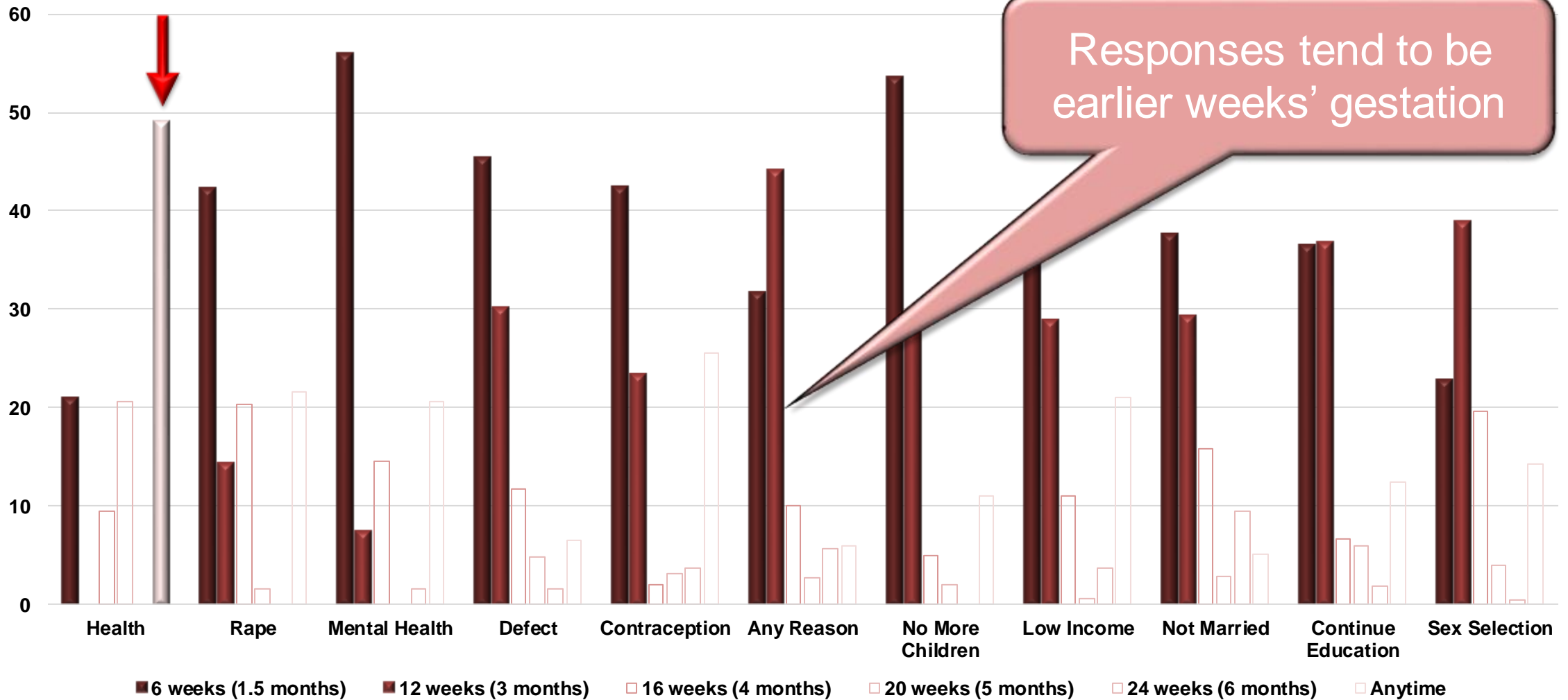
Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say NO



Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say NO



Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say NO



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

NO v. 6 WEEKS:

Interviewer: Then for these two, you had said six weeks for if there's a chance of defect in the baby, and also if her mental health is at risk. Originally **you had said no**, that those should not be legal options or scenarios to have an abortion. Could you talk me through how you decided on **six weeks** for these scenarios?

Respondent: Yeah. For the mental health risk, I guess my reasoning there is, there's maybe an increased likelihood that a woman who's mentally unstable won't carry a pregnancy full term, whether that's ... Well, it could be myriad risks that she resolved, gets rid of the pregnancy, whatever, but potentially mental health is a factor in the viability of the pregnancy. **If the mother's mental health is in a state that she won't actually carry that pregnancy full term anyway, then I think, well, okay, let's at least offer her some sort of regulated way to make sure she's safe, that she's taken care of, that she's not going to injure herself as well as the baby.**



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

NO v. 6 WEEKS → ANYTIME:

Interviewer: Then for this one, when you had said that, **no, you didn't believe it should be legal**, but you decided on **six weeks** here, could you talk me through how you got to six weeks for if there's a strong chance of defect in the baby?

Respondent: Yeah. **I actually don't know why I put that**, because I disagree with that now.

Interviewer: What would you say now?

Respondent: **I would say longer**, because a lot of the time, it's hard to tell the viability of a pregnancy within the first six weeks. I mean, there's so much development to happen, and a lot of that stuff doesn't present itself until the second or third trimester, that you realize, hey, this fetus really doesn't have a chance.

Interviewer: Right, so what would you say today?

Respondent: I don't know if I would say **any time**, but I would say probably **up to the third trimester**.



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

NO v. 12 WEEKS:

Interviewer: If you can just talk to me a little bit about why you said **no on the first question** and then still pick **12 weeks** on the second set of questions.

Respondent: I think it was more back to, if you think about it. Say yeah. I mean, I guess we shouldn't have more children, but no, we'll make it work. Then back to that, okay. You need to decide now...**Deadline**. Every time, I feel like when I think of low income, I don't think of, we're month to month or paycheck to paycheck, **I think more of the stuff, just living off the government** and then you just want to have more children and then just keep doing it, because I always think of that...When it comes to low income, I see it more just like 10 people to a trailer or something like that.

Interviewer: Okay. So, it's more about living off government assistance...Not paycheck to paycheck?

Respondent: No, no, no. I mean, there's so many people paycheck to paycheck. I mean, I feel like most of us are. So, yeah. **I see that low income as like, you really are just not making an effort to work.**



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

NO v. 16 WEEKS:

Interviewer: So for these one, this is comparing your responses to the two different sets of questions. So for, I guess let's start with this one maybe where, in the first said, if she is married and does not want any more children and **then you said no to the first one, and then when should it be legal, 16 weeks.**

Respondent: All right. Same thing again, **I think a married woman should know way before 16 weeks**, at least I would. I think two months is about how long it would take me...So four months is more than enough time, I suppose. I think that **abortion should be legal up to a certain point** that's as you can pretty much tell.

Interviewer: Yeah. And so in the first set of questions, it seems, correct me if I'm wrong because I don't want to put words in your mouth, so you have to promise--you're going to tell me if I'm wrong, okay?

Respondent: Yes.

Interviewer: But it seems like maybe **you personally do not like the idea of abortion in these circumstances, but you also think that it should be legal up to a certain point.** Does that sound right?

Respondent: Mm-hm.



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

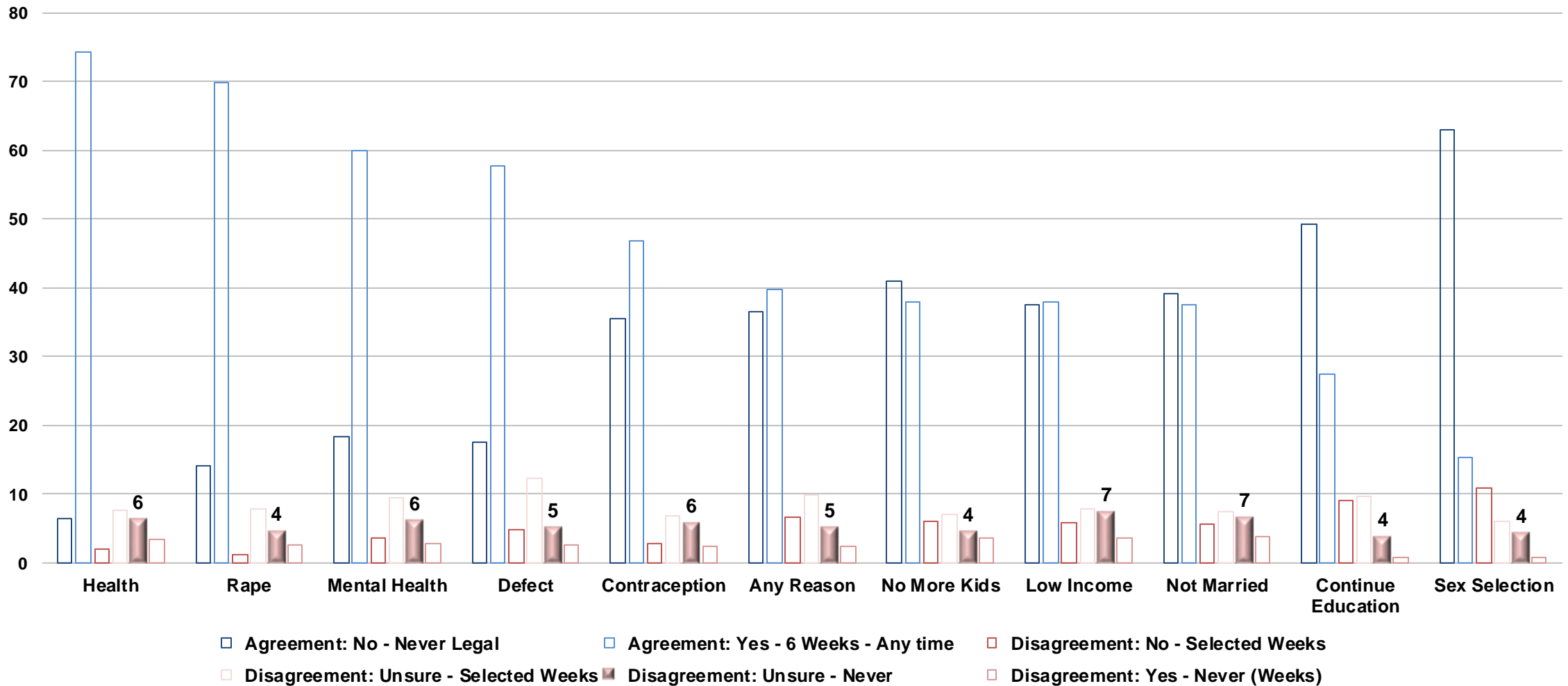
NO v. 16 WEEKS → ANYTIME:

Interviewer: So I have how you answered to this question and we asked about different scenarios too. So we did ask about those two scenarios that I had on the page before, but these are all of the scenarios that we asked about. And **you had said no, that it shouldn't be legal for all of these scenarios**. So looking at these different scenarios, go ahead and take your time. I know we talked about the one of the woman's health being endangered...

Respondent: Like the first one... I mean, **anything can change over your pregnancy**. So, I mean, **it could be any time, but I still in a way feel that it would be wrong if you went past 16 weeks**. I mean, I would say **anytime for the first one**. And then never on the next one.



Discrepant Responding: Unsure (General) v. Never (Weeks)



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

UNSURE v. NEVER:

Interviewer: Okay, and then I noticed before, when just asked should it be legal or not, yes or no, for the case of a woman getting pregnant as a result of rape, **you had said unsure, but here you say that it should never be legal for her to have an abortion** if she's pregnant as a result of rape. Could you talk me through how you came to that answer?

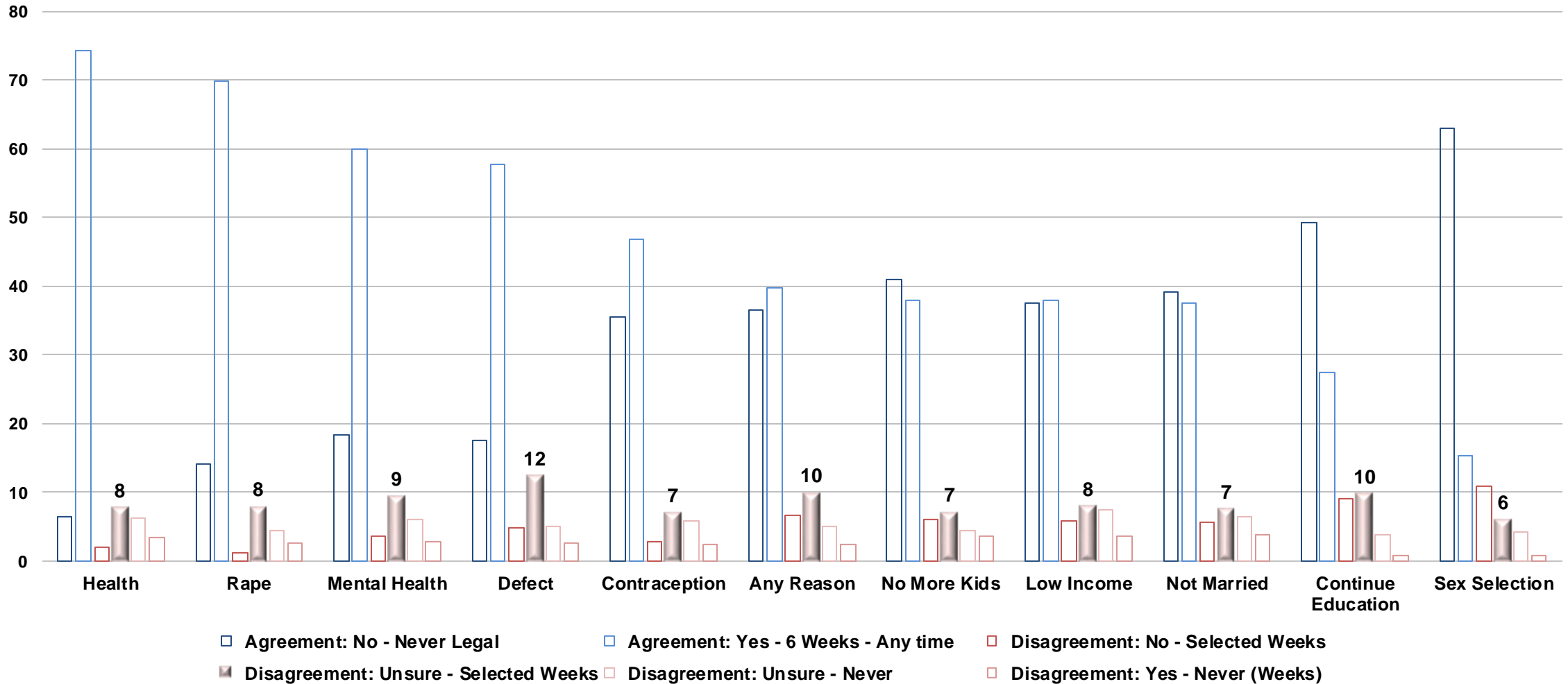
Respondent: Yeah. I mean, to be honest, I really am conflicted on that. I go back and forth on that constantly.

Interviewer: Could you tell me why?

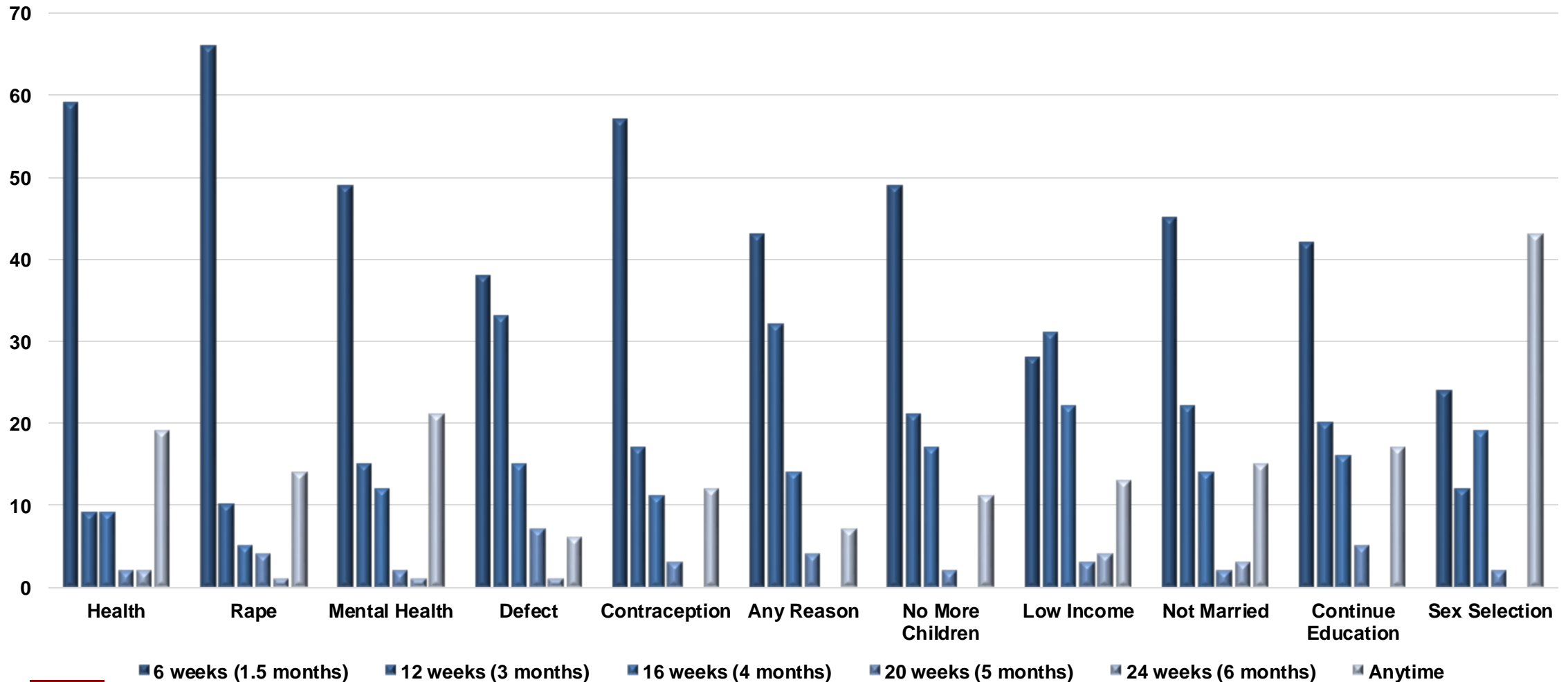
Respondent: On most of this stuff, I go back and forth constantly. Yeah. **I think if people are really honest about this issue, there are really good arguments on either side of the argument, or of the topic.** When I'm thinking about becoming pregnant as a result of rape, I guess I'm thinking about, that **baby still has a right to survive.** I think it still has a right to live, and I think there's potentially a symbiotic relationship that can happen between that mother and baby, even though it's the product of a very negative situation. I think, though, that **the positive result of that could be adoption,** that she could provide a family who would never be able to have kids on their own the opportunity of raising a kid. I guess there are ways that you can make that horrible situation redeemed, in a way, but I also think, if you've been raped, that is completely non-consensual. **You have nothing to do with that situation, really. You have no responsibility to that, to what happened to you,** so yeah. I just, I go back and forth on that.



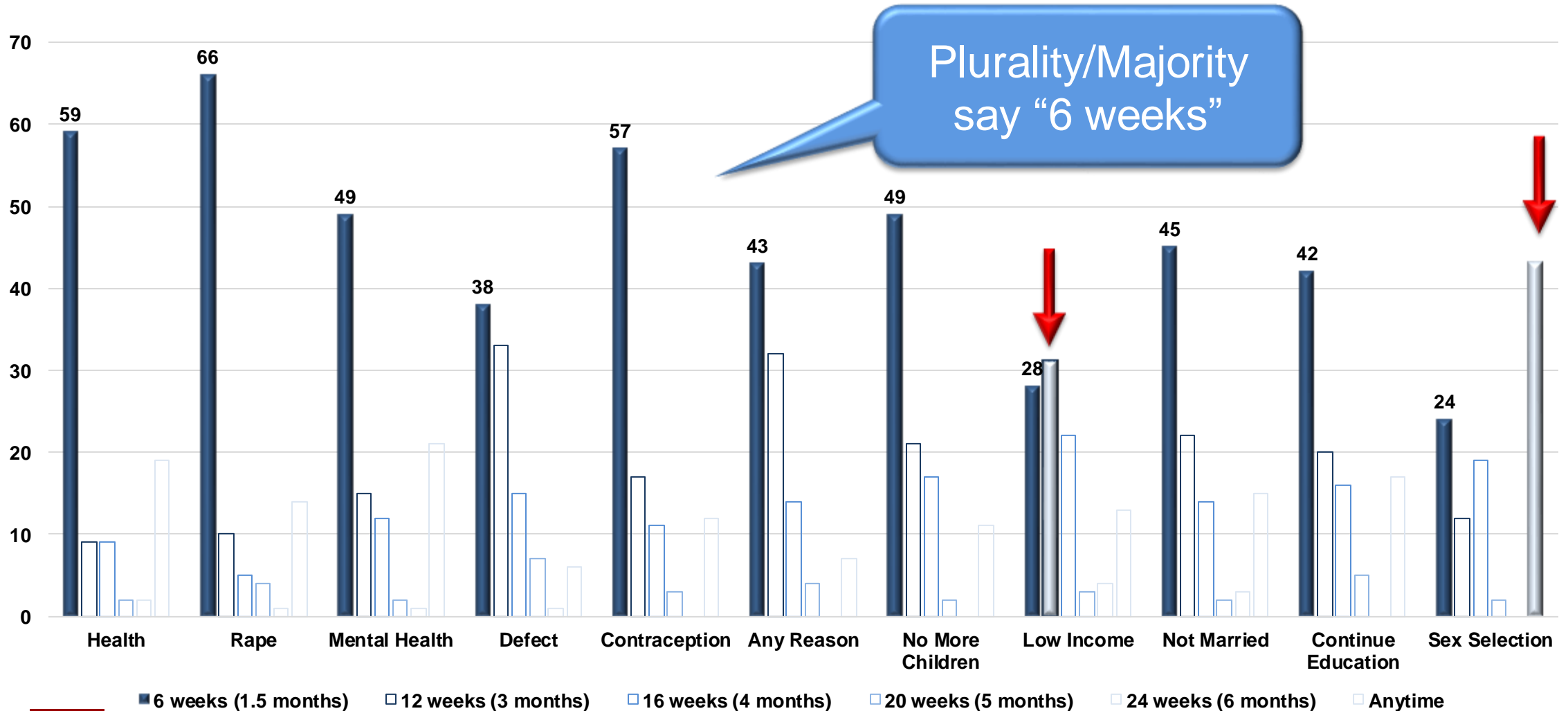
Unsure (General) v. 6 weeks-Anytime (Weeks)



Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say Unsure



Variability in Weeks' Gestation among those who say Unsure



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

UNSURE v. ANYTIME:

Interviewer: Then, with the issue of health, so her health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy, **you had said any time, but previously that was one of the scenarios you were unsure about.** Really, I just realized, the two scenarios that were originally unsure answers, we have kind of polar opposites. We have any time and never, so how did you come to any time for this scenario?

Respondent: I think I sort of remember taking this survey, and I'm wondering if I actually did that on purpose, because **I am so conflicted on this.** I wanted to kind of give contradictory answers because like I said, I'm a walking contradiction on the issue. I forget what you asked me now.

Interviewer: Just how you had come to any time for this scenario, that it should be legal at any time in a pregnancy for a woman to have an abortion.

Respondent: Yeah. I guess I'm considering the ... Gosh, **that's such a hard question,** with that. I think, this woman is alive, already able to get pregnant, already in the world, an acting force. Pregnancy is a hard thing to guarantee, also. The viability of a pregnancy is a hard thing to guarantee. Even if that baby for the pregnancy goes full term, there are infinite variables and obstacles that that baby's going to have to overcome, and I guess I feel like **if a woman has already made it to the point where she's able to become pregnant, maybe she has a little bit more of a right to continue surviving, than die for the chance that her baby would survive.**



What Do Discrepant Responses look like?

UNSURE v. SOMETIME/ANYTIME:

Respondent: Oh, **I put unsure for everything.**

Interviewer: Yeah. You put unsure for everything. Can you tell me a little bit more about that?

Respondent: I don't know... **I'm unsure because I don't know what I would do in that situation. So it's pretty much just up to the person.** I probably shouldn't put unsure for everything, but that's just, I don't know. I feel that a person's personal choice to do stuff. So it's like, that's why I put unsure for everything. Because it's not really up to me to make the decision. It's not really up to the government to make the decision.

Interviewer: Okay. Yeah.

Respondent: Because there's no option for that selection really...

Interviewer: Okay. Do you think that if we had asked these questions and it was just yes or no, what do you think you would have put if unsure wasn't an option?

Respondent: Yes for the first one. Yes. Yes. Yes. **I'm not sure to be honest.** Because I feel like if you're married and you just don't want any more children, there's other steps you can take to prevent falling pregnant. Same as with that one. You'd think if you know what your living situation is like...

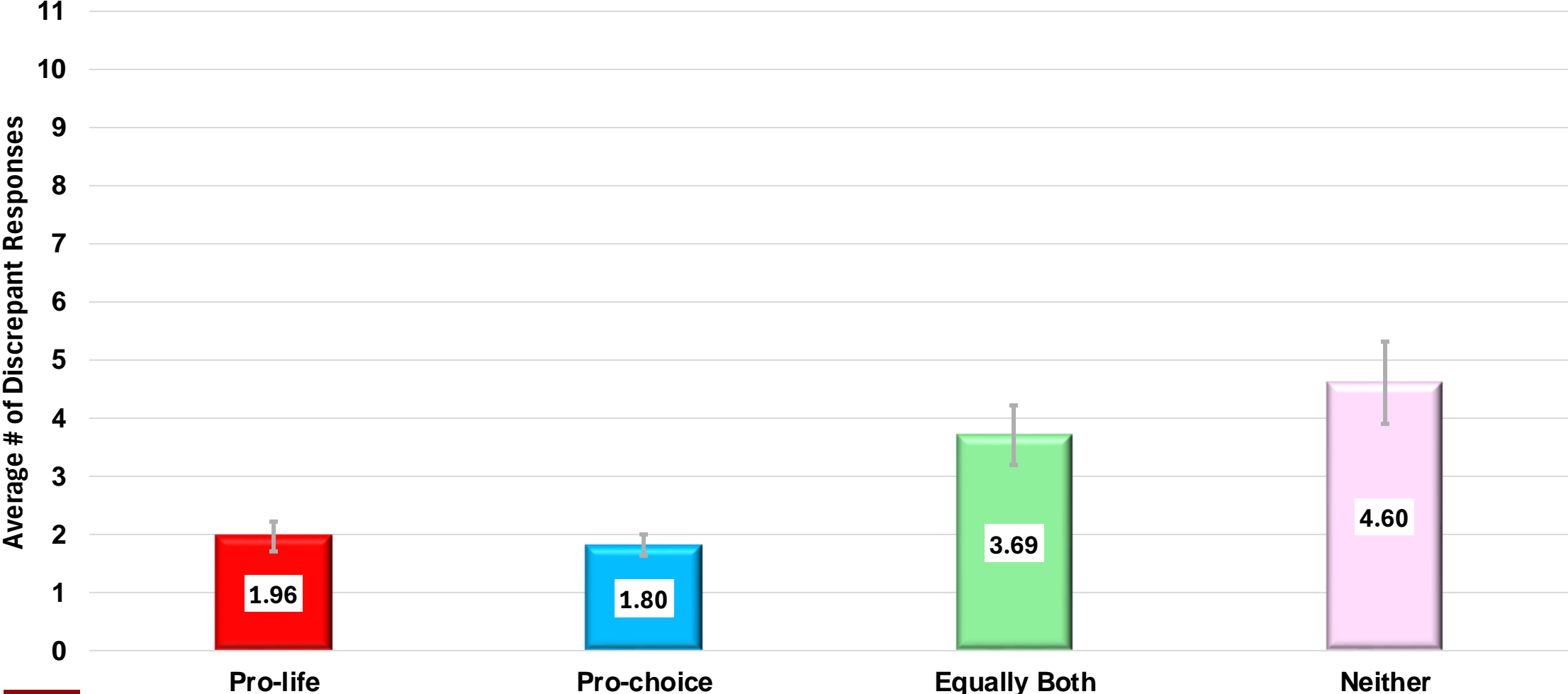


Who Provides Discrepant Responses?

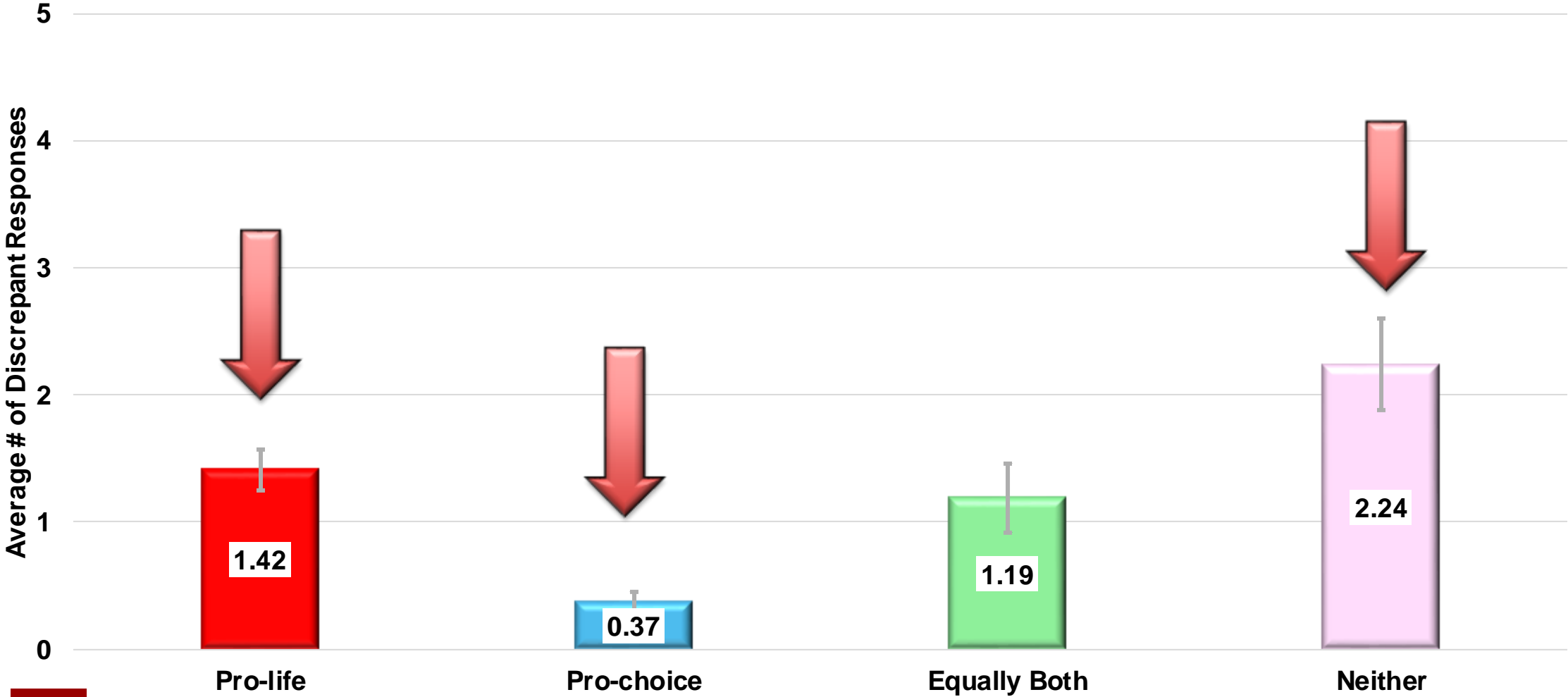
- Sub-group assessments
 - Abortion labels
 - Perceptions of when life begins
- Comparison by more and less endorsed circumstances
 - **More endorsed circumstances:** health endangerment, rape, fetal anomalies, mental health, contraception failure
 - **Less endorsed circumstances:** married, but does not want anymore children, low income, not married, any reason, continue education, sex selection.



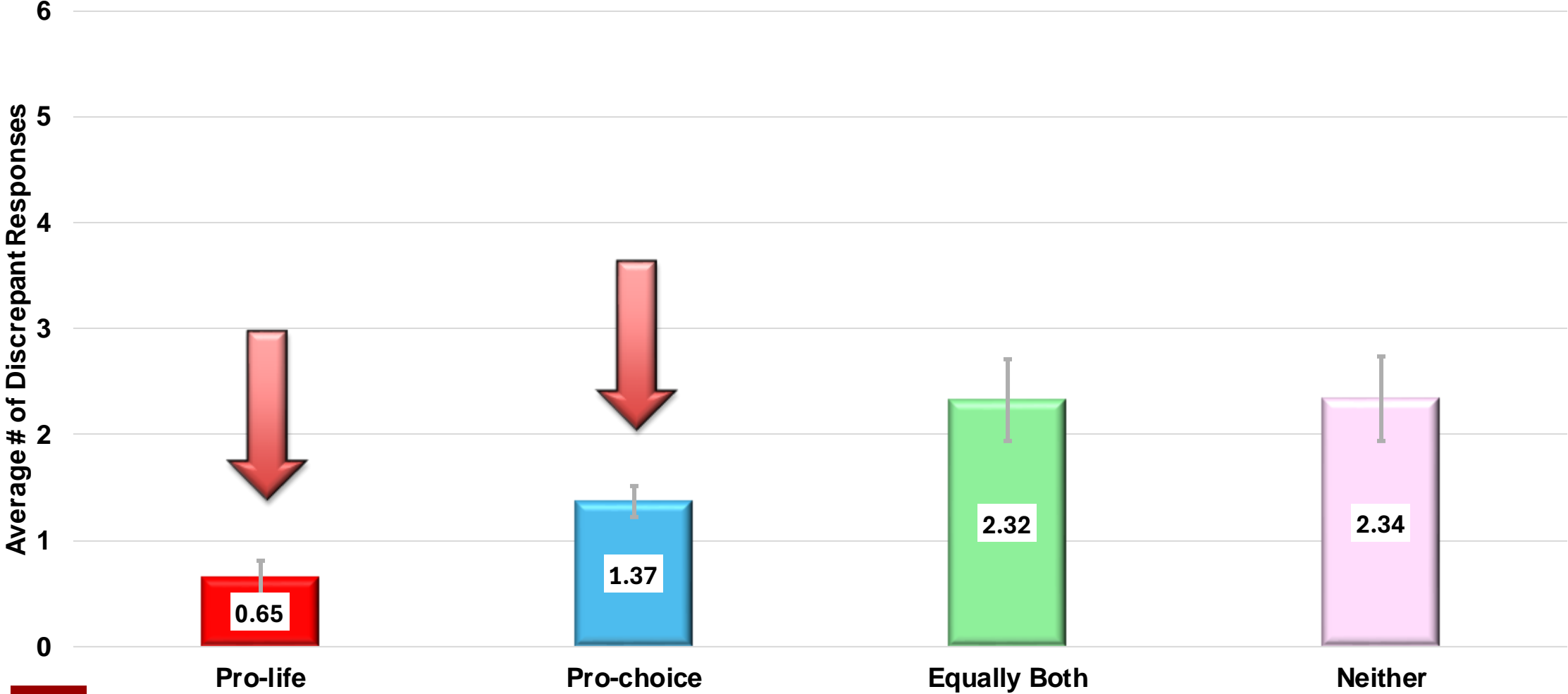
Discrepant Responses by Abortion Labels: All 11 Scenarios



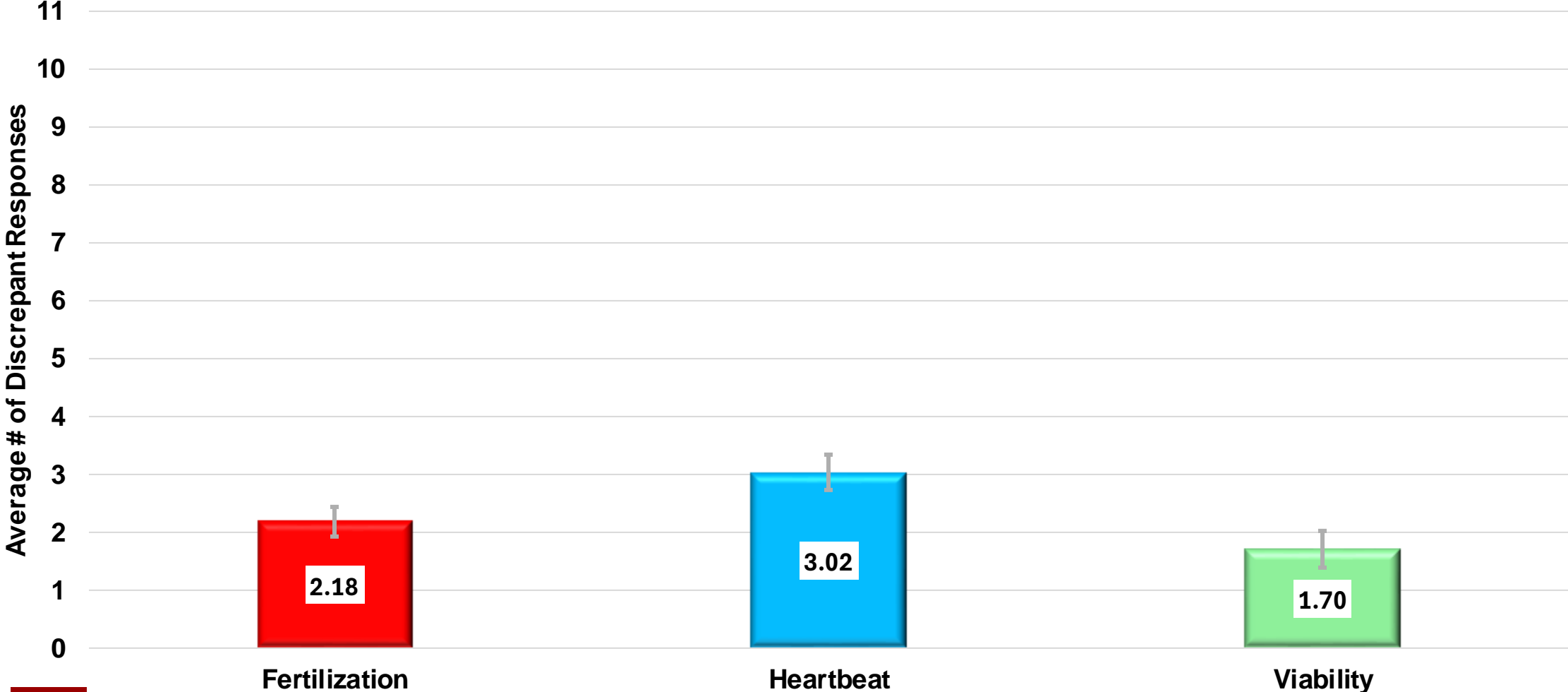
Discrepant Responses by Abortion Label: More Endorsed Circumstances (n = 5)



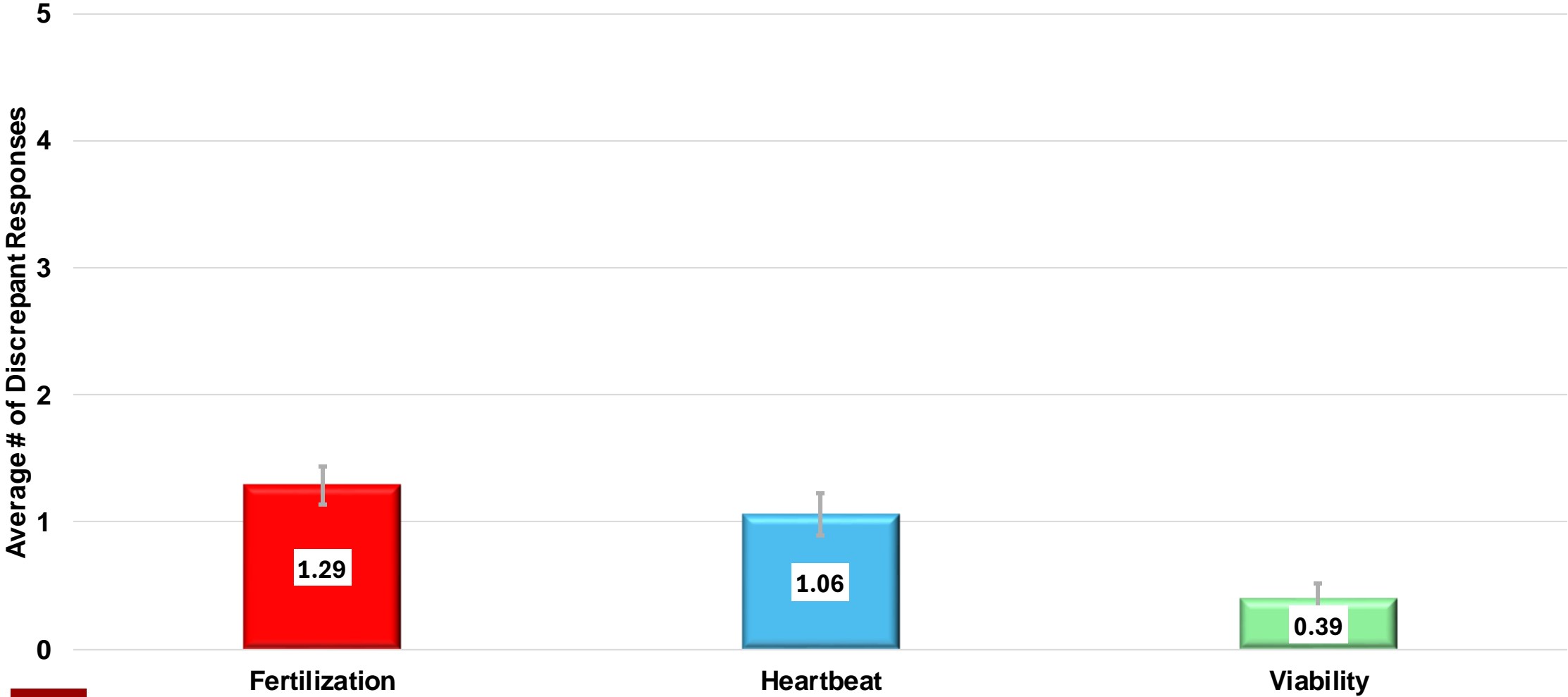
Discrepant Responses by Abortion Labels: Less Endorsed Circumstances (n = 6)



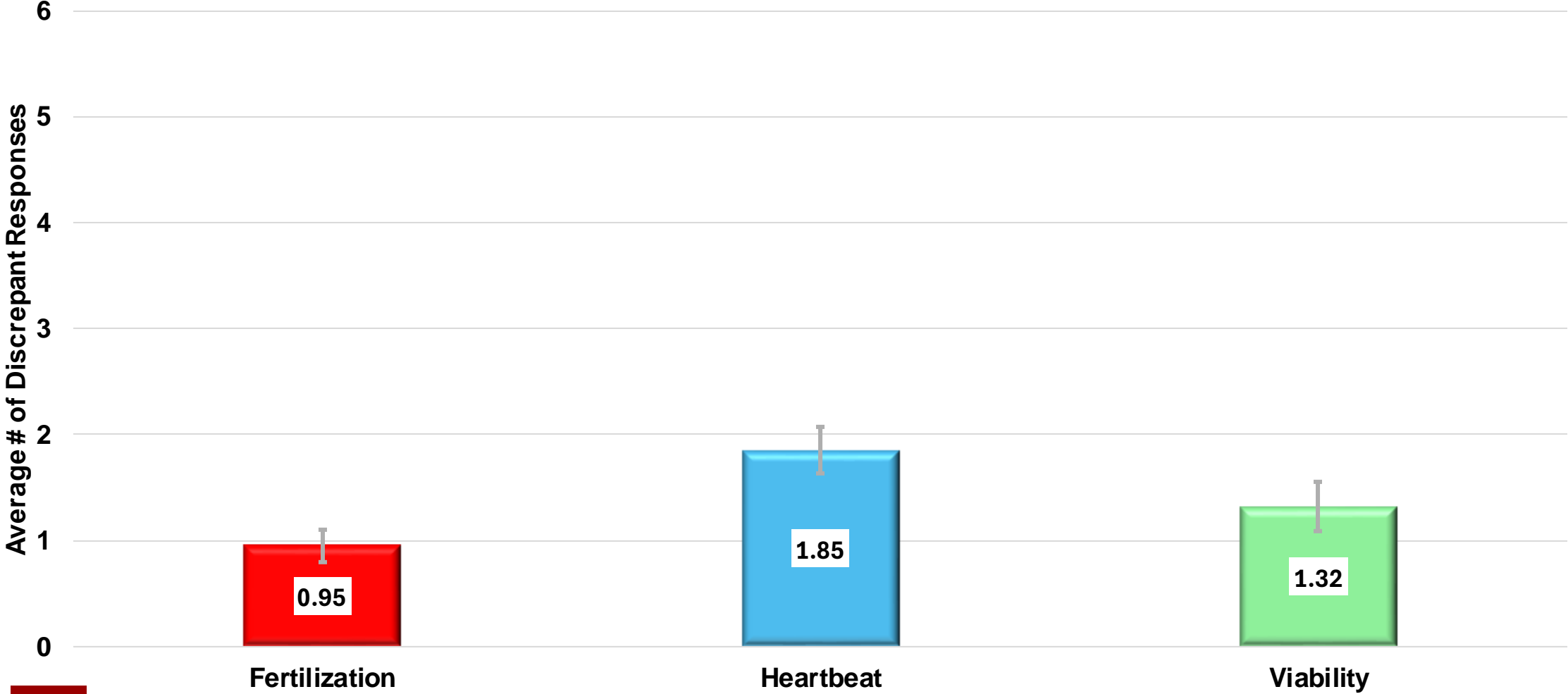
Discrepant Responses by Life Begins: All Scenarios



Discrepant Responses by Life Begins: More Endorsed Circumstances (n = 5)



Discrepant Responses by Life Begins: Less Endorsed Circumstances (n = 6)



Legality Contexts: Concluding Thoughts

- Context is a significant factor in shaping people's attitudes
- Context includes both circumstance and timing
- Abortion attitude items fail to concurrently address both circumstance and timing
- Doing so can help stakeholders understand people's attitudes more precisely, which can help differentiate sub-groups of people "open" to abortion and in what capacities



Abortion Legality & Punishment

Abortion Attitudes = Abortion Legality

- Abortion legality is commonly used to operationalized “abortion attitudes” (Adamczyk et al., 2020).
- Abortion legality has been assessed in a variety of ways: (Bowman & Goldstein, 2021)
 - **Gallup**: Do you think abortions should be legal under any circumstances, only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?
 - **Pew**: Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?
 - **CBS/NYT**: What do you think about abortion? Should it be legal as it is now; legal only in such cases as saving the life of the mother, rape, or incest; or should it not be permitted at all?
 - **GSS**: Please tell me whether you think it should be possible for a pregnant women to obtain a legal abortion if...?
- **Does primarily focusing on legality *discourage* thinking about abortion as illegal?**



What does it mean for abortion to not be legal?

Continue
pregnancy

Abortion is
illegal



Will participants respond differently when presented with questions assessing legality, illegality, or whether someone should have to continue a pregnancy when they do not want to?



Example Questions assessing “Legality”

Legality

- Do you think it should be legal for a woman to obtain an abortion in the following circumstances?

Illegality

- Do you think it should be illegal for a woman to obtain an abortion in the following circumstances?

Continue Pregnancy

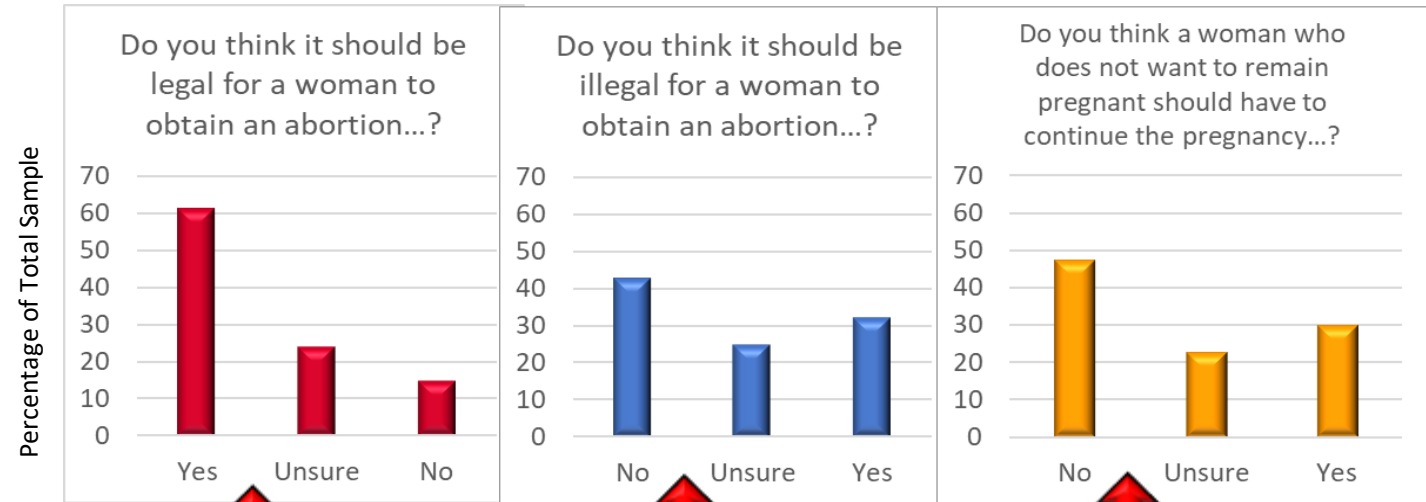
- Do you think a woman who does not want to remain pregnant should have to continue the pregnancy if...



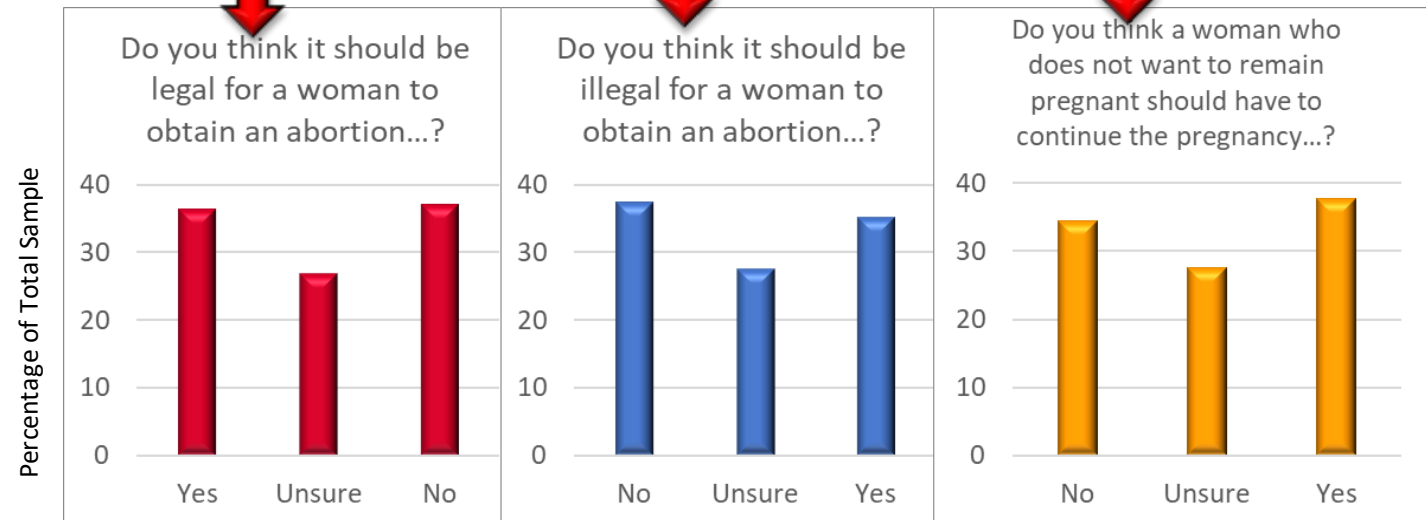
Impacts of Wording

1. Should abortion be legal?
2. Should abortion be illegal?
3. Should a woman be forced to continue an unwanted pregnancy?

Woman's health is endangered by the pregnancy.



Family has low income and cannot afford more children.

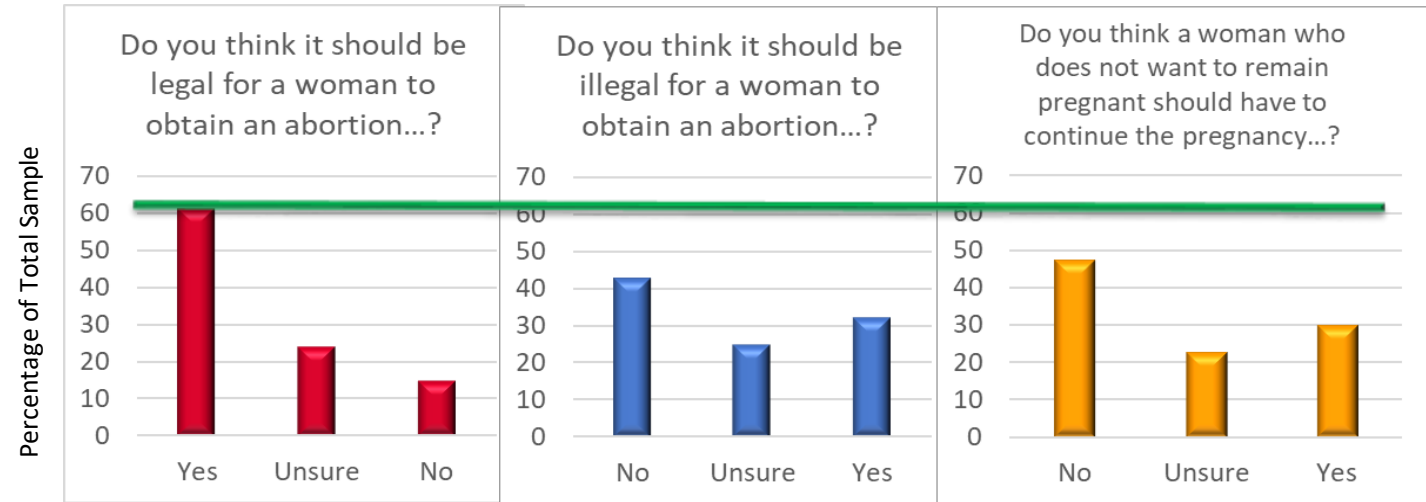


Impacts of Wording

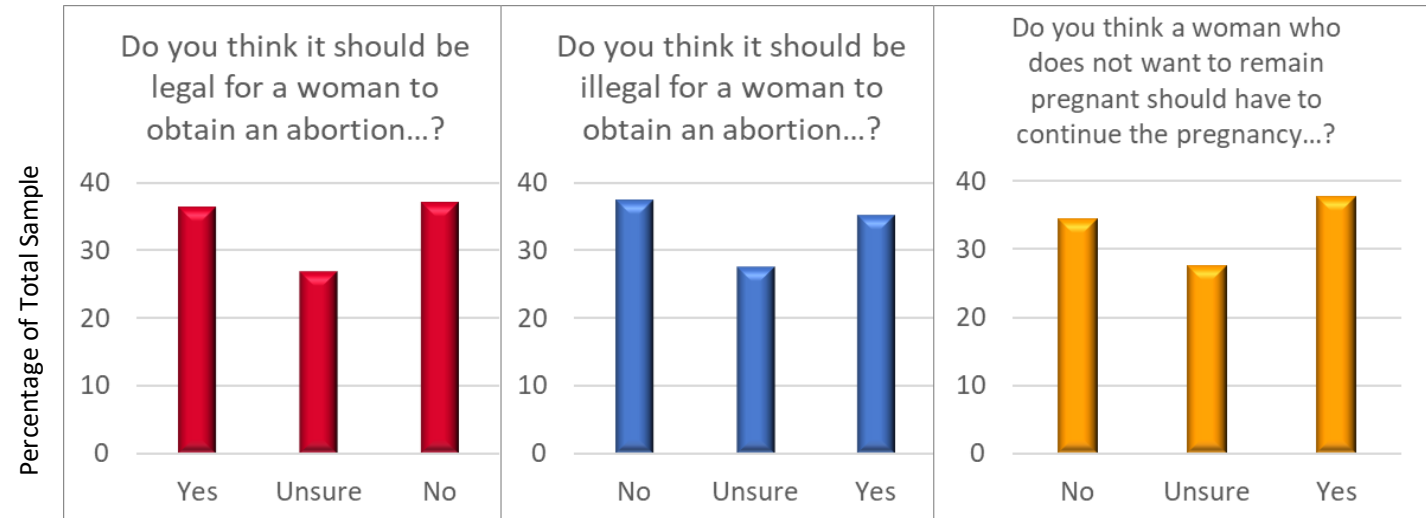
1. Should abortion be legal?
2. Should abortion be illegal?
3. Should a woman be forced to continue an unwanted pregnancy?

For the “woman’s health is endangered by the pregnancy,” people were more likely to “agree” with abortion being legal than to “disagree” with abortion being illegal or being forced to continue a pregnancy.

Woman’s health is endangered by the pregnancy.



Family has low income and cannot afford more children.



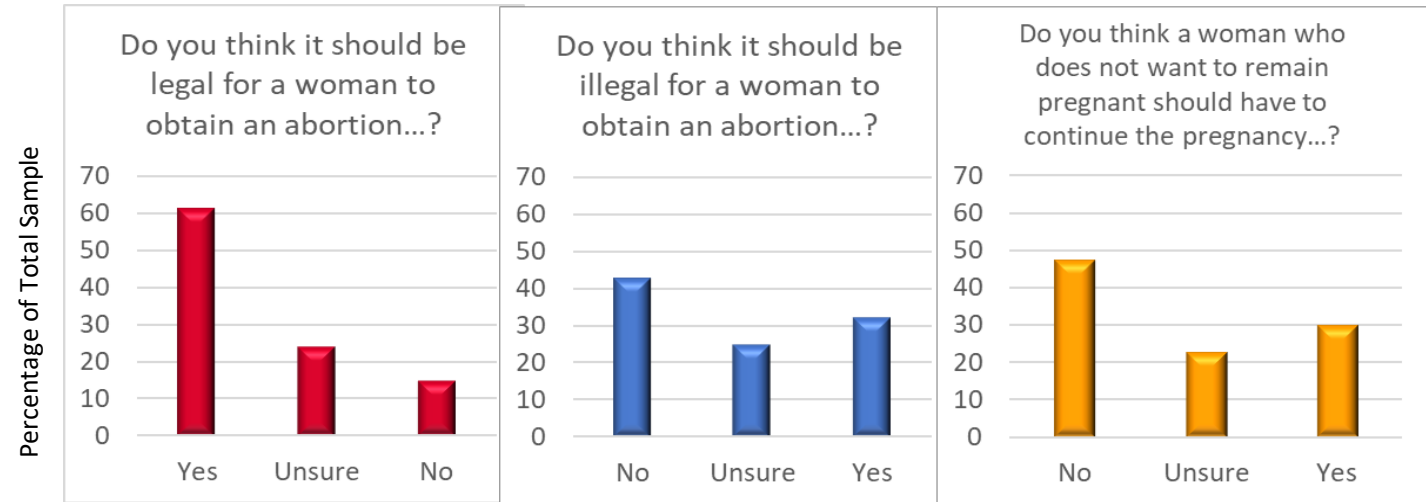
Impacts of Wording

1. Should abortion be legal?
2. Should abortion be illegal?
3. Should a woman be forced to continue an unwanted pregnancy?

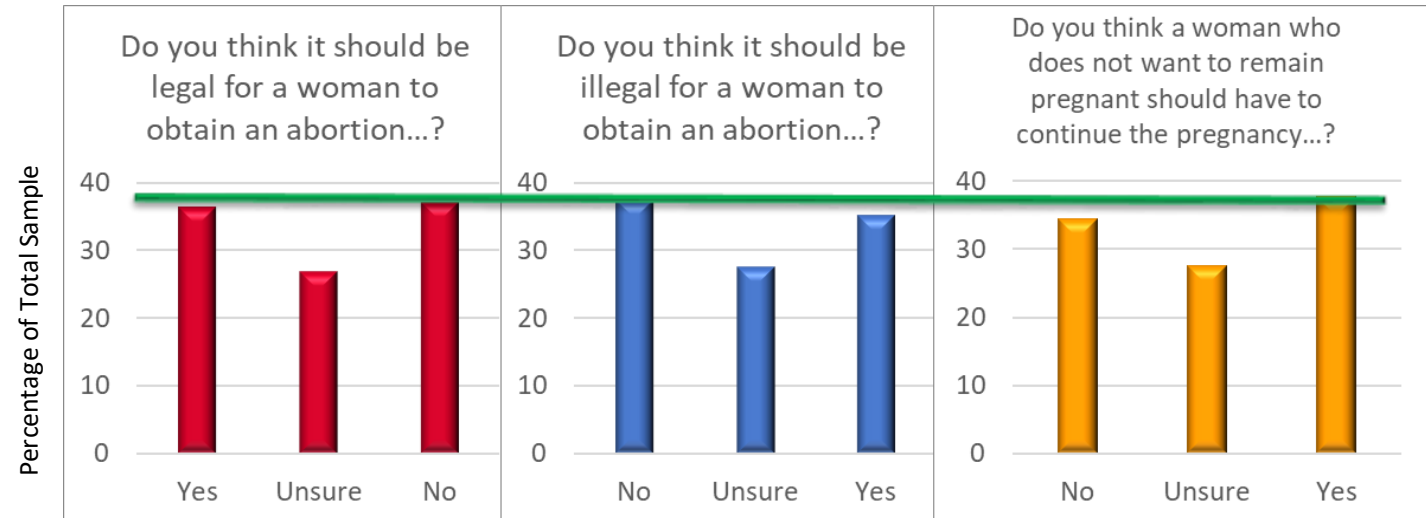
For the “woman’s health is endangered by the pregnancy,” people were more likely to “agree” with abortion being legal than to “disagree” with abortion being illegal or being forced to continue a pregnancy.

For the “family has low income and cannot afford more children,” responses were significantly more supportive when the illegal format was used, but the increase was small.

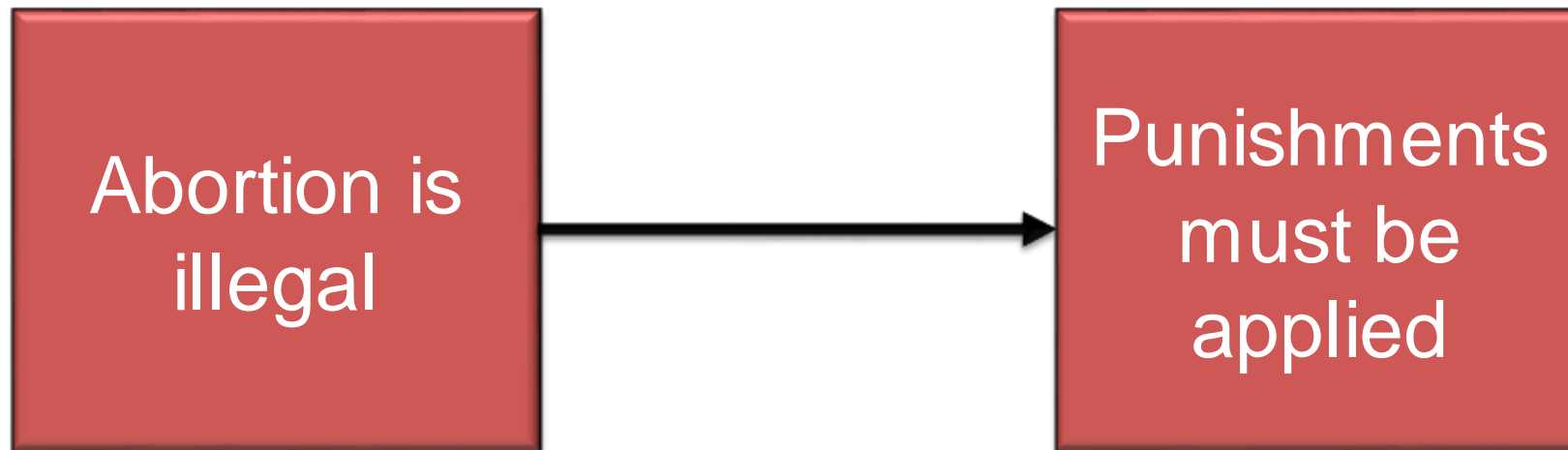
Woman’s health is endangered by the pregnancy.



Family has low income and cannot afford more children.



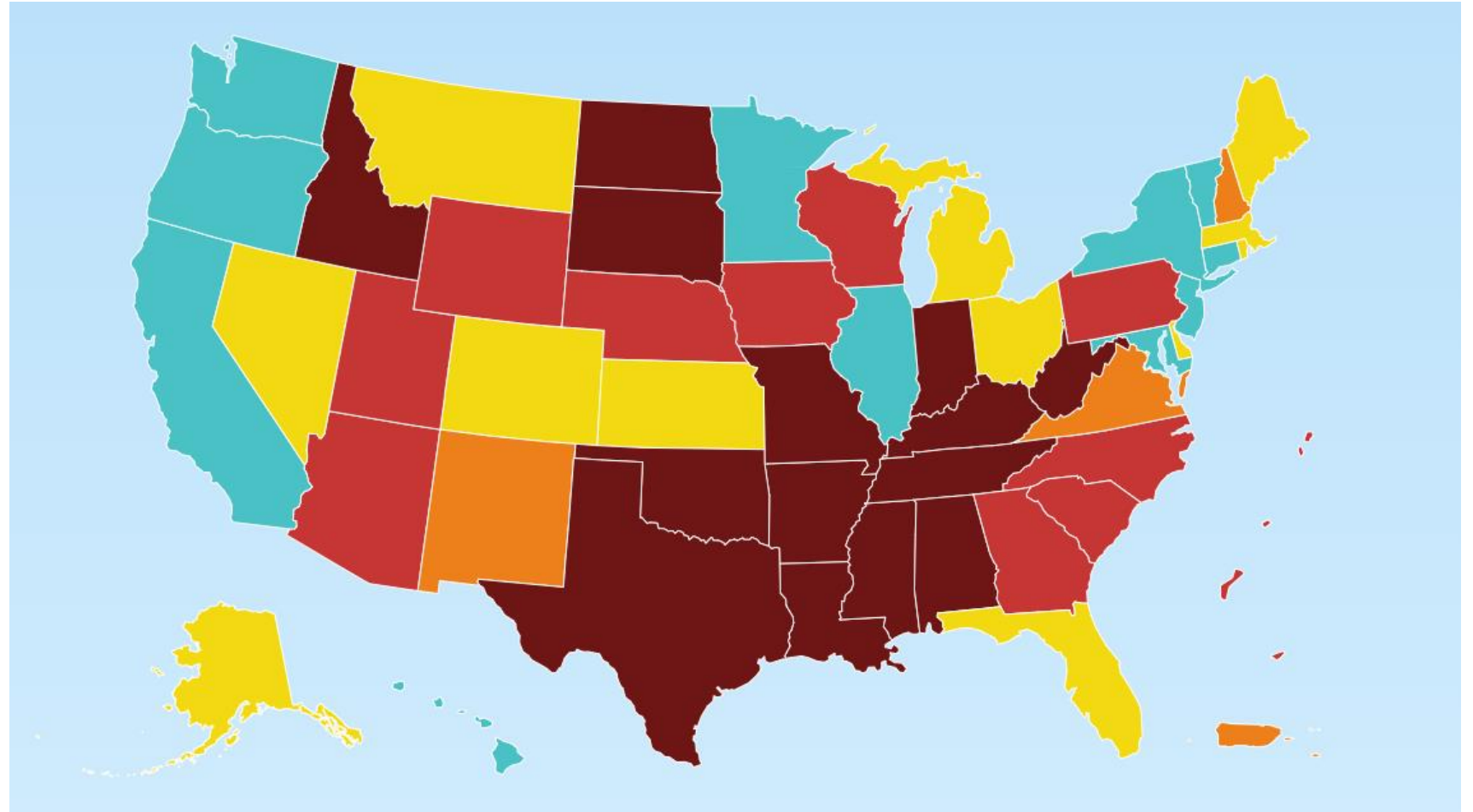
What does it mean when abortion is illegal?



Post *Dobbs v. Jackson*



Abortion legality and criminalization ranges substantially across states



Center for Reproductive Rights, 2024



Post *Dobbs v. Jackson*

Expanded

Abortion will be illegal in all cases

Any person who knowingly performs, induces, or attempts an abortion (HB 1280) & Abortion providers or anyone else who helps a patient access abortion care (SB 8) 5-99 or life in prison, and up to \$10,000 in fines (HB 1280) & Anyone included can be sued by anyone at all. Described as “sue thy neighbor” law (SB 8).

Abortion will be illegal in all scenarios except fetal anomalies or risk of maternal death.

Abortion care, those who administer a drug, substance, or instrument

Abortion will be illegal in all scenarios aside from risk of health or death.

Anyone who attempted to perform or performed an abortion. Felony punishable by up to 10 years in prison, a fine of \$100,000, or both

Center for Reproductive Rights, 2024



Example “Punishment” Measures

- **Abortion Punishment.** *“What do you think the most appropriate penalty is for a woman [healthcare provider] who had [provided] an illegal abortion if...”*
- **Response options:**
 - No penalty,
 - Therapy or education programs
 - Fine up to \$5,000 and/or up to 1 year in jail
 - Fine up to \$25,000 and/or up to 10 years in prison
 - Fine in prison
 - Death penalty
 - *Loss of medical license or ability to practice medicine: healthcare provider only



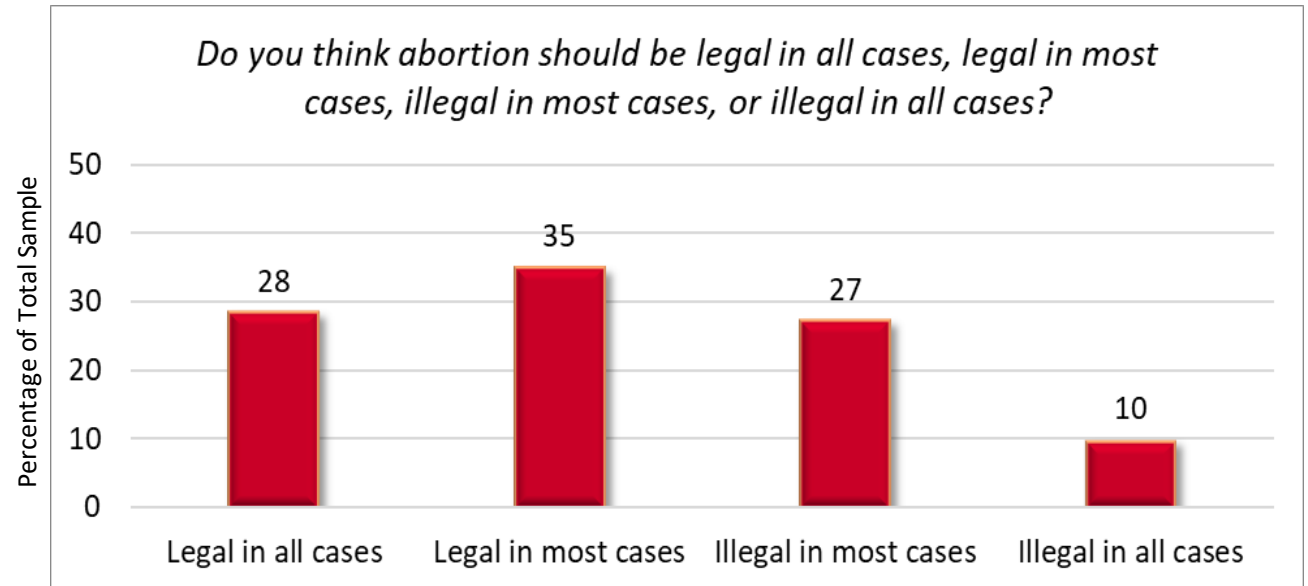
How do people respond to the Pew “general” abortion legality question?

Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?

The most common response is “legal in most cases” (35%).

Legal in all cases (28%) and illegal in most cases (27%) have similar endorsement.

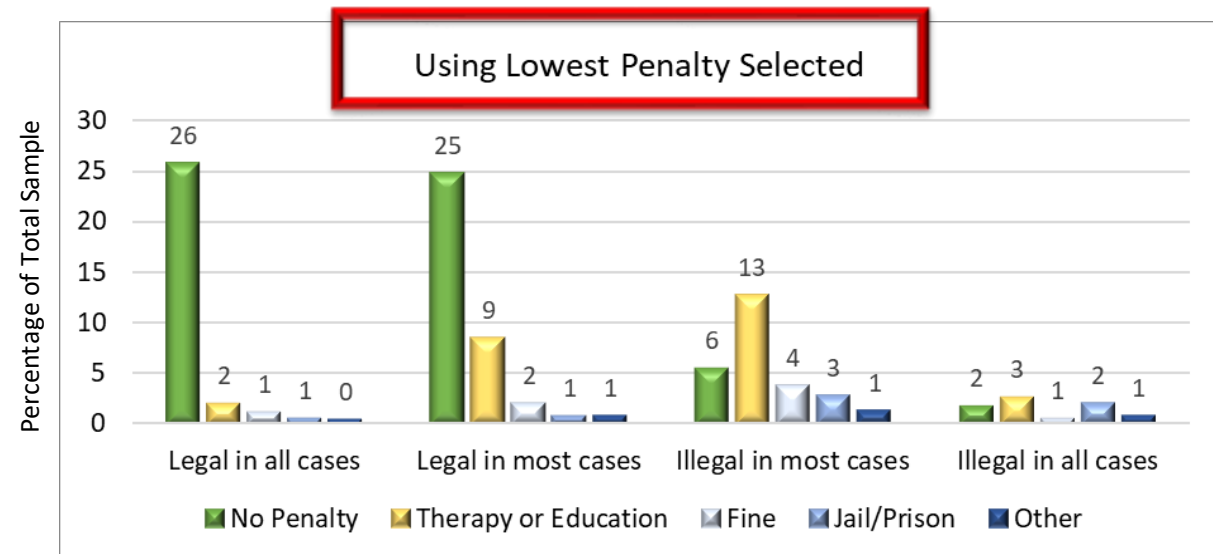
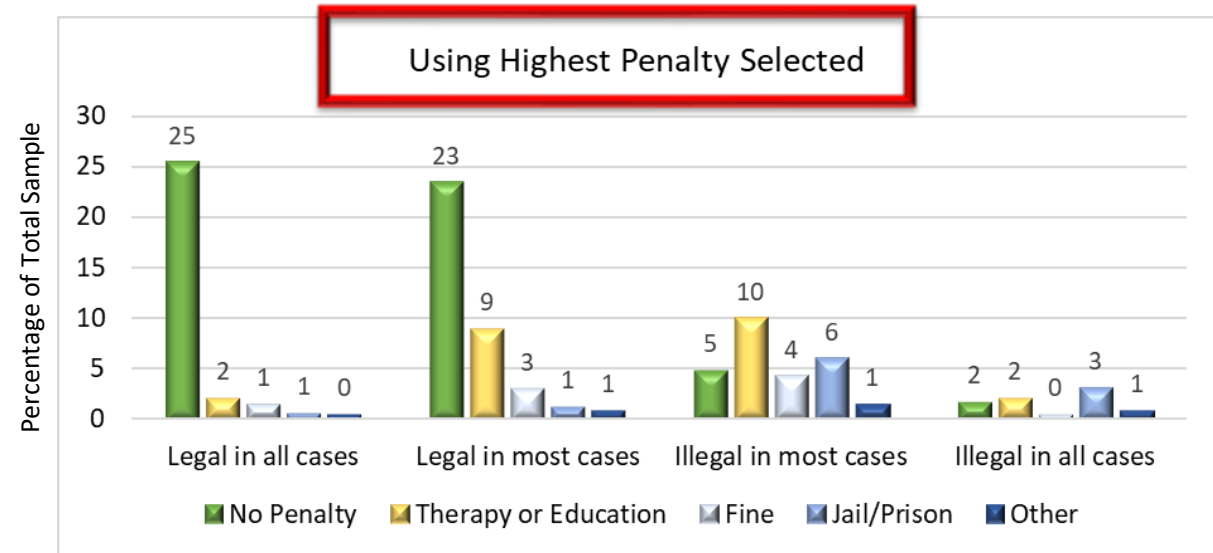
Illegal in all cases is the least endorsed (10%).



Jozkowski, Kristen; Crawford, Brandon; Turner, Ronna; Lo, Wen-juo (2022). Dobbs Data Waves 1 and 2. Sponsored by a private foundation. *Developing and Assessing Measures for the Social Sciences* project: Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.

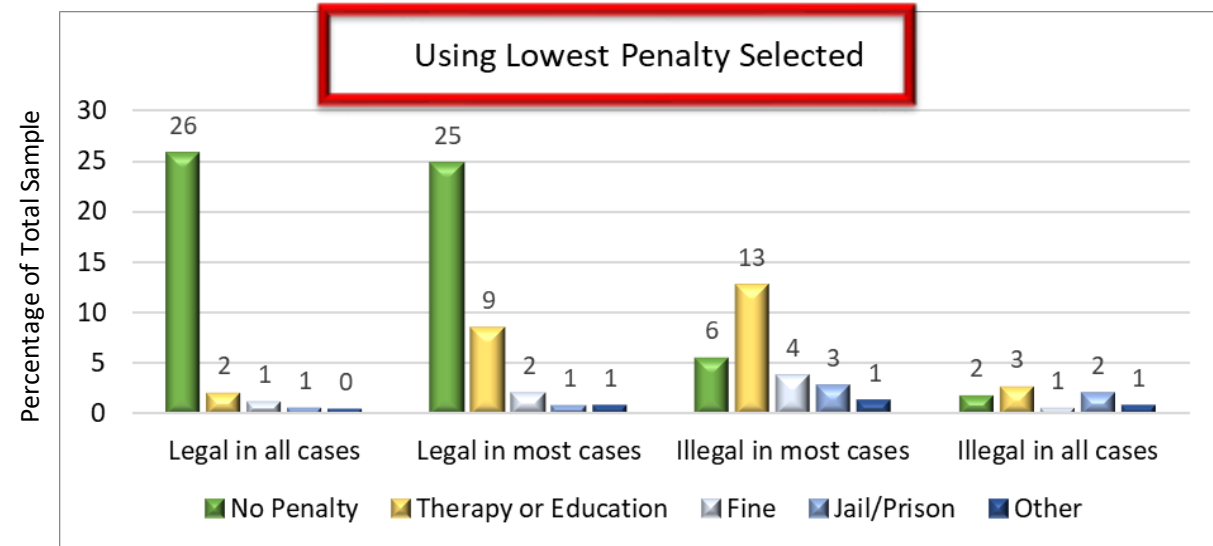
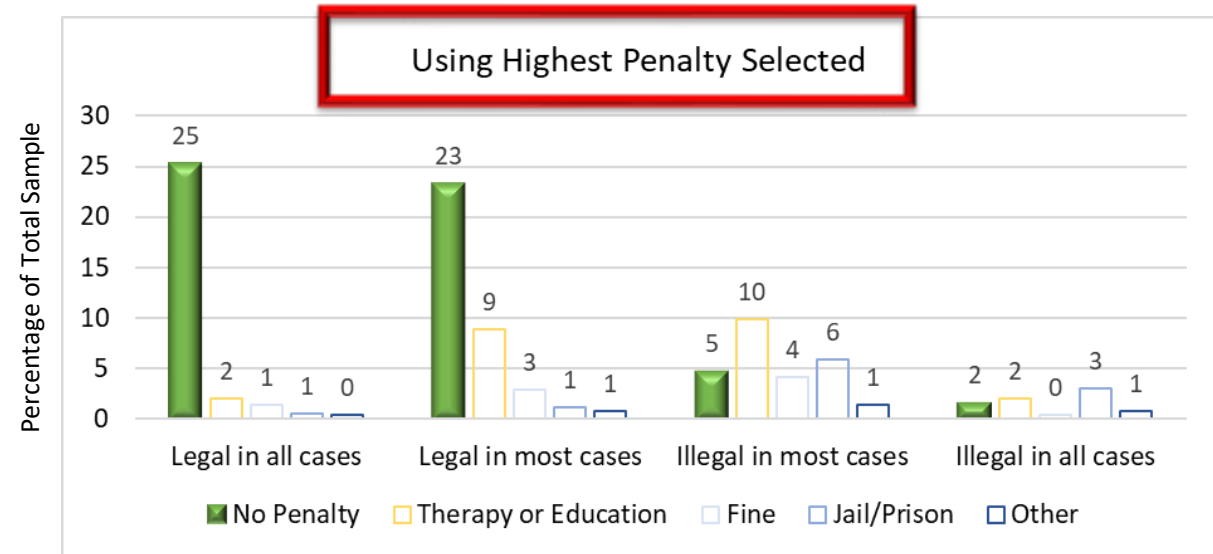


Perception of Punishment when Abortion is Illegal



Perception of Punishment when Abortion is Illegal

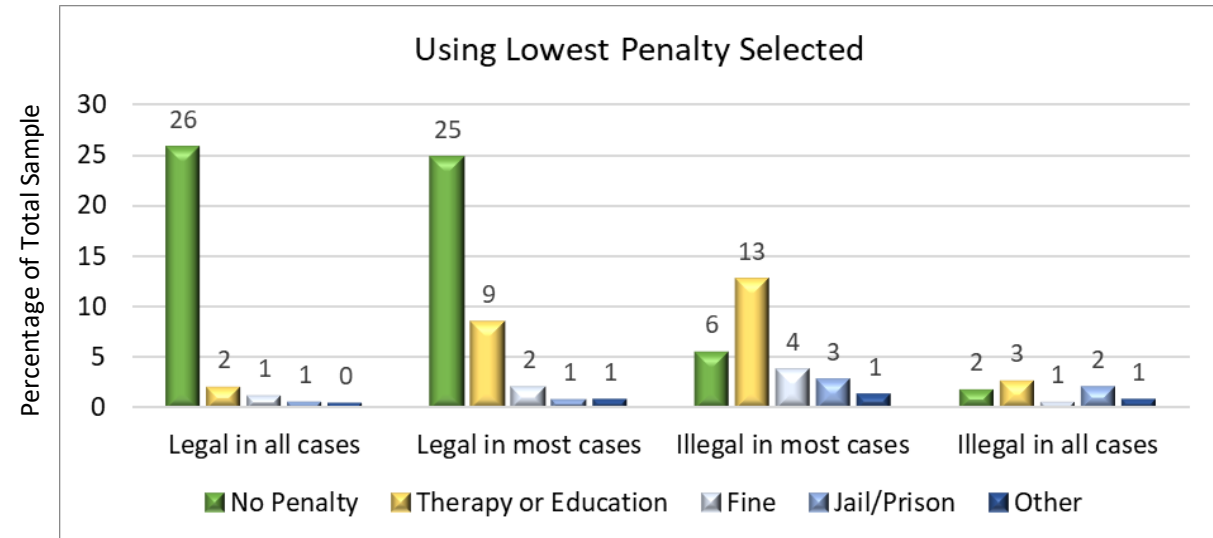
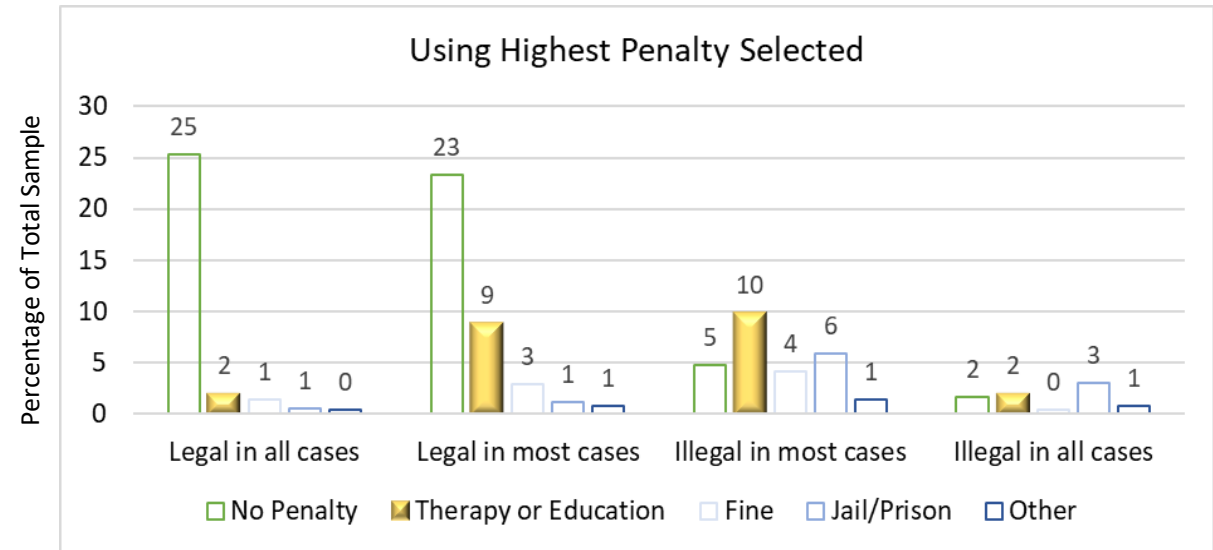
Participants were allowed to select multiple types of punishments. When using the most severe punishment selected, 55% indicated women should not receive a penalty for an illegal abortion. People most likely to indicate no penalty were in the *legal in all cases* or *most cases* groups but were also represented in groups who think abortion should be *illegal in most or all cases*.



Perception of Punishment when Abortion is Illegal

Participants were allowed to select multiple types of punishments. When using the **most severe** punishment selected, 55% indicated women should not receive a penalty for an illegal abortion. People most likely to indicate no penalty were in the *legal in all cases* or *most cases* groups but were also represented in groups who think abortion should be *illegal in most or all cases*.

Of the punishments/penalties listed, the most common “most severe” punishment listed was therapy or education (23%).

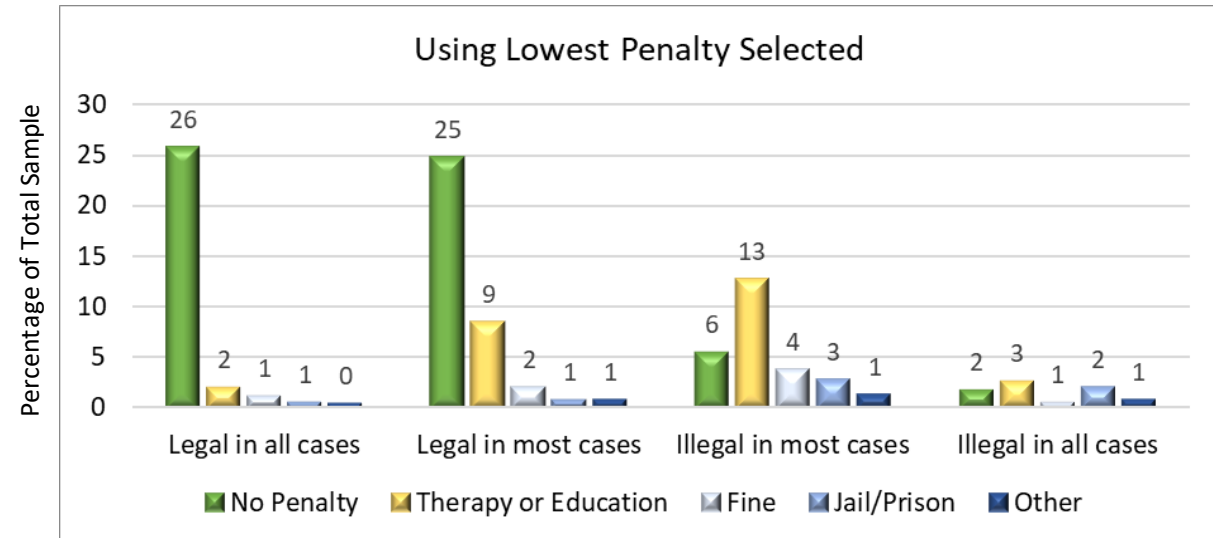
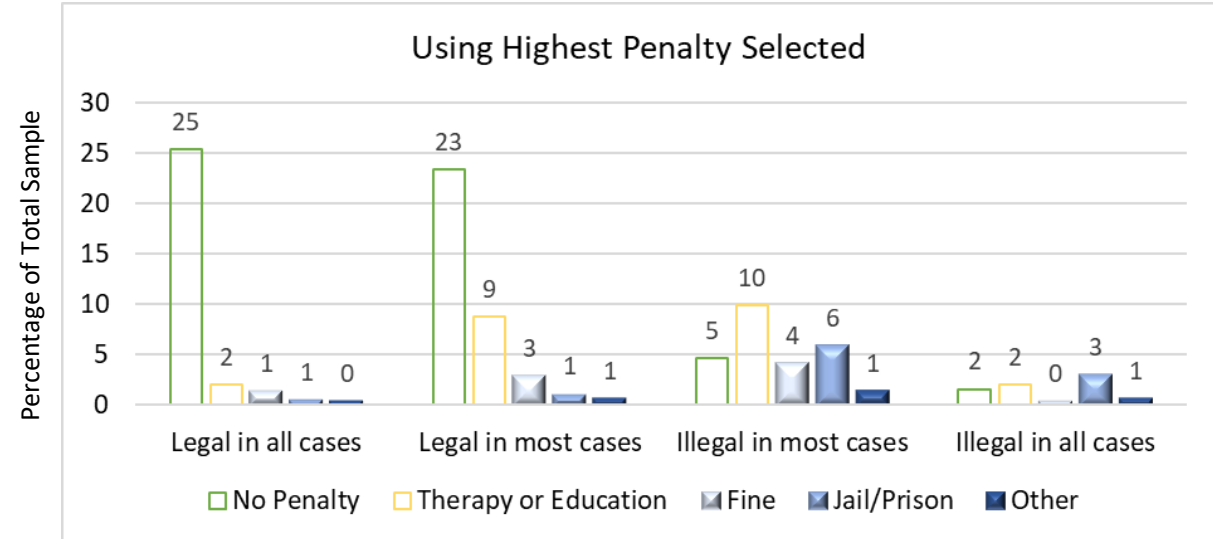


Perception of Punishment when Abortion is Illegal

Participants were allowed to select multiple types of punishments. When using the **most severe** punishment selected, 55% indicated women should not receive a penalty for an illegal abortion. People most likely to indicate no penalty were in the *legal in all cases* or *most cases* groups but were also represented in groups who think abortion should be *illegal in most or all cases*.

Of the punishments/penalties listed, the most common “most severe” punishment listed was therapy or education (23%).

Only 9% indicated a fine with 11% indicating jail or prison.



Perception of Punishment when Abortion is Illegal

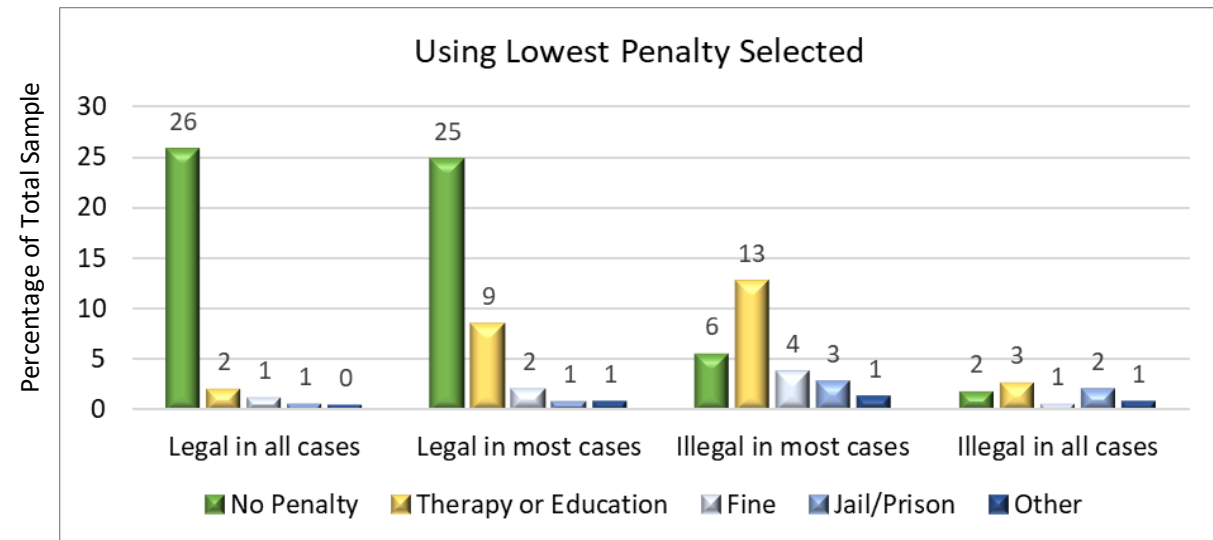
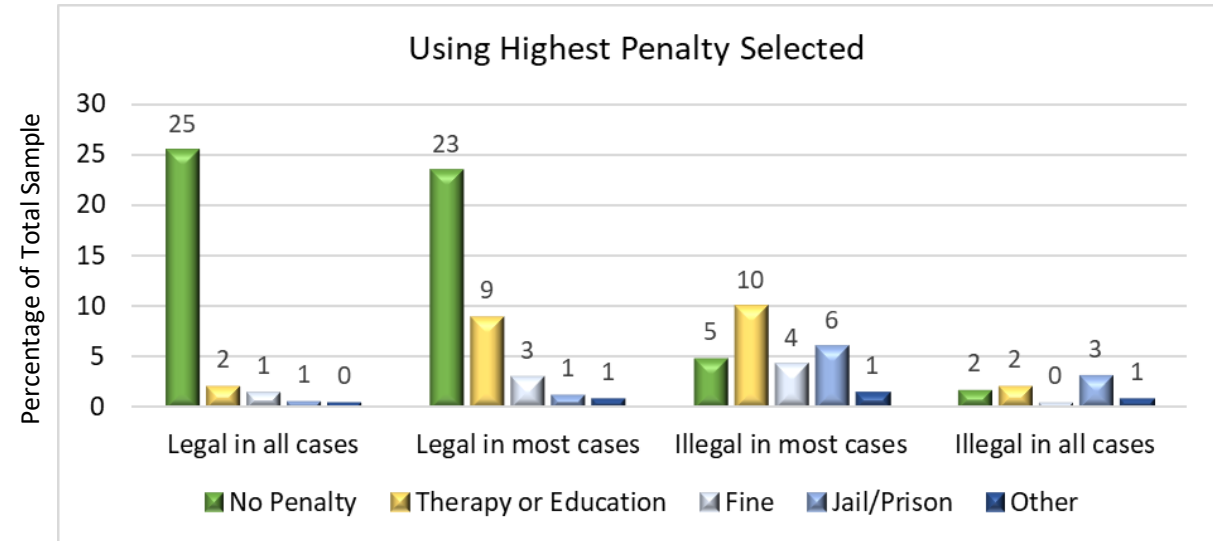
Participants were allowed to select multiple types of punishments. When using the **most severe** punishment selected, 55% indicated women should not receive a penalty for an illegal abortion. People most likely to indicate no penalty were in the *legal in all cases* or *most cases* groups but were also represented in groups who think abortion should be *illegal in most or all cases*.

Of the punishments/penalties listed, the most common “most severe” punishment listed was therapy or education (23%).

Only 9% indicated a fine with 11% indicating jail or prison.

When considering the least severe punishment, 58% indicated no penalty, 26% therapy/education, 7% fines, 6% jail or prison.

Overall, even for those who think abortion should be illegal, few endorse fines or jail/prison for women having illegal abortions. This may inform us about people’s emotional response to abortion legality versus practical implementation.



Illegality & Punishment: Concluding Thoughts

- Abortion legality is a significant aspect of abortion attitudes.
- Abortion legality may include other facets (constructs):
 - Legality
 - Illegality
 - “Forced” pregnancy
 - Punishment
- Current legislation regarding punishments does not appear to align with public opinion





Stay in Touch!

Kristen N. Jozkowski, PhD

knjozkow@iu.edu

Indiana University Abortion Attitudes Project

Website: <https://damss.publichealth.indiana.edu>

Twitter: @IU_DAMSS_Team



Follow us!

