

## Model legislation from the *Playbook for Abortion Rights* tested in the poll

### THREE POLICIES ABOUT CONTRACEPTION

**Q. 7A Women's Right to the Pill Act**—Requires that all pharmacies must fill lawful contraceptive prescriptions and stock emergency contraceptives for purchase over-the-counter. **84% FAVOR**

**Q. 7B Rape Survivor Information Act**—Requires hospital emergency rooms, as well as police agencies and colleges that receive reports of sexual assault, to follow a protocol to assist sexual assault survivors which includes providing survivors with medically accurate information about emergency contraception, and when medically appropriate, abortion. **86% FAVOR**

**Q. 7C Long-Acting Birth Control Information Act**—Creates a health department program to make long-acting reversible contraceptives (LARCs) more accessible. **82% FAVOR**

### THREE POLICIES ABOUT CRISIS PREGNANCY CENTERS

**Q. 8A Crisis Pregnancy Center Fraud Prevention Act**—Creates a mechanism for a government authority to notify a limited services pregnancy center about apparent false or fraudulent advertising, and penalties would accrue if a fraud is both proven and continues after this notification. [From San Francisco law.] **62% FAVOR**

**Q. 8B Pregnancy Center Disclosure Act**—Requires that unlicensed facilities which provide pregnancy-related services, such as Crisis Pregnancy Centers (CPCs), disclose that they are not licensed medical providers. [From the California FACT Act]. **75% FAVOR**

**Q. 8C Truth in Medicine Act**—Requires that no government healthcare agency, or any organization that receives government healthcare funding, shall endorse any of five specific lies about abortion: that it raises the risk of developing breast cancer, that it raises the risk of infertility, that it raises the risk of negative emotional or mental health problems, that most women regret having an abortion, or that abortion is more dangerous than the average medical procedure. **77% FAVOR**

### SIX ABORTION-OUT-LOUD POLICIES

**Q. 9A Clinic Safety Zone Act**—Protects patients and staff who are trying to enter or exit a reproductive health care facility by prohibiting protesters from obstructing access and stopping them from approaching closer than eight feet to individuals trying to access the clinic. [Identical to Colorado and Chicago laws.] **81% FAVOR**

**Q. 9B Keep Bosses Out of the Bedroom Act**—Guarantees that employers cannot take an adverse action against an employee based on the employee's reproductive health decisions. **75% FAVOR**

**Q. 9C Abortion with Dignity Act**—Provides a reproductive healthcare patient the right to sign a waiver to eliminate waiting periods, the requirement to hear medical misinformation, or other requirements that are not part of true informed consent. **60% FAVOR**

**Q. 9D Abortion Coverage Equity Act**—Ensures that women, regardless of their economic status, are able to obtain insurance coverage for abortion care. **55% FAVOR**

**Q. 9E Accountability for Clinic Violence Act**—Allows reproductive health care providers and facilities the ability to sue individuals for interfering in the delivery of health care. **47% FAVOR**

**Q. 9F Access to Medication Abortion Act**—Allows advanced practice clinicians (APCs) – nurse practitioners, certified nurse-midwives and physician assistants – to prescribe and supervise medication abortions. [Similar to law in more than a dozen states.] **60% FAVOR**

### ONE FAIRLY GENERIC REPEAL BILL

**Q. 9G** Repealing medically unnecessary delays and waiting periods. **54% FAVOR**

PUBLIC LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

SELZER & COMPANY  
 1,003 likely voters  
 Margin of error: ± 3.1 percentage points

Study #2141  
 August 18-23, 2016  
 1,569 general population contacts  
 weighted by sex, age, race, and educational attainment

**Percentages may not add to 100% due to rounding.**

- A. First, I just need to confirm in what state you live. **(If needed:)** People sometimes take their phone number when they move to another state, so we just need to determine what state I'm talking to.

FIPS code

1. How likely is it you will vote in the November 2016 general election for president and other state and local officials—will you definitely vote, probably vote, might or might not vote, or probably not vote?

100	Definitely vote	<b>Continue</b>
-	Probably vote	<b>Collect demographic information (age Q.100a/b, education Q.103, race Q.106a-c, phone type Q.110a/b, sex Q.111, code region Q.112), then terminate</b>
-	Might or might not vote	
-	Probably not vote	
-	Not sure	

2. I'm going to mention some issues that might be discussed in campaigns this year at the local, state, or national level. For each, please tell me how important you think it is for candidates to address the issue—very important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not important? **(Rotate list.)**

		Very important	Fairly important	Just somewhat important	Not important	Not Sure
A.	Tax reform	63	15	19	3	-
B.	Minimum wage	40	18	25	16	-
C.	Abortion	46	14	17	22	1
D.	Same-sex marriage	37	10	18	32	2
E.	Gun laws	70	10	11	9	-
F.	Terrorism	79	9	8	4	-
G.	The Supreme Court	74	11	12	3	-

3. For some, abortion is an issue that matters a lot—how candidates stand, what changes the state and federal government might propose. For others, this is an issue that doesn't really matter—whether laws change or not just doesn't make much difference. Which better describes you—is abortion an issue that matters a lot, matters a little, or is it an issue that doesn't make much difference to you?

56 Matters a lot  
 16 Matters a little  
 26 Doesn't make much difference  
 1 Not sure

4. Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on some laws in Texas affecting building codes and staff credentials for clinics that provide abortions. The five-to-three decision said these restrictions meant many clinics would have to close. The Court struck down the restrictions because they placed an undue burden on women seeking legal abortions without benefit to women’s health, which meant the clinics could remain open. Do you approve or disapprove of the Court’s decision?

- 55 Approve
- 37 Disapprove
- 7 Not sure

5. In 1973, the Supreme Court’s Roe v. Wade decision established a woman’s constitutional right to have an abortion. Would you like to see the Supreme Court overturn this decision, or not?

- 27 Overturn
- 69 Not overturn
- 4 Not sure

6. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means totally opposed to all abortions, and 10 meaning totally favoring complete access to abortion, what number best represents your position?

- 16 One
- 6 Two
- 6 Three
- 3 Four
- 13 Five
- 3 Six
- 8 Seven
- 10 Eight
- 5 Nine
- 29 Ten
- 2 Not sure

7. Now, I have a few questions about policies that affect the availability of contraception and birth control. For each, please tell me if you favor or oppose the proposal. **(Follow with:)** Would you say you strongly [FAVOR/OPPOSE] or just [FAVOR/OPPOSE]? **(Rotate list.)**

	Net Favor	Net Oppose	Strongly Favor	Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sure
A. To ensure that a woman can get birth control, require pharmacies to stock and dispense contraceptives to any woman who has a lawful prescription or who seeks over-the-counter emergency contraception.	84	13	61	23	5	8	4
B. To prevent unwanted pregnancy, require that when a woman reports a rape to authorities that she be provided information about emergency contraception, also called the morning after pill.	86	11	67	19	4	7	4
C. To prevent unwanted pregnancy, create programs that raise awareness of and access to highly-effective long-acting reversible contraceptives, such as IUDs and implants.	82	14	57	25	7	7	4

8. Now a few questions about crisis pregnancy centers. These are facilities that look like medical clinics and offer help to pregnant women but do not provide abortion services and actively try to stop women from having abortions. For each, please tell me if you favor or oppose the proposal. **(Follow with:)** Would you say you strongly [FAVOR/OPPOSE] or just [FAVOR/OPPOSE]? **(Rotate list.)**

	Net* Favor	Net* Oppose	Strongly Favor	Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sure
A. Prevent false advertising by crisis pregnancy centers by prohibiting them from using signs, print ads or the Internet to mislead a pregnant woman into believing that they offer abortion services.	62	33	50	12	9	23	6
B. Just as a medical office has to post its license, require crisis pregnancy centers that are not licensed to practice medicine to post a sign saying so.	75	21	58	17	8	13	5
C. So that women can make decisions on sound medical facts, require that a crisis pregnancy center which receives government funding cannot give a woman medically false information, such as the claim that abortion causes cancer.	77	18	64	13	5	13	5

\*Due to rounding, net favor/oppose values may not exactly match the combined percentages of “Strongly” and “Mostly” values.

**[Read only to those who answer 1, 2, or 3 in Q.6.]** Many of the remaining questions have to do with proposals that would make abortion rarer, or safer, or more accessible. We’d very much like your opinion for each. I’d also like you to know you can decide to opt out of any of these questions. I will still have a few short demographic questions at the end, even if you do opt out.

9. In the wake of the Supreme Court deciding that restrictions on access to abortion place an undue burden on women who seek the procedure, other efforts may be made in coming years to address burdens. I'm going to mention a few proposals. For each, please tell me if you favor or oppose the proposal. **(Follow with:)** Would you say you strongly [FAVOR/OPPOSE] or just [FAVOR/OPPOSE]? **(Rotate list.)**

	Net* Favor	Net* Oppose	Strongly Favor	Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	OPT OUT	Not Sure
A. Protect staff and women who enter and exit abortion clinics by requiring protesters to remain at least 8 feet away from them.	81	7	70	12	3	4	10	1
B. Protect employees from being fired or punished for their health decisions, such as having an abortion, having a child, or taking contraceptives.	75	13	66	9	3	10	10	2
C. Allow a woman who is seeking an abortion to opt out of sonograms and waiting periods if she does not believe they are necessary to making her own health care decisions.	60	27	40	20	11	16	11	3
D. To ensure legal abortion is accessible to all women, regardless of income, require that all health insurance plans, including Medicaid, cover legal abortion services.	55	32	39	16	9	23	11	3
E. Allow women and clinic staff to sue abortion protesters who are harassing them as they enter or exit a legal abortion clinic.	47	40	31	16	16	24	11	3
F. Since medication abortion—also called the abortion pill—has been proven safer than aspirin, Viagra and Tylenol, allow nurse practitioners who are licensed to prescribe medication to also dispense and supervise medication abortions.	60	26	40	20	9	18	10	3
G. Reduce the time and expense of obtaining a legal abortion by doing away with medically unnecessary delays of multiple appointments and waiting periods.	54	31	37	17	11	19	11	4

\*Due to rounding, net favor/oppose values may not exactly match the combined percentages of “Strongly” and “Mostly” values.

10. I'm going to read some statements that help explain why some people favor keeping abortion legal and minimizing burdens on women seeking abortions. For each, please tell me if you find the statement very convincing, fairly convincing, just somewhat convincing, or not convincing. **(Rotate list.)**

	Very convincing	Fairly convincing	Just somewhat convincing	Not convincing	OPT OUT	Not Sure
A. I appreciate that abortion is a complex issue for the individuals involved. That's why I feel that politicians should stay out of a woman's personal and private decision whether or not to have an abortion.	50	11	9	15	13	1
B. I believe people need to make their own important life decisions, including whether and when to become a parent. To do that, they need access to accurate medical information, birth control, and when necessary, abortion.	50	11	11	14	14	1
C. Once a woman has made the important and very personal decision to have an abortion, it's not for politicians to interfere. Our job is to promote people's health and well-being, not impose our beliefs on others.	53	10	9	12	13	1
D. We cannot know all the personal and medical circumstances behind a woman's decision to have an abortion. Every person's situation is different, and we should respect that this decision is hers to make, with her family and in accordance with her faith.	56	12	8	10	14	1

11. The statements I read represent four major themes—which one of these would you say is the most convincing reason for abortion to remain legal without burdens? **(Read in same order as Q.10. Letters in far left column identify which shortcut goes with item in Q.10.)**

- A. 19 Abortion is a complex and private decision
- B. 12 When and if to become a parent is one of the most important life decisions
- C. 23 Once a woman has made her decision, politicians and others should not impose their beliefs on her
- D. 21 We cannot know personal and medical circumstances that lead a woman to seek an abortion
- 8 None of these (VOL)
- 14 OPT OUT
- 4 Not sure

12. You've had a chance to think about these issues, which may or may not have changed your view. At this point, on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means totally opposed to all abortions, and 10 means totally favoring complete access to abortion, what number best represents your position?

- 9 One
- 6 Two
- 4 Three
- 1 Four
- 10 Five
- 3 Six
- 8 Seven
- 7 Eight
- 5 Nine
- 30 Ten
- 2 Not sure
- 15 OPT OUT

These final questions are asked just to see what cross-section of **likely voters** we are interviewing.

100a. What is your age? (**RECORD ACTUAL AGE AND CODE WITH APPROPRIATE AGE GROUP. IF RESPONDENT REFUSES, OFFER AGE GROUPS.**)

b. (**CODE PROPER CATEGORY :**)

- 8 Under 25
- 6 25 to 29
- 7 30 to 34
- 8 35 to 39
- 8 40 to 44
- 9 45 to 49
- 9 50 to 54
- 10 55 to 59
- 10 60 to 64
- 23 65 and over
- 1 Refused/not sure

101. In politics as of today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

- 28 Republican
- 34 Democrat
- 31 Independent
- 1 Other (VOL)
- 6 Refused/not sure

102. Do you think of yourself as generally conservative, moderate, or liberal?

- 36 Conservative
- 35 Moderate
- 22 Liberal
- 1 Something else (VOL)
- 6 Not sure

103. What is the last grade of school you completed? **(Read options.)**
- 29 High school graduate or less
  - 19 Some college
  - 10 Associate's degree
  - 22 Bachelor's degree
  - 19 Postgraduate work or degree
  - 1 Refused/not sure
104. Do you have children under the age of 18 living at home?
- 30 Yes
  - 66 No
  - 5 Refused/not sure
105. Are you currently married?
- 55 Yes
  - 40 No
  - 5 Refused/not sure
113. Which of the following best describes your religious beliefs—Catholic, Protestant, some other kind of Christian, Jewish, Muslim, other, or none? **(Added after first night of interviews; n=948.)**
- 17 Catholic
  - 27 Protestant
  - 27 Some other kind of Christian
  - 2 Jewish
  - 1 Muslim
  - 1 Other
  - 15 None
  - 10 Refused/not sure
114. **(Ask all.)** Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not? **(Added after first night of interviews; n=948.)**
- 29 Yes
  - 62 No
  - 8 Not sure
- 106a. With what racial or ethnic group do you identify most—White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, or some other group?  
**(If not Hispanic, ask:) Are you from a Latino, Hispanic, or Spanish-speaking background?**
- 106b. **(If yes, code AC=3 in b. Then reclassify all into c.)**
- C.
- 69 White
  - 12 Black
  - 10 Hispanic
  - 2 Asian
  - 4 Other
  - 1 Multi-racial
  - 3 Refused/not sure



107. Is your total annual household income before taxes above or below \$50,000 per year?
- Below **ASK b**
- Above **ASK c**
- b. Is it above or below \$25,000 per year? 11 Below (<\$25,000)
- 19 Above (\$25,000-\$49,999)
- c. Is it above or below \$75,000 per year? 17 Below (\$50,000-\$74,999)
- Above: Ask d**
- d. Is it above or below \$100,000 per year? 12 Below (\$75,000-\$99,999)
- 24 Above (\$100,000 and over)
- 16 Refused/not sure
108. How would you describe the area where you live—a city, a suburb, a town, or in the country?
- 31 City
- 29 Suburb
- 15 Town
- 20 Country
- 5 Refused/not sure
- 109a. Would you be willing to be recontacted to participate in any further research on this topic, or would you prefer not?
- 36 Yes, willing to be recontacted
- 64 No, prefer not
- b. If yes, ask first name: \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Verify phone number: \_\_\_\_\_
- d. Email address \_\_\_\_\_
111. Sex:
- 51 Male
- 49 Female
- Code Census regions.
112. REGN—see attachment for applicable states. Recode from Q.A.
- 18 Northeast
- 22 Midwest
- 37 South
- 22 West

**Those are all the questions I have. Thank you for your time.**