

“Moving Beyond the Picket Lines”

**A Deliberative Forum
on
The Issue of Abortion in America,
with a focus on Clinic Regulations**

Report Prepared by

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The Topic: The Issue of Abortion

Forty years after the Supreme Court Decision on Roe v. Wade, the political debate over the issue of abortion continues. Since the 1990s this debate has moved to the State Houses and during the past two years alone over 40 bills have been introduced to regulate access to abortion. Yet discussions in the State Houses often lack informed public input on the issue and thus deprive these law-making bodies of representative citizen engagement in the conversation. Such informed citizen opinions are also necessary for consideration by the Court Justices themselves.

Carnegie Mellon's Program for Deliberative Democracy in partnership with Temple University's Institute for Survey Research sought to address this problem of informed citizen opinion by sponsoring a Community Deliberative Forum on the issue of abortion in America on October 6th 2018.

The data drawn from the exit surveys from this event may have 'consulting power' and could be used by stakeholders to influence concrete policy discussions in State Houses across the country. Of special interest will be citizen input on the regulation of clinics.

Our experience in developing these kinds of events convinces us that we can not only address this issue in a civil and constructive manner, but that the very process of informed, well structured conversations itself demonstrates the advantages of a more deliberative, less divisive democracy.

The Process: Deliberative Democracy

Under the Philosophy Department's Center for Ethics and Policy, Carnegie Mellon's Program for Deliberative Democracy has achieved national recognition for its work in advancing civic engagement and influencing public policy. Through the implementation of best practices and established protocols, the Program has worked on Deliberative Community Forums used during the Public Comment process for City of Pittsburgh's annual Budget and in regional and state-wide Deliberative Polls® used to assess, for example, the issue of same-sex marriage.

The concept of deliberative democracy is best seen as instantiated in a set of protocols designed to ensure that the conversations taking place are *inclusive, informed* and *well-structured*. They can involve the use of '*expert panels*' and *surveys* and the results of these deliberations should have some *influence* on public policy and/or local decisions.

Method

- Community members are recruited, either through random sampling techniques or more informal 'convenience' sampling. Forums should be *inclusive*.
- Participants get well-balanced background information on the issues to be discussed. Conversations should be *informed*.
- Moderators help guide the discussion. Discussions should be *well-structured*.
- Discussions should be tied to an outcome or an action item. Deliberations should *influence* public policy or local decisions.

Benefits

- Participants develop an opinion informed by relevant facts and expert information
- Participants enrich their understanding of their own perspective.
- Participants develop understanding of new or alternative perspectives.
- Participants develop a more comprehensive knowledge about the issues.
- Participants practice skills of civil deliberation.
- Participants become more engaged citizens



Design and Implementation of the Forums

Beta Testing (2016-2017)¹ – Campus Conversations

At the Program for Deliberative Democracy we develop materials for both college and community use and at times we are able to use “Campus conversations” as a way to test our materials and surveys prior to using them for larger Community Conversations. We did this through a series of Campus Conversations titled “Beyond the Picket Lines: A Campus Conversation on the Issue of Abortion, Clinic Regulations and Campus Reproductive Resources.” The college sites were Carnegie Mellon University, Community College of Philadelphia, and Shippensburg University (see <http://hss.cmu.edu/pdd/iaia/>).

During this process, we were able to vet the quality of the Discussion Guide, develop a FAQ file based on the work of the Guttmacher Institute and refine our survey questions to capture more detailed kinds of input, both quantitatively and qualitatively. One of the advantages of surveys used in deliberative forums is that they gather the *reasons* why people made their selections.

Host Sites for October 6th Event

Building on previous forums in the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia area, the Program for Deliberative Democracy partnered with Temple University’s Institute for Survey Research, where the latter served both as a recruitment source and a host site.

Recruitment

With a limited budget of 30K we sought to achieve reasonable ‘convenience samples’ from the Pittsburgh and Philadelphia area. In 2007-2008, the Program for Deliberative Democracy (PDD) was able to achieve a random sample across the state by using voter registration rolls in counties surrounding four host sites² In part

¹ In one sense, this Forum was over 30 years in the making. In the 1990s what was then called the “Center for the Advancement of Applied Ethics” sought to develop interactive media applications in “Applied Ethics” (that section in college ethics curricula that deals with real world problems in fields such as medical ethics). One program, published by Routledge in 1996, was aptly titled “The Issue of Abortion in America.” Through the use of video clips, the CD-ROM sought to bring the reality of the issue up close through the stories of individuals confronting this problem in their lives. Both Robert Cavalier and Liz Style were co-authors. As we moved from ‘applied ethics’ to ‘applied political philosophy’ the method of deliberative democracy seemed a good vehicle to continue this work.

² Our original proposal was for \$210,000 (less than a negative political ad). This would have allowed us to recruit a random sample from the counties surrounding four campus host sites located in Slippery Rock, Shippensburg, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Participants would be paid a \$50 stipend upon completing the post survey. RDD and other forms of sampling would ensure a representative sample across the state as the recruitment would include a pre-survey. This is precisely what we did in 2007-8 in our Deliberative Poll(R) on the State’s proposed Marriage Protection Amendment. This is written up in Cavalier, *Approaching*

because of the costs and challenges of achieving random samples today, survey centers have developed ‘registries’ of citizens willing to participate in survey studies in areas such a health care, housing, etc.

The University of Pittsburgh’s Survey Research Center has an IRB-approved research registry currently containing approximately 7,000 regional residents with detailed socio-demographic and contact information who are willing to take part in research studies. Participants are continually recruited from local population-based telephone surveys conducted by UCSUR.

Temple University’s Institute for Survey Research owns and operates BeHeardPhilly, a multi-mode panel that includes 9500+ Philadelphians who have opted-in and agreed to be surveyed. Panel members have been recruited via probability and multiple non-probability methods. Panel members opt their preferred mode of response which includes phone, web and SMS and they opt the number of times they are willing to be surveyed in a given year. ISR also performs data entry and analysis from both host sites.

SRC and ISR have different pools that in some ways mirror the socio-economic and educational levels of the two cities. Considerable effort on the part of both groups went into recruitment for this event. That said, turnout was lower than expected. Additional participations were recruited from groups who were attending the event as observers or reserve moderators.

Basic Demographic Information (both sites)³

Number of Participants

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Temple	33	29.7
	CMU	77	69.4
	Total	110	99.1
Missing	System	1	.9
Total		111	100.0

Deliberative Democracy (CH 7) and on our website (hss.cmu.edu/pdd/polls/fall08/). This present event was made possible by a Gift to PDD for 30K by CMU Alum, Judith Wright.

³ For the full data report, including further statistical analysis, contact Robert Cavalier (rc2z@andrew.cmu.edu) for a copy of ISR’s “Basic Descriptives By All Sites.”

Age

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
What is your age?	105	18	95	53.40	18.982
Valid N (listwise)	105				

Please indicate your *gender*.

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Man	38	34.2
	Woman	71	64.0
	Total	109	98.2
Missing	-1	1	.9
	System	1	.9
	Total	2	1.8
Total		111	100.0

Which of the following describe your *race*?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	African American	34	30.6
	Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander	1	.9
	Caucasian or White	69	62.2
	Total	104	93.7
	Missing	Other	4
Prefer not to answer		1	.9
System		2	1.8
Total		7	6.3
Total		111	100.0

Are you an active member of a religious organization?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	43	38.7
	No	61	55.0
	Don't know	1	.9
	Prefer not to answer	4	3.6
	Total	109	98.2
Missing	-1	1	.9
	System	1	.9
	Total	2	1.8
Total		111	100.0

What is your religious preference?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	None	20	18.0
	Catholic	10	9.0
	Jewish	10	9.0
	Muslim	4	3.6
	Protestant - Non evangelical	12	10.8
	Protestant - Evangelical	6	5.4
	Unitarian	1	.9
	Other Christian	22	19.8
	Other	17	15.3
	Don't know	2	1.8
	Prefer not to answer	4	3.6
	Total	108	97.3
	Missing	-1	2
System		1	.9
Total		3	2.7
Total		111	100.0

To what extent do religious beliefs play a role in your life?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	33	29.7
	Some	35	31.5
	A great deal	39	35.1
	Prefer not to answer	1	.9
	Total	108	97.3
Missing	-1	2	1.8
	System	1	.9
	Total	3	2.7
Total		111	100.0

Which of the following political parties do you most closely identify with?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Democratic Party	86	77.5
	Republican Party	5	4.5
	Green Party	1	.9
	No Party Affiliation	8	7.2
	Other	3	2.7
	Prefer not to answer	6	5.4
	Total	109	98.2
Missing	-1	1	.9
	System	1	.9
	Total	2	1.8
Total		111	100.0

When considering social issues, do you consider yourself to be:

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly conservative	2	1.8
	Conservative	13	11.7
	Moderate	30	27.0
	Liberal	32	28.8
	Strongly liberal	25	22.5
	Prefer not to answer	6	5.4
	Total	108	97.3
Missing	-1	2	1.8
	System	1	.9
	Total	3	2.7
Total		111	100.0

Participants were overrepresented by people characterizing themselves as “Democrat” and “Liberal.” A number of participants commented that they wish they had more conservative, abortion resistant members at their tables. Still, for cities like Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, the demographics were a fair representation:

In Philadelphia, 76.9% of registered voters are Democrats and 11.2% of registered voters are Republicans; in Allegheny County, 58.1% are registered Democrats and 27.8% are registered Republicans (with a higher percentage of Democrats in the City of Pittsburgh). 10-15% of voters in Philly and Pittsburgh are non-affiliated or are registered to another party.⁴

Moreover, since the Afro-American population of Philadelphia residents is 44.1 percent black (with 35.8 percent white, 13.6 percent Latino and 7.2 percent Asian), 30% of the participants in this Deliberative Forum were minorities.⁵

Moderator Training

Tim Dawson and Kathy Smith were responsible for moderator recruitment and training. Both are experienced practitioners and both have extensive experience with Deliberative Forums.

⁴ Voter registration stats from the PA State Department (<https://www.dos.pa.gov/VotingElections/OtherServicesEvents/VotingElectionStatistics/Pages/VotingElectionStatistics.aspx>).

⁵ Race and Ethnicity in Philadelphia (<https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Pennsylvania/Philadelphia/Race-and-Ethnicity>)

Moderators play a key role in the deliberative forums. They are to ensure that the conversations are not only informed (through, for example, the Discussion Guide) but well-structured. Tim Dawson has developed the idea of a “moderator agenda” that carefully breaks down the sections of the conversation, thus ensuring a consistent flow of deliberation across the tables.

Expert Panels

The role of an Expert Panel is to address questions that inevitably arise during the table discussions. Table moderators spend the last section of the discussion to formulate two questions to be asked of the Panel (two questions are suggested in case another table asks a similar question). Expert Panels are to act like teachers, not pundits or advocates. They are chosen on the basis of their relevant expertise.

CMU Panel

Katherine Cooklin, PhD (Professor in the Philosophy Department at Slippery Rock University)

David Garrow (Professor of Law & History and Distinguished Faculty Scholar at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law from 2011 until 2017)

Colleen Michele Krajewski, MD MPH (certified in Obstetrics & Gynecology and a member of the American Board of Obstetrics and Gynecology)

Jane Mcshea, MSW, LSW (Social Worker at Magee Women's Hospital)

Panel Moderator: M. Shernell Smith (Assistant Director for the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs)

Temple Panel

Marcella Nyachogo, LSW (licensed Pennsylvania Social Worker with a Master’s degree in Social Work from the University of Pennsylvania’s School of Social Policy and Practice).

David Gorden (Philosophy Department at Shippensburg University)

Kimberly Mutcherson, Esquire (Rutgers School of Law)

Dr. Stephanie Sober (Physician)

Panel Moderator: David Freeman, Esq.

Comment:

The panel at Temple was well received in the post survey, whereas a number of participants in the CMU survey were concerned about the bias and preparation of their panel. One panel member of that group used an unnecessary turn of phrase (“anti-choice States”) in an otherwise admirable performance and other panelists did not do as well as the Temple panel in their responses. There is a video of the Temple panel and a link to that on the project website.

GovTrack

GovTrack (www.govtrack.us) is a nationally recognized civics site that explains the daily activities of the United States Congress. The Program for Deliberative Democracy worked with them to develop and implement an enhanced voter-input feature.⁶

We utilized this feature as a follow-up activity for those engaged in the Deliberative Forum. Participants received instructions on how access as use the site and were asked to provide input (for or against) on a bill that is relevant to this deliberative forum (H.J. Res.43/S.J. Res. 13.). The Bill sought to legally overturn the Department of Health and Human Services’ rule and allow states to withhold federal Planned Parenthood funding to clinics in their states. (The bill passed the house 230-188 and the senate 51-50 becoming Public Law 115-23).

The User Guide and more information on this aspect of the Deliberative Forum are available on the project website.

⁶ Dr. Ben Towne developed the input tool in coordination with Josh Tauberer, founder and President of GovTrack. This project was made possible through a gift from CMU Alum Judith Wright (CIT '69).

Descriptive Report for Deliberative Democracy Event Held October 6, 2018 (Philadelphia and Pittsburgh): Summary⁷ from Both Sites:

Summary of Question 1 Part II (a-m)

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they are not ready for a(nother) child?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	86	77.5
	No	12	10.8
	Not sure	9	8.1
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they can't afford a baby?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	88	79.3
	No	13	11.7
	Not sure	6	5.4
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

⁷ Excerpts from a comprehensive summary by Temple University's Institute for Survey Research are available on the project website

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when the timing is wrong?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	83	74.8
	No	17	15.3
	Not sure	7	6.3
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they have completed childbearing?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	82	73.9
	No	14	12.6
	Not sure	11	9.9
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when their children are grown?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	75	67.6
	No	19	17.1
	Not sure	13	11.7
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they have other people depending on them?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	82	73.9
	No	15	13.5
	Not sure	10	9.0
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they don't want to be a single mother?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	80	72.1
	No	19	17.1
	Not sure	8	7.2
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they are having relationship problems?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	77	69.4
	No	21	18.9
	Not sure	9	8.1
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they don't feel mature enough to raise a child?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	85	76.6
	No	15	13.5
	Not sure	7	6.3
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they feel too young?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	84	75.7
	No	16	14.4
	Not sure	7	6.3
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they feel that it would interfere with education or career plans?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	78	70.3
	No	16	14.4
	Not sure	13	11.7
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

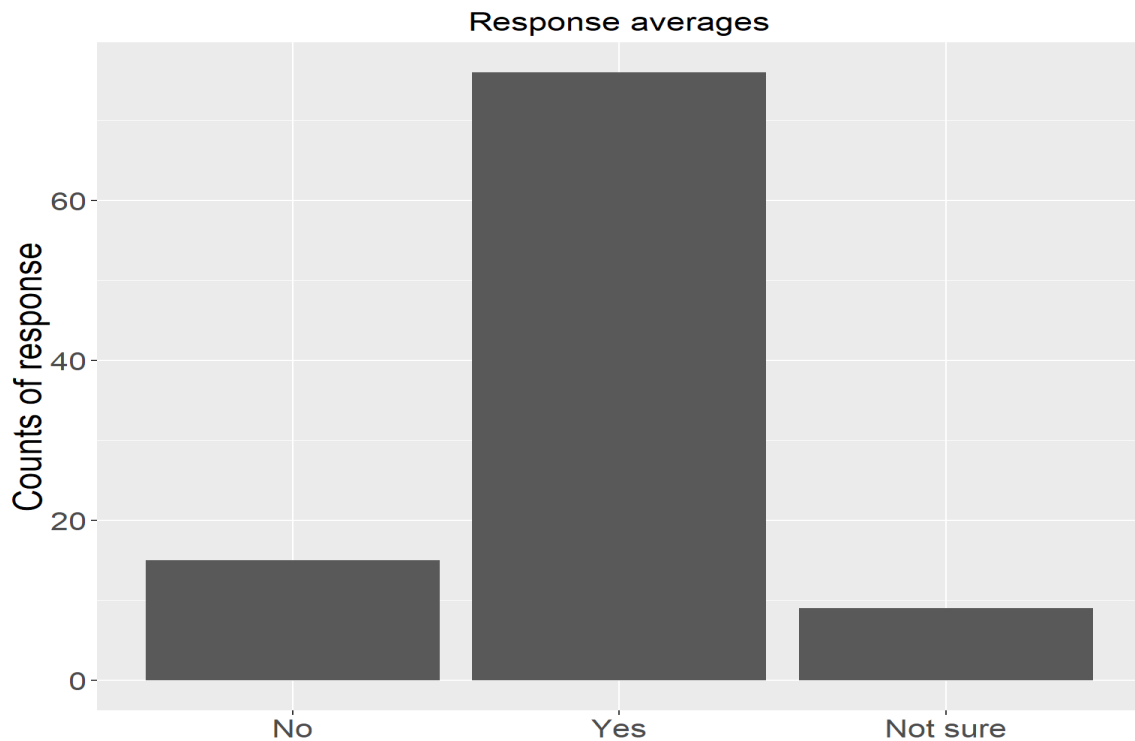
During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they don't want others to know that they had sex or got pregnant?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	76	68.5
	No	23	20.7
	Not sure	8	7.2
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they don't want children?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	81	73.0
	No	15	13.5
	Not sure	11	9.9
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

Cumulative Summary: During the first trimester (12 weeks), do you believe that women should be allowed to terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy?



“Please take a few minutes to state the reasons for the *policy positions* you took and describe some *practical consequences* of this policy decision.”

Tabulation of Comments:

Support

The policy should allow for a decision between a woman and her doctor and not take reasons into account at all. (T)

I believe all women have the right to choose what/when they have an abortion. It's her body-her choice- BUT I don't think abortion should be used as a woman's birth control.

Within the 1st trimester I believe that women should have complete autonomy in the decision of their reproduction state/health. I have no moral objections to abortions for whatever reason at this stage.

My responses come from my belief that women should have and exercise complete and total autonomy over their individual bodies. Some practical consequences might include less public money spent on children (infants in particular) a more robust economy as women are able to work more and advance their careers.

I don't believe in controlling women.

I firmly believe that a woman should be in complete control of her body.

I feel women have a right to decide what they want to happen with their body and life

Women must have equal agency over their lives as men. They cannot make decisions the way men do if the physical/economic burdens of child bearing are not their control. If all early abortions were possible fewer women would suffer complications or death from DIY abortions

Abortion should be a right regardless of the rationale

No one has a right to tell a woman what to do with her body. If woman had complete control of her reproductive rights there would [be] less children and families living in poverty.

It's her body. That supersedes any state interest in her medical care.

It is entirely up to the person who is pregnant. The reasons may be entirely unacceptable to me -but I would not force someone to have an unwanted child regardless

I feel it is the person's right to make their own decision -- not someone else's or some public law. It should not be a method of birth control

I support women's choice rights

People should be free to choose based on their individual situation

It's a woman's body it should be her decision

The decision needs to be the pregnant woman's period

I believe the choice belongs to the woman

A woman should be mistress of her own house. The government does not belong in her uterus.

Privacy and control

It is a private matter between the woman and her belief system. No other person has the right to deprive her of her free choice- whatever that choice is based on...If the outside person is

willing to support the mother and child, emotionally and financially their opinion might be of interest.

I am basing this position on a philosophical standpoint in that I don't perceive an undeveloped fetus/embryo to have a future-of-value in terms of life. In addition, allowing abortion here saves a greater number of lives even if fetuses were considered persons here based on statistics we have.

Women need to be able to control if and when they want to bear children. Increased use of contraceptives is of paramount importance, and would make such a difference in reducing number of abortions.

Abortion should be solely up to the women, not society.

Abortion is a personal decision, full stop. "Lawfully allowing" abortion allows them to happen safely, but they know they would happen regardless. The only moral standards she should hold this decision to is her own.

A woman's body, a woman's choice! However, there should be "accountability" for "repeated" abortions! For, if she is NOT preventing pregnancy, she is NOT preventing disease!!!

Abortion is a personal decision that should be between a woman and her doctor.

I believe it is a woman's choice.

Unsafe, illegal abortions need public policy to provide universal access to pre-natal care, adoption services and in-school sex education and contraception

It's none of anyone else's business what a woman does with her own body. It is the law of the land (Roe V Wade). Any consequences will be the woman's alone - regrets guilt- no guilt- whatever path or feelings she chooses.

I believe all women should have the right to an abortion. All women should have control of their bodies and lives. If you can't afford a baby you should have the choice.

A woman has a right to do what she wants with her body. PERIOD!

It is a woman's body. It is her decision. Men should have no say.

I believe that a woman should be able to terminate a pregnancy during the first trimester for any reason she deems important. This will help reduce the stigma of abortion by normalizing the idea that is just a medical procedure, rather than a moral issue.

I don't care what their reasons are. It should be legal. That's that.

In general abortions are a private matter not a public one.

A woman should be able to decide when she wants to continue her pregnancy. I think this is a decision that takes a lot of thought and should not be taken lightly. If a pregnancy is a product of a relationship or marriage, both parties should be a part of the decision making, but the final choice still lies with the woman.

Regardless of how much one approves or disapproves of someone's reasons for wanting to choose abortions, denying access would cause more problems by driving some people toward unsafe illegal abortionists or attempts at self-abortion. (T)

Abortion should simply be legal and available. No consequences.

I believe it is worse to have an unwanted child, for any reason than to bring that child into the world.

I strongly believe in abortion on demand and without apology. When people (because not all those who can get pregnant are women) have full control over their reproductive lives, they will be better able to have a meaningful career and participate in civic society. (T)

It is a woman's choice on whether or not she wants to move forward with an abortion because it is her body. (T)

I feel as though a woman should not have to justify her choice. (T)

I believe that having an abortion is a decision to be made by the individual woman and whomever she seeks advice from. (T)

It is an individual's right to make a decision about their own situation. (T)

I believe that women should be able to abort any child they believe they could not care for. It's the women's choice to follow through if they believe that could not physically, financially, or even spiritually provide for a child. (T)

I believe a woman has 100% the right to control her own body. No one should be forced to carry a child to term in obey don't want to; women need to be treated 100% equally in society.

I believe it's the choice of the person no matter the reason to decide to terminate the pregnancy. (T)

I believe that legislating intent is something that reveals abortion to be about punishing women rather than a considered moral position. I support policies of abortion on demand without apology. I think practical consequences of these policies would increase the freedom of women and decrease the stress on our social safety net by decreasing the amount of unplanned pregnancies. (T)

I recognize the fear people have that allowing unregulated/public policy of liberty might make our society go to hell, but it is a personal hell to have decisions over "my body/my life" done by

law.

I believe that women should be allowed to terminate during the first trimester for whatever reason they choose as women have usually thought about their decision and what it means for them and their family.

I believe that each person should have absolute control over their body. The following should be individual decisions: abortion, taking "illegal drugs", and assisted suicide. Consequences - by reducing legal/legislative aspect of these issues more money can be spent on counseling, healthcare, reducing poverty

Women should have access to an abortion for the simple reason that a woman has decided that she wants/needs to. There should be no legislated standard to be met. In practical terms, women should also have unfiltered access to medical care to including information and appropriate medication for preventing unwanted pregnancy as well as access to resources for medical care during pregnancy and social services/medical care for raising a family or accessing adoption services.

I don't feel this issue should be related to public policy at all. It is a matter of the human rights to bodily autonomy and reproductive freedom. It is no one's decision but the woman faced with gestating a fetus for 40 weeks and enduring child birth-- this process is dangerous and fraught with physical, social and emotional consequences- a first trimester abortion is a safe and minor medical procedure. The decision should be left to women in consultation with her own views, faith, family (if applicable or desired) and her physician or other health provider.

There should be a reevaluation of the policy. (T)

Oppose

I believe that life begins at conception. Abortion causes long-term devastation.

It takes two to tango. Male needs to also be included.

None of these scenarios change the humanity of the pre-born person need to continue to offer alternative to women. Women deserve better than abortion.

From conception there is life. The minute the child is born and he/she is murdered, the murderer is sentenced. Abortion is murder. If you had had an abortion, you would understand it was a rash decision made from fear. There was no support to help the mother and child and still nothing. More funds should be available to support pre-natal and post-natal care

Neutral/Conflicted/Other

It's a moral issue, not a political one! None of these items needs a "public policy", it's personal, not public.

Unless there are others options in the case of "yes" answers, I don't think it is wise to bear to bear a child. When the situation is so negative or uncertain re: childbearing. If others options are available, i.e. adoptions or support services then that could make a difference.

Conflicted over point of personhood.

Items A-M treat baby as an inconvenience

If you make a bad decision, what then?

This is why (many reasons) why I stayed a virgin [until] I was 24.

You must be totally be an comter [?]

Summary of Question 2 Part II (a i and ii; b i and ii; and c i and ii)

In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they have physical problems with health. (In first Trimester)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	96	86.5
	No	2	1.8
	Not sure	9	8.1
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7
	System	1	.9
	Total	4	3.6
Total		111	100.0

In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they have physical problems with health. (In Second Trimester)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	76	68.5
	No	13	11.7
	Not sure	17	15.3
	Total	106	95.5
Missing	-1	4	3.6
	System	1	.9
	Total	5	4.5
Total		111	100.0

In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they have possible problems that would affect the health of the fetus. (In First Trimester

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	90	81.1
	No	5	4.5
	Not sure	11	9.9
	Total	106	95.5
Missing	-1	4	3.6
	System	1	.9
	Total	5	4.5
Total		111	100.0

In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they have possible problems that would affect the health of the fetus. (In Second Trimester).

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	78	70.3
	No	11	9.9
	Not sure	17	15.3
	Total	106	95.5
Missing	-1	4	3.6
	System	1	.9
	Total	5	4.5
Total		111	100.0

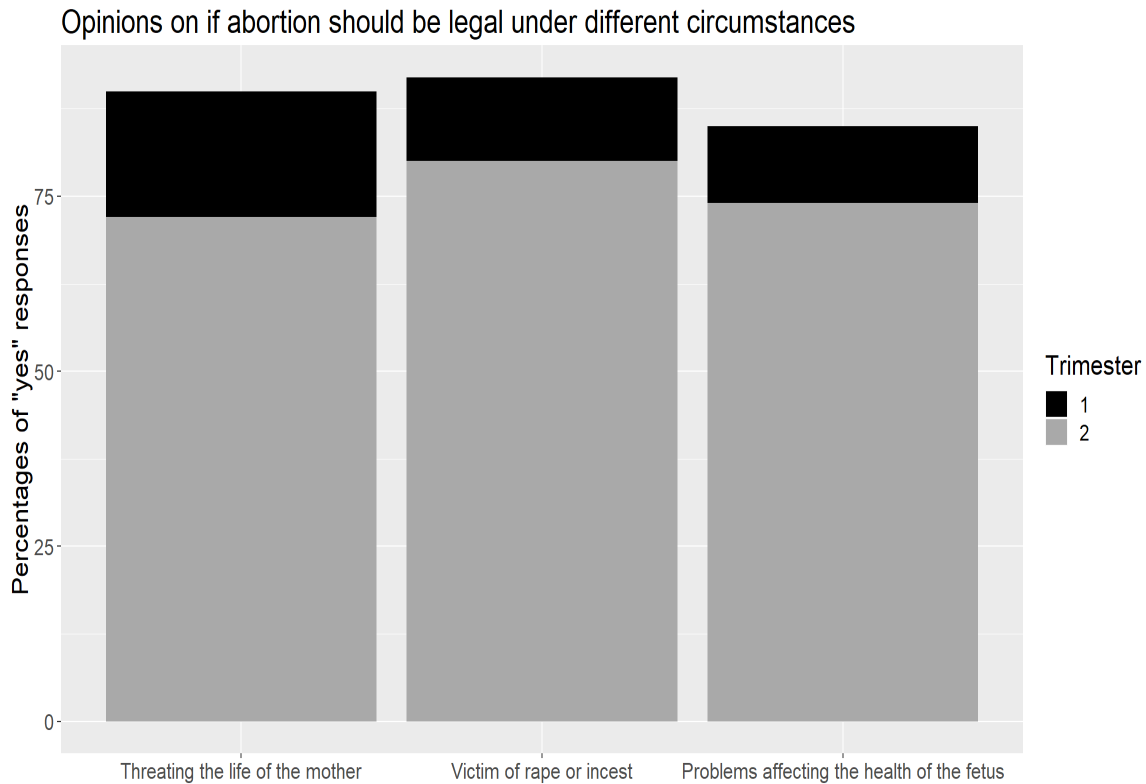
In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they are a victim of rape or incest. (In First Trimester)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	96	86.5
	No	3	2.7
	Not sure	6	5.4
	Total	105	94.6
Missing	-1	5	4.5
	System	1	.9
	Total	6	5.4
Total		111	100.0

In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy when they are a victim of rape or incest. (In Second Trimester)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	84	75.7
	No	10	9.0
	Not sure	12	10.8
	Total	106	95.5
Missing	-1	4	3.6
	System	1	.9
	Total	5	4.5
Total		111	100.0

In cases where the health of the woman or fetus are affected or in cases of rape or incest, do you believe that women should be allowed to end or terminate a pregnancy as a matter of law or public policy?



Please take a few minutes to state the reasons for the policy positions you took and describe some practical consequences of this policy decision.

Support

The policy should allow for a decision between a woman and her doctor full stop. (T)

I feel that my previous response applies to this question too. When people are able to have full control over their reproductive lives they will be able to lead happier, more fulfilled lives. (T)

Everyone may cry rape even if untrue. If found to be rape, it should be acceptable. (T)

If you got raped and didn't find out until you were at least 4-5 months you should be able to terminate the baby. Who wants to carry a man child who raped them? (T)

I believe that the first trimester is the best time if someone chooses to abort. After that in the 13-24 weeks the baby and the mother may have an emotional and spiritual connection. It is difficult for me to imagine that a woman would be forced to deliver. (T)

The same reasoning applies for the previous question: harm reduction (T)

Same as previous page. Abortion is healthcare. (T)

It is an individual's right to make a decision about their own situation. (T)

See my previous answer on the other page. They should have 100% the right to control their own bodies without restriction or penalty.

I believe a woman has the profound right to any decisions regarding her body and the course of life choices she makes.

Rape, incest, health of mother and a fetus should allow for an abortion.

I have some concerns with a fetus being terminated beyond 12 weeks. Its a hard decision.

It is a woman's body. It is her decision. Men should have no say. All abortions should be legal

Abortion should simply be legal and available. No consequences.

Again, a woman should be able to terminate a pregnancy for whatever reason she deems important, during the 1st and 2nd trimester. This includes her right to avoid further trauma by having the ability to terminate a pregnancy forced upon her, or that

Don't know what more to say.

Not sure it is safe to have an abortion after 12 weeks. However rape or incest is too serious a situation

Personal liberty trumps my opinion over someone else's body/life.

Again, women have a right over their life, body, health, and mind.

Some children will be born with the defects.

I believe that women should be allowed to terminate as there are a range of maternal or fetal health issues that would affect a woman's ability to give birth or parent

I believe that each person should have absolute control over their body. The following should be

individual decisions: abortion, taking "illegal drugs", and assisted suicide. Consequences ---by reducing legal/legislative aspect of these issues more money

If we as a society supported people being able to be sexually active without causing pregnancy, and frankly even now (when we don't) We would/should allow women to make the decision to move forward with or terminate a pregnancy

Abortion should be solely up to the women, not society.

Abortion is a personal decision, full stop. "Lawfully allowing" abortion allows them to happen safely, but they know they would happen regardless. The only moral standards she should hold this decision to is her own. These are decisions for medical professionals.

If a woman is forcefully impregnated, she does NOT need any other reason to terminate.

Abortion is a personal decision that should be between a woman and her doctor. Women would not have to bear the consequences of non-consensual sex. It also might expand the claims of rape/incest if second trimester abortions are otherwise illegal which is

Mental health of the mother if she were not able to make this choice is important. As well as the life of the child that is born.

Once again, the rights of the mother should be complete

A woman can make the decision that will affect herself and her life.

A women's assessment of her own health and how pregnancy may impact it, and potential problems with the fetus are just two aspects which may influence her decision making around carrying a fetus to term. Complications such as those listed above are a major [concern].

As above, abortion should be a right regardless of rationale. It should be up to the woman herself. Practical consequences would be less chipping away at when an abortion is "morally right"

It is a woman's choice! The responsibility for raising a disabled child will fall on her. The trauma associated with rape or incest may be extreme and make raising the child extremely different.

In regard to promoting health ---During the first trimester, the pregnancy should be under the exclusive control of the woman. It is her right and responsibility to make what she sees to be the best decision to promote her own wellbeing as well as the child's

I don't believe in controlling women.

I believe that a woman should be in complete control of her body

I believe these positions because a women is already alive and has a right to protect themselves if threatened. In addition, if a woman did not consensually take on the responsibility of caring

for the fetus they shouldn't have to. This would save the most

The health (mental as well as physical) of the living take precedent in my mind to that of the not yet born. Consequences - some people may be upset about it and less people born in the grand scheme

When it comes to public policy the 1st question to be settled is "when does life begin?" Until that question is asked and settled, the politicians should keep their hands off and their mouth shut

If a woman has been violated, she did not choose to get pregnant nor should she be forced to keep that unborn child. It's a woman's right to have an abortion for being raped/incest

Drawing any line based on weeks of pregnancy should not be done by legislation. These medical decisions and life decisions should be made by a woman and her doctor based on her health, the fetus's health and her circumstances. more children would be born w

Women should make their own decisions. Less women dying in childbirth

It's her body. That supersedes any state interest in her medical care.

Again it is the patients right to make her own decision. Not someone else's!

Rape or incest should always be fine to terminate

Physical and mental health of mother is a privacy, particularly in instances where viability of fetus is uncertain

Again, it's a woman's right to do as she chooses. There may be a bit more medical consequences for second trimester abortions, but again, it's a personal decision she will have to live with. These reasons on this page may be more justifiable in her minds.

Every female should have the right to make a decision about what happens with her body and her future.

I support women's choice rights

Again, it's up to the woman to make the difficult choice

Choice

A woman should be mistress of her own house. The government does not belong in her uterus.

Roe v. wade is the law

Oppose

Possible problems.

None of these scenarios change the humanity of the preborn person. Will need to provide greater care for women facing these situations.

Neutral/Conflicted/Other

Like a sad story 1-12 week 13-24 a form baby

Conflicted over point of personhood.

Referring to the Discussion Guide and as a matter of law or public policy, where do you stand on the Roe v Wade Decision?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly support	68	61.3
	Moderately support	16	14.4
	Neutral	8	7.2
	Moderately oppose	2	1.8
	Strongly oppose	8	7.2
	Don't know	6	5.4
	Total	108	97.3
Missing	-1	2	1.8
	System	1	.9
	Total	3	2.7
Total		111	100.0

Adjusting the survey results on this question to address overrepresentation, these views on Roe v Wade align with recent public opinion on Abortion (and do so with more nuanced judgment given the questions used in this survey). “As of 2018, public support for legal abortion remains as high as it has been in two decades of polling. Currently, 58% say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, while 37% say it should be illegal in all or most cases.” (Pew Research Center, <http://www.pewforum.org/fact-sheet/public-opinion-on-abortion/#>)

Referring to the Discussion Guide and as a matter of law or public policy, where do you stand on the Personhood Amendment?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly support	10	9.0
	Moderately support	8	7.2
	Neutral	11	9.9
	Moderately oppose	11	9.9
	Strongly oppose	59	53.2
	Don't know	8	7.2
	Total	107	96.4
Missing	-1	3	2.7

System	1	.9
Total	4	3.6
Total	111	100.0

Please take a few minutes to select the reasons for the *policy positions* you took and describe some *practical consequences* of this policy decision.

Support Roe v Wade, Oppose Personhood Amendment

Abortion is healthcare and a private matter between a woman and her doctor.

Personhood amendments open to unknown consequences for spontaneous abortions, loss of pregnancy in accidents (like a car crash, etc.) and put the woman as host not as a human with separate more important status. (T)

Personhood amendments have too much greater policy impact than just on abortion. They could criminalize aspects of assisted reproduction, miscarriages that occur naturally, criminal justice and more. They are dangerous and far too broad. (T)

An embryo cannot be considered a person in my opinion. (T)

I believe that life should be preserved. It is important. (T)

I support *Roe v Wade* because it is a woman's body and her choice. I do not agree with the Personhood Amendment—at conception to 10 weeks [they are not people]. (T)

I think *Roe* should go further and affirmatively enshrine the right to abortion. (T)

It is an individual's right to make a decision about their own situation. (T)

The same. The "child"'s right doesn't supersede the mother's. That is barbaric.

Safe, available abortions should be offered to those who choose them. Fetus vs. Child... [the] two are very different.

I'm not sure the right of privacy is the best way of going about deciding this issue. It should be looked at and strengthened in other ways. Don't agree with personhood argument.

I believe it is a personal choice to make, not [that of] the government or church. There should be no intersection of church and state where a woman's body is in question.

These amendments are nothing but veiled attempted to outlaw abortions.

Abortion should simply be legal and available. No consequences.

I believe the personhood amendment arguments are typically based in religion mural arguments. As an atheist and a scientist, I do not believe that a fetus is a person until viability, especially not when it is just a bundle of cells.

Curtailing abortion will drive it underground and to unsafe places, leading to way increased costs for treating the women's injuries. So increased regulation will cost a lot.

As before stated, abortion is a private matter.

Roe v Wade—any prohibition is a violation of personal liberty. Personhood amendment—is invalid in an apparent priority to mother's health over fetal personhood

[The personhood amendment] takes away the right[s] of a woman. I don't agree with "elected" people making laws for a person's body.

Roe v Wade allowed for abortions to be performed in the first trimester and for limited reasons thereafter which allows women to terminate when they decide it is necessary.

The personhood amendment would prevent women from having control over their bodies and could start a slippery slope towards women being punished for any adverse events during pregnancy.

I believe that a fetus becomes a person when the fetus emerges from the woman's body. While a fetus is still in the woman's body, it is a "guest" of the woman and she should have the right to take any action that she desires. While life begins at conception, personhood begins only after the fetus emerges.

Even *Roe v Wade* gives too great leeway to governmental authorities to prevent abortions by imposing obstacles. 1. Rights and duties? How does a gamete meet its responsibilities? Not possible/impractical concept. 2. This blanket statement puts the value of the fetal person above that of the mother person.

Abortion should be solely up to the women, not society.

Roe v Wade: this should be left to doctors, period. Putting a fetus' humanity on equal footing with a fully-grown woman is actually dehumanizing

I oppose every effort to restrict access to abortion. It puts legislators in between a woman and her health care provider.

A fetus is not a person.

Personhood amendment—if a fetus cannot survive on its own outside of the womb, IT IS NOT A PERSON.

You cannot give a fetus (or if we're talking conception to 8 weeks pregnancy, an embryo) equal standing under the law without necessarily removing rights from the woman carrying that fetus.

If a fetus (at every stage of development) is considered a person in the same way that the mother is considered a person, their rights may be in conflict and the mother will lose the ability to make decisions related to her bodily autonomy. It's a slippery slope to mothers being blamed for spontaneous miscarriages as well; the body rejecting the fetus becomes "murder".

A board of 70-year-old white Republicans shouldn't legislate whether a woman can be forced to raise a child. It's her choice—her responsibility.

I don't agree with the personhood amendment including embryos, fertilizations, [and] invitro.

In support of *Roe*, though maybe wouldn't phrase issue in terms of privacy. Agree with intent of personhood amendment to define rights of living beings but not in agreement with where it claims the right begins.

A hypothetical "person" does not take priority over a woman's choice.

The personhood amendment has significant ramifications outside of pregnancy (ex: IVF, etc.).

I only moderately agree with the *Roe* decision because in it they essentially legislated abortion rights based on arbitrary weeks of pregnancy. I opposed the personhood amendment because I disagree with the definition.

All women should have the right to have an abortion—period—it's her body—her finances, her emotion, her future.

Without abortion that is safe and legal, women will suffer medical complications and die from DIY abortions. We must maintain a legal framework that keeps abortion safe, legal, and rare.

If a fertilized egg was considered a person, a woman could be convicted of murder if she had a miscarriage.

The state should not be involved in decisions of abortion

I wish [Florida] would feel that way about gun laws. Seems they care more about unborn people than people that are living.

Persons bringing life into this world need to do so willingly and responsibly and have the opportunity to ensure safe and well-being of themselves. Forcing women to have/bring the unwanted children into the world leaves the onus on society to care for the child.

More legislation should be directed to children in foster care.

Personhood amendment is too subjective.

Roe v Wade concurs with my belief that it should be her right to do as she chooses. I am against the Personhood Amendment because there [is] tons of medical evidence showing that life does not begin until birth.

Personhood amendments limit the liberty and freedom of women. Also, how does a fetus exercise its rights absent of its mother?

I support women's choice rights.

Within the 1st few weeks the fetus isn't viable.

People who don't believe life begins at conception should not have someone else's opinion as to when life begins forced on them.

No one should be able to determine if a woman should or can have a child except her. *Roe v Wade*—in no case does the State belong in a woman's uterus. The French Canadians speak of "Maîtres chez nous." Masters of our own house.

Roe v Wade is the law. Personhood—fetus isn't a person.

I believe it's a woman's right over her own body and welfare and am sick of [a male majority legislating] women's issues.

In my opinion, abortion is NOT an issue of "public policy".

Oppose Roe v Wade, Support Personhood Amendment

It's still killing the baby.

Roe [is] like other ([e.g.] Dred Scott) decisions of the court that reflected pressure from pop culture. [The Supreme Court] made law rather than interpret. Human life scientifically begins at conception.

[The] connection of sperm and egg creates life.

Life and the potential for life are sacred.

Neutral/Conflicted/Don't Know

I'm a MAN!

It was unwise for the Supreme Court to decide an essentially political question via creative interpretation of the constitution. However, it might be disruptive for it to be overturned now (T)

Referring to the Discussion Guide, how do you feel about the Casey and Whole Woman's Supreme Court decisions from a law or policy position?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly support	57	51.4
	Moderately support	12	10.8
	Neutral	11	9.9
	Moderately oppose	3	2.7
	Strongly oppose	10	9.0
	Don't know	9	8.1
	Total	102	91.9
Missing	-1	8	7.2
	System	1	.9
	Total	9	8.1
Total		111	100.0

In light of the Casey and Whole Woman's Supreme Court decisions, how much do you support or oppose the State Regulations described in the Discussion Guide? (Maryland Abortion Regulations)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly support	41	36.9
	Moderately support	29	26.1
	Neutral	13	11.7
	Moderately oppose	7	6.3
	Strongly oppose	5	4.5
	Don't know	10	9.0
	Total	105	94.6
Missing	-1	5	4.5
	System	1	.9
	Total	6	5.4
Total		111	100.0

In light of the Casey and Whole Woman's Supreme Court decisions, how much do you support or oppose the State Regulations described in the Discussion Guide? (Pennsylvania Abortion Regulations)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly support	12	10.8
	Moderately support	11	9.9
	Neutral	9	8.1
	Moderately oppose	14	12.6
	Strongly oppose	53	47.7
	Don't know	5	4.5
	Total	104	93.7
Missing	-1	6	5.4
	System	1	.9
	Total	7	6.3
Total		111	100.0

In light of the Casey and Whole Woman's Supreme Court decisions, how much do you support or oppose the State Regulations described in the Discussion Guide?

Support

I don't think that Pennsylvania has any room for abortion procedures. (T)

I know of a Maryland/PA abortion provider which is an outlaw. Abortion is a business.

Oppose

Clinics should be regulated like any other medical facility. Extra restrictions exist to make it harder and more expense for them to operate. (T)

Abortion should be regulated like any other health procedure and not treated as separate from regular healthcare. (T)

Although I agree with MD due to abortion being a medical procedure, I do believe those laws will restrict some individuals. (T)

I agree that educational tools should be used but I don't agree that there should be regulation on size. (T)

The Maryland regulations are reasonable laws in line with those designed to assure patients health at other sorts of facilities. The PA regulations are superfluous for safety and are thinly disguised attempts to limit access to abortion. (T)

There is a difference between a law meant to protect women's health and one meant to restrict abortion. I support protecting women. (T)

It is an individual's right to make a decision about their own situation. (T)

These are designed to diminish the women's rights to abortions by tying them up in red tape and actual propaganda.

Legislators are unqualified to contribute intelligently.

Is PA's regulation even constitutional? It strongly tries to discourage abortions. Public interest in safety and informed decision making.

Sounds more of a deterrent than a safety concern.

[Maryland]: Not too many restrictions. [Pennsylvania]: Too many restrictions. I believe that abortion, should be treated the same way and require only the relevant regulations as seen in other medical procedures, with similar levels of risk.

These regulations are not based on facts or evidence. They are there to limit abortion—to get around *Roe v Wade*.

Maryland regulations [are] reasonable and safe.

[In Maryland,] regulations are meaningless and essentially whimsical in nature; more whimsy is simply worse.

A hospital can take away the doctor's ability to have hospital privilege, plus the 24 hours [of waiting time] are a "form" of shaming for the woman. [Shame] on PA.

The Maryland regulations are based on medical necessity and providing the safest care, whereas the PA laws don't actually create better care, just less access to abortion.

Abortion clinics should be medically safe, but regulations should not be used to place undue burdens on the clinics or clients.

The PA [regulations] and to an extent the MD regulations are imposing restrictions that are not directly related to health safety, they are extra and thus "undue".

Structural design standards are not as relevant as performance standards.

Echoing previous comments, these [PA Abortion Regulations] aren't about safety, it's to try to limit legal abortions.

The person needing the abortion knows what is good for themselves. Safety first. Again, regulations are not for the women's health, they are to defer B.S.!

Undue burden and inappropriate injection of politics into the doctor-patient relationship. Medically unnecessary regulations [are] intended to chip away at abortion access NOT to improve society.

I did learn today about why these additional requirements are unnecessary.

The PA [statutes] and requirements are not really about safe-guarding women's health. They are about closing women's health providers.

I would appreciate the provision of the reasoning behind the 24-hour rule. The regulation of unrelated standards seems like an overstep to me.

Waiting time causes more barriers to the abortion process. These measures/regulations have no effect on the safety of abortions.

Based on what I heard from the expert physician on the panel, Maryland's regulations are reasonable while PA's are regulations that have nothing to do with the safety of abortion procedures.

Resources should be made available equally.

None of the fetus and area sizes don't matter—what matters is the woman—allowed to have an abortion and that it's a safe and clean clinic

Keep medical services under the control of the medical profession—health of the mother should be paramount. Width of hallway and admitting privileges have no impact on mother's health.

PA laws are only in place to restrict abortions.

None of the [government's] business.

Patient safety is better than forcing them to unqualified care.

Local hospital admitting privileges is ridiculous.

Outpatient service centers do not need regulation.

Irrelevant changes would be made.

PA is too stringent. Other doctors can send people to hospitals without having admitting privileges.

Leave all decisions to patients and medical professionals.

These laws are designed to reduce access to legal abortions, not make them safer.

This seems to me to be a deterrent to abortions.

Safety of the subject should be the only issue.

Neutral/Conflicted/Don't Know

Don't fully understand.

The Maryland statute appears benign, but I don't know enough about it. The PA laws are stupidly, restrictive.

Number 6 in Part II of the surveys reads as follows:

1. ***"Under current Pennsylvania law, a woman can obtain an abortion prior to 24 weeks gestational age for any reason, except if the woman's sole reason is to select the sex of the child. House Bill 2050 would expand that exception to prohibit aborting a child due solely to a prenatal diagnosis that the unborn child has Down syndrome. The legislation contains no restrictions on a mother obtaining an abortion in cases of rape, incest or personal endangerment."***

Down syndrome is a congenital, chromosome abnormality causing developmental delays and physical limitations impacting a child's height and facial appearance.

Those arguing in support of the bill note that advances in medicine have extended the life expectancy and quality of life of children with Down Syndrome.

Those arguing against this Bill note that it is still a matter of family choice as difficult and complex as this may be and that the law would take this choice away from the individual and place it within the jurisdiction of the state of Pennsylvania.

With regard to the proposed PA House Bill 2050, what would your recommendation to the state legislature be?

- Strongly support
- Moderately support
- Neutral
- Moderately oppose
- Strongly oppose
- Don't know

Please give your *reasons* for the selection that you made.

With regard to the proposed PA House Bill 2050, what would your recommendation to the state legislature be?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Strongly support	14	12.6
	Moderately support	11	9.9
	Neutral	15	13.5
	Moderately oppose	10	9.0
	Strongly oppose	45	40.5
	Don't know	11	9.9
	Total	106	95.5
Missing	-1	4	3.6
	System	1	.9
	Total	5	4.5
Total		111	100.0

Comments:

Oppose

Downs syndrome is not a death sentence or a determination of the child's quality of life. (T)

The decision for abortion is between a woman and her doctor. Politicians should not restrict it. (T)

I don't think that the state has any business regulating reproductive choice. (T)

The regulation would put unrealistic and financial hardships on the facilities (T)

It's hard to say what is right in a situation you have no experience in. (T)

The state's interference diminishes medical privacy and creates a risk of the patients turning to unsafe alternatives. (T)

I don't personally believe in genetic selection but I don't support legislating those decisions on the basis of abortion. (T)

It is an individual's right to make a decision about their own situation. (T)

Again the women's right to choose is paramount especially because her and her partner (if available) will likely die before the child and then how is the child cared for?

Legislators are assigning a life sentence for some without due process.

Because it would be such a challenge to raise and care for a disabled child, there should be a medical path to a "solution" for those who feel they can't do it justice.

I agree with the argument above. Those arguing against this Bill note that it is still a matter of family choice as difficult and complex as this may be and that the law would take this choice away from the individual and place it within jurisdiction of legislators.

Those arguing in support of the bill note that advanced in medicine have extended the life expectancy and quality of life of children with Down Syndrome.

The state wants to keep your child but the state does not provide adequate financial and medical assistance to single family households let alone a parent who would have to care for a child with a medical condition.

Give me a break!

This is a choice that should be up to each family. It is privacy stuff.

I believe a woman should have the right to choose whether or not she wants to spend the rest of her life caring for an individual with a disability.

There are many reasons a family might have that would lead them to abort a Down's fetus. They are not all covered by recent advances in medicine. It should always ultimately be the family's or woman's choice.

Down Syndrome too serious a situation

Violates liberty

Again it is putting the hardship on the family. Are the law makers going to be in the home helping with time and money. I think not. Again shame on the lawmakers

Sounds Orwellian

Parents need to be able to decide the destiny of their offspring. Parents know what they can cope with emotionally and financially.

1. Ineffective, unenforceable policy cannot prove the above are sole reasons for a decision. 2. infringes on a woman's freedom to make her own decisions.

Abortion should be solely up to the women, not society. A women's right to abortion shall not be abridged. That is the only acceptable position.

Virtually all of the cosponsors on this bill opposed measures that would increase funds and supports to people and families with disabilities. They don't give a damn about taking care of

people with disabilities. This was to create a wedge between abortion [proponents].

I'm a broken record with no nuances in my position on abortion. I think it should be an absolute right.

When getting an abortion because of sex of the child - some defects are carried by only one sex.

This is a family's choice. You cannot legislate how a family can cope in such a situation

This is simply another attempt to chip away at abortion access, not to protect the rights and interests of communities of people with disabilities. This exception would deny expectant parents agency. Resources would be better spent on improving services for [unknown]

Parents have the right to decide themselves whether they have the capacity and resources to raise a child with such extensive specials needs.

It is the woman's choice as she will probably be the pregnancy caregiver

Again, women should have the exclusive right to make decision based on how the birth would affect the child and its' family

I don't believe in controlling women and their choices

A women should be in complete [control] of her body

A woman should not have the undue burden to care for a child with down syndrome which is incredibly more difficult than a child without the condition, because of the pure change that the fetus' genes developed that way.

That's ridiculous! It's a woman's body - her money, her future - her choice - PA law and NO law should have any say on a woman to abort a compromised fetus

I have a child with disabilities and we know a lot of kids with Down Syndrome and love them. I also know there is concern that services for people with Down syndrome will shrink and receive less financial support as their numbers drop. Even so, I believe [unknown]

It is a family or woman's decision

None of the gov't's business

That is a personal choice. There are many Downs' parents that have great kids. Not everyone can handle that choice.

I agree with the arguments against this bill. It is a matter of choice regardless of the reason.

The government should not infringe on the liberty of women and families. No one should be compelled to carry a fetus to term if doing so would impose a significant burden.

Leave all decisions to patients and medical professionals

The state should stay out of this. It's a woman's choice

It is an individual decision

Support

Down's syndrome children are wonderful

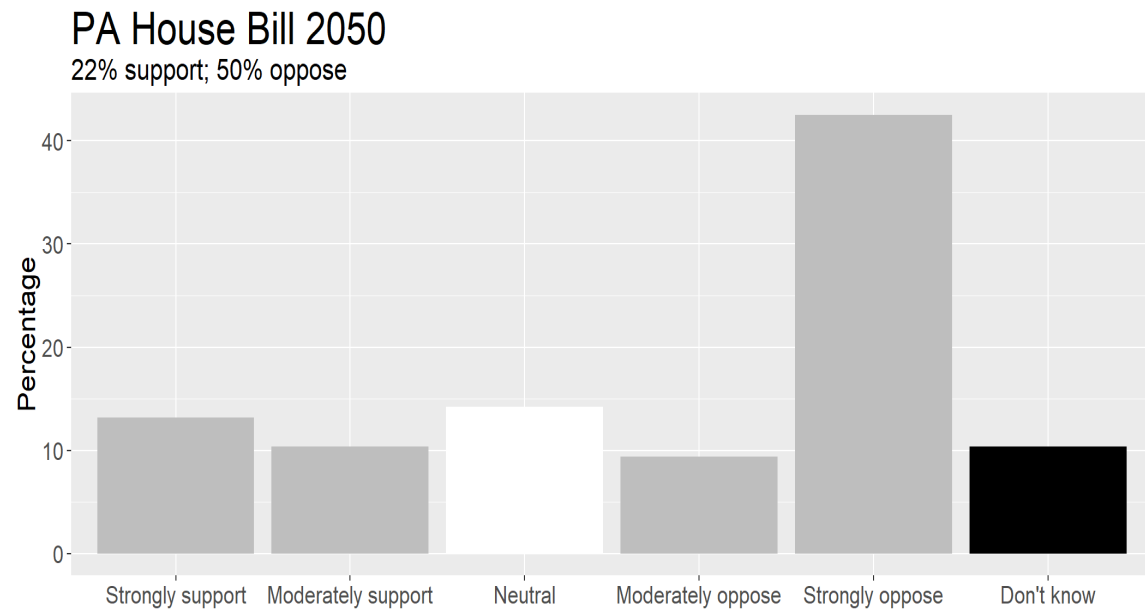
I know and love people with Down Syndrome. They deserve better

Neutral/Conflicted/Other

I am unaware of the day-to-day quality of life of people with Down syndrome

I am not completely clear where I stand on this issue. I think it is an incredibly hard decision that a family should be able to make for themselves, however many people born with these issues are able to live happy, mostly healthy lives.

This is a difficult question to answer



Part III Process

To what extent did reading the document on Abortion in America broaden your understanding of the history of abortion?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Didn't read	1	1.3
	Not at all	1	1.3
	A little	14	18.2
	A moderate amount	24	31.2
	A great deal	35	45.5
	Total	75	97.4
Missing	-1	2	2.6
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did reading the document on Abortion in America broaden your understanding of the issues surrounding abortion?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Didn't read	1	1.3
	Not at all	5	6.5
	A little	19	24.7
	A moderate amount	21	27.3
	A great deal	29	37.7
	Total	75	97.4
Missing	-1	2	2.6
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did reading the document on Abortion in America increase your understanding of the reasons why women want to have or refuse to have an abortion?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Didn't read	1	1.3
	Not at all	16	20.8
	A little	19	24.7
	A moderate amount	15	19.5
	A great deal	23	29.9
	Total	74	96.1
Missing	-1	3	3.9
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did reading the document on Abortion in America present arguments or perspectives concerning abortion that you hadn't considered before?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Didn't read	2	2.6
	Not at all	15	19.5
	A little	24	31.2
	A moderate amount	14	18.2
	A great deal	18	23.4
	Total	73	94.8
Missing	-1	4	5.2
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did participating in the deliberative event broaden your understanding of the history of abortion?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	7	9.1
	A little	15	19.5
	A moderate amount	12	15.6
	A great deal	20	26.0
	Total	54	70.1
Missing	-1	23	29.9
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did participating in the deliberative event broaden your understanding of the issues surrounding abortion?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	5	6.5
	A little	11	14.3
	A moderate amount	16	20.8
	A great deal	21	27.3
	Total	53	68.8
Missing	-1	24	31.2
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did participating in the deliberative event increase your understanding of the reasons why women want to have or refuse to have an abortion?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	11	14.3
	A little	13	16.9
	A moderate amount	14	18.2
	A great deal	16	20.8
	Total	54	70.1
Missing	-1	23	29.9
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did participating in the deliberative event present arguments or perspectives concerning abortion that you hadn't considered before?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	7	9.1
	A little	14	18.2
	A moderate amount	14	18.2
	A great deal	18	23.4
	Total	53	68.8
Missing	-1	24	31.2
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did you find participation in the deliberative event engaging?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	A little	4	5.2
	A moderate amount	16	20.8
	Very	55	71.4
	Total	75	97.4
Missing	-1	2	2.6
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did you find participation in the deliberative event intellectually stimulating?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	2	2.6
	A little	7	9.1
	A moderate amount	18	23.4
	Very	46	59.7
	Total	73	94.8
Missing	-1	4	5.2
Total		77	100.0

To what extent did you find participation in the deliberative event frustrating?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	39	50.6
	A little	22	28.6
	A moderate amount	5	6.5
	Very	7	9.1
	Total	73	94.8
Missing	-1	4	5.2
Total		77	100.0

How informative did you find the written material provided before the event?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	A little	8	10.4
	A moderate amount	16	20.8
	Very	52	67.5
	Total	76	98.7
Missing	-1	1	1.3
Total		77	100.0

How informative did you find the group discussions?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	A little	10	13.0
	A moderate amount	21	27.3
	Very	45	58.4
	Total	76	98.7
Missing	-1	1	1.3
Total		77	100.0

How informative did you find the resource panelists?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Not at all	8	10.4
	A little	9	11.7
	A moderate amount	23	29.9
	Very	36	46.8
	Total	76	98.7
Missing	-1	1	1.3
Total		77	100.0

If you had a chance to read the discussion guide, did you find it clear?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	12	15.6
	Yes	65	84.4
	Total	77	100.0

If you had a chance to read the discussion guide, did you find it fair?

		Frequency	Percent
<u>Valid</u>	No	31	40.3

Yes	46	59.7
Total	77	100.0

If you had a chance to read the discussion guide, did you find it easy to follow?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No	65	58.6
	Yes	45	40.5
	Total	110	99.1
Missing	System	1	.9
Total		111	100.0

Please provide any additional comments or information regarding your thoughts about the deliberative process and/or the ways in which your participation in this deliberative process influenced your thoughts about abortion in America.

Opinions and comments about the process reflect concerns with the over representation of ‘liberal’ perspectives (given the registries in cities like Pittsburgh and Philadelphia) and in the case of CMU, the panel performance. (Both of these issues are discussed in the Introduction). That said, participants found the group discussions Very (58%) or Moderately (27%) informative. Only 13% said ‘a little’ and no respondent said ‘not at all.’

Over 90% found the event engaging (71% Very much and 28% a moderate amount) with only 5% saying A Little and no one responding ‘not at all.’ These results point to the belief that we can, as a society, engage with each other on challenging topics and do so in a civil manner.

Selected Comments

Regarding the Expert Panels

The expert panel lacked diversity of perspective (all appeared to be pro-abortion). They did not provide responsible answers to the questions. I believe in the utility of

deliberative process. This one could have had a better panel and extended at least [pertains to CMU panel – edit]

This forum was exquisitely designed and executed. I learned so much about how very complicated this issue can be. The expert panel was the highlight of the session. [pertains to the Temple panel – edit]

A venue might have been chosen that would have a greater diversity of viewpoints on the discussion topic. It was unfortunate that there were no psychologists/behavioral scientists on the panel.

Regarding overrepresentation of views

Our group had only people who were pro-choice this would have been a more stimulating discussion if we had even one participant with a different opinion (i.e. pro-life).

Though I'm "pro-choice" we heard basically nothing from the "pro-life" side. Our table basically all "prochoice" as far as I could tell.

There are two members of our group who believe that life begins at conception and therefore are against abortions. They were precise in their views ...

I enjoyed the conversation at my table and was surprised by the lack of disagreement/argument. My opinion on abortion has not changed, but I did learn new things from the packet and during the panel.

Regarding the deliberations

The process was great! I consider myself to be very informed about reproductive justice and have worked at an abortion fund and volunteered as a clinic escort. I still learned today and able to hear new perspectives.

This allowed the opportunity for discussion and to hear the views of others.

Great Informative Discussions.

This was an excellent event, well-planned, well-run, and very worthwhile. I look forward to participating in similar events should the opportunity arise in the future.

This process is a great way to engage public on issues. Not threatening in any way -- very congenial discussion of a topic that is so polarizing in our everyday lives. Thank You!

I did not know about the deliberative process before. Mohammed [a CMU moderator – edit] made it interesting and understandable.

This was a good process and would participate in another one if given the chance.....

I thought the forum was incredibly interesting and informative. I love the idea and being able to discuss a controversial with people of differing opinions. ...

[Disagreeing agreeably] is a valuable skill and a challenge"

I appreciate the chance to talk to someone about this [that] I wouldn't encounter in every day life.

Worthwhile to anyone life long learner.

Good process, but this is a tough subject.

While the process didn't influence my beliefs greatly, it did help me better understand the other perspectives behind the abortion issue and how other groups are affected differently.



I enjoyed the deliberation. It certainly takes a unique personality to be confronted with conflicting views to their own and be able to engage in thoughtful discussion and not an argument. This broadened my thoughts about the issue and made me develop my [own].

Our moderator was great and helpful. Thank you for choosing me for this topic. I look forward to seeing the results and being asked to do similar studies in the future.

Thanks for the invitation.

This was a great session.

I was skeptical at first because of the subject matter but the forum was very comfortable.

Acknowledgments

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⁸ In particular, Joanna Noonan, BA, Michael Sider-Rose, Senior Director of Programs and Training at Coro and CMU student-colleagues Jorge Alvarez, Jared Jory-Geiger and Aden Halpern.