The Issue of Abortion in America
Roe v Dobbs

Survey

**Instructions:** Please respond to the following questions as honestly and completely as possible. Check one answer for each item (unless where indicated). We recognize that the Issue of Abortion in America is complicated and multi-faceted. Therefore, if you wish to provide additional information in response to any question, please feel free to write in the margins or at the end of the questionnaire. Please note that your answers are confidential and that there are no identifying code marks on the surveys.

The survey was developed by Heidi Grunwald, PhD and Keisha Miles of the Institute for Survey Research, Temple University. Updated for Roe v Dobbs by Robert Cavalier, Program for Deliberative Democracy, Carnegie Mellon University.
Part I Demographics

1. **What is your age?**

2. **Please indicate your gender.**
   - Man
   - Woman
   - Transgender/Gender-non-binary
   - Prefer not to answer

3. **Which of the following describe your race? (Please check all that apply.)**
   - African-American or Black
   - Caucasian or White
   - Asian
   - American Indian or Alaska native
   - Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
   - Other: __________________________
   - Don’t Know
   - Prefer not to answer

3a. **What is your ethnicity?**
   - Non-Hispanic
   - Hispanic
   - Prefer not to answer
4. Are you an active member of a religious organization?
   O Yes
   O No
   O Don’t know
   O Prefer not to answer

5. What is your religious preference?
   O Catholic
   O Muslim
   O Protestant (Non evangelical)
   O Unitarian Universalist
   O Other Christian
   O None (i.e., No Religion)
   O Don’t know
   O Prefer not to answer

   O Jewish
   O Hindu
   O Protestant (Evangelical)
   O Mormon
   O Other:_________________

6. To what extent do religious beliefs play a role in your life?
   O Not at all
   O Some
   O A great deal
   O Prefer not to answer
7. **Which of the following political parties do you most closely identify with?**

- O Democratic Party
- O Republican Party
- O Libertarian Party
- O Green Party
- O No Party Affiliation (i.e., Independent)
- O Other: __________________
- O Prefer not to answer

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

- O Strongly conservative
- O Conservative
- O Moderate
- O Liberal
- O Strongly liberal
- O Prefer Not to Answer

9. **To what extent do you support or oppose each of the following:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly support</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Strongly oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Abortion rights</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. The death penalty</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Effort to reduce carbon emissions</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Same sex marriage</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. How frequently do you:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. Read the local newspaper</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Watch local television news</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Read national news magazines</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Watch major network television news</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Watch cable network news</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Read online news websites</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Listen to talk radio</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Read or participate in online blogs, Facebook, other social media</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. How frequently do you vote in the national elections?

- O Always
- O Often
- O Sometimes
- O Rarely
- O Never
- O Not eligible
12. How frequently do you vote in the local elections?

- Always
- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never
- Not eligible
- Prefer not to answer
Part II Your Opinions on the Issue

1. *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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. they are not ready for a(nother) child</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. the timing is wrong</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. they can’t afford a baby</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. they have completed childbearing</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. their children are grown</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. they have other people depending on them</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. they don’t want to be a single mother</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. they are having relationship problems</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. they don’t feel mature enough to raise a child</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. they feel too young</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. they feel that it would interfere with education or career plans</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. they don’t want others to know that they had sex or got pregnant</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. they don’t want children</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please take a few minutes to state the reasons for the *policy positions* you took and describe some *practical consequences* of this policy decision.
2. *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:* 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Not Sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>a. have physical problems with health</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Allowable during first trimester (1-12 weeks)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Allowable during the second trimester (13-20 weeks)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>b. have possible problems that would affect the health of the fetus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Allowable during first trimester (1-12 weeks)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Allowable during the second trimester (13-20 weeks)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>c. are a victim of rape or incest</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Allowable during first trimester (1-12 weeks)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Allowable during the second trimester (13-20 weeks)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please take a few minutes to state the reasons for the *policy positions* you took and describe some *practical consequences* of this policy decision.
3. Referring to the Discussion Guide and as a matter of law or public policy, where do you stand on:

a. Roe v Wade Decision

Roe v. Wade was a Supreme Court decision that made abortions legal. The court ruled that abortion was a right of privacy. The ruling gives states the right to regulate abortions to protect the woman's health in the second trimester. In the third trimester, the state could prohibit abortion to protect a fetus that could survive on its own outside the womb, except when a woman's health was in danger.

- O Strongly support
- O Moderately support
- O Neutral
- O Moderately oppose
- O Strongly oppose
- O Don’t know

b. The Dobbs Decision

Majority Opinion

The Dobbs decision finds that Roe’s decision failed to account for the traditions and values of our nation’s history and the fact that abortion, much less the right to abortion, cannot be found in and thereby justified by the text of the Constitution, specifically the 14th Amendment’s liberty clause.

Because of these failures, the Roe decision was egregiously wrong and can be overruled as precedent.

The language of Roe and subsequently Casey can read as legislation and so the issue of abortion must appropriately be returned to the States and Congress. That is, “it must be returned to the legislative bodies that are duly elected by the people.”

- O Strongly support
- O Moderately support
- O Neutral
- O Moderately oppose
- O Strongly oppose
- O Don’t know
Dissent (B,S,K)
Those in the dissent question the validity on an account of values and traditions where woman had no voice in formulating laws and policies that affected them. They argue that the majority fails to do justice to the realities that confront women and the way women have come to rely on a constitutional “right to choose.” Furthermore, they interpret the constitution as responsive to societal changes as opposed to a literal reading of past texts. This kind of fundamental rights should not be up for a vote.

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

Please take a few minutes to give the reasons for the positions you took.
4. **States Legislatures**

   **a. State Bans on Abortion**

   States like Indiana would ban “abortions altogether, with exceptions allowed in cases of fetal abnormalities considered lethal, or to prevent serious physical health risks to the mother. Exceptions also are permitted for underage victims of rape or incest, but only up to 10 weeks of pregnancy. Physicians found to have violated the measure could be charged with a felony and face the revocation of their medical license.”

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

   **b. State Protections to Abortion Access**

   A number of states have legislative declarations affirmatively protecting a woman’s right to choose abortion. Washington law declares, “every woman has the fundamental right to choose or refuse to have an abortion...The state may not deny or interfere with a woman’s right to choose to have an abortion prior to viability of the fetus, or to protect her life or health.”

   - Strongly support
   - Moderately support
   - Neutral
   - Moderately oppose
   - Strongly oppose
   - Don’t know
5. State Constitutions

a. Personhood Amendment

From the State of Florida: The Personhood Amendment seeks to define “person” as having rights and duties at every stage of development including the human fetus from conception or fertilization. This amendment would make abortion and some forms of birth control illegal.

O Strongly support
O Moderately support
O Neutral
O Moderately oppose
O Strongly oppose
O Don’t know

b. Reproductive Rights Amendments

From the State of California: “The state shall not deny or interfere with an individual’s reproductive freedom in their most intimate decisions, which includes their fundamental right to choose to have an abortion and their fundamental right to choose or refuse contraceptives. This section is intended to further the constitutional right to privacy guaranteed by Section 1, and the constitutional right to not be denied equal protection guaranteed by Section 7. Nothing herein narrows or limits the right to privacy or equal protection.”

O Strongly support
O Moderately support
O Neutral
O Moderately oppose
O Strongly oppose
O Don’t know
6. Referenda

a. The Iowa No Right to Abortion in Constitution Amendment

This referendum measure would add a section to the state constitution that says, "To defend and protect unborn children, we the people of the State of Iowa declare that this Constitution does not recognize, grant, or secure a right to abortion or require the public funding of abortion."

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

b. The Michigan Right to Reproductive Freedom Initiative

The ballot initiative would provide for a state constitutional right to reproductive freedom. The term reproductive freedom would be defined as "the right to make and effectuate decisions about all matters relating to pregnancy, including but not limited to prenatal care, childbirth, postpartum care, contraception, sterilization, abortion care, miscarriage management, and infertility care."

The ballot initiative would provide that the state can regulate abortion after fetal viability, except that the state could not ban the use of abortion to "protect the life or physical or mental health of the pregnant individual," as determined by an attending health care professional.

- Strongly support
- Moderately support
7. **National Legislation and Federal Laws**

a. "**Protecting Pain-Capable Unborn Children from Late-Term Abortions Act**"

“The term ‘unborn child ’means an individual organism of the species homo sapiens, beginning at fertilization, until the point of being born alive.”

The Bill outlines fetal development and seeks a consensus document restricting abortion at 15 weeks. It allows for exceptions due to documented instances of rape and incest and in matters of the woman’s life or in cases of severe fetal abnormalities resulting in the death of the unborn child. It includes penalties for physicians who violate the law but not for the women who might undergo an illegal abortion.

b. **Reproductive Freedom For All Act**

Sponsored by Susan Collins, Lisa Murkowski, Kyrsten Sinema and Tim Kaine, the “bill would restore the right to obtain an abortion by enacting in federal law Roe v. Wade and other seminal Supreme Court decisions pertaining to
reproductive freedom. In addition, the bill would protect access to contraception. “By reinstating—neither expanding nor restricting—the longstanding legal framework for reproductive rights in this country, our bill would preserve abortion access along with basic conscience protections that are relied upon by health care providers who have religious objections.”

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

Please take a few minutes to describe the reasons for your positions on the laws (state and federal) and Amendments above.
Part III The Process: The Deliberative Forum

7. To what extent did:
   1) reading the document on Abortion in America and
   2) participating in the deliberative event:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1) Reading Document</th>
<th>2) Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. broaden your understanding of the history of abortion?</td>
<td>A great deal</td>
<td>A moderate amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. broaden your understanding of the issues surrounding abortion?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. increase your understanding of the reasons why women want to have or refuse to have an abortion?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. present arguments or perspectives concerning abortion that you hadn’t considered before?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. To what extent did you find participation in the deliberative event:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very</th>
<th>A moderate amount</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. engaging?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. intellectually stimulating?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. frustrating?</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. How informative did you find:
9. If you had a chance to read the Discussion Guide, did you find it:

- [ ] clear,
- [ ] fair,
- [ ] and easy to follow?

Please provide additional comments about the Discussion Guide.

10. 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.