

NARAL Pro-Choice America



July 2022

## Research Goals

1. Uncover the values, emotions, and internalized narratives driving voters' views on abortion access.
2. Understand how voters are perceiving restrictions to abortion access and how that is impacting urgency to protect abortion access post-*Roe*.
3. Identify the most resonant messaging pathways to educate and engage Americans.

### Sample

- 5,034 registered voters
- Fielded from June 24-27, 2022

### Methodology

- Online survey with typed responses
- Combination of open and closed questions

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- 2. Abortion Attitudinal Segments**
- 3. Internalized Narratives**
- 4. Perceptions of Threats**
- 5. Post-Roe Reactions**
- 6. Values**
- 7. Strategic Recommendations and Opportunities**

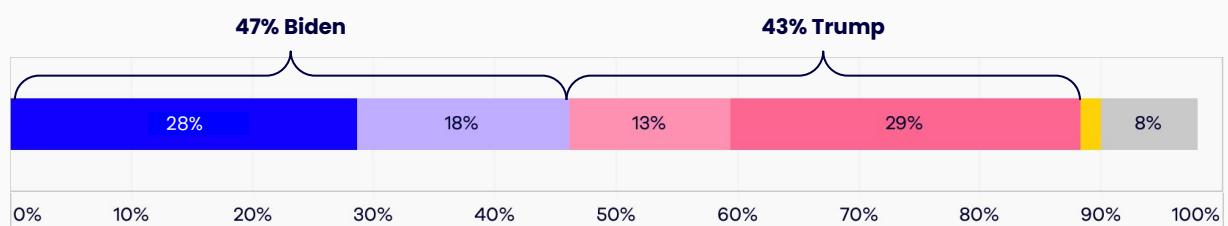
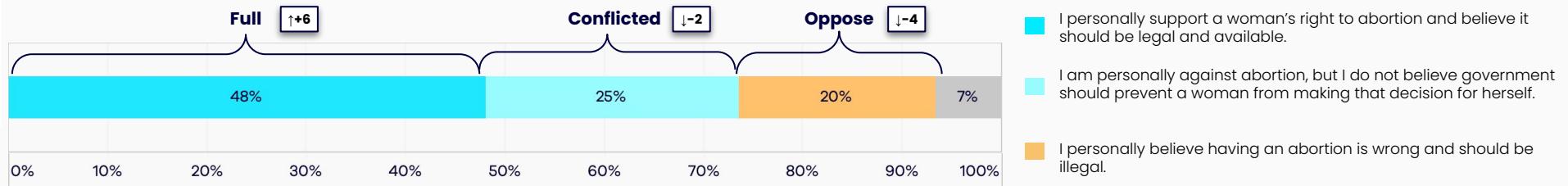


# Key Takeaways

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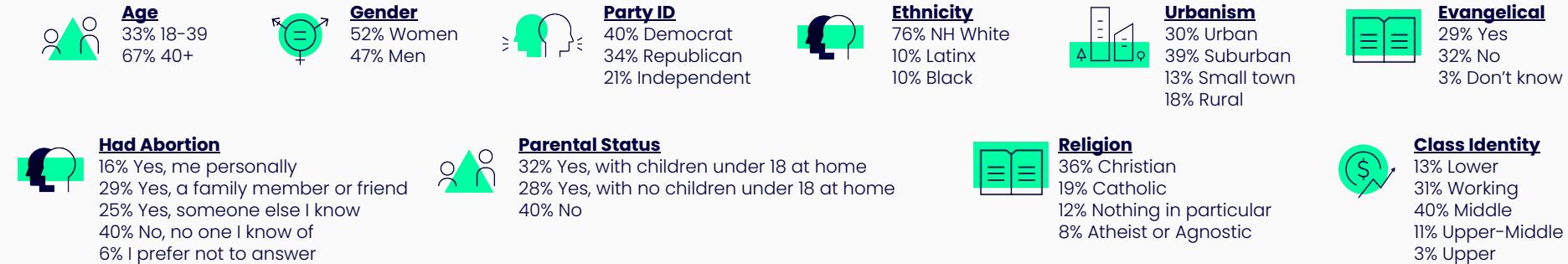
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<p><b>Supporters associate abortion with a right and freedom to choose, and say the woman is most harmed when access is restricted</b></p> <p>49% of Full Supporters and 21% of Conflicted Supporters associate abortion with rights &amp; freedoms, increasing 10pts since April; Soft Biden women and Soft Trump women are over 12pts more likely to say rights and freedom compared to April.</p> <p>56% of respondents say the woman is most harmed when access to abortion is restricted, an increase of 9pts since April.</p> <p>Compared to April, both supporters and opponents are more likely to mention rape, health and personal choice as reasons for seeking abortion care.</p>	<p><b>Voters are shifting blame for restricting access to state and local government, and over half say politicians only care about staying in power</b></p> <p>Compared to April, respondents are 9pts more likely to blame state or local government. Older, white voters are more likely to blame Republicans compared to April.</p> <p>Holding steady since April, a plurality (38%) of voters say that those responsible for efforts to restrict access are motivated by pro-life beliefs.</p> <p>68% of all respondents and a strong majority of supporters agree that politicians working to ban abortion only care about staying in power.</p>	<p><b>'Freedom' message leads both for Full and Conflicted supporters, scoring well both emotionally and with shareability</b></p> <p>A strong majority of supporters agree with the 'Freedom' message, with 71% of Full and 35% of Conflicted supporters saying they 'strongly agree.'</p> <p>40% of Soft Trump voters say they would share the 'Freedom' message, an increase of 12pts since April.</p> <p>Full supporters feel most emotionally activated by 'Freedom' and 'Rights' messages; for Conflicted Supporters, mentions of positive emotions in reaction to 'Freedom' increased 11pts since April.</p>	<p><b>Although half of respondents agree with 'Return Power,' 'Overturn Constitution' elicits the strongest intensity of concern</b></p> <p>Though a majority disagree with 'Overturn,' 45% of Full Supporters say they agree with 'Return Power.' Conflicted Supporters agree most with 'Return Power' (64%) and 'Overturn Constitution' (49%).</p> <p>Those who disagree with 'Overturn Constitution' are most likely to cite 'bodily autonomy' and 'abortion as a right' as the reasons.</p> <p>A majority of respondents say they are concerned by all three statements, but are 10pts more likely to say they are very concerned by 'Overturn Constitution.'</p>	<p><b>A majority of voters say they are more motivated to vote and 40% of Full Supporters say they plan to choose pro-choice candidates, but less than half say they will take other actions in response to Roe</b></p> <p>A majority of those who say they intend to vote in 2022 report feeling at least somewhat more motivated due to Roe being overturned, including 81% of Full Supporters.</p> <p>A third of Soft Biden women, a quarter of Soft Biden men and 1 in 4 Soft Trump women voters say they are now planning to vote for pro-choice candidates.</p> <p>Less than half of all respondents say they are likely to take any other actions in response to Roe being overturned.</p>

# Sample Breakdown



**[2020 Vote Choice]** Who did you vote for in the 2020 presidential election? (Closed)

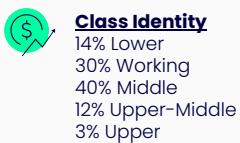
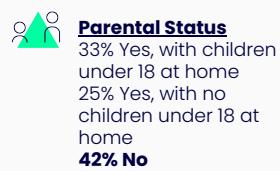
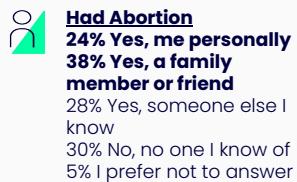
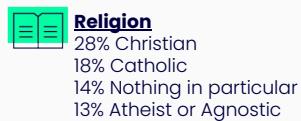
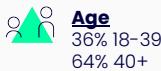
**[Strong / Soft Support]** Did you strongly support [Joe Biden / Donald Trump] or have mixed feelings about supporting him? (Closed)



# Abortion Attitudinal Segments

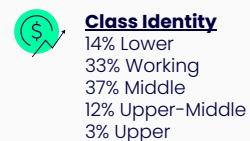
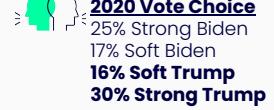
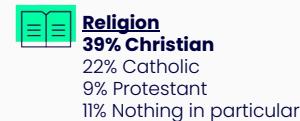
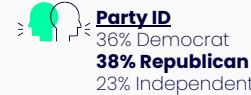
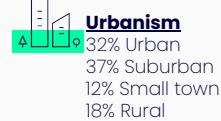
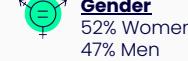
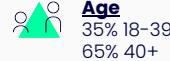
## Full Supporters (48% of total sample)

*"I personally support a woman's right to abortion and believe it should be legal and available."*



## Conflicted Supporters (25% of total sample)

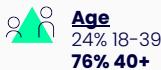
*"I am personally against abortion, but I do not believe government should prevent a woman from making that decision for herself."*



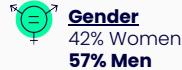
# Abortion Attitudinal Segments

## Opponents (20% of total sample)

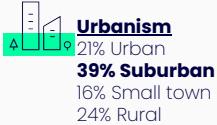
"I personally believe having an abortion is wrong and should be illegal."



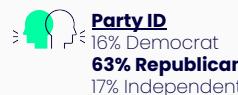
**Age**  
24% 18-39  
**76% 40+**



**Gender**  
42% Women  
**57% Men**



**Urbanism**  
21% Urban  
**39% Suburban**  
16% Small town  
24% Rural



**Party ID**  
16% Democrat  
**63% Republican**  
17% Independent



**Ethnicity**  
84% NH White  
6% Latinx  
6% Black



**Religion**  
**50% Christian**  
20% Catholic  
13% Protestant  
6% Nothing in particular



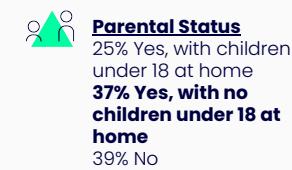
**Evangelical**  
**52% Yes**  
29% No  
3% Don't know



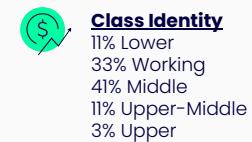
**2020 Vote Choice**  
10% Strong Biden  
5% Soft Biden  
19% Soft Trump  
**60% Strong Trump**



**Had Abortion**  
6% Yes, me personally  
18% Yes, a family member or friend  
24% Yes, someone else I know  
**56% No, no one I know of**  
4% I prefer not to answer



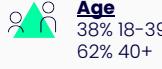
**Parental Status**  
25% Yes, with children under 18 at home  
**37% Yes, with no children under 18 at home**  
39% No



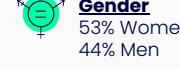
**Class Identity**  
11% Lower  
33% Working  
41% Middle  
11% Upper-Middle  
3% Upper

## Unsure (7% of total sample)

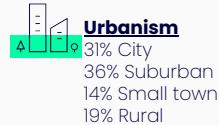
"I am unsure."



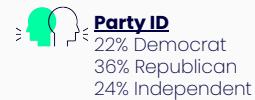
**Age**  
38% 18-39  
62% 40+



**Gender**  
53% Women  
44% Men



**Urbanism**  
31% City  
36% Suburban  
14% Small town  
19% Rural



**Party ID**  
22% Democrat  
36% Republican  
24% Independent



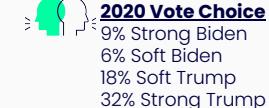
**Ethnicity**  
70% NH White  
8% Latinx  
14% Black



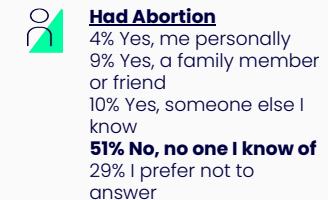
**Religion**  
34% Christian  
16% Catholic  
7% Protestant  
14% Prefer not to say



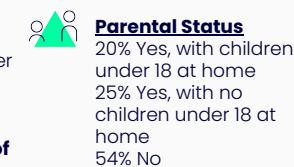
**Evangelical**  
21% Yes  
27% No  
10% Don't know



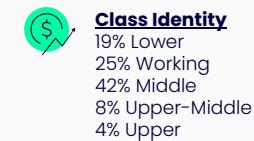
**2020 Vote Choice**  
9% Strong Biden  
6% Soft Biden  
18% Soft Trump  
32% Strong Trump



**Had Abortion**  
4% Yes, me personally  
9% Yes, a family member or friend  
10% Yes, someone else I know  
**51% No, no one I know of**  
29% I prefer not to answer



**Parental Status**  
20% Yes, with children under 18 at home  
25% Yes, with no children under 18 at home  
54% No



**Class Identity**  
19% Lower  
25% Working  
42% Middle  
8% Upper-Middle  
4% Upper

# Understanding Avalanche's Qualitative Data

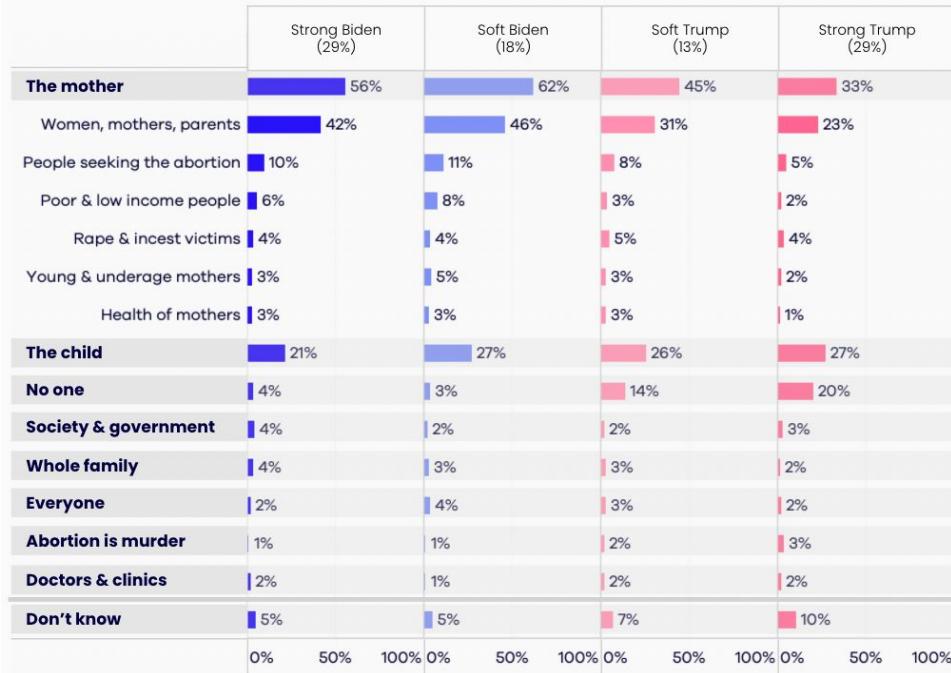
Avalanche Insights' listening instruments combine closed-ended and open-ended questions, using proprietary in-house tech to code and quantify themes in open-ended responses.

**Question text** indicates whether question was asked in open or closed format.

**Qualitative themes**, which summarize similar responses, are quantified as a percentage of a given audience. Responses can be coded into more than one theme.

**Higher-level categories**, indicated by gray headings, group together similar themes to shed light on summary insights from the data.

**[Harmed]** Who, specifically, do you believe is most harmed when people are unable to access abortions in America? (Open-ended)



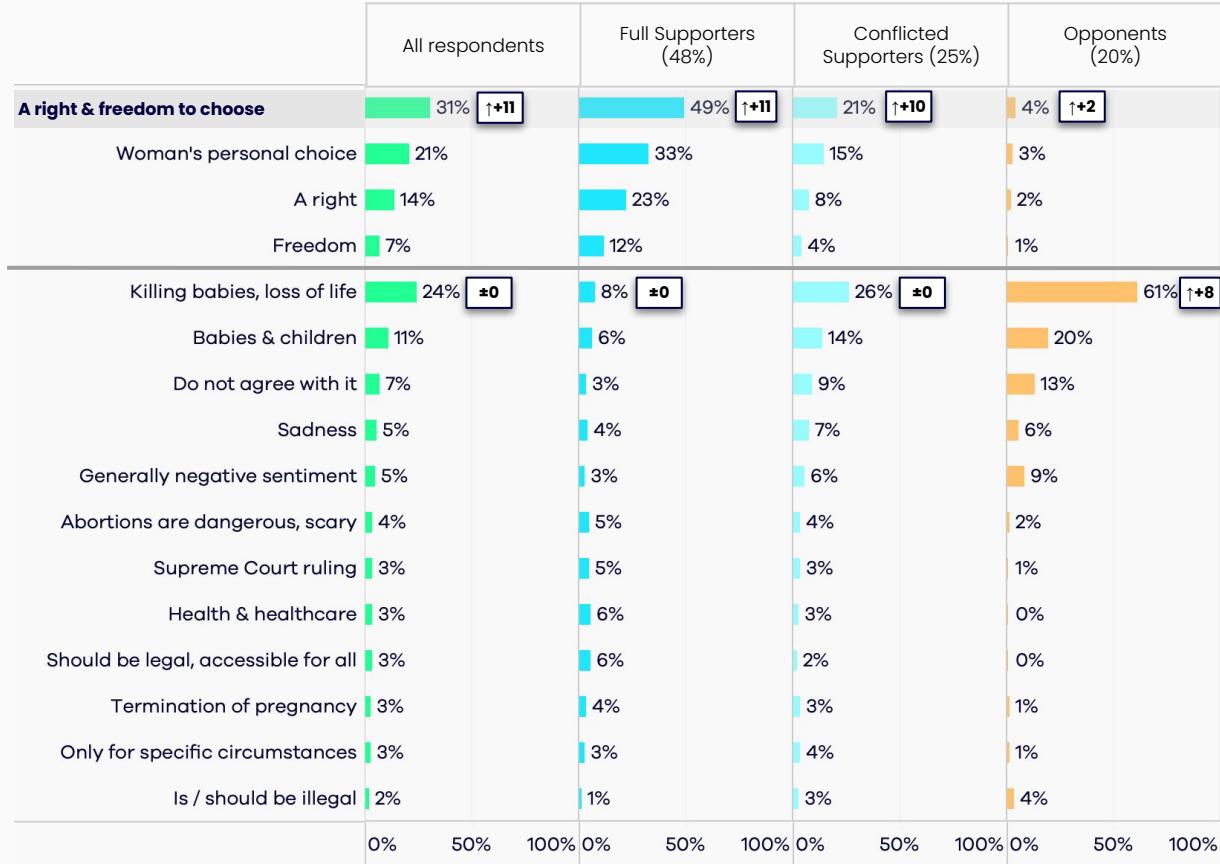
How do voters  
internalize narratives  
around abortion?



# Half of Full Supporters and 1 in 5 Conflicted Supporters associate abortion with a right & freedom to choose, an increase of 10pts since April

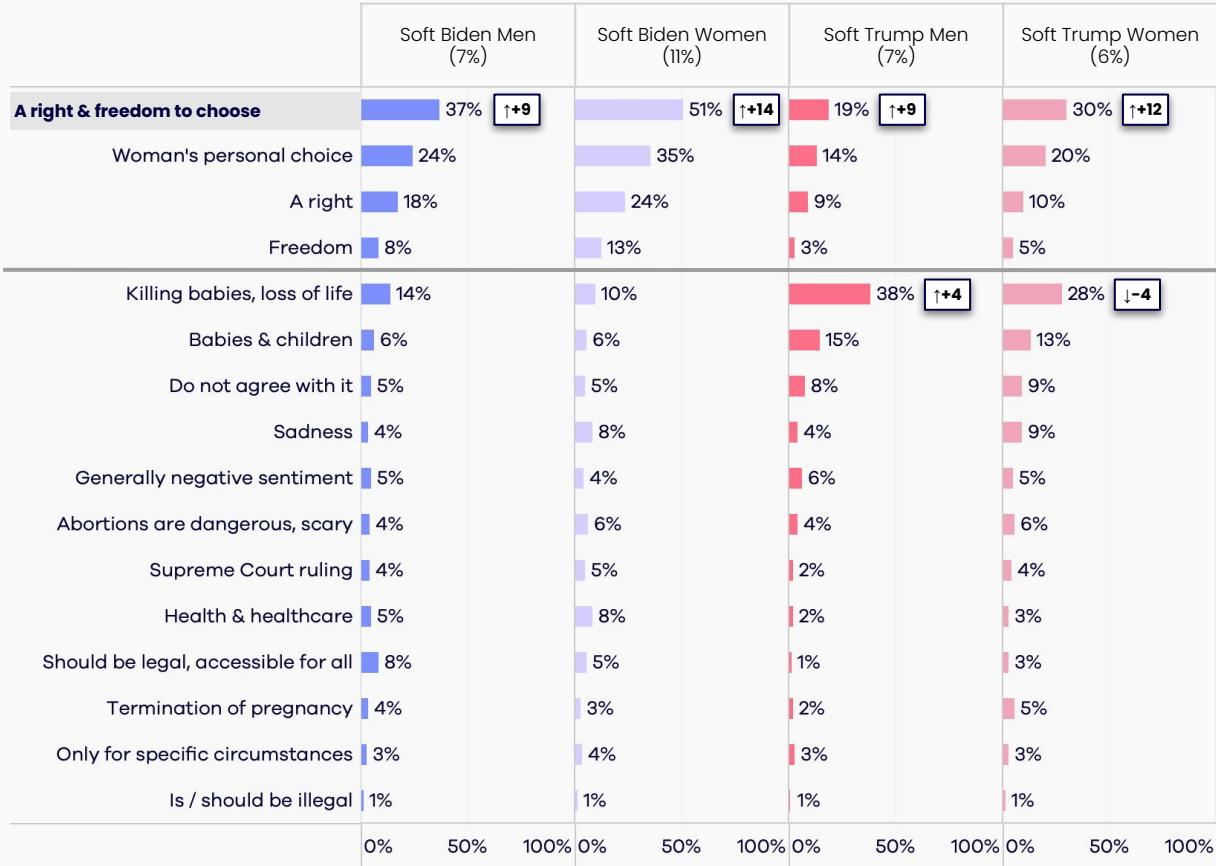
Opponents are most  
likely to associate it  
with 'loss of life'

**[Abortion association]** When you think of abortion, what words or phrases come to mind? Be as specific as possible. (Open-ended)



# Soft Biden and Soft Trump women voters are more likely than their male counterparts to associate abortion with a right & freedom to choose, increasing 14 and 12pts respectively since April

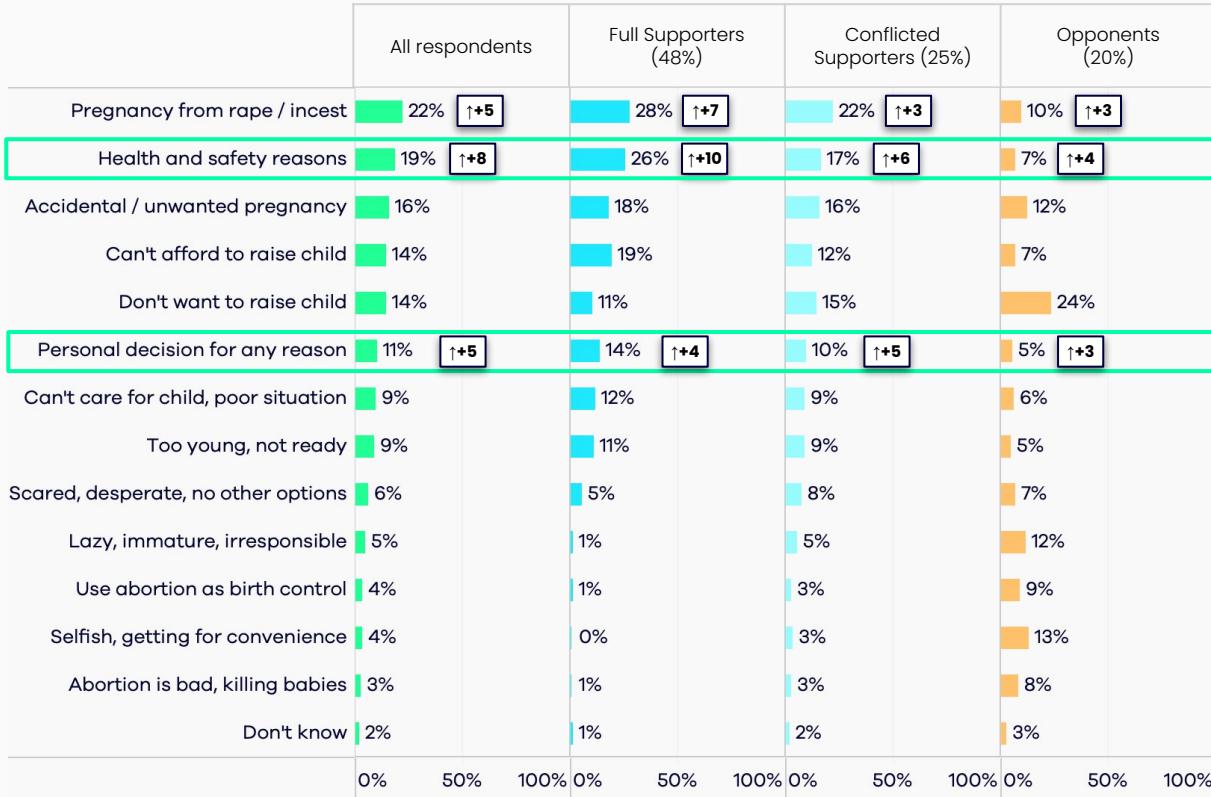
**[Abortion association]** When you think of abortion, what words or phrases come to mind? Be as specific as possible. (Open-ended)



# There is little consensus on reasons people seek abortion care

## Compared to April, both supporters and opponents are more likely to mention rape, health and personal choice

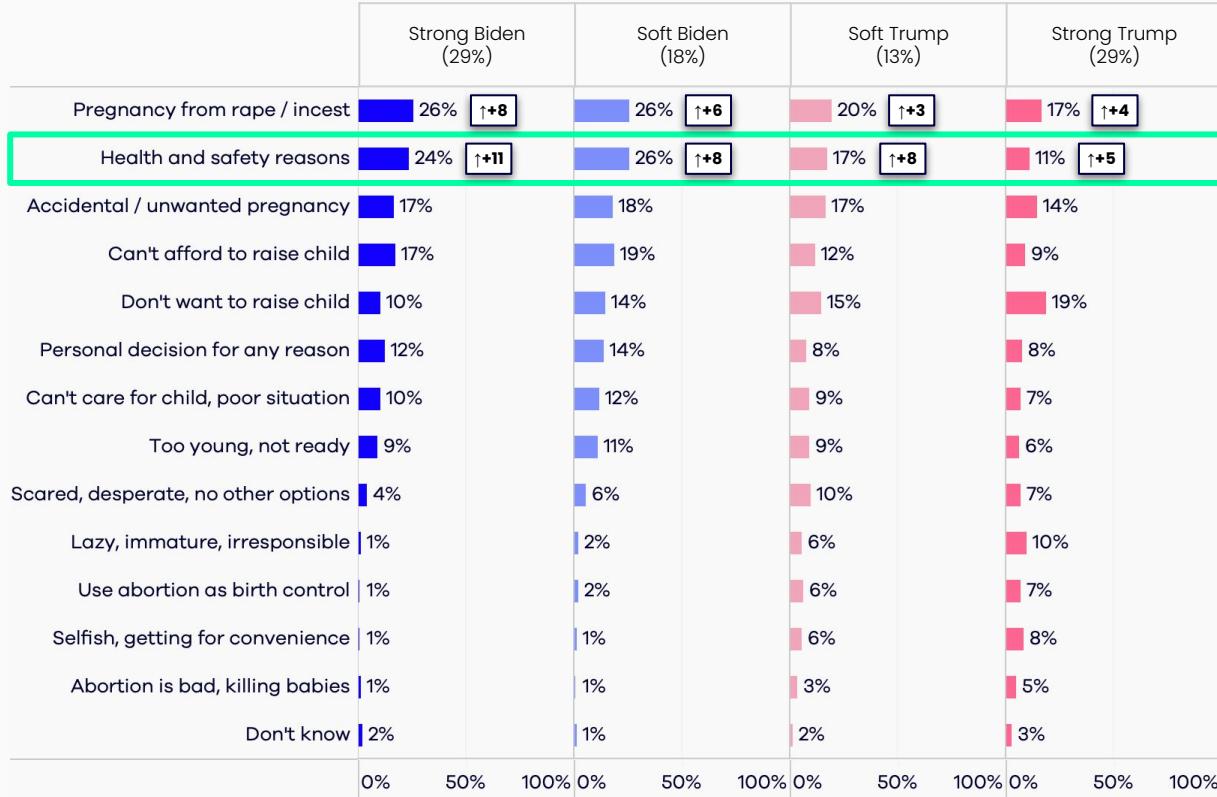
**[Abortion reasons]** What do you believe are the reasons people seek abortion care?  
(Open-ended)



# Health & safety reasons were cited more often by all segments since April

# Soft Biden and Soft Trump voters both increased mentions of health & safety by 8pts since April

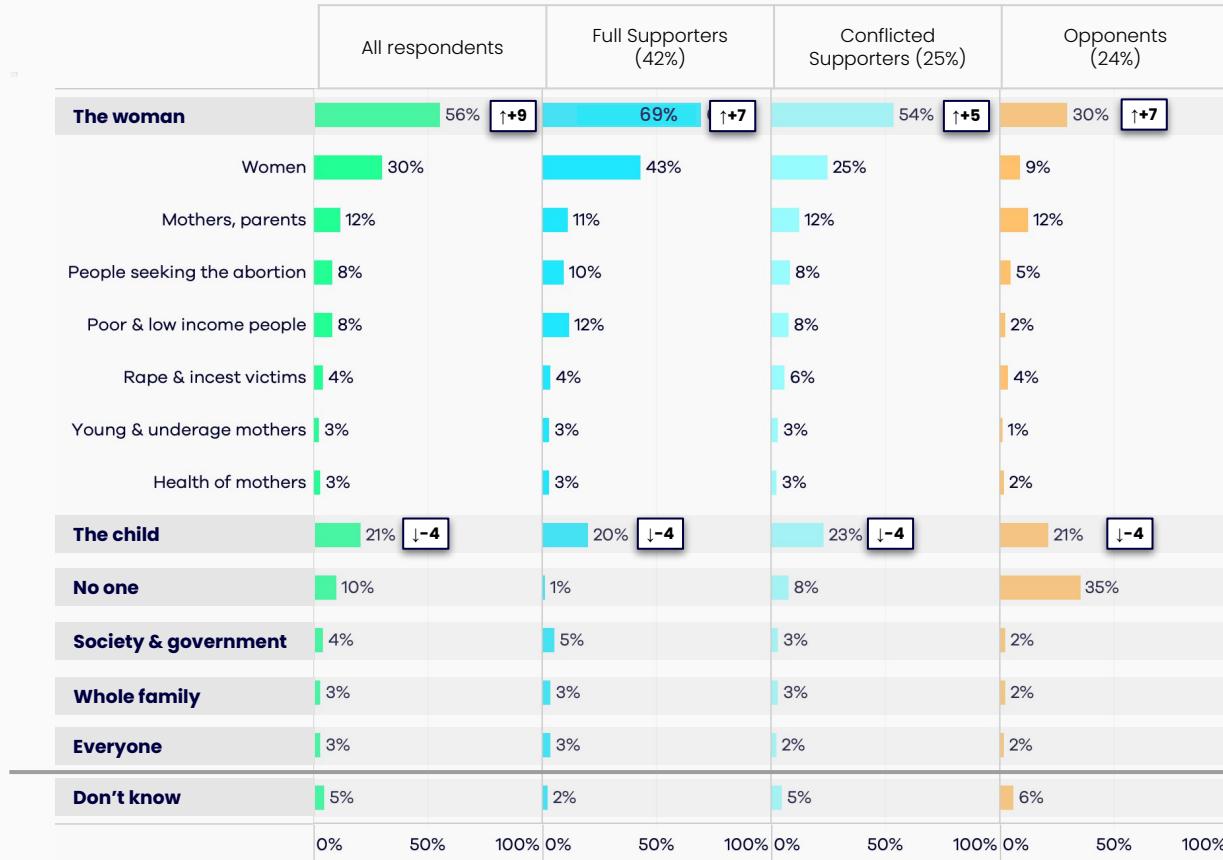
**[Abortion reasons]** What do you believe are the reasons people seek abortion care?  
(Open-ended)



# Over half of respondents say the woman is most harmed when abortion is inaccessible

Compared to April, both supporters and opponents are more likely to mention the woman

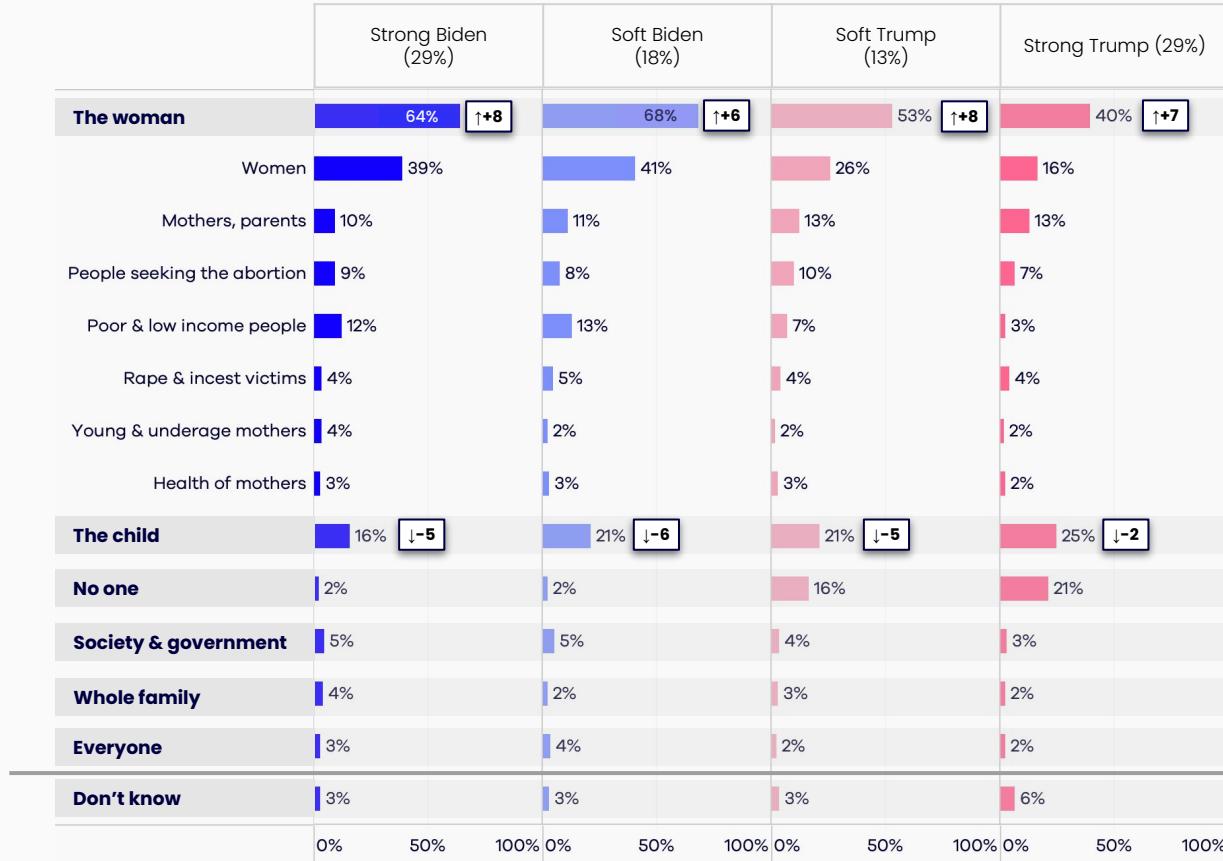
**[Harmed]** Who, specifically, do you believe is most harmed when people are unable to access abortions in America? (Open-ended)



# A majority of Biden voters and half of Soft Trump voters say the woman is most harmed when abortion is inaccessible

Across vote choice, respondents are less likely to say the child compared to April

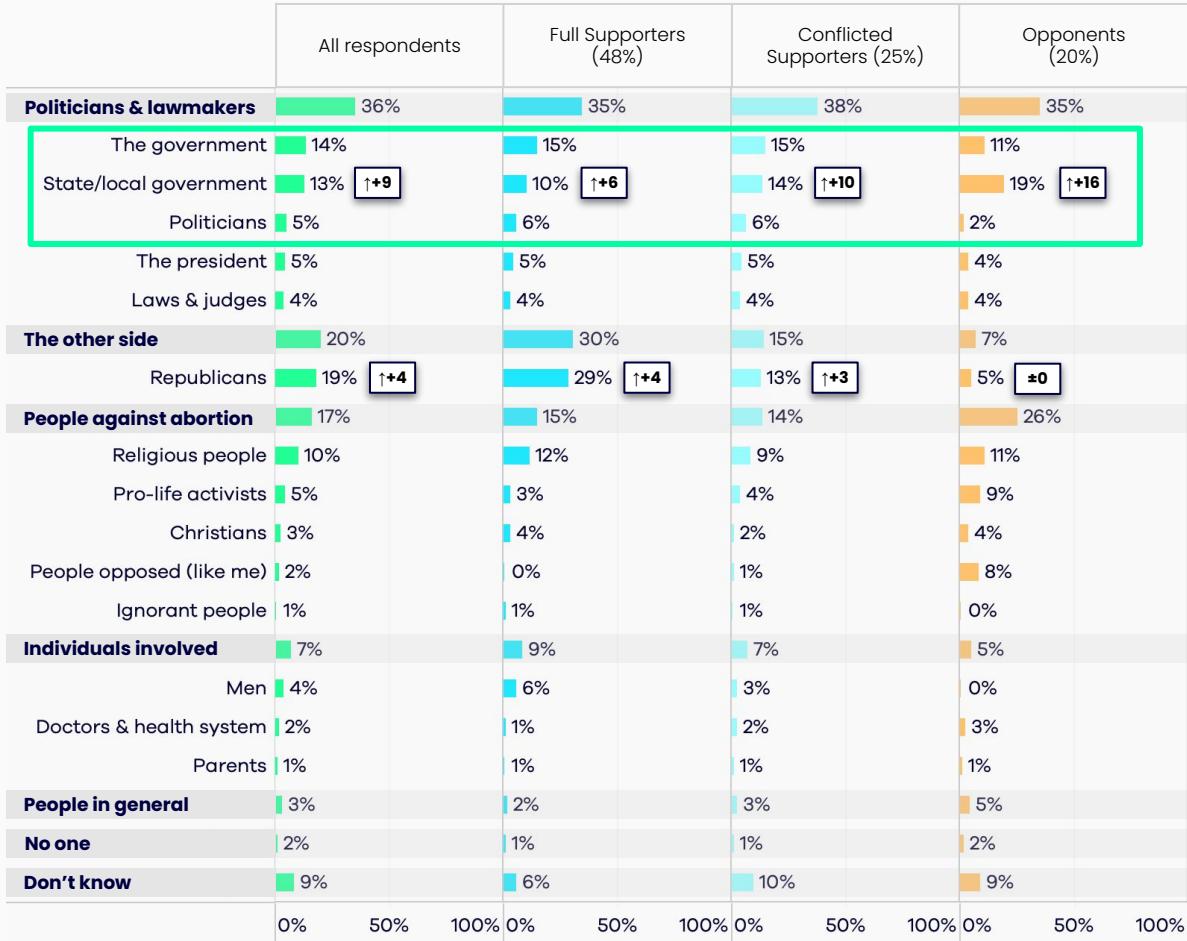
**[Harmed]** Who, specifically, do you believe is most harmed when people are unable to access abortions in America? (Open-ended)



# A plurality of respondents blame politicians for efforts to restrict abortion, and 1 in 5 blame Republicans

Compared to April, respondents are much more likely to mention state and local government

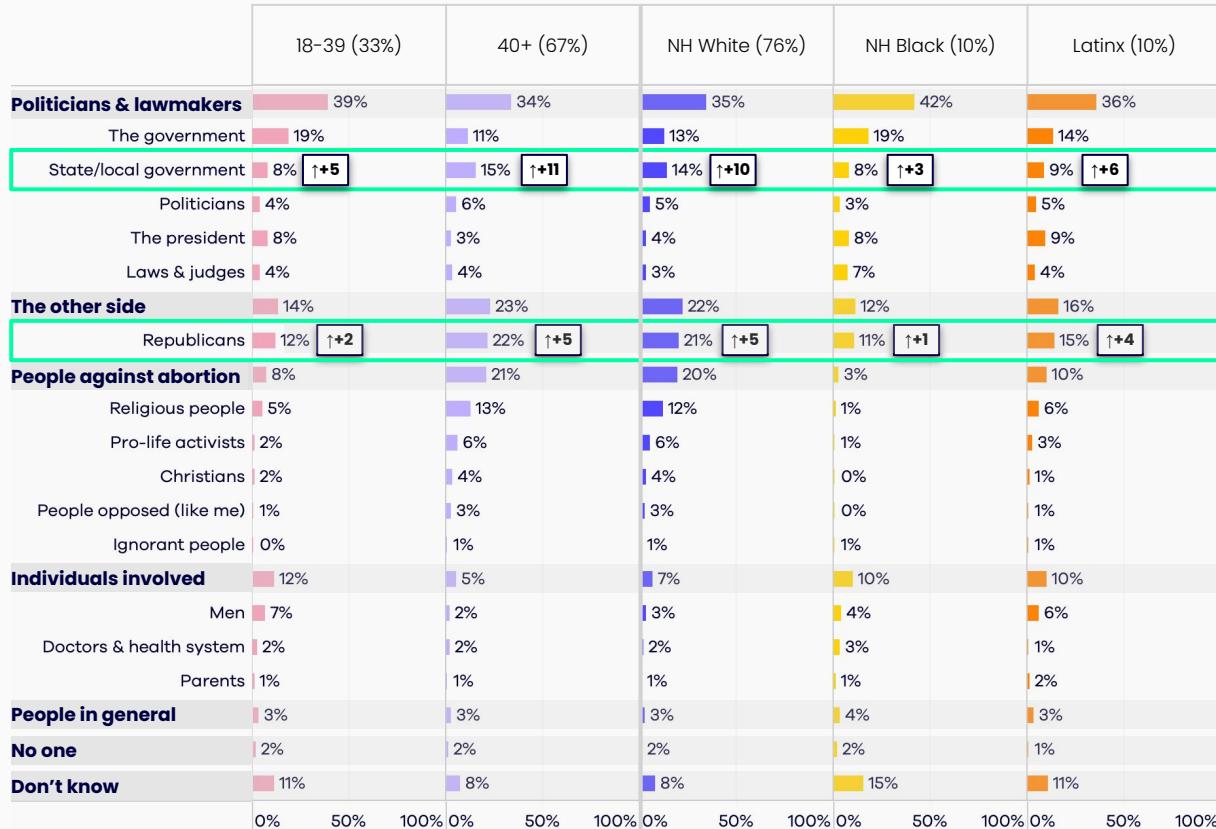
**[Villain]** Who do you believe are most responsible for efforts to restrict access to abortion, beyond the Supreme Court? (Open-ended)



# Black voters are more likely than White and Latinx voters to blame politicians for restricting abortion access, but less likely to mention local government

Older, white voters are more likely to blame state/local government and Republicans compared to April

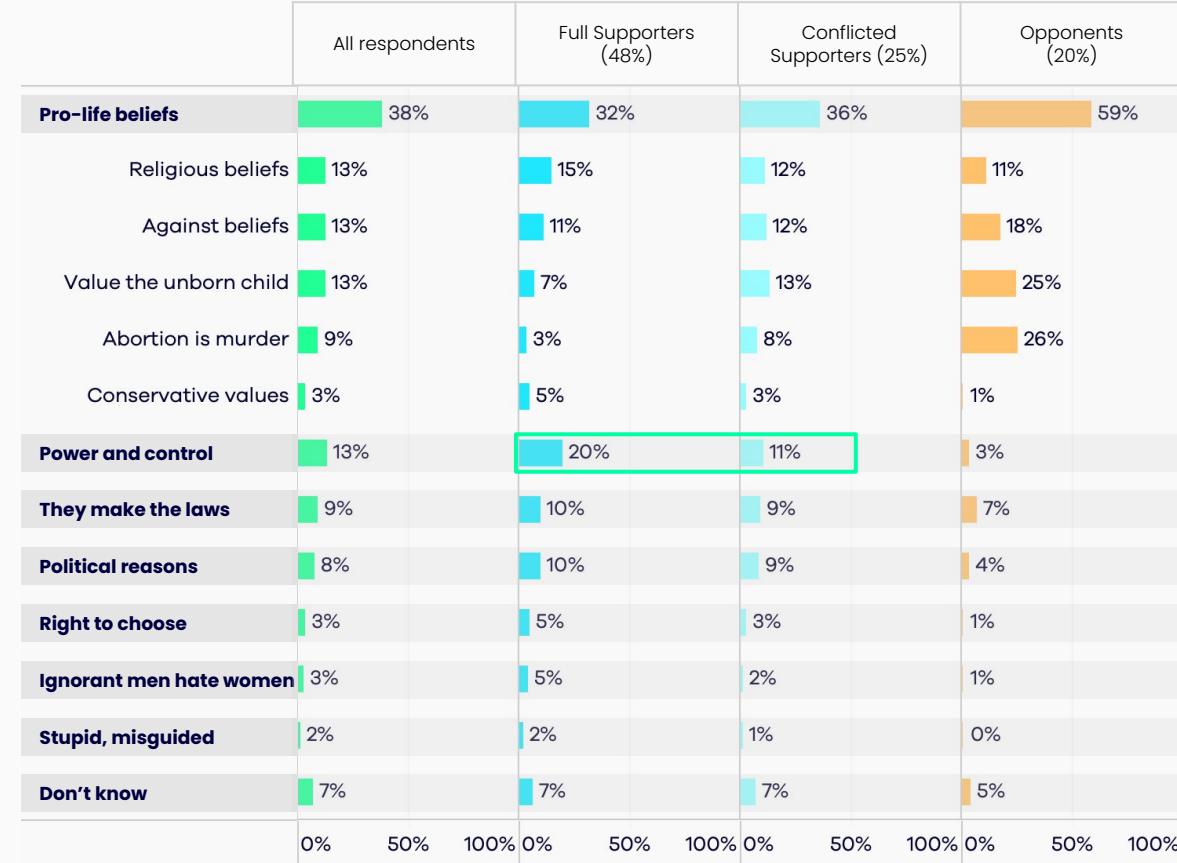
**[Villain]** Who do you believe are most responsible for efforts to restrict access to abortion, beyond the Supreme Court? (Open-ended)



**Remaining steady  
since April, a  
plurality of voters  
say those  
responsible for  
efforts to restrict  
access are  
motivated by pro-life  
beliefs**

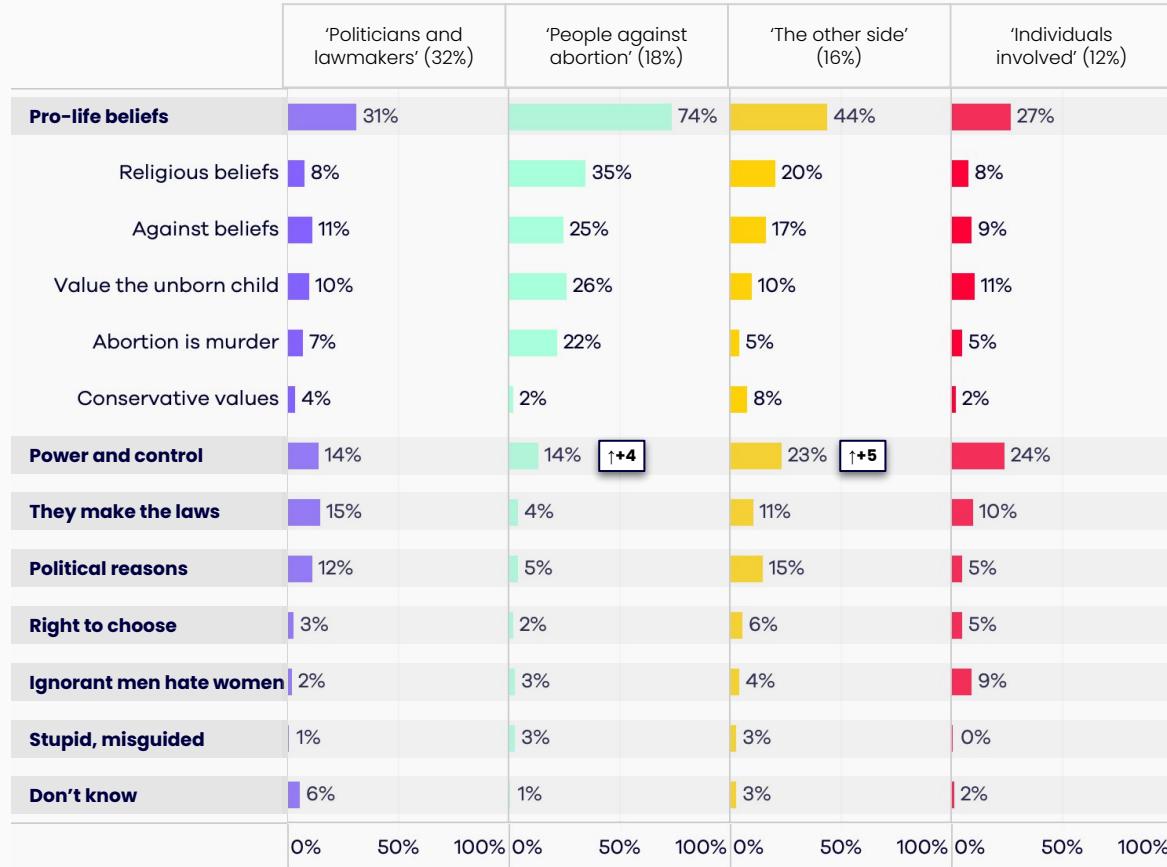
**Over a tenth of those  
who support access  
mention power and  
control**

**[Villain motivation]** You stated [insert answer] as most responsible. Why do you believe they want to restrict access to abortion? (Open-ended)



**Compared to April,  
those who blame  
'people against  
abortion' and 'the  
other side' are more  
likely to say they are  
motivated by power  
and control**

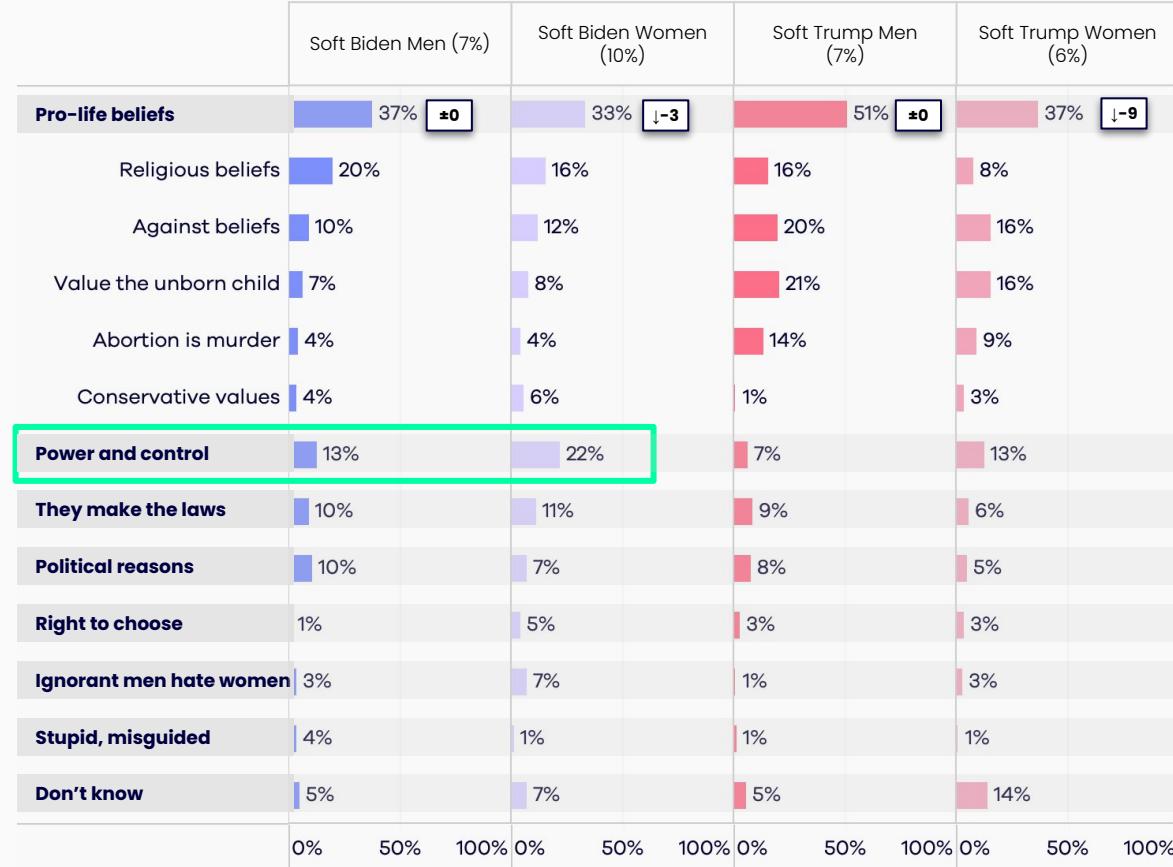
**[Villain motivation]** You stated [insert answer] as most responsible. Why do you believe they want to restrict access to abortion? (Open-ended)



**Since April, Soft Trump women voters are less likely to say those who want to restrict abortion access are motivated by pro-life beliefs**

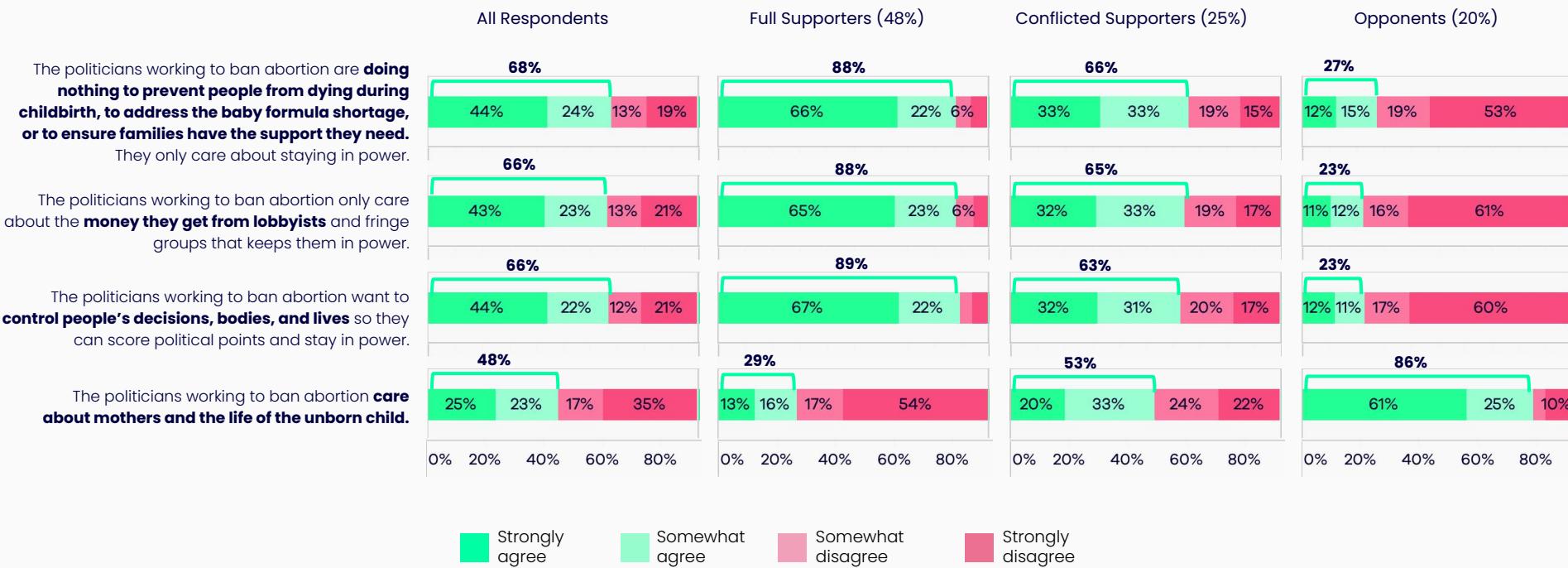
**Soft Biden women voters are twice as likely as their male counterparts to name power & control**

**[Villain motivation]** You stated [insert answer] as most responsible. Why do you believe they want to restrict access to abortion? (Open-ended)



# A majority of all respondents agree that politicians working to ban abortion only care about staying in power, no matter the reason; about 4 in 10 strongly agree with that sentiment

[Villain grid] How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Closed-ended)

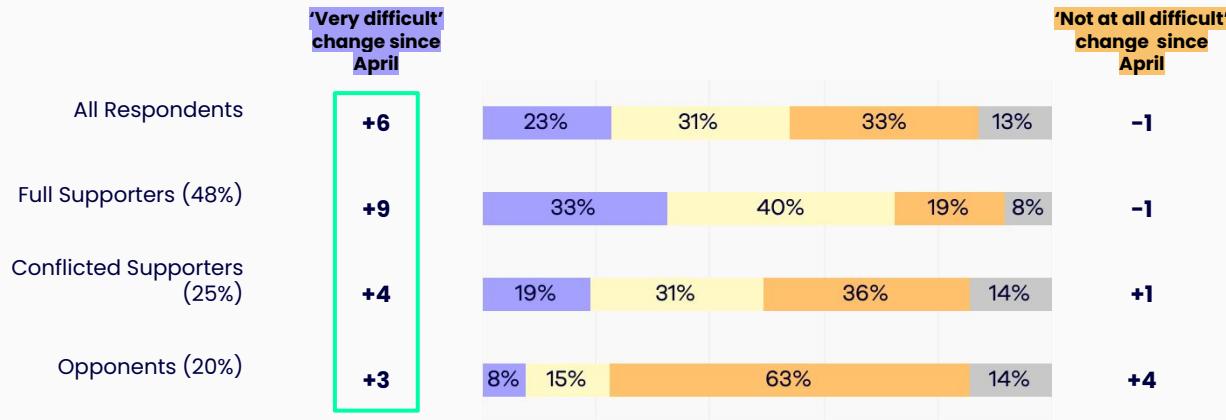


How do voters  
perceive threats to  
abortion access?

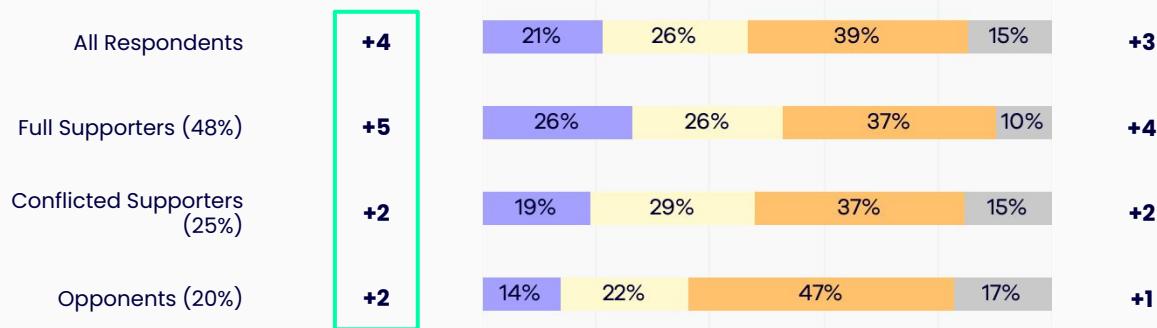


**Compared to April,  
all respondents are  
more likely to believe  
that abortion care is  
very difficult to  
access, both in their  
own state and in the  
country as a whole**

**[Perceived Threat]** How difficult do you believe it is to access abortion care in the United States? (Close-ended)



**[Perceived Threat State]** How difficult do you believe it is to access abortion care in your state? (Close-ended)



Very difficult      Somewhat difficult      Not at all difficult      I don't know

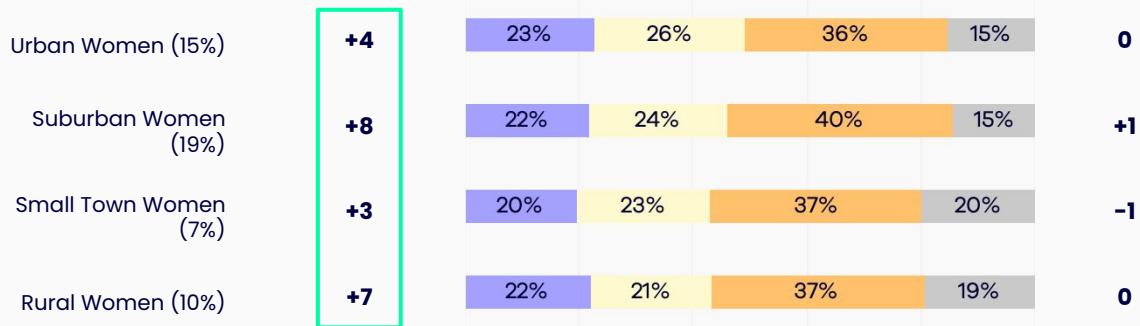


**Suburban women are 12pts more likely to believe abortion care is very difficult to access in the US and 8pts more likely to believe it's very difficult in their own state**

**[Perceived Threat]** How difficult do you believe it is to access abortion care in the United States? (Close-ended)



**[Perceived Threat State]** How difficult do you believe it is to access abortion care in your state? (Close-ended)



Very difficult

Somewhat difficult

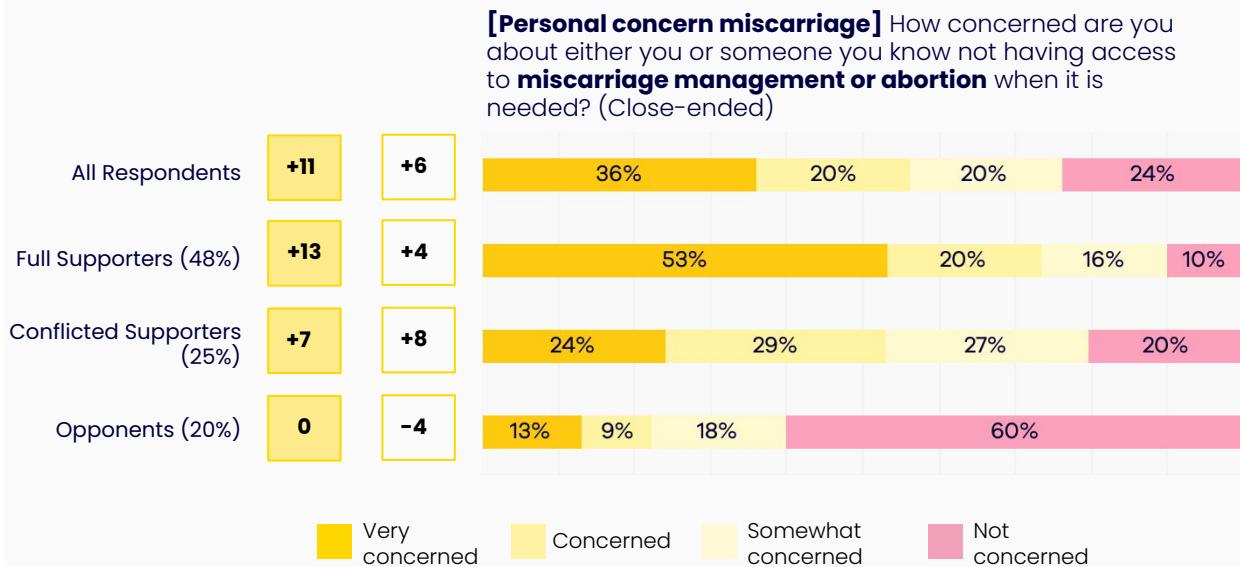
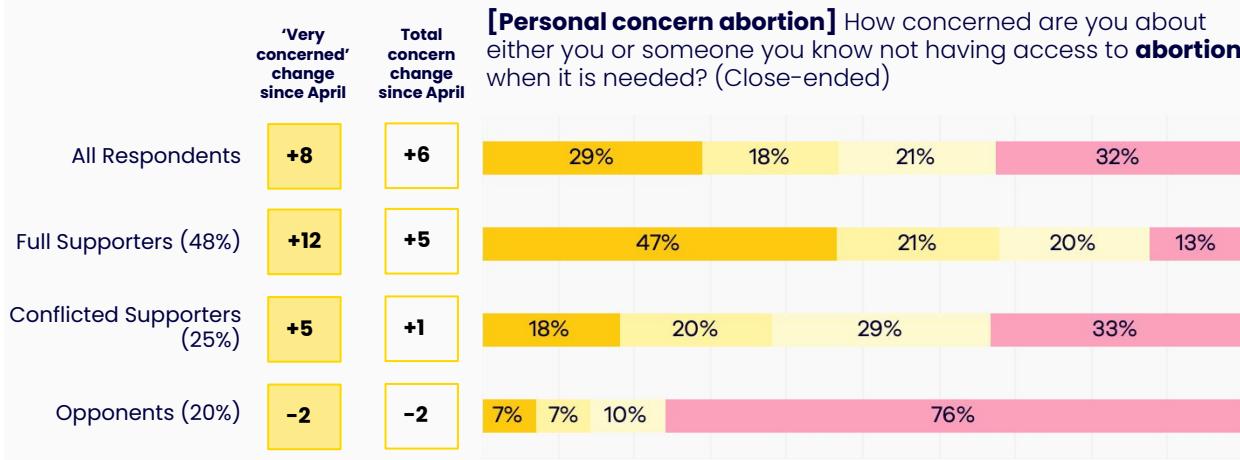
Not at all difficult

I don't know



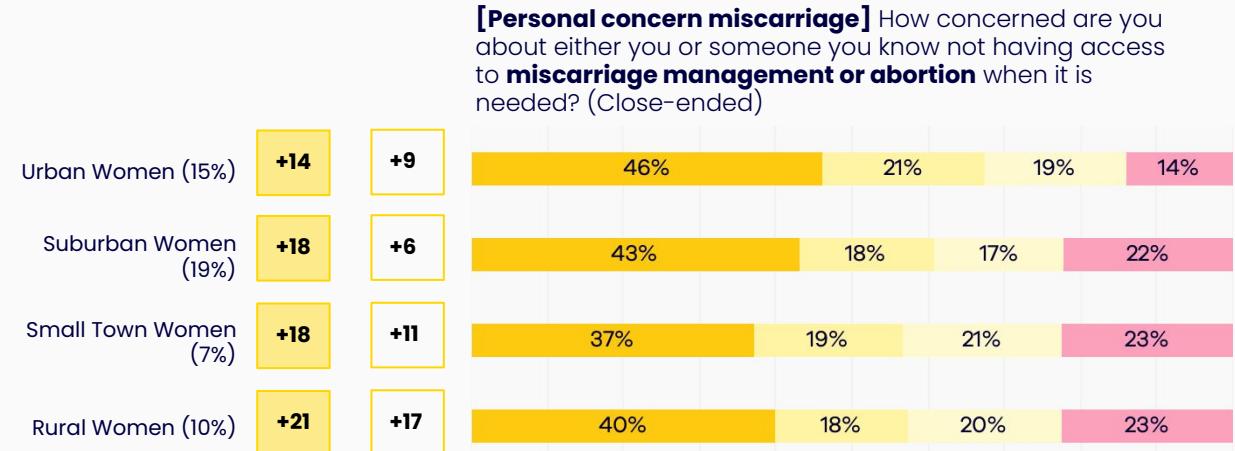
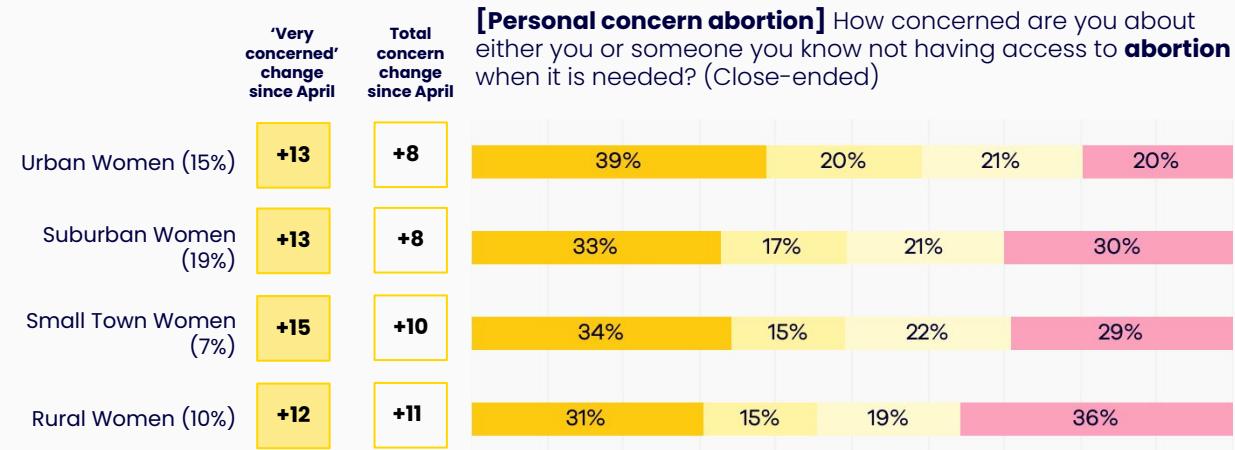
# Concern has risen since April among supporters both about access to abortion and miscarriage management

Full supporters are 12pts more likely to say they are 'very concerned' about not having abortion access



# No matter where they live, women are now much more likely than in April to say they are concerned about abortion access

Those in rural areas are 21pts more likely than in April to say they are 'very concerned' about not having access to miscarriage management



Very concerned      Concerned      Somewhat concerned      Not concerned

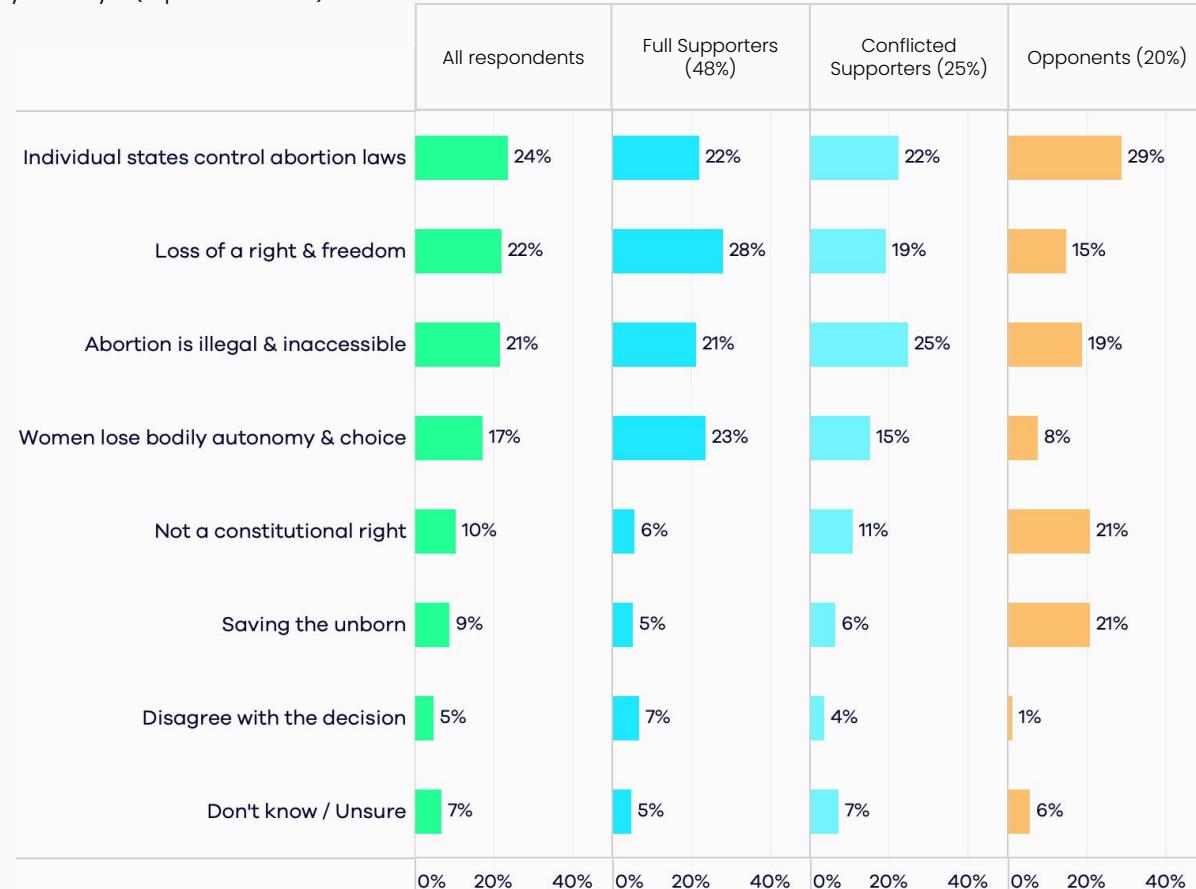
How are voters reacting  
post-*Roe*?



# Supporters and opponents alike cite abortion control moving to the state level

Full Supporters are more likely to cite the loss of a right & freedom or bodily autonomy; those conflicted are more likely to mention it as 'illegal and inaccessible'

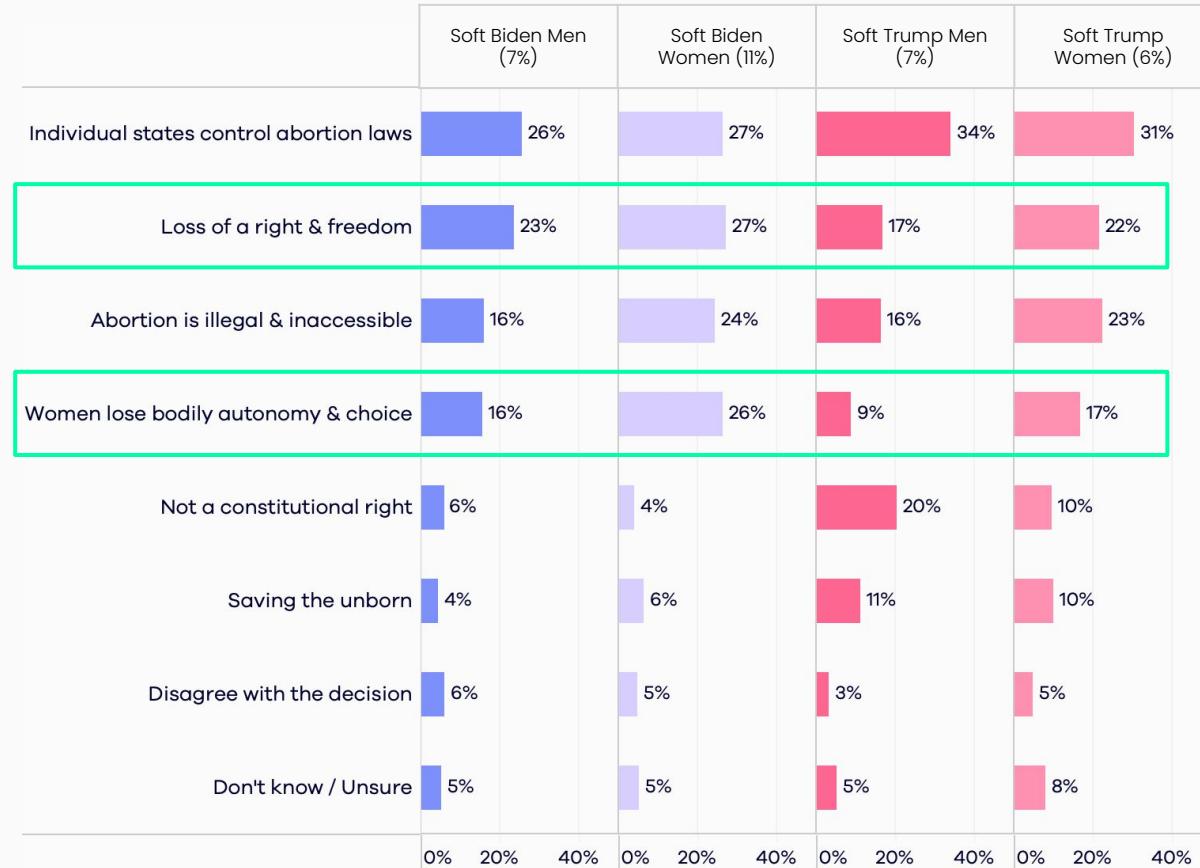
**[Court interpretation]** The Supreme Court just decided to eliminate the constitutional right to an abortion. If a friend were to ask you to explain what this means, what would you say? (Open-ended)



# Women voters are more likely than their male counterparts to say the Court's decision means the loss of bodily autonomy, a right & freedom

Soft Trump men voters say abortion is not a constitutional right

**[Court interpretation]** The Supreme Court just decided to eliminate the constitutional right to an abortion. If a friend were to ask you to explain what this means, what would you say? (Open-ended)



# In their own words: Court interpretations

## Loss of right and freedom

"As an American woman, **my country just took my own personal freedom away. I don't feel as patriotic** about America as I did a year ago."

- Female, 65+, Soft Biden

"The **rights of women to choose** what's best for them and their body has been **taken away**.  
The **right to other types of healthcare will soon follow.**"

- Female, 40-49, Nonvoter

"That the **right to abortion is not protected** by the constitution, and **state and federal lawmakers must write new laws** to allow access to abortions."

- Female, 65+, Strong Biden

"The Supreme Court ruled that **babies should be protected**, especially when their own mothers won't do it. I just **wish there was an easier answer for the mothers.**"

- Female, 30-39, Soft Trump

## Abortion is illegal and inaccessible

"That they have **taken away our federal right** for abortion care and left the decision to the **states** who **will ban abortion** and **make it a felony for doctors** to provide abortions for ANY reason."

- Female, 40-49, Strong Biden

"That means that women are **not allowed to make a choice for their own health care**. That means that **in any situation a woman is forced to carry a baby that she may not want.**"

- Female, 18-29, Soft Biden

"She is a **second class citizen** who could be **forced to complete a pregnancy against her wishes.**"

- Male, 65+, Strong Biden

"There is **no longer an option** for women to **terminate their pregnancies legally**. Those seeking abortions will now have to **find unsafe and life threatening options** to end their pregnancies!"

- Female, 40-49, Soft Biden

## Loss of bodily autonomy and choice

"Basically that **women have no control** over their bodies and **the government needs to mind their own business.**"

- Female, 40-49, Strong Trump

"Essentially, the **ability to obtain a safe abortion drops** significantly while **increasing the number of unsafe abortions and death count** of any person who can carry children."

- Female, 18-29, Soft Biden

"We **no longer have bodily autonomy**, the **right to choose** what we want, or **the right to privacy** **no matter what the circumstances are** or if it is life threatening or not. You no longer get to choose if you want to have a child."

- Non-binary, 18-29, Soft Biden

"That the **Supreme Court used their own beliefs to take away a right** over a case that **was put in place for the safety of women** and health issues that can arise with abortions."

- Female, 50-64, Other

# Court Statements

---

## Return Power to the People

The Supreme Court decided to return power to the people and their elected representatives to make decisions about abortion.

## States Regulate

The Supreme Court decided to return the ability to regulate abortion to the states.

## Overtake Constitution

The Supreme Court decided to overturn the constitutional right to abortion and allow states to ban abortion.

---



**Half of all respondents agree with 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate'**

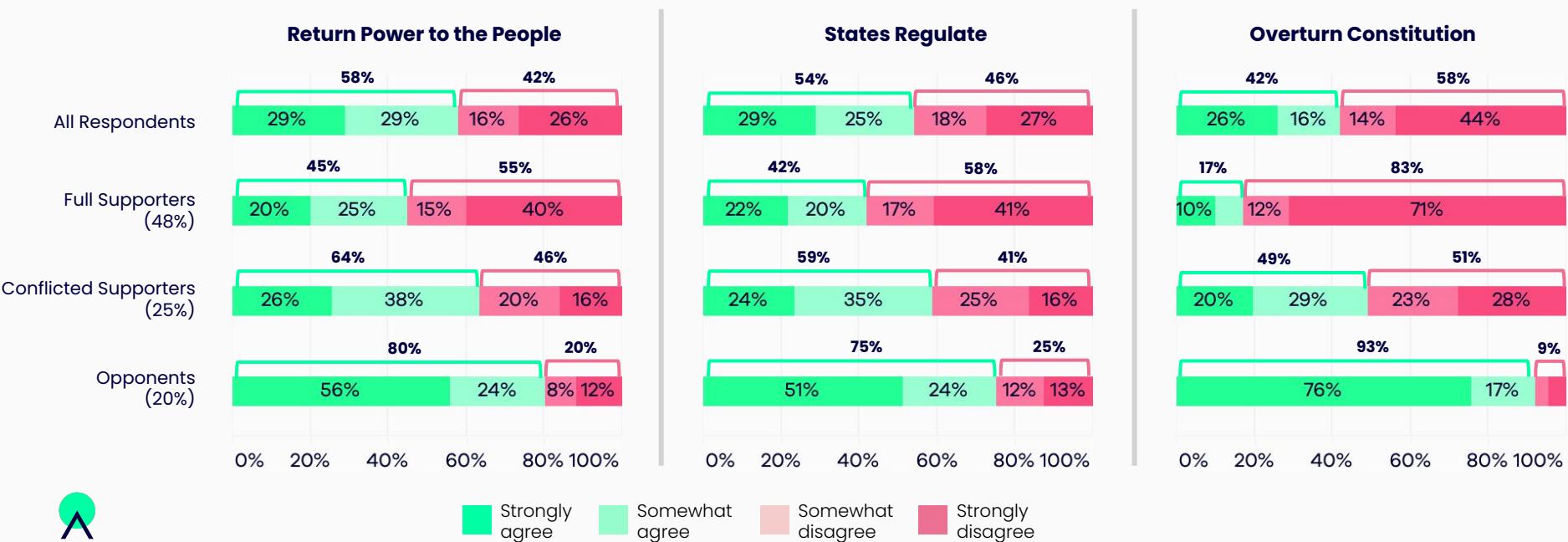
**58% of all respondents say they disagree with 'Overturn Constitution' statement and 43% say they are very concerned about it**

**'Overturn Constitution' elicits language around abortion as a right, freedom, and bodily autonomy**



# Just under half of Full Supporters say they agree with 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate;' Conflicted Supporters agree most with 'Return Power' and are split on 'Overturn'

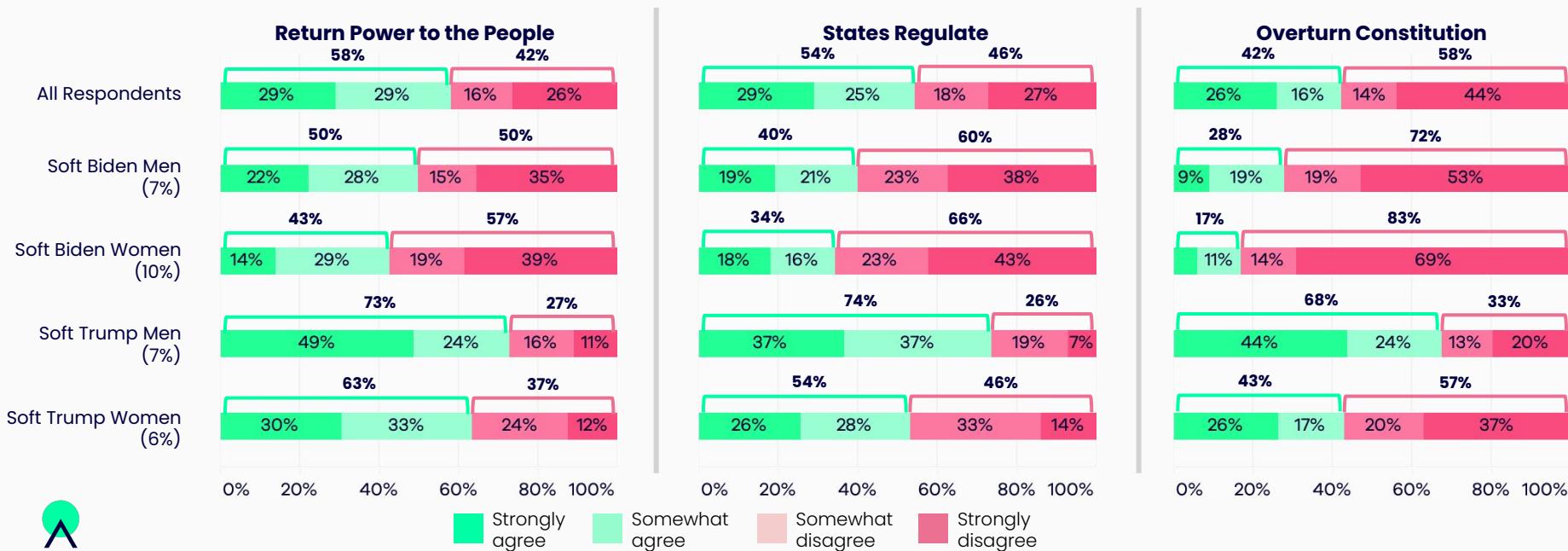
[Court split] How much do you agree or disagree with this decision? (Close-ended)



# Over half of Soft Trump women voters and a strong majority of Biden voters disagree with 'Overturn Constitution.'

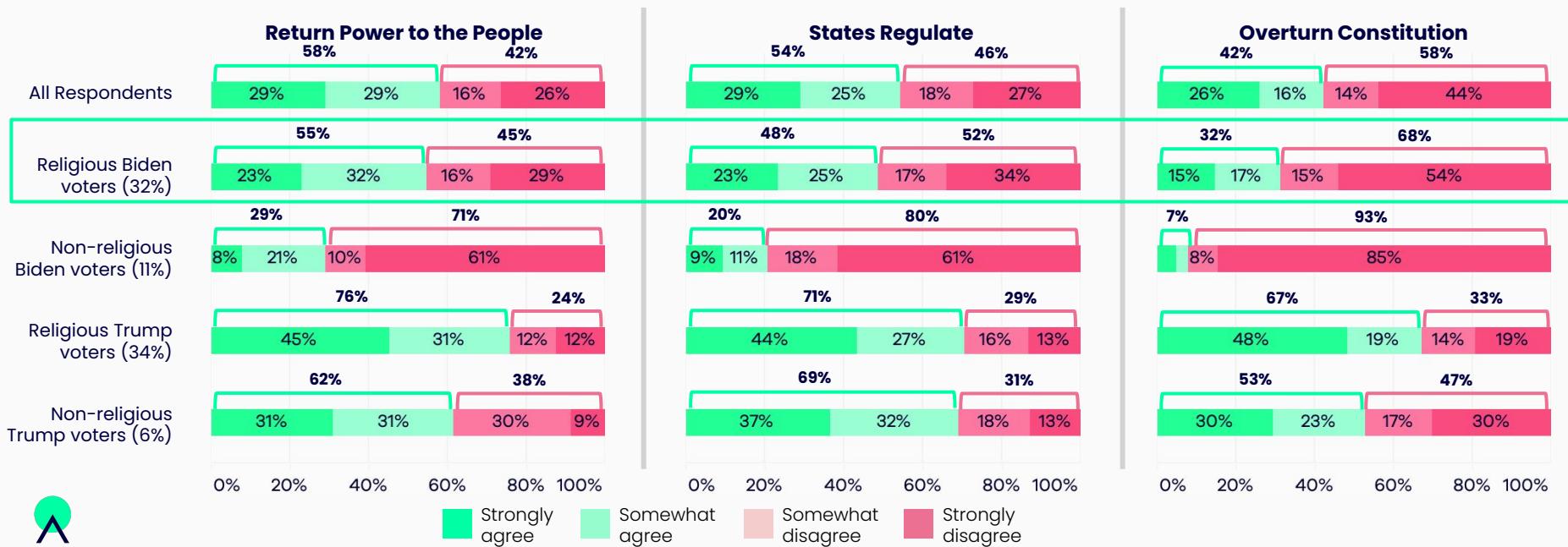
## Over a third of Soft Biden women voters agree with 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate.'

**[Court split]** How much do you agree or disagree with this decision? (Close-ended)



# A majority of Religious Biden voters disagree with 'Overturn Constitution,' while half agree with 'Return Power' and half agree with 'States Regulate'

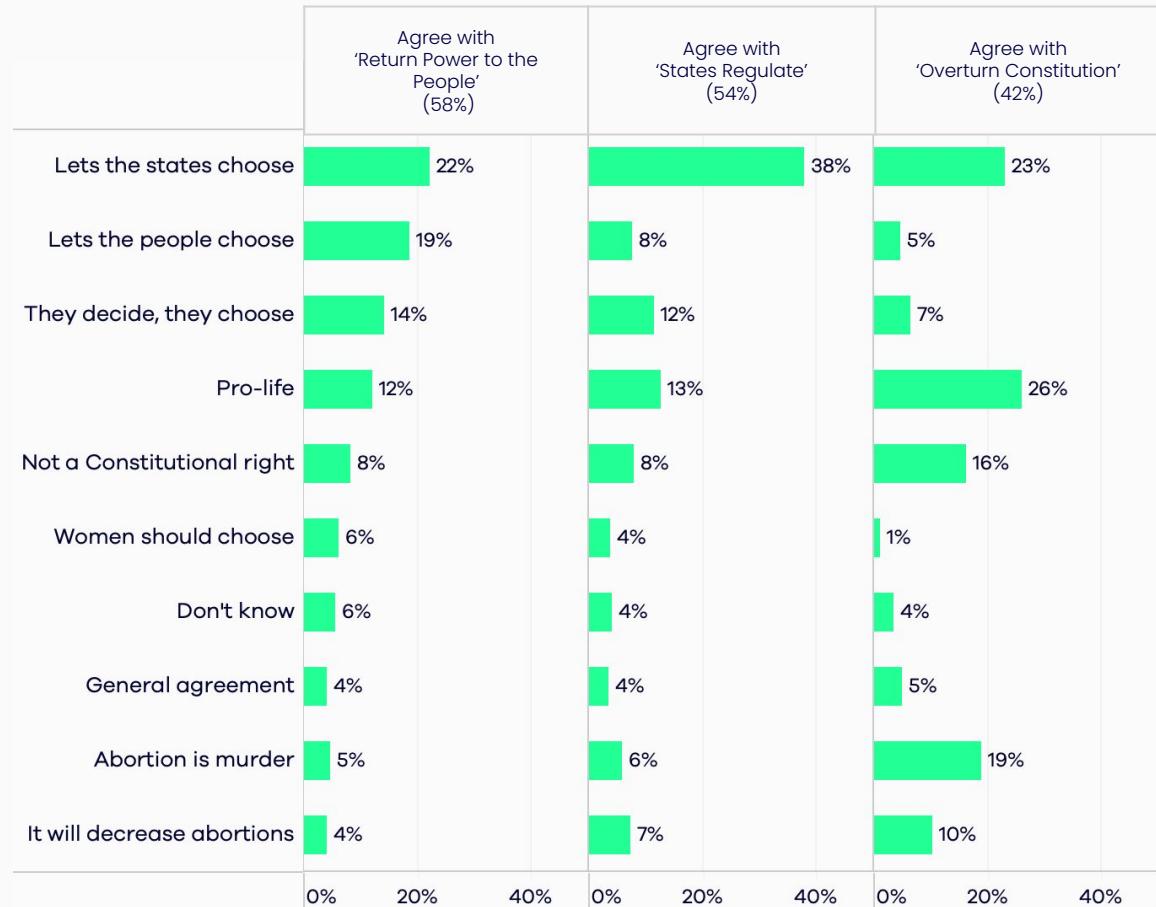
[Court split] How much do you agree or disagree with this decision? (Close-ended)



# Respondents who agree with 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate' cite letting states and individuals decide

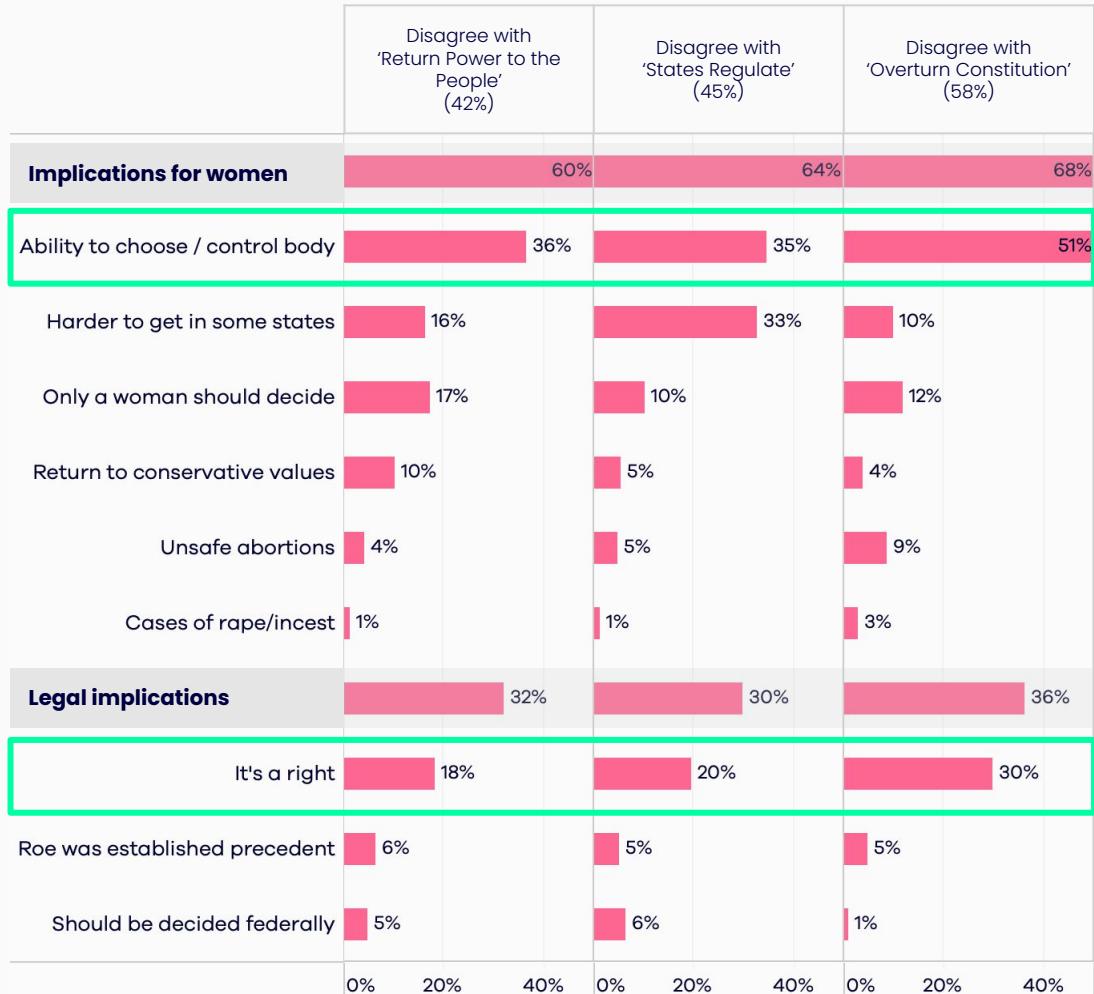
# Those who agree with 'Overturn Constitution' cite moral opposition to abortion

[Court agree why] Why specifically do you agree? (Open-ended)



**Respondents who disagree with 'Overturn Constitution' are more likely to cite bodily autonomy and abortion as a right compared to those who disagree with 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate'**

[Court disagree why] Why specifically do you disagree? (Open-ended)



# In their own words: Disagree why

## Implications for women

"I don't agree with abortion but **it is not my right to prevent someone from making that choice. It is their body** and even though I don't agree that it is right, **I don't live their life or know their situation.**"

- Female, 40-49, Soft Biden, Overturn Constitution

"Too many of our **states are under the control of the GOP**, and they **fear the empowerment of women** and persons of color."

- Female, 65+, Soft Biden, States Regulate

"Because half of the states will **eliminate abortion, some not even for rape or the health of the mother**... that's a lot of **women left unprotected** and not all able to afford to the remaining states."

- Female, 65+, Soft Biden, States Regulate

"A woman has a right to her own body. This is a **war on women** and it is disgusting. This country needs to do better. We **care more about our guns than our women and the children who will suffer in the end.**"

- Female, 18-29, Other, Overturn Constitution

"This decision hurts poor people and minorities. It **takes the country back decades**. It **forces women to have babies they don't want and cannot care for.**"

- Male, 65+, Strong Biden, Overturn Constitution

## Legal Implications

"Women's rights to choose should universally be protected. Further, Thomas announced **additional rights in jeopardy**. The Supreme Court **has shown more allegiance to the person who nominated them or the political party/special interest groups than the Constitution they're sworn to uphold.**"

- Female, 50-64, Strong Biden, States Regulate

"It should be a federally legal right. **Nobody should have the right to infringe on anyone else's rights** unless it infringes upon another's rights."

- Male, 30-39, Soft Trump, States Regulate

"They **overturned established precedence** which **sets the stage for overturning many other rulings**. Since many of those elected representatives are there because of the unfair practice of gerrymandering, they **can hardly be said to represent the will of the people.**"

- Female, 65+, Strong Biden, Return Power to the People

"It has been **settled law for 50 years** and the **conservative justices lied under oath** when they testified at their hearings."

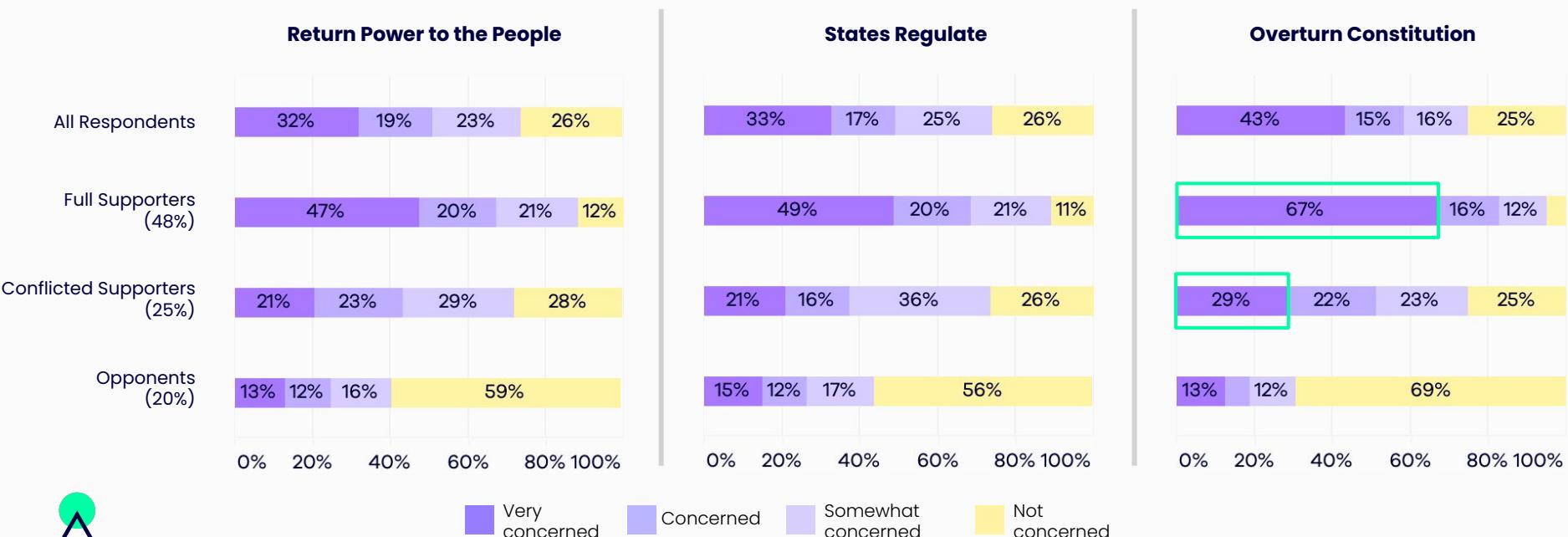
- Female, 50-64, Soft Biden, Overturn Constitution

"Many people across the country feel **betrayed by their represented leaders** that allowed this to happen. **What other rights will now follow this path?**"

- Male, 65+, Soft Biden, Overturn Constitution

# A majority of respondents are at least somewhat concerned by all three messages; ‘Overturn Constitution’ elicits the strongest intensity of concern for both Full and Conflicted supporters

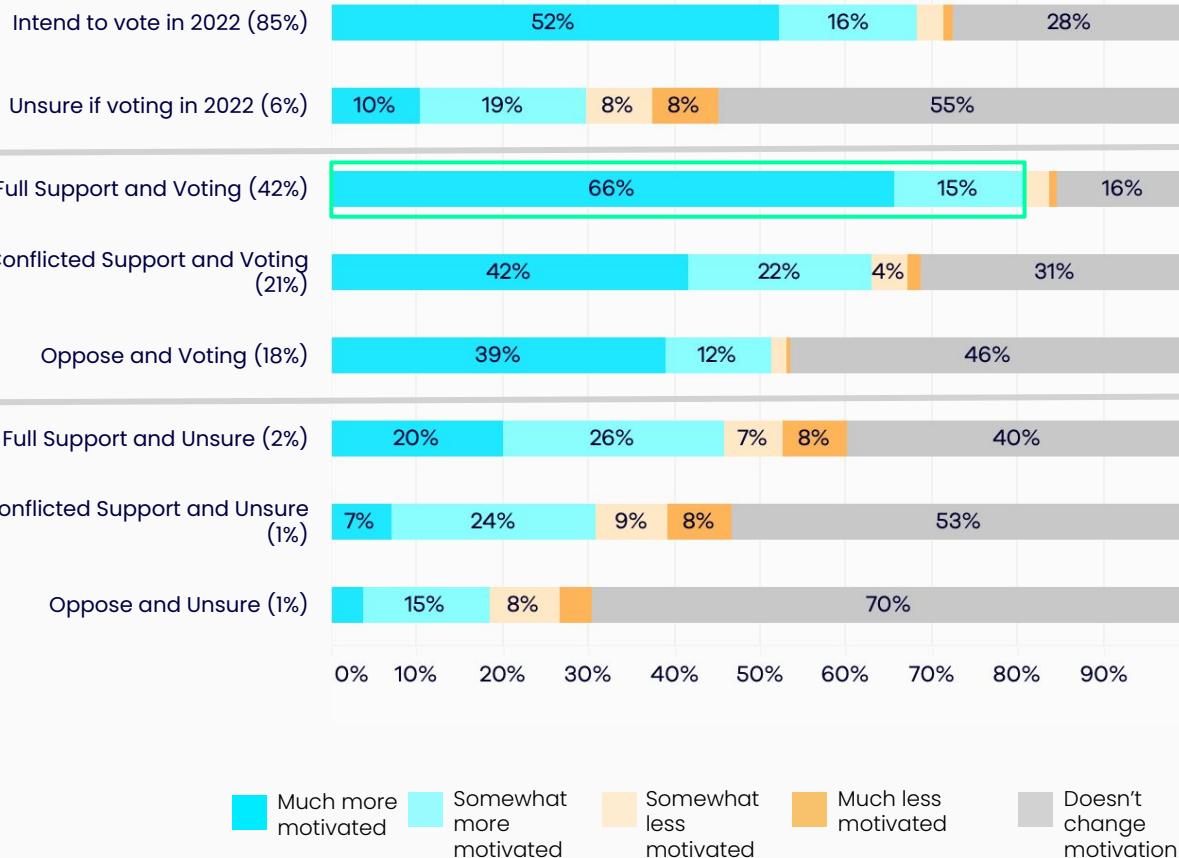
[Court concern] How concerned are you that [insert message]? (Close-ended)



**A majority of those who say they intend to vote in 2022 report feeling at least somewhat more motivated due to *Roe* being overturned**

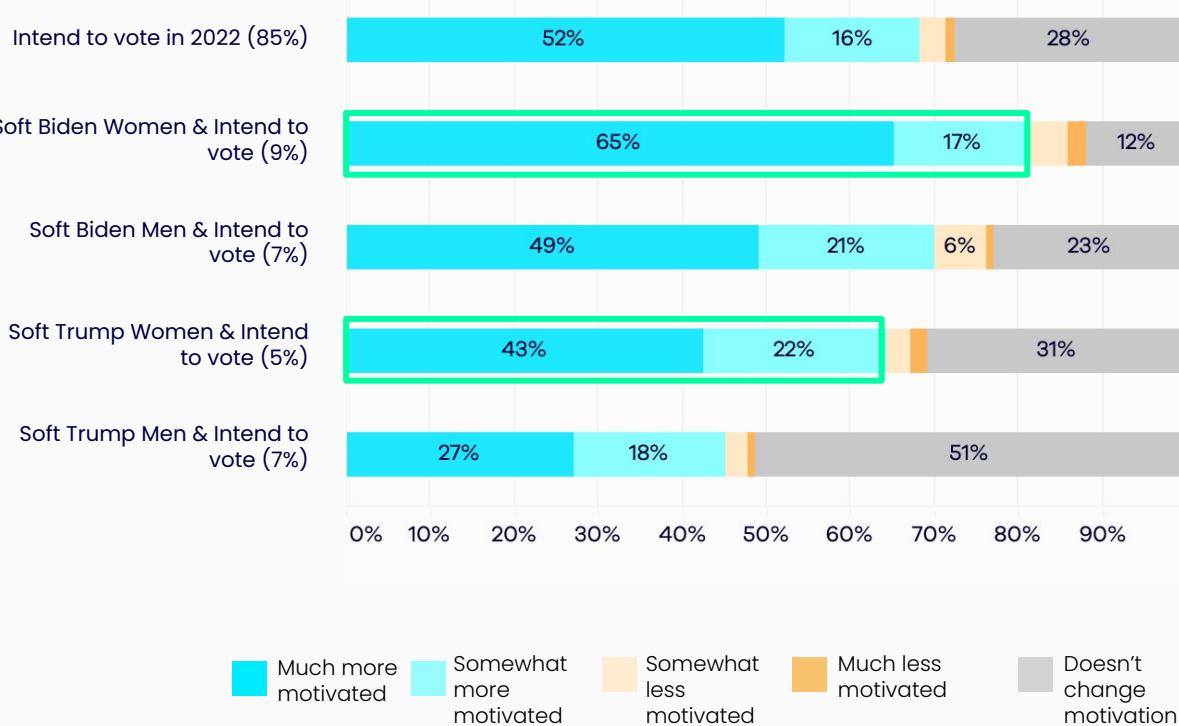
**81% of respondents who support abortion access say they are more motivated to vote**

**[2022 motivation - Post-decision]** Now that the Supreme Court has eliminated the constitutional right to an abortion, how motivated are you to vote in the 2022 midterm elections? (Closed-ended)



# Just under half of Soft Trump women voters and a majority of Soft Biden women voters say they feel much more motivated to vote in 2022 after the Court's decision

**[2022 motivation - Post-decision]** Now that the Supreme Court has eliminated the constitutional right to an abortion, how motivated are you to vote in the 2022 midterm elections? (Closed-ended)

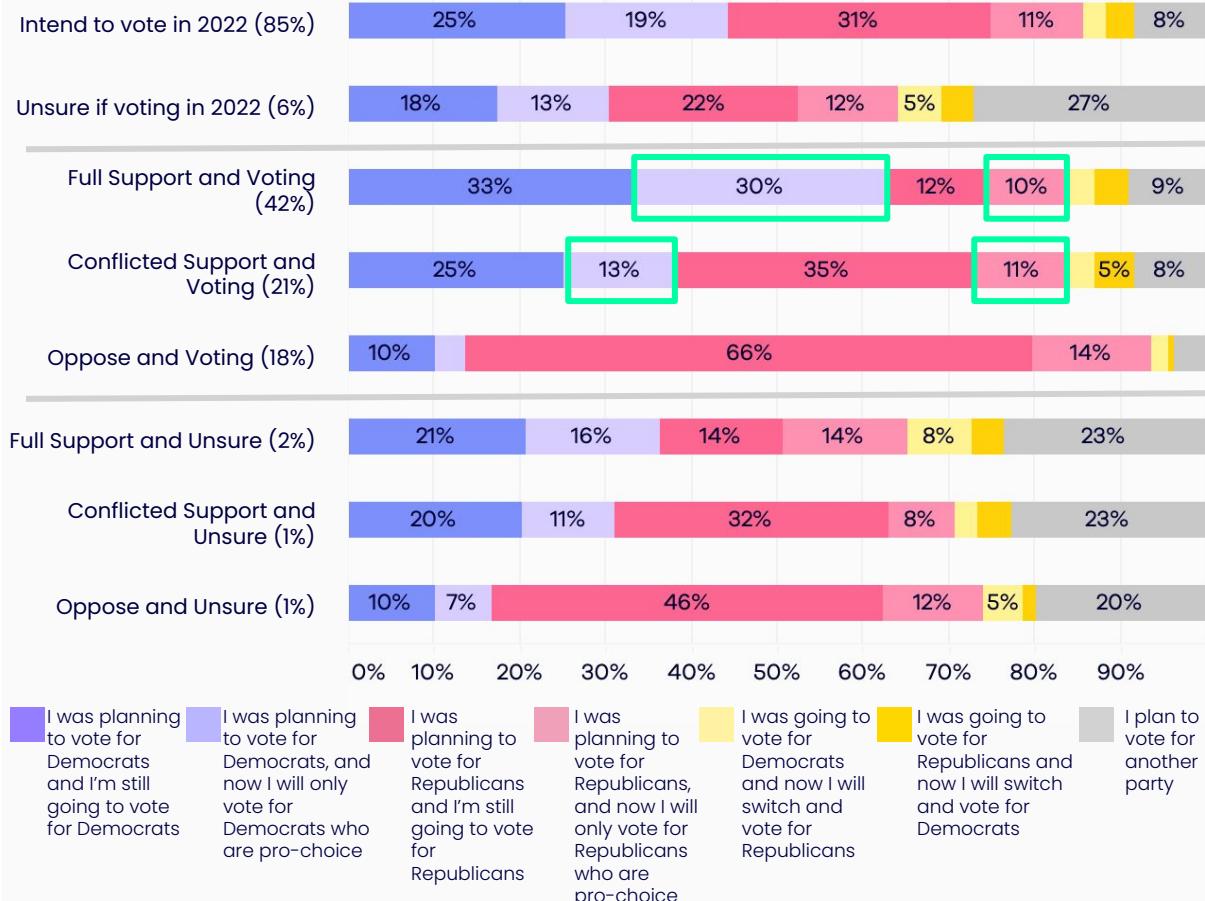


**40% of Full Supporters who say they intend to vote in 2022 plan on voting specifically for pro-choice candidates from either party**

**Just under a fourth of Conflicted Supporters say they plan on choosing pro-choice candidates**



**[2022 vote choice]** Does the Supreme Court decision to eliminate the constitutional right to an abortion change who you plan to vote for? (Closed-ended)



**A third of Soft Biden women voters and a quarter of Soft Biden men voters say they plan on voting for pro-choice Democrats in 2022**

**1 in 4 Soft Trump women voters say they are now planning to vote for pro-choice Republican candidates**

**[2022 vote choice]** Does the Supreme Court decision to eliminate the constitutional right to an abortion change who you plan to vote for? (Closed-ended)



■ I was planning to vote for Democrats and I'm still going to vote for Democrats  
■ I was planning to vote for Democrats, and now I will only vote for Democrats who are pro-choice  
■ I was planning to vote for Republicans and I'm still going to vote for Republicans  
■ I was planning to vote for Republicans, and now I will only vote for Republicans who are pro-choice  
■ I was going to vote for Democrats and now I will switch and vote for Republicans  
■ I was going to vote for Republicans and now I will switch and vote for Democrats  
■ I plan to vote for another party

# Less than half of all respondents say they are likely to take any action in response to Roe being overturned

**[Action grid]** Now that you've heard the Supreme Court decision to eliminate the constitutional right to an abortion, how likely are you to:  
(Closed-ended)



What values frames  
resonate the most with  
target groups?



# Values Statements

---

## Freedom

No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, everyone should have the freedom to decide what is best for themselves and their families, including when it comes to abortion.

## Rights

No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, every person should have the right to receive the health care they need, including when it comes to abortion.

## Empathy for Individual

No matter where a person lives, what they look like, or what they do, every person's life has its own unique circumstances. People, not politicians, should be able to make their own decisions, including when it comes to abortion care.



**Full Supporters and young voters agree most with the 'Freedom' statement.**

**Conflicted Supporters are most likely to agree with 'Empathy.'**  
**But since April, they increased mentions of activating and positive emotions about 'Freedom' by 5pts and 11 pts respectively.**

**Opponents agree with and cite the most agitating emotions for 'Empathy.'**



# Avalanche's Emotional Activation Framework

Successful campaigns transform inhibiting emotions into activating ones.



## Inhibiting emotions

*Deter action*

- Powerlessness
- Sadness
- Complacency
- Shame
- Isolation

## Agitating emotions

*Can deter OR inspire action*

- Fear
- Anxiety
- Worry

## Activating emotions

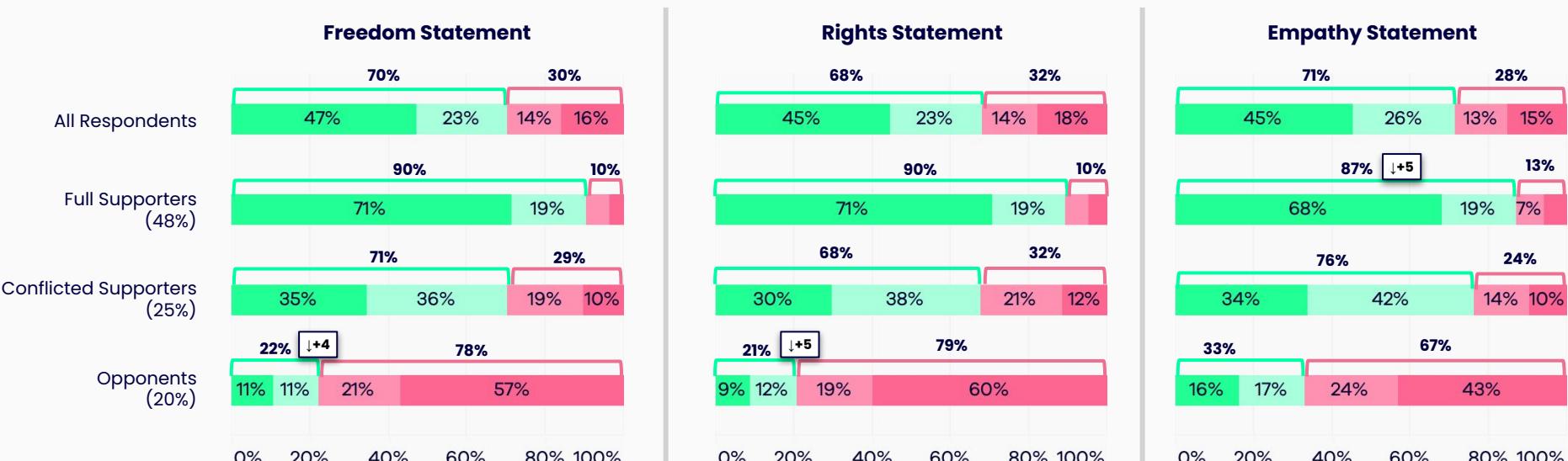
*Inspire action*

- Anger
- Urgency
- Hope
- Determination
- Agency
- Pride
- Solidarity



# A strong majority of Full Supporters say they agree with each statement. Over 1 in 3 Conflicted Supporters say they strongly agree with 'Freedom.'

[Agreement] How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? (Close-ended)



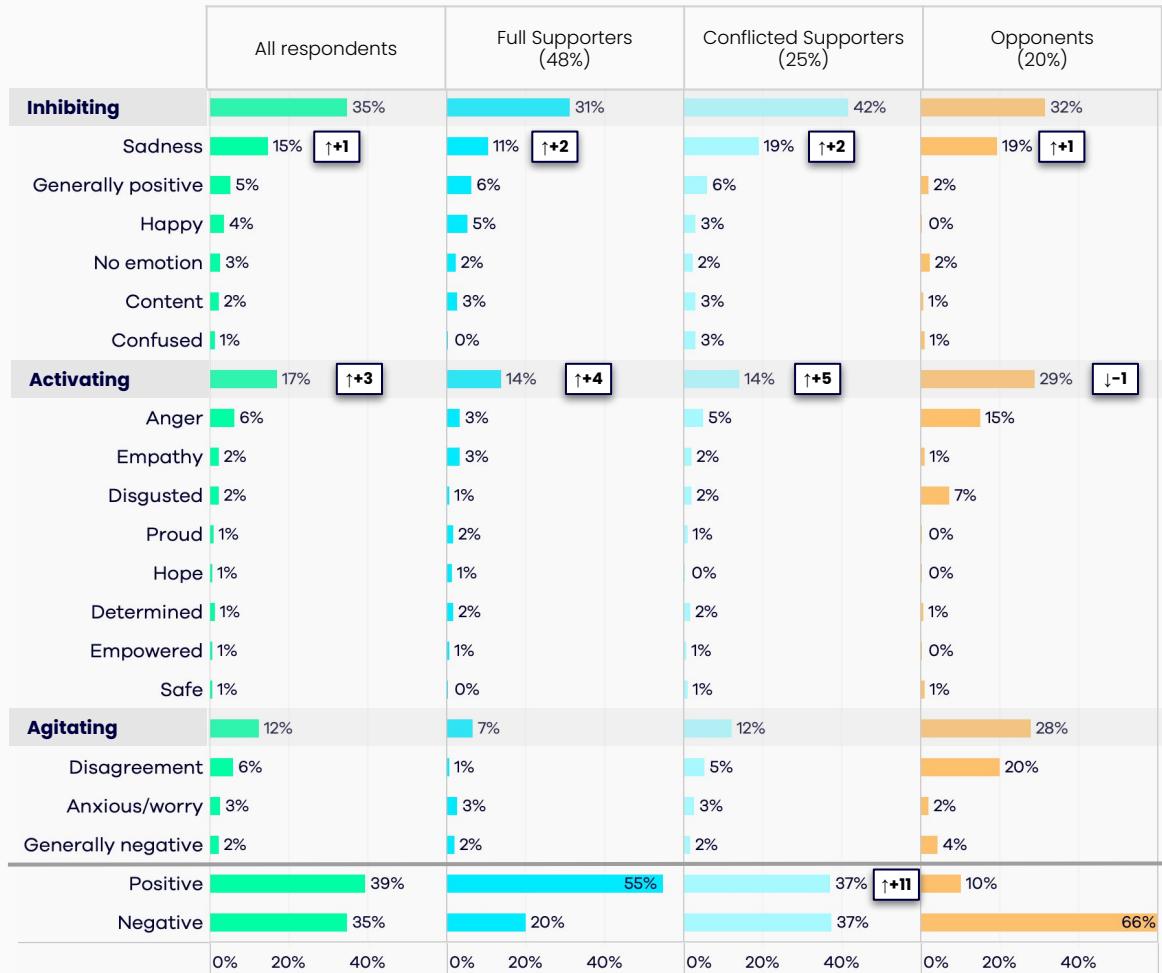
# Younger voters and Latinx voters are more likely than older, white voters to agree with 'Freedom.' White voters agreed with 'Rights' 8pts less than in April.

[Agreement] How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? (Close-ended)



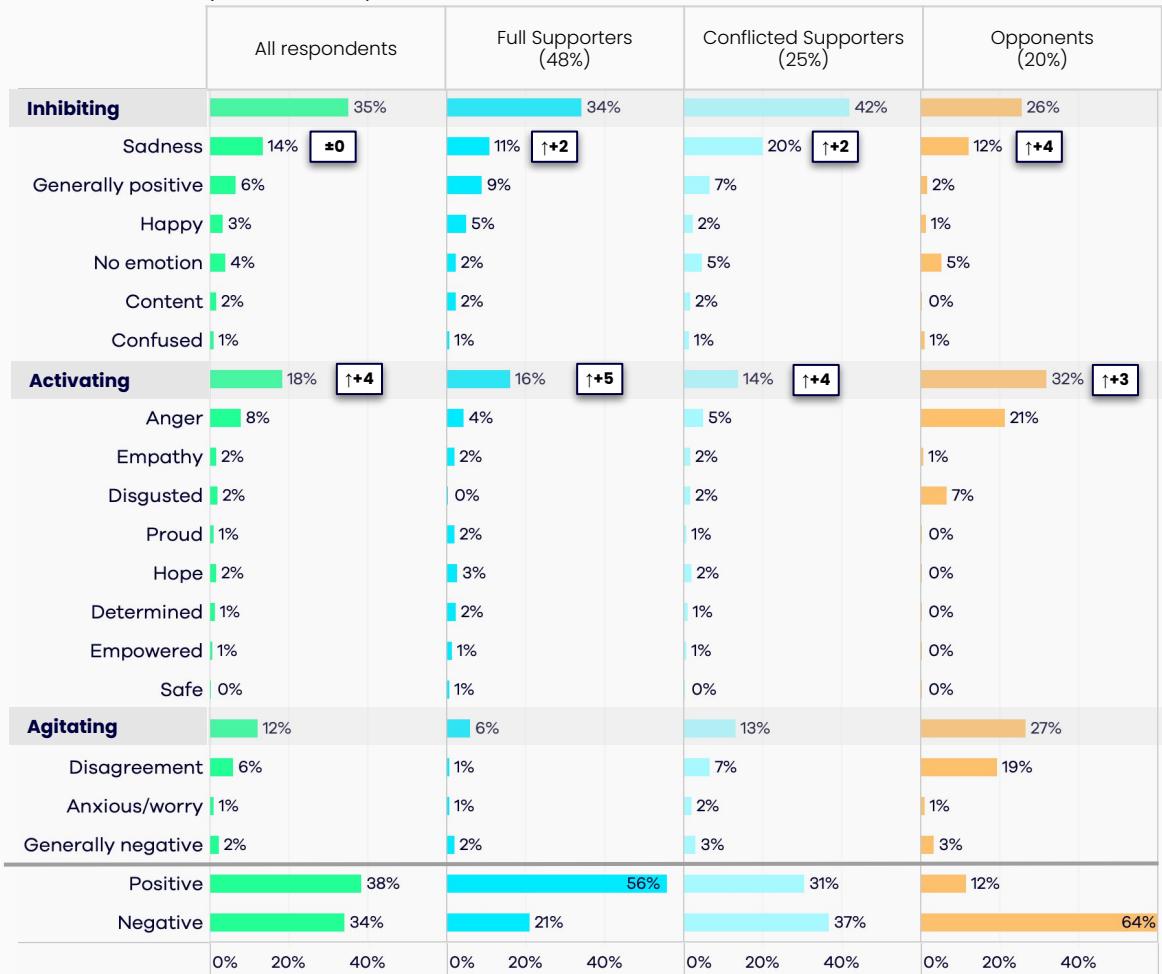
**Since April,  
activating emotions  
in response to the  
'Freedom' message  
have increased for  
Full and Conflicted  
supporters of  
abortion access**

**[Freedom Statement - Emotion]** When you read this statement, what emotion best describes how you feel? (Open-ended)



**[Rights Statement - Emotion]** When you read this statement, what emotion best describes how you feel? (Open-ended)

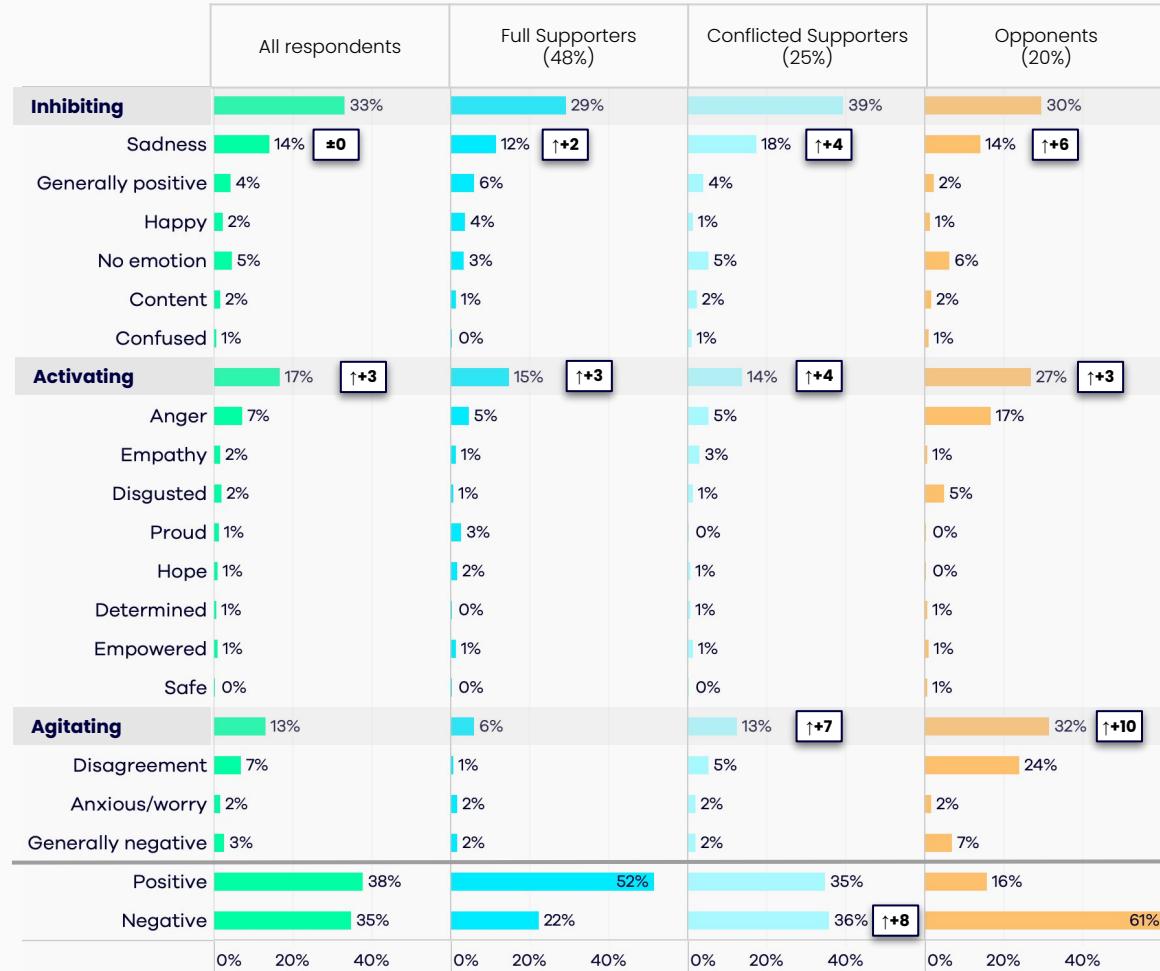
**Compared to April,  
activating emotions  
have increased  
across all segments  
in response to  
'Rights' message**



# Since April, Conflicted Supporters report feeling more agitating and negative emotions in response to the 'Empathy' message

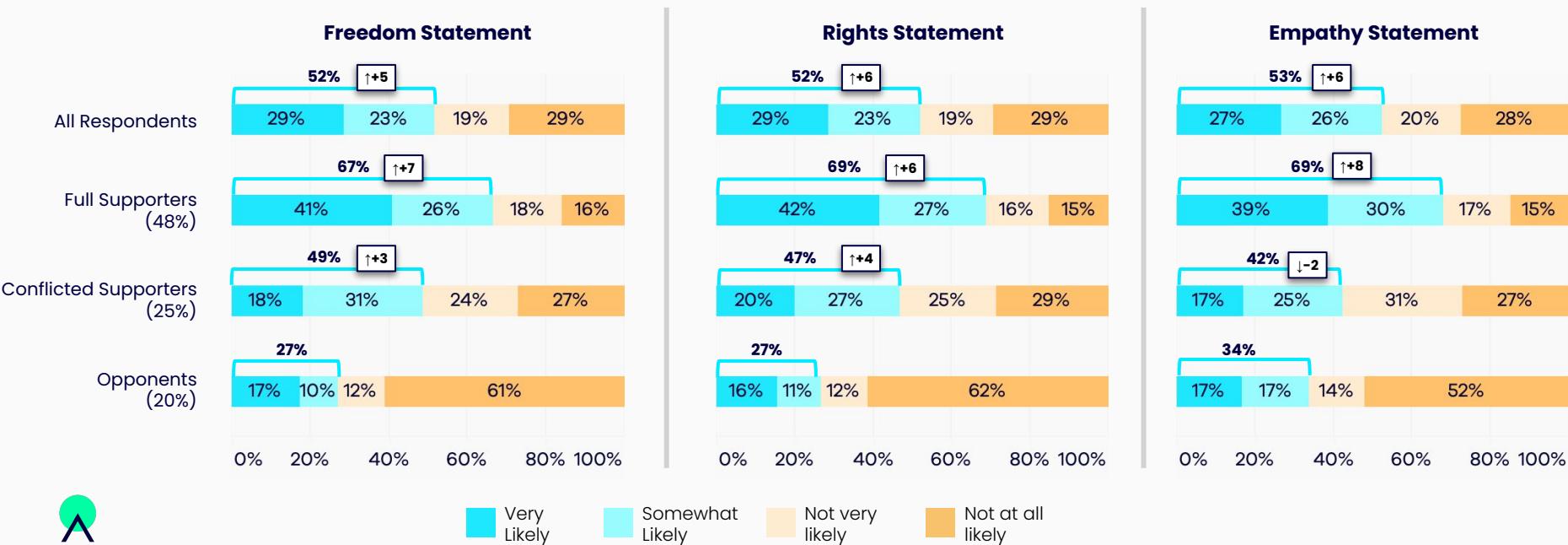
## Agitating emotions for 'Empathy' have also increased for Opponents since April

**[Empathy Statement - Emotion]** When you read this statement, what emotion best describes how you feel? (Open-ended)



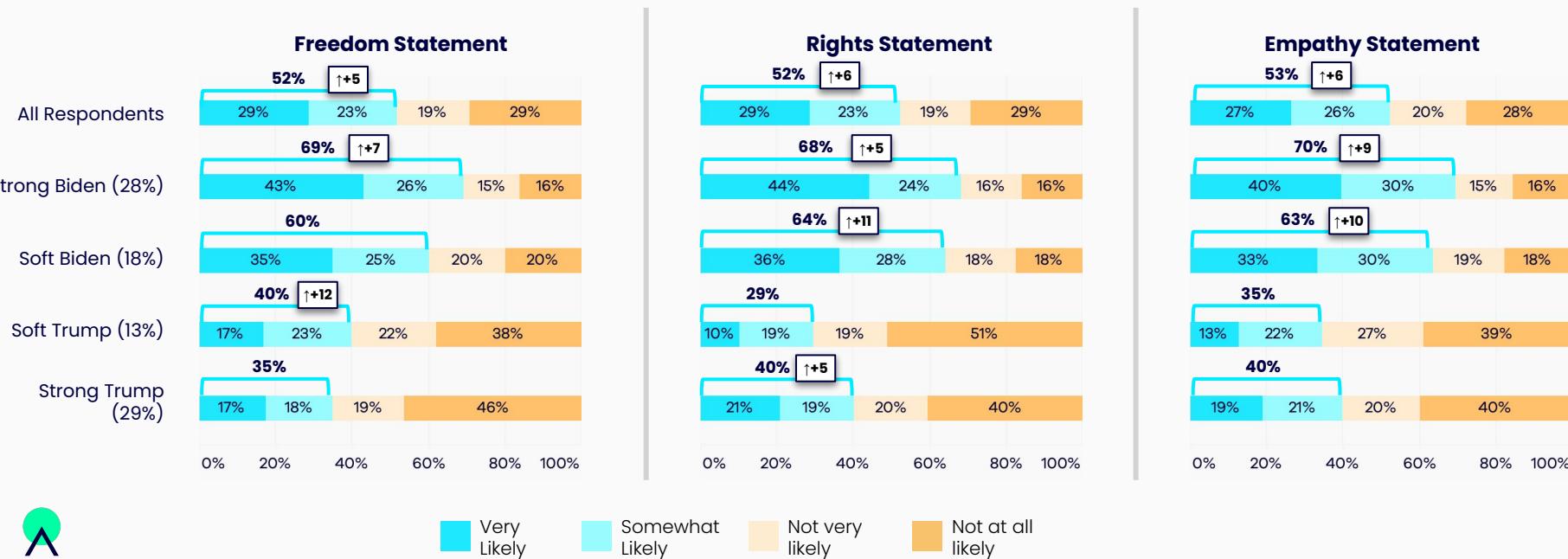
# Half of all respondents and a majority of Full Supporters say they would be at least somewhat likely to share all three messages, an increase since April

[Share likelihood] How likely would you be to share this statement on social media? (Close-ended)



# 40% of Soft Trump voters say they are at least somewhat likely to share 'Freedom,' an increase in 12pts since April; Soft Biden voters are ~10pts more likely to say they would share 'Rights' and 'Empathy' than in April

**[Share likelihood]** How likely would you be to share this statement on social media? (Close-ended)



# Strategic Recommendations

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1

## Lead with the powerful value of freedom

With limited attention and resources, lead with the freedom to decide.

Freedom is resonating with the base and conflicted supporters, as well as Soft Biden and Soft Trump women.

While 'rights' is valid, it may be getting a boost from what people are hearing in the news rather than reflecting a powerful values-based motivator.

2

## Drive empathy and urgency with a broad range of stories

There is increasing awareness of and concern for people facing health and safety issues related to pregnancy and birth.

Drive activating emotions and deeper empathy by showing the full range of stories that demonstrate the reality people are facing right now.

3

## Double down on uncaring politicians who only want to stay in power

Focus on villains' motivations to illuminate how at-odds they are with the vast majority of voters' values. Be specific.

Add the narrative layer that demonstrates the many ways the GOP doesn't support families. Show the great lengths they have already gone to to keep their special interests and the extreme Right happy, regardless of the consequences on Americans.

4

## Channel determination to invigorate the fight

Celebrate how motivated people say they are feeling to vote for pro-choice candidates in November!

Build on this momentum by channeling the determination we're hearing – and using a determined tone in messaging.

Showing collective action could help individual actions feel more commensurate with the scale of the problem, thereby increasing the appetite for them.



# Refining the Narrative on Abortion

*Example:* No matter where they live, what they look like, or how much money they have, people, not politicians, should be able to make their own decisions about their own lives, including when it comes to abortion care and miscarriage management. Extreme politicians want to ban access to care to divide us and maintain their own power — no matter who they hurt. Everyone — a mother diagnosed with a condition that threatens their life or their pregnancy, a high school senior who was pressured to not use contraception, or a full family already struggling to make ends meet — has their own unique circumstances and decisions to make. We should support and elect leaders who put people over politics and support our freedom to decide what's best for us.



## Story elements

### Values

Freedom++

Empathy, individuality

### Problem

Banning access to abortion

### Villain (and intent)

Extreme, uncaring politicians working to maintain power by pleasing their special interests no matter the consequences on Americans' lives

### Protagonist(s)

Various people/women facing personal decisions, particularly highlighting the full range of stories, including health and safety

### Solution

~Elect leaders who put people first and support the freedom to decide~

~Determined tone~

### Analysis

- + Can activate Full Supporters, motivate Conflicted Supporters, and minimize opposition
- + Resonates with Dem brand (care) and captures some territory claimed by GOP (freedom)
- More research needed to validate findings and explore problem and solution statements



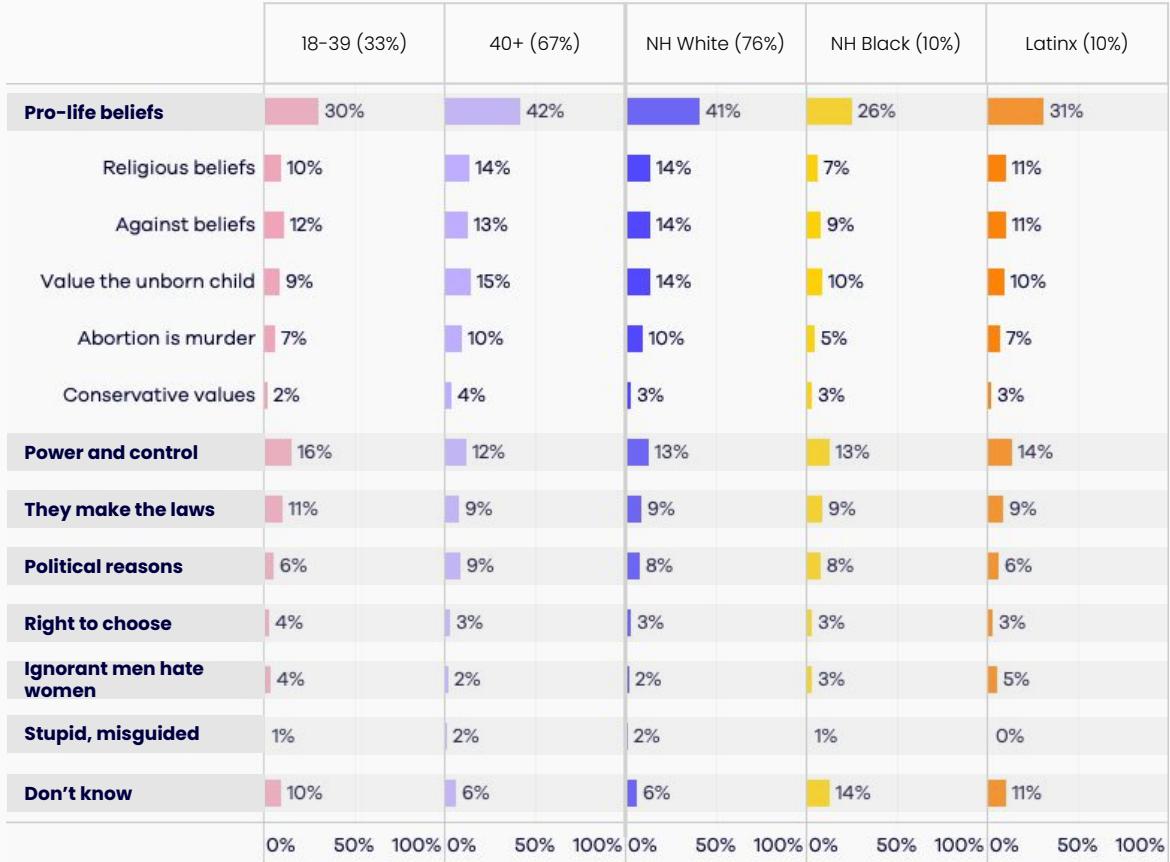
Zoë Tomaskova-Redfield, Lead Analyst  
Kyla Yeoman, Lead Strategist  
[hello@avalancheinsights.com](mailto:hello@avalancheinsights.com)

# Appendix



# Race and Age x Villain Motivation

**[Villain motivation]** You stated [insert answer] as most responsible. Why do you believe they want to restrict access to abortion? (Open-ended)



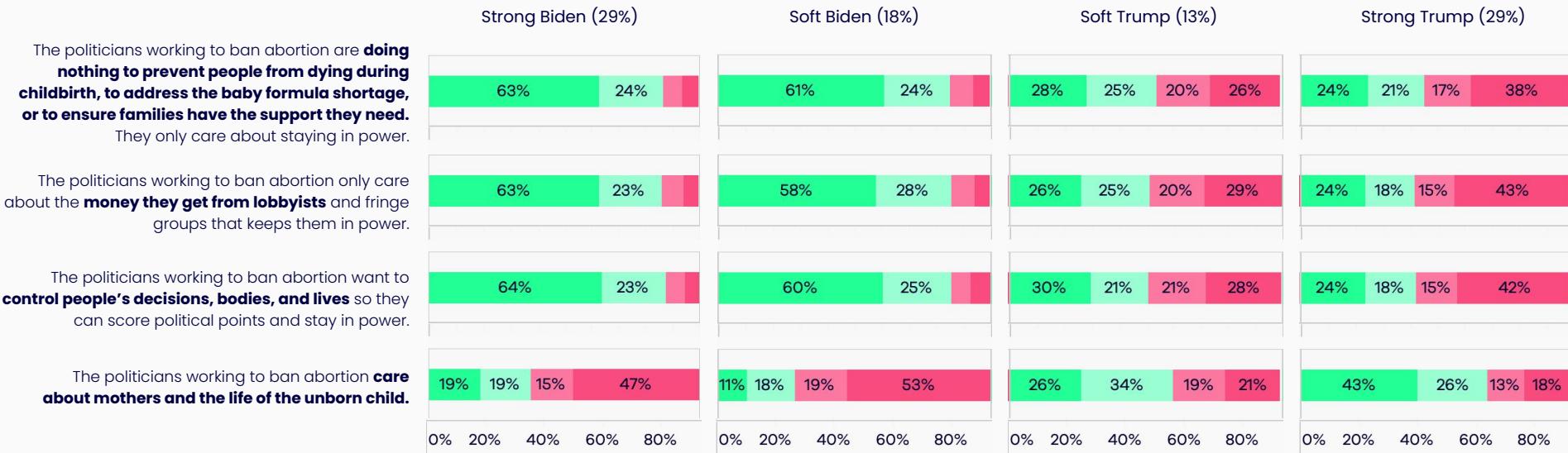
# Race X Villain Statement

**[Villain grid]** How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Closed-ended)



# Vote Choice X Villain Statement

**[Villain grid]** How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Closed-ended)



Strongly agree

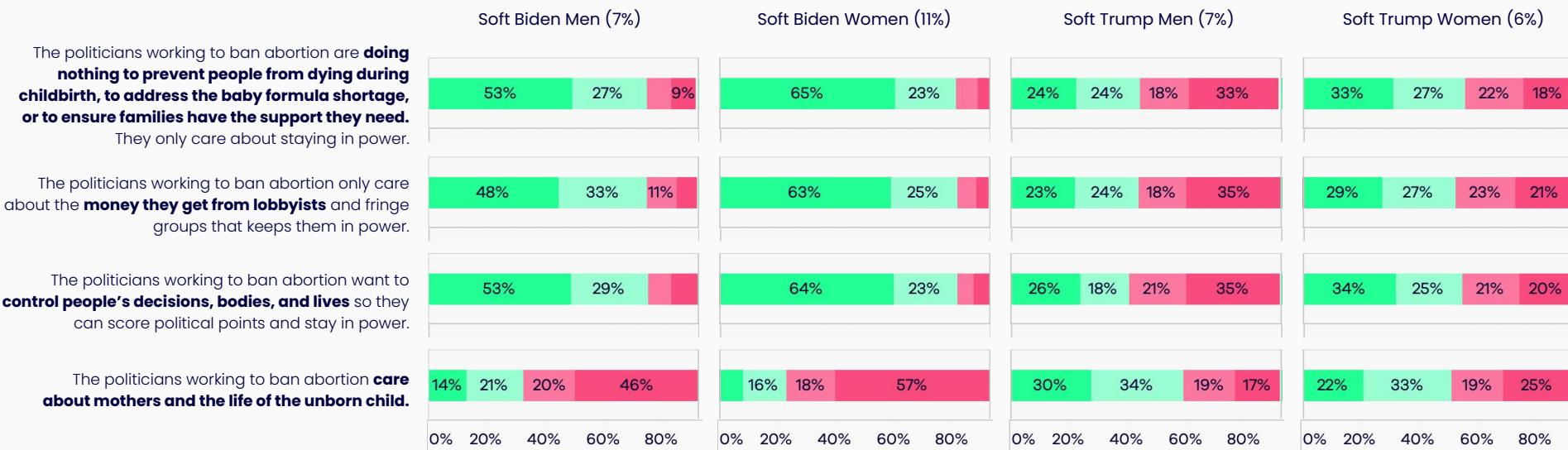
Somewhat agree

Somewhat disagree

Strongly disagree

# Soft Partisan x Gender X Villain Statement

**[Villain grid]** How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (Closed-ended)



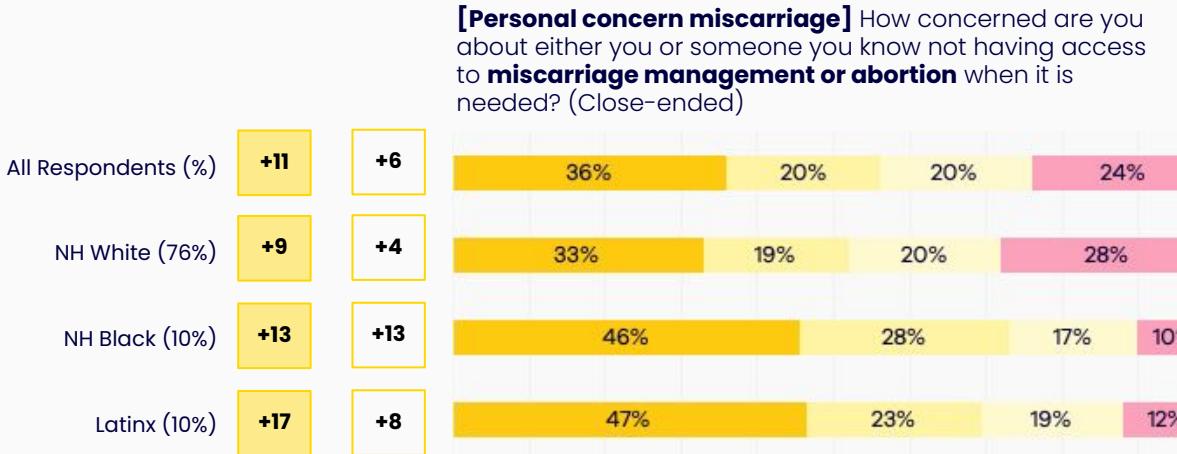
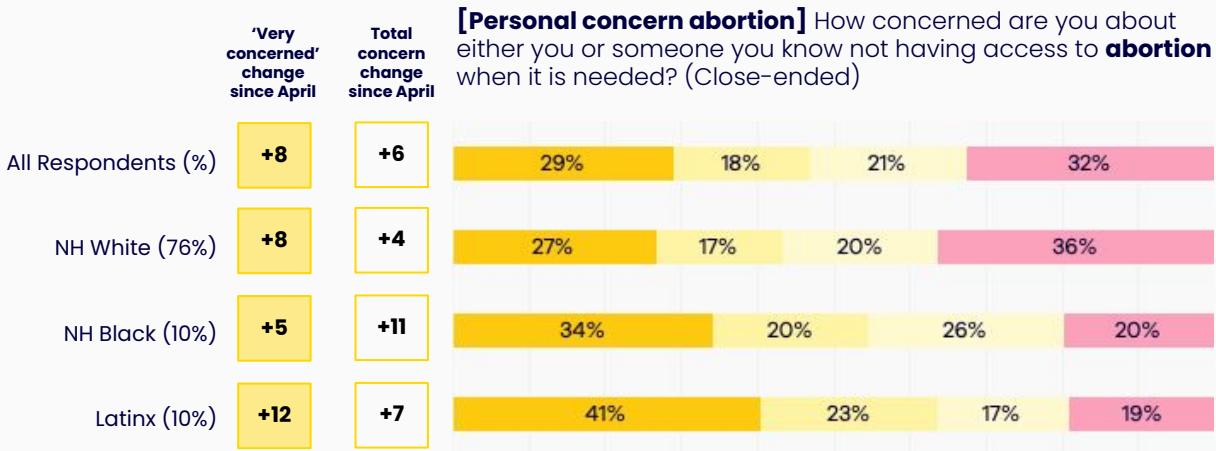
Strongly agree

Somewhat agree

Somewhat disagree

Strongly disagree

# Race x Personal Concern



Very concerned

Concerned

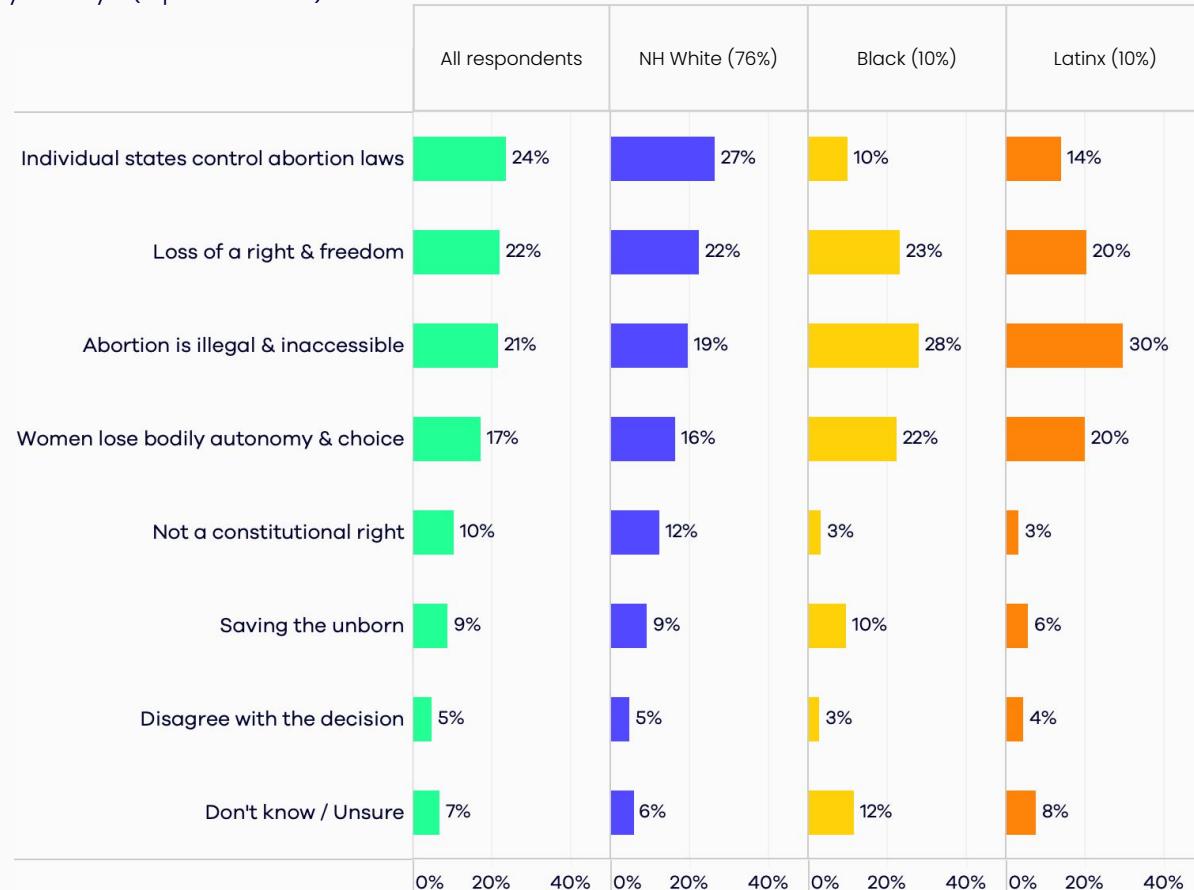
Somewhat concerned

Not concerned



# Race x Court Interpretation

**[Court interpretation]** The Supreme Court just decided to eliminate the constitutional right to an abortion. If a friend were to ask you to explain what this means, what would you say? (Open-ended)



# Race x Court Split

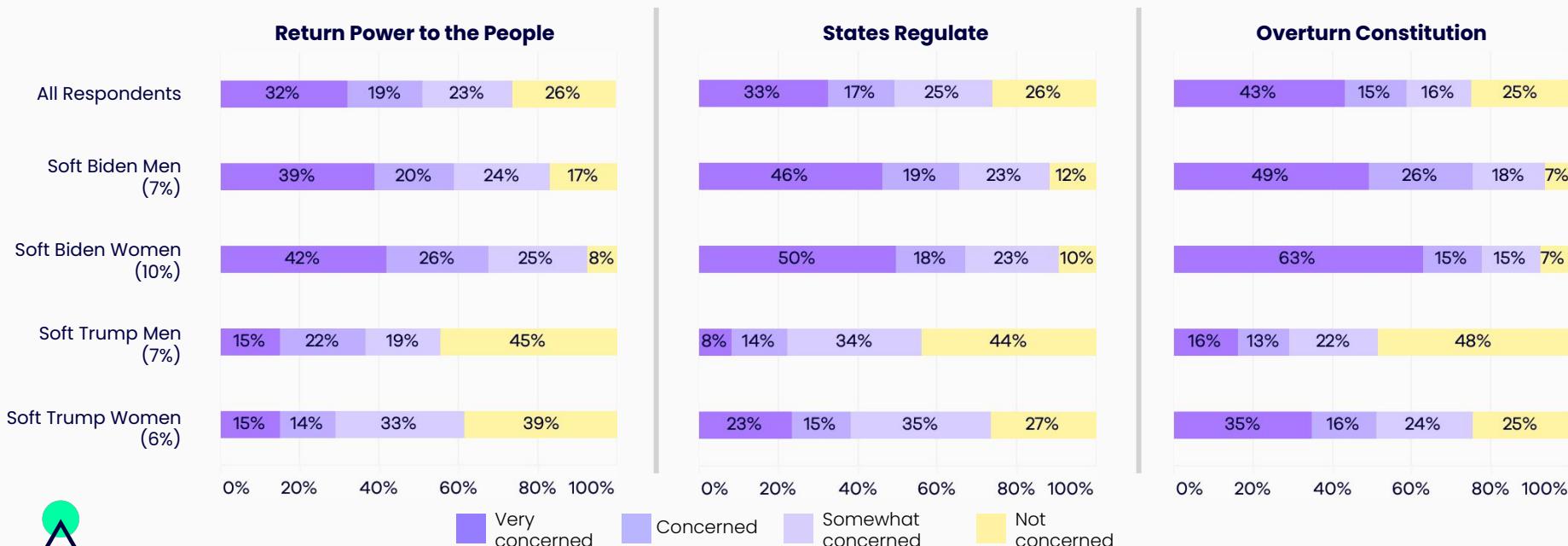
[Court split] How much do you agree or disagree with this decision? (Close-ended)



Strongly agree      Somewhat agree      Somewhat disagree      Strongly disagree

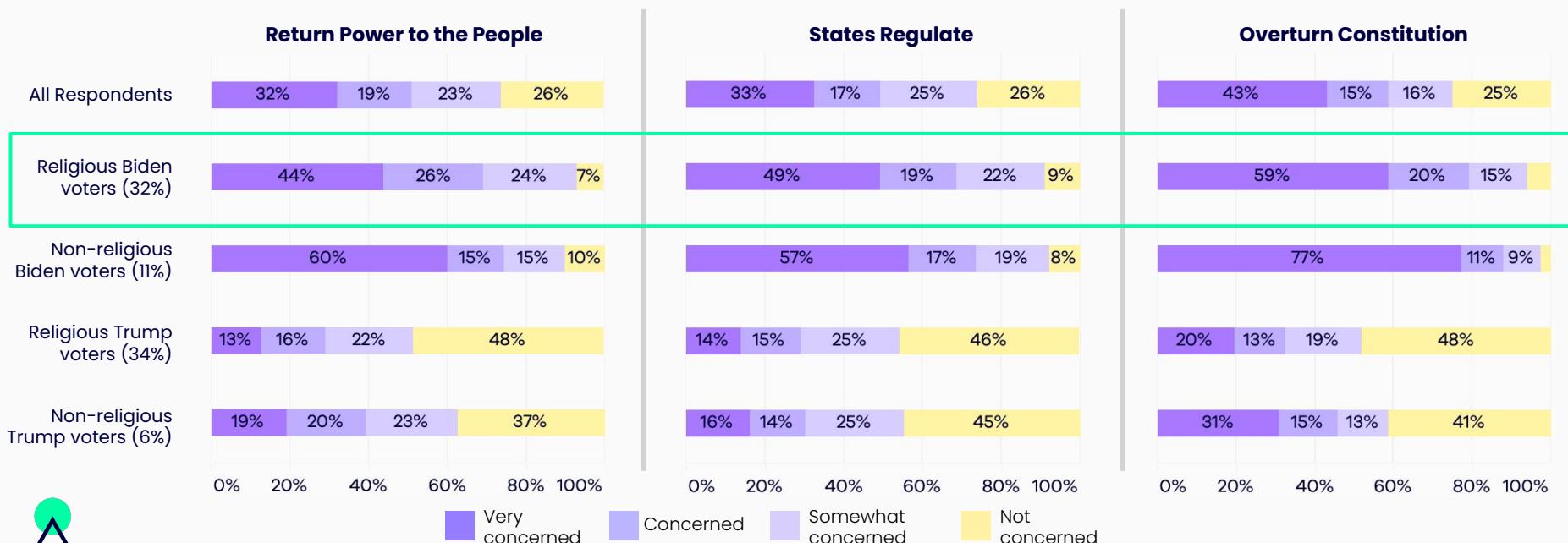
# Over half of Biden voters and a third of Soft Trump women voters are very concerned about 'Overturn Constitution;' voters are least concerned about 'Return Power'

[Court concern] How concerned are you that [insert message]? (Close-ended)



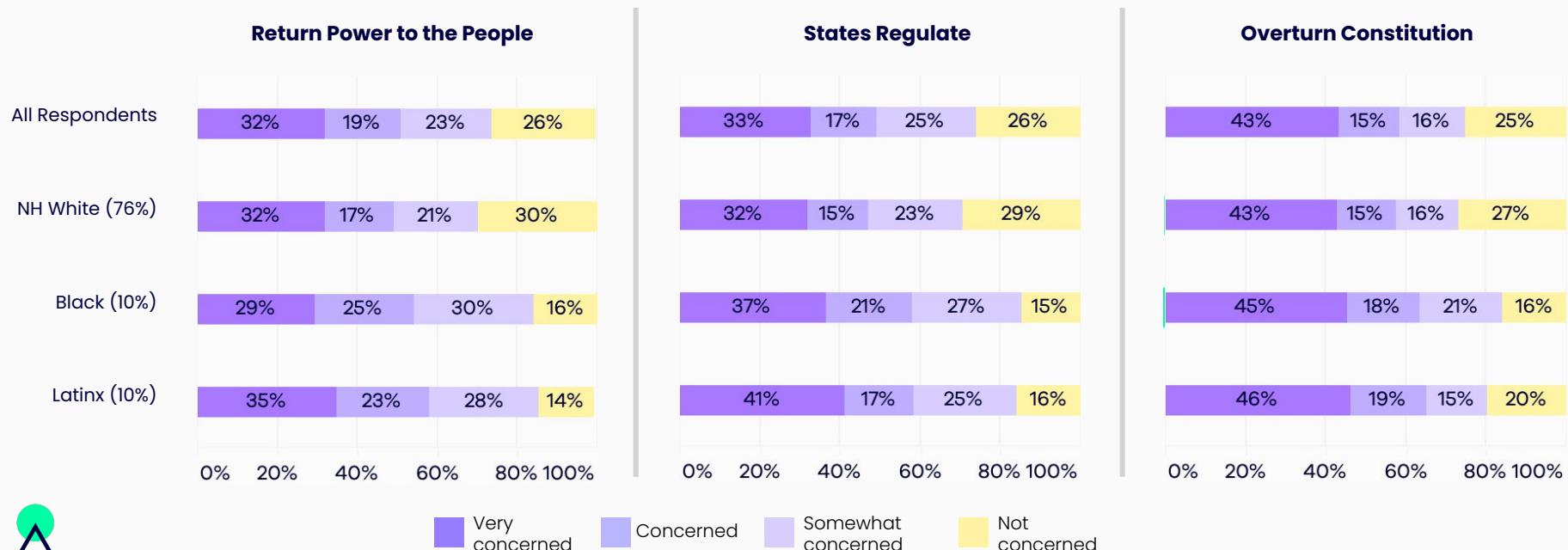
# A majority of Religious Biden voters are very concerned about 'Overturn Constitution;' half say they are very concerned about 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate'

[Court concern] How concerned are you that [insert message] (Close-ended)



# Race x Court Concern

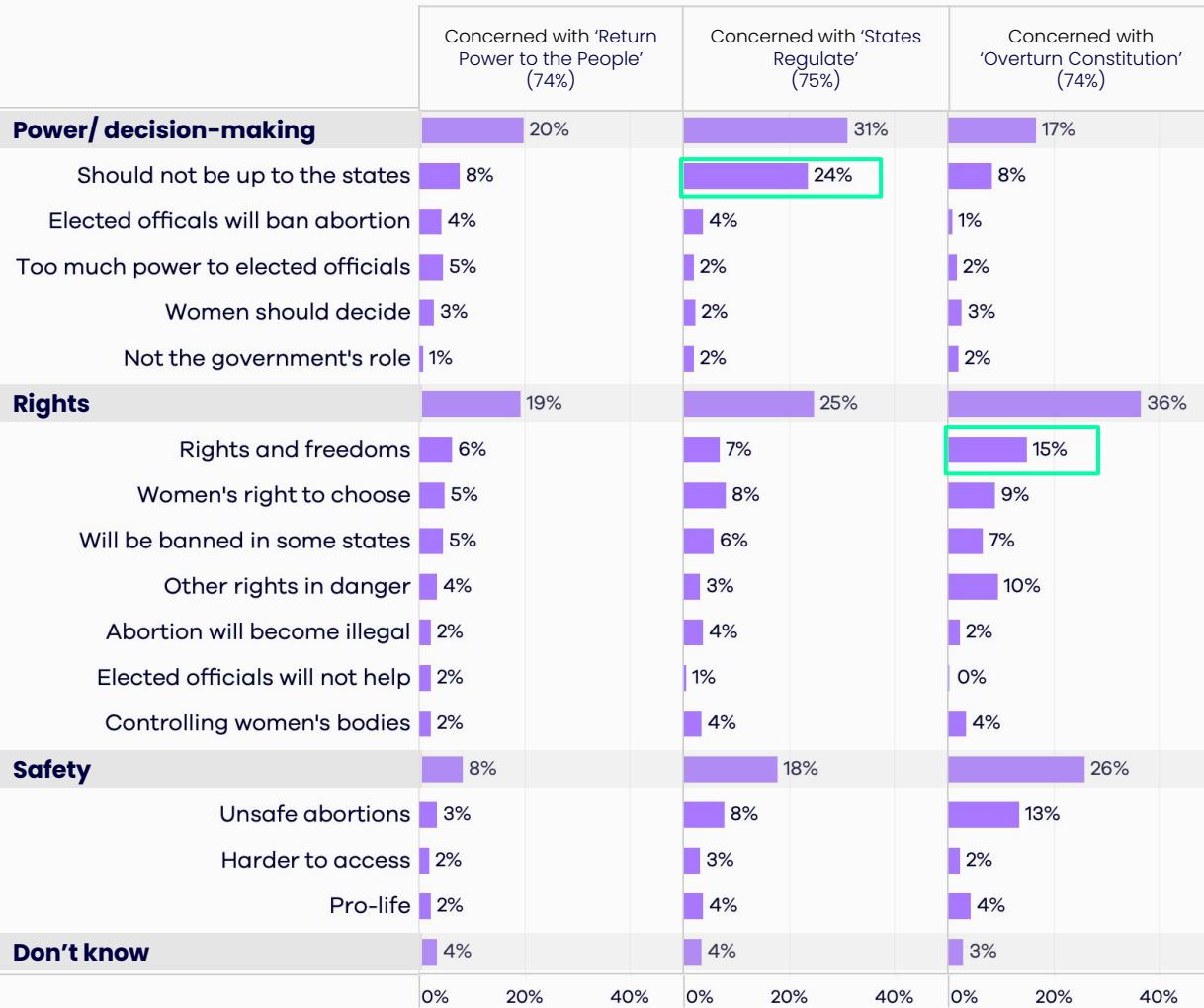
[Court concern] How concerned are you that [insert message]? (Close-ended)



# Respondents who are concerned about 'Overturn Constitution' are most likely to cite rights and freedoms

Those concerned about 'States regulate' say the decision should not be up to each state

[Court concern why] Why specifically are you concerned? (Open-ended)



# In their own words: Concern why

## Power/decision making

"Many states are taking the rights of women away; this **country is still controlled by rich white men.**"

- Female, 40-49, Nonvoter, Return power to the people

"The court's decision is just the first of several important rights that we already had, and **what they are REALLY doing is taking away our power and giving it to politicians** in the states."

- Female, 65+, Soft Biden, Return power to the people

"States are being run by a **minority party that is forcing their beliefs on the majority.**"

- Male, 65+, Soft Biden, States regulate

"They are **giving men all power over women and treating them like chattel!**"

- Prefer not to say, 50-64, Strong Biden, Overturn constitution

## Rights

"Today it's abortion, which is part of women's healthcare. **Women fought for this right**, and it is being taken away. **Next, they'll be coming after birth control and gay marriage.**"

- Female, 50-64, Soft Biden, Overturn constitution

"I am concerned **my state will take away my right to choose, putting myself and other women at risk** of unwanted pregnancy and death."

- Female, 30-39, Strong Biden, States regulate

"Because it **takes away my right to my body**. I feel as if **they think I am not smart enough to make the best decisions for myself.**"

- Female, 50-64, Soft Biden, States regulate

"**This issue has already been decided** by prior decisions. They simply **cannot take away rights and treat women as second class citizens.**"

- Female, 65+, Soft Biden, Overturn constitution

## Safety

"Women that need abortions are going to be forced to birth a child they may not want. That it **will increase the number of unsafe abortions** and **will negatively impact women's health.**"

- Female, 50-64, Soft Biden, Overturn constitution

"I'm concerned because women now **do not have access to safe abortions performed by medical professionals.**"

- Male, 40-49, Other, States regulate

"**People will die because of this ruling** and/or be **prosecuted for having miscarriages** – something already horrible and traumatic for those who want to have a child."

- Female, 18-29, Soft Biden, Overturn constitution

"Some women **need intervention in pregnancy** and that **shouldn't be taken away.**"

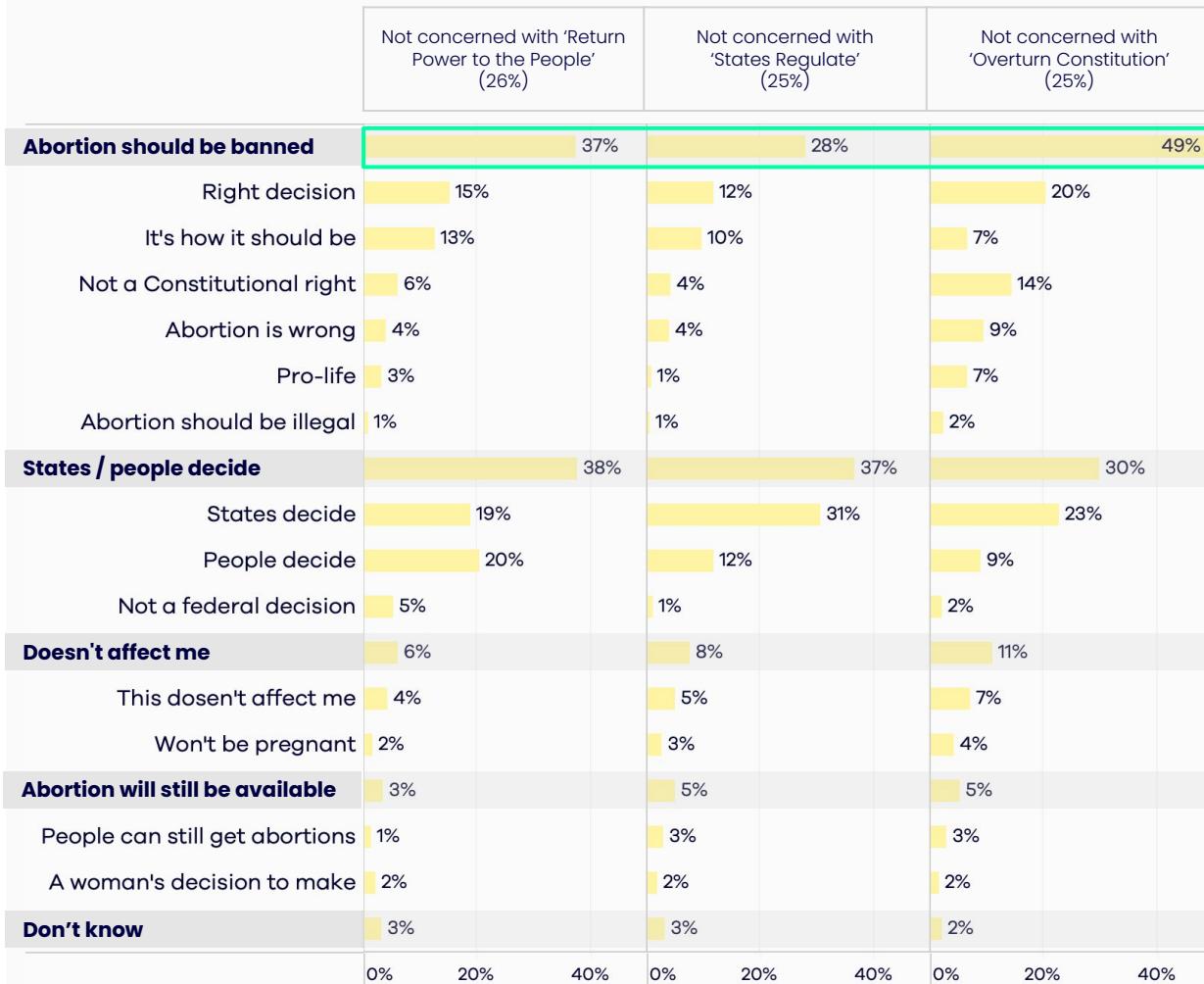
- Female, 30-39, Soft Trump, Overturn constitution

# Respondents who are not concerned with 'Overturn Constitution' are most likely to say abortion should be banned

# Those who are not concerned with 'Return Power' and 'States Regulate' say the people should decide



[Court not concerned why] Why specifically are you not concerned? (Open-ended)



**[2022 motivation - post-decision]** Now that the Supreme Court has eliminated the constitutional right to an abortion, how motivated are you to vote in the 2022 midterm elections? (Closed-ended)

## Race x 2022 Vote Motivation

