TO: Interested Parties  
FROM: Jane Rayburn, EMC Research  
DATE: September 30, 2022  
RE: Voter Survey in Georgia

The following memo outlines key findings from a recent poll conducted by EMC Research in Georgia among 500 registered voters, with additional oversamples of Black men and white women ages 30-49 to ensure the ability to analyze these subgroups with statistical confidence. These oversamples have been weighted down to appropriate levels for a representative sample.

**Key Findings**

Georgia voters overwhelmingly oppose efforts to restrict reproductive freedom. Six-in-ten (62%) oppose the recent overturning of Roe vs. Wade by the United States Supreme Court, and a similar number (62%) oppose the Georgia six-week ban that recently went into effect. This opposition is particularly strong among Black men, 86% of whom oppose the overturning of Roe vs. Wade, and 79% of whom oppose Georgia’s abortion ban. Opposition is also intense among Independents, who oppose both bans by double digit margins (58% oppose overturning Roe v. Wade and 59% oppose the Georgia ban).

Georgia voters also vehemently oppose other efforts to restrict reproductive care, including raising taxes on menstrual hygiene products (96% oppose, 89% strongly oppose), prohibiting access to birth control methods like oral contraceptives or IUDs (94% oppose, 87% strongly oppose) or access to “Plan B” emergency contraception (81% oppose, 71% strongly oppose).

**Attitudes Among Registered Voters Overall**

*Less than a tenth of Georgia voters think abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.*

When asked about their abortion attitudes, before hearing any other information or potential policies around reproductive rights, 92% of Georgia voters believe abortion should be legal in at least some cases. This includes nearly a third (32%) who say abortion should always be legal, another third (35%) say it should be legal in most cases with some restrictions, and a quarter (25%) say it should be legal only in limited circumstances, such as cases of rape, incest, or when the pregnant person’s life is in danger. Slightly fewer than one-tenth of voters (8%) believe abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.
Nearly eight-in-ten Georgia voters support reproductive freedom.

Seventy-seven percent of Georgia voters support reproductive freedom, including a plurality (41%) who say they “support access to abortion and believe it should be available for people who make the decision to end a pregnancy.” More than a third (36%) say that they might not personally abortion, but they either don’t believe it is their place to judge or don’t believe the government should force someone to give birth. Only about 1-in-5 say they believe abortion should be illegal.

Georgia voters oppose the Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade by a 25-point margin.

Three-in-five voters in Georgia oppose the Dobbs v. Jackson ruling which overturned Roe v. Wade and ended the right to an abortion (62% total oppose, with 55% saying they strongly oppose). Democrats almost universally oppose the ruling (92% total oppose, 87% strongly oppose), and Independents are also in opposition to the decision (58% oppose the overturning of Roe v. Wade, with 55% saying that they strongly oppose).

As you may know, in June the United States Supreme Court overturned Roe v. Wade, allowing states to ban or restrict abortion. Given what you know today, do you support or oppose the United States Supreme Court overturning Roe v. Wade?

Georgia voters also oppose the state ban on abortion by a 24-point margin.

Opposition to the overturning of Roe vs. Wade and to Georgia’s recently implemented ban are nearly identical, with 3-in-5 opposing this ban as well (62% total oppose, 52% strongly). Once again, nearly all Democrats oppose the ruling (89% total oppose, 82% strongly), as do a majority of Independents (59% total oppose, 48% strongly).

Women under the age of 50 are strongly against this ban (70% total oppose, 62% strongly), and a majority of men are also in opposition to the new law (59% total oppose, 48% strongly). Black voters are strongly against the ban (80% total oppose, 69% strongly).
Georgia voters overwhelmingly oppose other potential restrictions of reproductive care.

This survey tested several potential laws that could be introduced before the legislature in the future and have been introduced in other states (see chart on next page).

Proposals tested included prohibiting access to birth control methods such as oral contraceptives or intrauterine devices (IUDs) – as introduced in other states like Louisiana in 2022 – and which Governor Kemp recently noted is within his authority to prohibit through the legislature. The poll also tested restricting access to non-contraceptive medications that may have impacts on pregnancy such as the joint inflammation medication Methotrexate, which some have had trouble filling since the overturn of Roe, as the Washington Post noted in August1.

Voters opposed every potential law tested, including 65% who oppose prohibiting access to abortion even with exceptions for medical emergencies, incest, or rape. Nearly all voters (96%) oppose increasing taxes on menstrual hygiene products, and a similar number (94%) oppose prohibiting access to birth control pills or IUDs (with 87% of those saying they strongly oppose it). Voters also oppose restricting access to “Plan B,” the morning after pill, with 81% saying that they oppose and 71% saying that they strongly oppose. Three quarters oppose prohibiting access to prescription medications for at-home abortion or miscarriages (74%) and eight-in-ten oppose criminal penalties for medical professional who provide reproductive healthcare (83%).

Next, you'll see a list of items that some say could become law in Georgia because of the overturning of Roe v. Wade. After each one, please indicate if you support or oppose that item.

Georgia voters respond positively to a variety of reproductive freedom messaging themes. The poll tested several statements about abortion access and reproductive rights. A majority of Georgia voters found messages that focus on the importance of making personal decisions without political interference, having empathy for others’ health decisions, and the risk of criminalization for doctors and nurses providing abortion care as powerful reasons to support reproductive freedom.

- **(73% convincing, 52% very convincing)** No matter where a person lives, what they look like or what they do for a living, everyone should have the freedom to make important personal decisions about their health care with the people they love and trust, and without political interference. Most of us in Georgia want to live in a state where we make our own decisions, shape our own lives, and where our families have the resources and care we need to thrive.

- **(66% convincing, 45% very convincing)** Make no mistake about it, abortion can be complicated and sometimes people make decisions we might not make for ourselves. Every person’s life has its own unique circumstances, and we haven’t walked in their shoes. We should trust and respect people, rather than politicians, to know what is best for them and their families.

- **(63% convincing, 46% very convincing)** Georgia’s new abortion ban is one of the most restrictive laws in the country, banning abortion before many people know they’re pregnant and putting doctors and nurses at risk of criminalization for providing life-saving care to patients. Doctors might feel they can no longer help someone who’s had a miscarriage out of fear of losing their license or facing jail time. This ban gives law enforcement too much power over personal medical situations and is a dangerous precedent that will put all Georgians at even greater risk.
**Attitudes Among Black Men**

**Black men in Georgia overwhelmingly support reproductive rights.** Nearly nine-in-ten Black men who completed the survey oppose the overturning of *Roe vs. Wade* (86% oppose, with 75% strongly oppose) while a similar number oppose the recently implemented six-week ban in Georgia (79% oppose, 67% strongly oppose).

Only 3% of Black men say that abortion should always be illegal, compared to 41% saying that it should always be legal, 41% saying that it should be legal with restrictions, and 15% saying it should be legal but only in limited cases. Nearly half (47%) say that they “support abortion access and believe it should be available for people who make the decision to end a pregnancy.”

Black men also responded positively to messages highlighting the need to treat those who might seek abortion care with empathy and the importance of people being able to make medical decisions without outside interference.

- **(85% convincing, 66% very convincing)** Make no mistake about it, abortion can be complicated and sometimes people make decisions we might not make for ourselves. Every person’s life has its own unique circumstances, and we haven’t walked in their shoes. We should trust and respect people, rather than politicians, to know what is best for them and their families.

- **(81% convincing, 64% very convincing)** No matter where a person lives, what they look like or what they do for a living, everyone should have the freedom to make important personal decisions about their health care with the people they love and trust, and without political interference. Most of us in Georgia want to live in a state where we make our own decisions, shape our own lives, and where our families have the resources and care we need to thrive.

**Attitudes Among White Women Ages 30-49**

**White women in Georgia between the ages of 30-49 also oppose the overturning of Roe vs. Wade and the Georgia abortion ban.** Democrats and Independents in this group overwhelmingly oppose these restrictions. Among Democrats, nearly all (98%) oppose the overturning of *Roe vs. Wade* and 92% oppose the Georgia ban, while among Independents, 76% oppose the overturning of *Roe vs. Wade* and a slightly higher percentage (83%) oppose the Georgia ban. Republican women in this age range are the drivers of support for abortion bans, though not with the same intensity that Democrats oppose them – 68% of Republican white women ages 30-49 say they support the overturning of *Roe vs. Wade* (32% oppose) and 71% support the Georgia abortion ban (29% oppose).

However, regardless of partisanship, white women ages 30-49 almost universally oppose potential legislation such as prohibiting access to birth control methods like oral contraceptives or intrauterine devices (IUDs), with 95% opposing and 92% strongly opposing. Nearly nine-in-ten (86%) also oppose prohibiting access to “Plan B,” with 76% strongly opposing.

The statement about allowing people to make medical decisions without interference also resonated with women aged 30-49, with nine-in-ten Democrats (94%) and Independents (90%) saying that this message was convincing. Even half (49%) of Republicans said so, as well.
(75% convincing, 50% very convincing) No matter where a person lives, what they look like or what they do for a living, everyone should have the freedom to make important personal decisions about their health care with the people they love and trust, and without political interference. Most of us in Georgia want to live in a state where we make our own decisions, shape our own lives, and where our families have the resources and care we need to thrive.

Methodology
EMC Research completed an online, email- and text-to-web poll of 500 registered voters in Georgia between August 11-18, 2022, with additional interviews among black men (146n) and white women between ages 30-49 (140n). This survey was conducted after the overturn of Roe v Wade via the Dobbs ruling and after the Georgia legislature’s 6-week abortion ban was enacted.

Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish and on both landlines and mobile phones. The margin of error for overall results is ±4.4 percentage points, while the margin of error among Black voters is ±8.11 and the margin of error among white women ages 30-49 is ±8.28.