

Key Findings

Methodology

In early January 2024, YouGov/Vinea Research interviewed 1,121 registered voters between the ages of 18-42 (Gen-Z and Millennials) via a 5-minute online survey. The sample of 1,121 was then matched down to a sample of 1,000 to produce the final data set. Respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. The frame is a subset of a politically representative “modeled frame” of adults, based upon established methods for these types of surveys: using exit polls and surveys, weighting using propensity scores, applying logistic regression estimates, grouping into deciles, and post-stratification. The margin of error for this study is ± 3.52 .

Hans Plate, President of Vinea Research, was the research liaison, working closely with Students for Life of America, the Demetree Institute for Pro-Life Advancement, and YouGov in all aspects of the research. To contact Hans for questions on methodology, survey design, and results, send an email to info@vinearesearch.com.

Abortion Legislation Views

Nearly two-thirds (65%) of respondents believe there should be laws limiting abortion access; half (50%) say “in some circumstances” while 15% say “in all circumstances,” essentially unchanged compared to the 2023 poll (67%).

At conception, 28% say they would “definitely” or “likely” support abortion limits. At heartbeat, 36% would “definitely” or “likely” support limits at heartbeat. At 12 weeks, 43% would “definitely” or “likely” support limit, higher than the 40% who would support limits at 15 weeks (4 months).

Abortion Morality Views

While some Gen-Zs and Millennials desire a level of abortion access, there is also support for restrictions. While 83% say some abortion should be legal, half of these respondents feel it should be restricted to either in the first trimester or at 4 months (15 weeks). Put another way, three-quarters (75%) believe it should never be legal or legal only up to fetal viability at 21 weeks, an increase over the 65% who reported this in the January 2023 poll on a similar question.

- 17% believe it should never be legal.
- 20% believe it should only be legal before confirming a fetal heartbeat / 6-7 weeks
- 15% believe it should only be legal in the first three months / 12 weeks.
- 7% believe it should only be legal until almost 4 months / 15 weeks.
- 16% believe it should be legal only prior to viability / 21 weeks.
- 25% believe it should be legal at any time during pregnancy.

Nearly half (49%) believe there needs to be a reason to have an abortion. We provided respondents with several brief situations that could be used as a reason to have an abortion and asked them to choose if each is or is not a reason to support abortion.

- The most-supported reasons for an abortion were “to protect the life of the mother” (86%) and “in cases of rape and incest” (81%), a common exception that we often hear in defense of abortion access and included in the majority of abortion restrictive legislation.
- The existence of a fetal medical condition was also frequently cited as a reason to support abortion, with the potential severity of the condition being a bigger reason than the cost of the medical condition:
 - “If a baby has a life-threatening condition” (76%)
 - “If a baby has a medical condition and may face life-threatening challenges during infancy and early childhood” (74%)
 - “If a baby has a medical condition that will be costly” (61%)

- Issues relating to the parents' relationship to each other were selected much less often (often less than half of respondents) as a reason they support abortion.

To gauge how Gen-Zs and Millennials perceive the impact of an abortion, we asked respondents to rate how painful they believe abortions are, both physically and emotionally. Respondents recognized that abortion was painful, with many choosing "very painful" for both, especially emotionally.

- Four-in-five (80%) say that abortion is somewhat or very physically painful, with 42% choosing "very."
- Nearly nine-in-ten (87%) say that abortion is somewhat or very emotionally painful, with 60% choosing "very."

Born-Alive Implications

When asked what should happen if an abortion is attempted but the infant survives, only 9% believe nothing should be done, while nearly three-quarters (72%) say 911 should be called and the remaining 19% say that attempts should be made to save the infant without calling 911.

Life-Saving Medical Procedure

An increasingly common topic that we've seen in abortion research discussions is the hypothetical situation of a pregnant woman needing a life-saving medical procedure that could result in the death of the fetus. All states with abortion limits have life-saving exceptions built in, but we sought to gauge how well respondents understand this. When asked how many states include these exceptions, only 14% chose "All" (the correct response), indicating a clear gap in Gen-Z's and Millennials' understanding of these limits.

- Most respondents selected "Most" (35%) or "Some" (38%).
- 13% selected "A few" (11%) or "None" (2%).

Furthermore, nearly two-thirds (64%) indicate that, compared to two years ago, they are more concerned about pregnant women who are in medical need of life-saving care receiving the type of care they need that may result in the death of the fetus. (7% are less concerned and 28% report no change in concern.)

Hypothesizing that media has a significant influence on Gen-Zs' and Millennials' perception of this (and other) abortion issues, we asked if the media has raised or lowered their level of concern about these hypothetical women in need:

- Over half (58%) say the media has raised their level of concern for these situations, with 14% saying media has lowered their concern and over a quarter (28%) claiming no media influence.
 - Of those who are more concerned today, 65% indicate that the media has raised their level of concern. (Additional analysis, not in the topline.)

Chemical Abortion Pills

Detailed questions were asked in the context of Chemical Abortion Pills. Findings indicate that, when educated, Gen-Zs and Millennials are mostly in favor of taking a cautious approach to the distribution of these pills, through screening/testing and in-person distribution.

There are potential risks associated with pregnancies when no testing is performed. We described two of these to respondents:

- There is a risk of an ectopic pregnancy, which ultrasounds can detect. The Chemical Abortion Pills, specifically mifepristone, should not be used in these cases since it may cause an ectopic pregnancy to rupture, putting the mother's life at risk. We linked to a WebMD article on the topic.
- Rh-negative blood occurs in 15% of women. If the blood of an Rh-positive fetus gets into the bloodstream of a woman with Rh-negative blood, the antibodies produced could put future fetus' at risk of death. A blood test

will detect Rh-negative blood, Rhogram can be prescribed to prevent antibodies from forming. An ACOG link was provided.

More than two-thirds feel it is moderately or extremely important to conduct these tests before distributing abortion-inducing drugs: 66% for ultrasounds and 70% for blood tests. Almost half feel strongly about these as well, with 47% and 48%, respectively, feeling these are extremely important. Note that all of these results show an increasing level of importance in these tests compared to this time last year.

Additionally, when noting the potential misuse/abuse of Chemical Abortion Pills (with links to articles on CNN, Women's Health and others), the majority (64%) support limiting the acquisition of abortion-inducing drugs to in-person clinical visits only.

Another area we explored was the importance of assessing the environmental impact of Chemical Abortion Pills, which are often not taken in a clinical setting.

- When educated on the topic, nearly two-thirds (63%) believe that it is moderately or extremely important more studies be done to determine the potential environmental impact.
- Similarly, two-thirds (65%) believe it is moderately or extremely important to require medical bags with Chemical Abortion Pills distribution to collect and properly dispose of the products of abortion.
- These findings are consistent and slightly higher than findings in the January 2023 poll.

More on Abortion Legislation Views

Almost half (48%) say there should be no criminal penalties for women who get an abortion, while over one-third say that there should be such penalties "in some instances," though we did not explore what those instances may be.

Nearly one-third (31%) say they would be more willing to accept limits on abortion if they knew that states and the federal government offered increased support for mothers and their children, and nearly half (46%) say that this would not change their opinion on abortion limits.

To discern the context in which respondents would support limits on abortion, we offered a variety of milestones or situations for them to rate their level of support. Respondents were asked to rate their support for limits by choosing "would not" support, "slightly" support, "likely" support, and "definitely" support (option text condensed here for readability). In most cases, the majority would support limits. The only exception was at conception.

- Conception: Less than half (45%) would support limits
- Heartbeat / 1½ months: Over half (54%) would support limits
- Fetal pain / 12 weeks: Over three-in-five (62%) would support limits
- 15 weeks / 4 months: Three-in-five (60%) would support limits
- Viability / 22 weeks: Nearly three-quarters (72%) would support limits
- To prevent sex-selection abortion: Two-thirds (66%) would support limits
- To prevent fetal diagnosis abortion (e.g., Down's Syndrome): Over three-in-five (62%) would support limits

Fetal human rights are commonly debated, so we asked respondents when they believe human rights begin, legally. Nearly one-third (32%) say that human rights begin after birth, while nearly one-in-five say human rights begin at conception.

- Nearly half (46%) say human rights begin at 15 weeks or earlier, and 54% say human rights begin at viability or earlier. Within this, conception (19%) and a confirmed heartbeat (14%) are the strongest "pro human right" milestones.
- 15% seem undecided: 5% say "It depends on other variables," 8% say "Not sure," and 2% declined to respond

We educated respondents on ballot initiatives for state constitutions to (1) support abortion through all 9 months of pregnancy and (2) limit a state's ability to make future laws related to abortion. Over two-thirds (68%) selected a reason to oppose such a ballot question, while 84% selected a reason to support it.

- The strongest reasons selected to oppose these initiatives are: they do not want abortion legal through all 9 months (37%), they believe in the parental right to be involved in a minor's decision (36%), they oppose taxpayer funding of abortion (24%), and do not want to lose the ability to make future laws (21%).
- Among those who would support this initiative, it is predominantly to make abortion available in cases of rape and incest (61%) and to protect the life of the mother (61%). A sizeable minority (30% and 25% respectively) think abortion should be legal for all 9 months of pregnancy or do not believe parents/guardians should be required for a minor's abortion.

Additionally, given a hypothetical situation in which there are state laws permitting abortion in cases of rape and incest, nearly two-thirds (63%) would be likely to vote for an additional law permitting abortion access in all 9 months of pregnancy (41% very likely, 22% somewhat likely), suggesting that overcoming "rape and incest" objections are not solely about rape and incest.

National Abortion Reporting Law

We explained to respondents that an accurate number of abortion procedures performed each year is "hard to come by," as cited in a Pew Research article. This article also showed that the abortion industry itself does most of the reporting, making the actual number difficult to achieve with the current methods used. With this information, nearly three-in-five (57%) respondents say they would support a National Abortion Reporting law to track the number of abortions, including the number of abortion complications; less than one-in-five (18%) would oppose such a law.

Voting & Politics

Just over half of respondents (55%) indicated that abortion is at least among the top 3 issues to them when voting, with one-on-ten (11%) saying it is the most important issue.

- Half (50%) would want candidates they vote for to be moderately or strongly in favor of access
- Nearly one-third (31%) would want candidates they vote for to be moderately or strongly in favor of restrictions

When asked about laws that could be passed to support mothers, newborns, and families, only 5% indicated that this is not important to them by choosing "None of the above."

- All items listed received support by at least half of respondents.
- The highest item was "Keeping healthcare costs for pregnancy and birth affordable," with nearly three-quarters (72%) selecting it.
- "Paid family leave for new parents" was also frequently selected (71%).

Topline - Screener

Are you, or is anyone in your household, employed in the news media or a market research firm?

0% Yes → [Disqualify](#)
100% No

Are you currently registered to vote in your state?

100% Yes → [Disqualify](#)
0% No

What is your current age?

[Disqualify if older than 41](#)

27% Gen-Z (18-25 years old)
73% Millennial (26-41 years old)

What is your gender?

51% Woman
46% Man
3% Non-binary / Other

Topline - Poll Questions

When a woman is pregnant, she may need a life-saving medical procedure that could result in the death of the fetus. When a pregnant woman's life is not in danger, she may choose to have an intentional, elective abortion specifically to terminate the life of the fetus.

How many states do you believe have laws that allow life-saving medical procedures that may result in the death of the fetus? (Please take your best guess)

- 14% All
- 35% Most
- 38% Some
- 11% A few
- 2% None

Compared to two years ago, are you more or less concerned about pregnant women who are in medical need for life-saving care receiving the type of care they need that may result in the death of the fetus?

- 64% More concerned
- 7% Less concerned
- 28% No change in concern

In your view, has the media [randomize: raised or lowered / lowered or raised] the level of concern about pregnant women receiving the lifesaving care they need that may result in the death of the fetus?

- 58% Raised
- 14% Lowered
- 28% Neither

Do you believe there should be laws limiting abortion?

- 15% Yes, in all circumstances
- 50% Yes, in some circumstances
- 35% No, not at all

Which one of the following most closely resembles your views on intentional/elective abortion, when the life of the mother and fetus are not in danger?

- 17% Abortion should never be legal.
- 20% Abortions should not be legal after a heartbeat is confirmed, usually around 6-7 weeks.
- 15% Abortion should be legal only in the first three months/12 weeks of pregnancy.
- 7% Abortions should be legal until almost 4 months/15 weeks.
- 16% Abortion should be legal prior to viability (when the fetus can survive outside the womb), usually after 21 weeks.
- 16% Abortion should be legal at any time during pregnancy.
- 9% Abortion should be legal any time during pregnancy and extend to ending the life of any child born during a failed abortion.

If an abortion is attempted but the infant survives and is alive and breathing outside the womb, which of the following should happen?

- 72% All reasonable efforts should be made to save the baby by the staff present and 911 should be called to take the baby to the hospital
- 19% All reasonable efforts should be made to save the baby by the staff present onsite, without calling 911
- 9% Nothing should be done since the mother was trying to have an abortion done [Exclusive]

Where does abortion rank among issues that matter to you when voting for a political candidate?

- 11% The most important issue
- 17% Among the top 2 issues
- 27% Among the top 3 issues
- 11% Among the top 4 issues
- 16% Among the top 5 issues
- 17% Outside the top 5 issues

How would you want these candidates to position themselves on the issue of abortion?

- 35% Strongly in favor of abortion access
- 15% Moderately in favor of abortion access
- 9% Slightly in favor of abortion access
- 9% Slightly in favor of abortion restrictions
- 15% Moderately in favor of abortion restrictions
- 16% Strongly in favor of abortion restriction

Currently, there are no abortion laws in the US that criminalize women for seeking or obtaining an abortion, including in states that restrict abortion access. Do you think future laws should or should not include penalties for women who seek abortions? Do you support:

- 48% No penalties for women
- 36% Penalties for women in some instances
- 8% Penalties for women in all instances
- 8% Unsure

Do you believe there needs to be a reason for a woman to have an abortion or is the desire to have an abortion enough justification to seek one out and no reason is necessary?

- 49% There needs to be a reason to have an abortion
- 41% No reason is needed
- 9% Not sure

Would you support LIMITS on abortion for each of the following reasons, assuming the health of the fetus and the mother are not at risk?

	I would NOT support limits for this reason	I would SLIGHTLY support limits for this reason	I would LIKELY support limits for this reason	I would DEFINITELY support limits for this reason
Once the baby is conceived, when the egg and sperm unite to form a unique life	55%	17%	13%	15%
Once the fetus has a heartbeat, usually after a month and a half after conception	46%	18%	14%	22%
Once the fetus can experience pain, usually at 12 weeks	38%	19%	17%	26%
Once the fetus is 15 weeks, 4 months, old	40%	20%	16%	24%
In cases where the fetus is viable (can live outside the womb), usually at 22 weeks	28%	21%	20%	31%
To prevent sex selection abortion	34%	17%	15%	34%
To prevent abortions based on fetal diagnoses such as Down's Syndrome	40%	23%	18%	19%

Which of the following do you believe are reasons you would SUPPORT abortion?

	This IS NOT a reason for me to support abortion	This IS a reason for me to support abortion
To protect the life of the mother	14%	86%
In cases of rape and incest	19%	81%
If a baby has a life-threatening condition	24%	76%
If a baby has a medical condition and may face life-threatening challenges during infancy and early childhood	26%	74%
If a baby has a medical condition that will be costly	39%	61%
If a woman is in an abusive relationship	43%	57%
If the timing of the pregnancy is inconvenient	54%	46%
If the father refuses to financially support the child	57%	43%
If a woman is in a relationship with someone she does not want to continue seeing	58%	42%
For any reason at all	60%	40%
If a woman is in a relationship unlikely to last long	60%	40%
If the baby is not the parent's desired sex	78%	22%

Legally speaking, at what point below do you believe human rights begin?

- 19% At conception, when a new human life with unique DNA begins and grows
- 14% At a confirmed heartbeat
- 9% At three months of pregnancy, 12 weeks, at which point pain can be experienced
- 4% At about four months of pregnancy, 15 weeks
- 8% At about five months of pregnancy, about 21 weeks or after, when a baby can live outside the womb, also known as viability
- 32% After birth

- 1% After a court or law declares it
- 5% It depends on other variables

- 8% Not sure
- 2% Prefer not to answer

Which of the following do you believe are most important for elected politicians to pass to support mothers, newborns, and families? Select all that apply.

- 72% Keeping healthcare costs for pregnancy and birth affordable
- 71% Paid family leave for new parents that gives them time with their newborn child without sacrificing income
- 68% Child health and development programs that provide resources for early childhood development, such as home visitation programs, parenting classes, and early intervention services for developmental delays
- 68% Education and support services focusing on educating new parents about childcare, health, and child development
- 66% Childcare subsidies to make childcare more affordable to single mothers or low-income families
- 63% Child tax credits: financial assistance for eligible families in the form of reduced tax liability for each qualifying child under a certain age
- 63% Workplace support programs (e.g., parking, nursing spaces, childcare, etc.)
- 56% College/university support programs (e.g., parking, nursing spaces, childcare, etc.)
- 56% Child support from the father to the mother that begins during pregnancy
- 5% None of the above

Would you be more willing to accept limits on abortion if you knew that states and the federal government offered increased support for mothers and their children?

- 31% Yes, I would be more willing to accept limits
- 22% No, I would not be more willing to accept limits
- 46% This would not change my opinion about abortion limits

A number of states have advanced ballot initiatives for state constitutions to include support for abortion through all 9 months of pregnancy and limit a state’s ability to make future laws related to abortion. If passed, these initiatives will have the following effects:

- Abortions can be performed at any point up to the birth
- Future abortion-related laws would be much more difficult to pass since they would need to override the state constitution
- Minors are able to have an abortion without input or help from their parents/guardians (adult engagement laws)
- Abortions would be funded, in part, by taxes

Consider the ballot initiatives that have been taking place around the country. For what reason(s) would you **OPPOSE** having abortion access part of your state’s constitution?

- 37% I do not want abortion to be legal through all 9 months of pregnancy with no limits
- 21% I do not want legislators in my state to lose the ability to pass future abortion-related laws
- 36% I think parents/guardians should have the right to be involved in a minor’s decision to get an abortion
- 24% I oppose taxpayer funding of abortion
- 2% Other reason
- 32% I would not oppose a ballot question that would legalize abortion in the state constitution for all 9 months

Consider the ballot initiatives that have been taking place around the country. For what reason(s) would you **SUPPORT** having abortion access part of your state’s constitution?

- 30% I think abortion should be legal without limits, through all 9 months of pregnancy, for any reason, without the legislature’s ability to limit it
- 61% I think abortion should be available in cases of rape and incest
- 61% I think abortion should be available to protect the life of the mother
- 25% I don’t think parents or guardians should be required for a minor’s decision to get an abortion
- 2% Other
- 16% I would never support a ballot question that permitted any abortion, beyond to save the life of a mother

[If the respondent says they support some or all abortion in previous question]

Assume your state has laws permitting abortions in cases of rape and incest. How likely are you to vote for or against an additional law permitting abortion access in all 9 months of pregnancy in your state constitution?

- 41% Very likely to vote for the law
- 22% Somewhat likely to vote for the law
- 15% Neither more nor less likely to vote for the law
- 7% Somewhat unlikely to vote for the law
- 15% Very unlikely to vote for the law

Please read the following:

More than half of abortions today are through taking abortion-inducing drugs. Two hormone pills, mifepristone (Mifeprex) and misoprostol (Cytotec), are prescribed by a healthcare provider and are then taken by a woman to end a pregnancy. The Federal Drug Administration (FDA) recently allowed for the distribution of these pills through online telehealth sales, allowing for no-test, online distribution of the pills. [<https://www.fda.gov/drugs/postmarket-drug-safety-information-patients-and-providers/questions-and-answers-mifeprex>, points 5 and 6.]

Ultrasound screenings (a simple imaging technique used to produce images of structures within the body) are used to determine how far along a woman is in pregnancy, as the abortion-inducing drugs can fail if used later in the pregnancy and complications may arise.

Ultrasounds can also be used to determine if a woman has an ectopic pregnancy, which is when the fetus has implanted outside of the uterus/womb. In an ectopic pregnancy, the abortion-inducing drugs will not end the pregnancy and the woman can have severe complications, including death.

[<https://www.webmd.com/drugs/2/drug-20222-325/mifepristone-oral/mifepristone-oral/details>]

Considering this information on the risk of complications due to a failed abortion or an ectopic pregnancy, how important do you feel it is to have ultrasound screenings before distributing abortion-inducing drugs?

- 8% Not at all important
- 23% Somewhat important
- 20% Moderately important
- 47% Extremely important

A blood test is needed to check a woman's Rh blood status. Rh-negative blood occurs in 15% of women. If the blood of an Rh-positive fetus gets into the bloodstream of an Rh-negative woman, the woman's body produces antibodies that could attack the fetus' blood cells, leading to serious health problems, even death, for a fetus or a newborn. The antibodies also put the mother's future children at risk while in the womb. Antibodies can be formed after a miscarriage, ectopic pregnancy, or an abortion. If Rh-negative blood is detected very early in the pregnancy, a prescription medicine (Rhogam) can be given to prevent antibodies from forming. [<https://www.acog.org/womens-health/faqs/the-rh-factor-how-it-can-affect-your-pregnancy>]

Considering this information, how important do you feel it is to require women to receive a blood test to know about the risks of future pregnancies?

- 6% Not at all important
- 24% Somewhat important
- 22% Moderately important
- 48% Extremely important

There is evidence that some women have been given abortion pills without their knowledge and consent, often by partners acting against their wishes. Some argue that this practice is more easily done with online sales of the abortion pills. [The Washington Post](#), [CNN](#), and other [news sources](#) have reported this, for a number of examples.

Do you support limiting the acquisition of abortion-inducing drugs to in-person clinical visits only in order to prevent misuse as shown in the examples above?

- 64% Yes
- 36% No

Women taking the abortion pills are instructed to flush the products of the abortion (placenta, the human embryo or fetus, blood) in the toilet. This healthcare or medical waste can be **“hazardous if not disposed properly.”** Additionally, given how one of the abortion pills (misoprostol) is administered/inserted, some of that medication could be passed into the toilet as well (see [this](#) website). All of this could then pass to the wastewater system, potentially affecting the fertility of animal and fish, according to an article by the [Environmental Protection Agency \(EPA\)](#).

How important is it to conduct studies on the potential environmental impact of waste and drugs related to abortion?

- 9% Not at all important
- 28% Somewhat important
- 26% Moderately important
- 37% Extremely important

In doctor’s offices, clinics, and hospitals, medical waste of all types is collected in red or yellow bags and containers for medical waste to dispose of properly. These bags/containers are also sometimes used in the home setting, for the placenta from at-home births, for miscarriages, and to collect kidney stones, among other reasons. Considering the environmental impact noted above, how important is it to require those who distribute abortion pills to also provide medical bags/ containers to collect the products of abortion and return to the provider for disposal?

- 10% Not at all important
- 25% Somewhat important
- 32% Moderately important
- 33% Extremely important

How physically and emotionally painful do you believe abortions are for the women/mothers who experience them?

	Not at all painful	A little painful	Somewhat painful	Very painful
Physically	4%	17%	38%	42%
Emotionally	2%	10%	27%	60%

In the United States, the number of abortion procedures performed per year is “hard to come by,” as noted by Pew Research ([link here](#)). This data relies on the abortion industry self-reporting. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the Guttmacher Institute each try to measure this, but they use different methods and publish different figures. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2023/01/11/what-the-data-says-about-abortion-in-the-u-s-2/>

Would you support or oppose a National Abortion Reporting law to track the number of abortions, including the number of abortion complications?

- 25% Strongly support
- 19% Somewhat support
- 13% Slightly support
- 26% Neither support nor oppose
- 4% Slightly oppose
- 4% Somewhat oppose
- 10% Strongly oppose