



2023

ABORTION



Stanford | Institute for Economic Policy Research (SIEPR)



A joint polling project among researchers at Arizona State University, Stanford University and the University of Houston

Executive Summary

The survey upon which this report is based was conducted between May 31 and June 6, 2023 among a representative sample of Arizona, California and Texas residents age 18 and older. In all, 3,163 respondents were surveyed across the three states: Arizona (1,051), California (1,045), and Texas (1,067), with the margin of error for each state +/- 3.0%.

Following the U.S. Supreme Court's 2022 *Dobbs* decision, the rules governing abortion in the United States have gone from one national policy, under which abortion was constitutionally protected for any reason through 23 to 24 weeks of pregnancy (with state variations as allowed under *Casey*), to a wide range of policies, all at the discretion of each state. Post-*Dobbs*, California has maintained an abortion policy similar to that before *Dobbs*, while Arizona and Texas have placed greater restrictions on abortion, with Arizona banning abortions after 15 weeks of pregnancy and Texas banning all abortions except where the mother's life is at risk.

The public opinion data analyzed in this study suggest that *Dobbs* has allowed states to have abortion policies which more closely align with state public opinion than was the case under *Roe/Casey*. California's retention of *Roe/Casey* era policies matches the preference of the average Californian. Arizona's move to ban abortions after 15 weeks is more in line with the preference of the average Arizonan than the standard under *Roe/Casey*. Texas's adoption of an abortion policy that is among the most restrictive in the country overcorrected from where the average Texan would prefer to be, which is a ban on abortion after 6 weeks. However, the state's current abortion policy (a ban on abortion unless the mother's life is at risk) is closer to the preferred policy of the average Texan than was the national standard under *Roe/Casey*.

In sum, *Roe/Casey* imposed a one-size fits all abortion policy on every state. In some states, such as California, this policy was congruent with the policy preferences of a majority of the state's residents, but in other states it was incongruent with the policy preferences of a majority of the state's residents, such as was clearly the case in Texas, and, to a much lesser extent, in Arizona.

California and Texas are trifecta states where Democrats and Republicans respectively hold the governorship and control both chambers of the state legislature, with no sign that either state is going to turn red or blue respectively at any time in the near future.

The median California Democrat (and the median Independent and Republican to a lesser degree) wants the state to maintain its current policy regulating abortion, that is allowing abortion through 23-24 weeks of pregnancy or fetal viability. As a consequence, there is no strategic reason for either the dominant California Democrats or a majority of citizens via a citizen's initiative to change the Golden State's abortion policy.

The median Texas Republican wants the state to maintain its current policy regulating abortion, that is banning abortion except when the mother's life is at risk. The median Texas Independent and Democrat would like to see somewhat less restrictive policies, but as long as the Texas Republican primary (rather than the general election) continues to be the most salient election

in Texas (the last time a Democrat won a statewide election in Texas was 1994), there is no strategic reason for the dominant Texas Republicans to change the Lone Star State's abortion policy, and the Texas Constitution does not provide the public with a direct democracy option.

In purple Arizona, while the median Arizona Democrat wants to make the state's abortion legislation less restrictive, the median Arizona Republican supports maintaining the status quo of banning abortion after 15 weeks, although this latter position is only narrowly ahead of that of Republicans who would like to make it harder to obtain an abortion. While abortion policy in California and Texas appears unlikely to change substantially in the short to medium term, abortion policy in Arizona is potentially only one or two election cycles away from a trifecta scenario under which abortion restrictions could be either loosened or tightened or the passage of a citizen's initiative to move the abortion needle to the left or right.

Republicans who identify as MAGA Republicans are significantly more likely than Republicans who do not identify as MAGA Republicans to support more restrictive abortion policies in Arizona, California and Texas (especially the former two states) and also are significantly more likely to identify as Pro-Life than non-MAGA Republicans.

Following the U.S. Supreme Court's 2022 *Dobbs* decision, the states of Arizona, California & Texas chose different paths regarding the status of legal abortion within their state boundaries.

In California abortion remains legal up to ~24 weeks of pregnancy or fetal viability.

In Arizona abortions are now legal only through 15 weeks of pregnancy.

In Texas all abortions are now banned unless the mother's life is at risk.

69% of Californians believe abortion should be legal with no (39%) or minor restrictions (30%).

62% of Arizonans believe abortion should be legal with no (33%) or minor restrictions (29%).

54% of Texans believe abortion should be legal with no (26%) or minor restrictions (28%).

46% of Texans believe abortion should be legal only under special circumstances such as to save the mother's life (33%), or should always be illegal (13%).

38% of Arizonans believe abortion should be legal only under special circumstances such as to save the mother's life (29%), or should always be illegal (9%).

31% of Californians believe abortion should be legal only under special circumstances such as to save the mother's life (23%), or should always be illegal (8%).

59% of Arizona Democrats and 54% of California Democrats believe abortion should always be legal with no restrictions compared to 45% of Texas Democrats.

62% of Republicans in Texas and 60% in Arizona, but only 47% in California, believe abortion should be legal only in special circumstances (mother's life at risk) or should always be illegal.

The median Arizona and California resident is content with leaving the state's current legislation governing abortion (legal through 15 & 24 weeks of pregnancy respectively) while the median

Texas resident would like to make it easier to obtain an abortion in the Lone Star State, albeit only modestly, by making abortion legal through 6 weeks of pregnancy.

81% of Arizonans, 73% of Californians, and 71% of Texans believe victims of rape and incest should be allowed to have an abortion, including 68%, 73%, and 71% of Republicans respectively. Texas is one of only a handful of states that does not permit abortions caused by rape or incest.

In blue trifecta California, the median Democrat, Independent and Republican want to leave the state's abortion legislation as is (abortion legal through about 24 weeks).

In red trifecta Texas, the median Republican wants to leave the state's abortion legislation as is (abortion banned unless the mother's life is at risk), while the median Democrat and Independent want to make it easier to obtain an abortion.

In purple Arizona (blue governor and red legislature), the median Democrat wants to make it easier to obtain an abortion while the median Independent and Republican want to leave the legislation as is (abortion legal through 15 weeks), with 43% of Republicans wanting to make it harder to obtain an abortion compared to 62% of Democrats who want to make it easier.

Significantly more Arizonans (43% vs. 31%) and Californians (43% vs. 28%) consider themselves to be Pro-Choice rather than Pro-Life. Texans are evenly split between those who are Pro-Choice (39%) and Pro-Life (37%).

24% of Pro-Choice Texans would vote for a Pro-Life candidate compared to 19% of Arizonans and 15% of Californians.

48%, 46% and 45% of Pro-Choice Californians, Arizonans and Texans would not vote for a Pro-Life candidate.

25% of Pro-Life Californians would vote for a Pro-Choice candidate compared to 19% of Arizonans and 14% of Texans.

56% of Pro-Life Texans would not vote for a Pro-Choice candidate compared to 49% of Arizonans and 35% of Texans.

63% of Pro-Life Texas Republicans would not vote for a Pro-Choice candidate compared to 50% of Arizona Republicans and 46% of California Republicans.

MAGA Republicans in Arizona (55% vs 34%) and California (51% vs. 32%), but not Texas (44% vs. 46%), are significantly more likely than non-MAGA Republicans to believe that abortion should be legal only in special circumstances.

MAGA Republicans are significantly more likely than non-MAGA Republicans to identify as Pro-Life in Arizona (66% vs. 40%), California (77% vs. 39%), and Texas (76% vs. 48%).

The General Public & Partisan Divide on Abortion in Arizona, California & Texas

In June of 2022, the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Dobbs v. Jackson* overturned the two Supreme Court decisions, *Roe v. Wade* (1973) and *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* (1992), which together had governed abortion policy in the United States for nearly 50 years. Following the *Dobbs* decision, the rules governing abortion in the United States have gone from one national policy, under which abortion was constitutionally protected for any reason through 23 to 24 weeks of pregnancy (albeit with state variations as allowed under *Casey*), to 50 potentially distinct policies, one for each state.

Within this new context, Arizona, California and Texas have all opted for different legislation regulating abortion within their state boundaries. California has retained the *Roe* standard of allowing abortion for any reason up to about 24 weeks of pregnancy, before the fetus is able to survive outside the uterus. Arizona has reduced the maximum number of weeks through which abortion is allowed for any reason to 15 weeks of pregnancy. Texas has banned all abortions except if the life of the mother is at risk. The three states represent both the extremes across the 50 states in the post-*Dobbs* world, with the country's two most populous states (where one in five Americans reside), California and Texas, serving as metaphorical bookends. Arizona represents the intermediate position of states in the post *Dobbs* world, where a half dozen states have placed more restrictions on abortion rights than prior to *Dobbs*, but still allow legal abortions beyond the range during which more than nine out of 10 abortions took place in the years prior to the *Dobbs* decision in 2022.

This report examines the opinions of the general public and this general public broken down by partisanship (Democrat, Independent, Republican) in Arizona, California and Texas regarding a wide range of abortion related topics. These topics include opinions about when abortion should be legal, preferences for modifying their state's existing legislation regulating abortion, self-identification with the terms "Pro-Choice" and "Pro-Life", and willingness to vote for a candidate who is "Pro-Choice" or who is "Pro-Life". A final section takes an in-depth look at intra-Republican opinions and attitudes related to these topics, dividing Republicans based on the intensity of their partisanship (strong vs. not strong) and whether or not they self-identify as a MAGA Republican.

I. When Should Abortion Be Legal?

In the survey the respondents were asked when they think abortion should be legal. The four response options were:

- Abortion should always be legal. There should be no restrictions on abortion.
- Abortion should be legal, but with some restrictions (such as for minors or late-term abortions).
- Abortion should only be legal in special circumstances, such as when the life of the mother is in danger.
- Abortion should be illegal. It should never be allowed.

Table 1 provides the distribution of popular support for these four options in Arizona, California, and Texas. When presented with this choice set, the median Arizonan, Californian and Texan prefers that abortion should be always legal, but with some restrictions.

However, while 69% of Californians believe that abortion should be either legal with some minor restrictions or legal with no restrictions, the same is true for only 54% of Texans. Conversely, 46% of Texans believe that abortion should be legal only in special circumstances, such as the mother's life being at risk, or always illegal, compared to only 31% of Californians. Arizonans occupy an in between position, with 62% believing that abortion should always be legal or should be legal with some restrictions, and 38% believing abortion should be legal only in special circumstances or should be illegal all of the time.

Table 1. When Should Abortion Be Legal? (%)

State	Always Legal With No Restrictions	Legal With Some Minor Restrictions	Legal Only In Special Circumstances (Mother's Life)	Illegal
Arizona	33	29	29	9
California	39	30	23	8
Texas	26	28	33	13

Table 2 provides the distribution of the opinion of Arizona, California and Texas residents about when abortion should be legal broken down by their partisan identification: Democrat, Independent, Republican. Using a three-point partisan identification measure the partisan distribution of respondents by state is:

Arizona: 38% Republican, 34% Democrat, 20% Independent & 8% Other/Don't Know.
 California: 28% Republican, 45% Democrat, 17% Independent & 10% Other/Don't Know.
 Texas: 40% Republican, 32% Democrat, 19% Independent & 9% Other/Don't Know.

Table 2. Partisan ID & When Should Abortion Be Legal? (%)

State	Partisan Group	Always Legal With No Restrictions	Legal With Some Minor Restrictions	Legal Only In Special Circumstances (Mother's Life)	Illegal
Arizona	Democrat	59	25	12	4
	Independent	35	31	25	9
	Republican	11	29	48	12
California	Democrat	54	28	14	4
	Independent	36	26	25	13
	Republican	17	36	37	10
Texas	Democrat	45	29	22	4
	Independent	27	27	39	7
	Republican	11	27	40	22

An absolute majority of Democrats in Arizona (59%) and California (54%), but only a plurality in Texas (45%), believe that abortion should always be legal with no restrictions.

Three-fifths of Republicans in Texas (62%), Arizona (60%), but only one-half in California (47%), believe that abortion should legal only in special circumstances or should always be illegal. However, notably more Texas Republicans (22%) than Arizona (12%) and California (10%) Republicans believe that abortion should always be illegal.

Eight out of ten Arizona (81%), California (83%), and Texas (79%) residents believe victims of rape and incest should be allowed to have an abortion. More than two out of three Arizona (68%), California (73%), and Texas (71%) Republicans believe that victims of rape and incest should be allowed to have an abortion.

II. Opinion Regarding Their State's Current Abortion Legislation Post-*Dobbs*

Residents of the three states were presented with information about the extant abortion legislation in their state and then asked, if they were able, would they modify their state's abortion legislation to make it easier to obtain an abortion, modify their state's legislation to make it harder to obtain an abortion, or if they would leave the legislation as it is now. They could also answer don't know. Table 3 provides the distribution of the responses for each one of the three states.

Table 3. Attitudes in Each State Toward Their Current Abortion Legislation: Make it Easier or Harder to Obtain an Abortion, or Leave the Law As Is (%)

State (law)	Make It Easier	Leave As Is	Make It Harder	Don't Know
Arizona (15 wks)	36	32	22	10
California (24 wks)	29	36	23	12
Texas (Ban)	50	33	9	8

In California, where abortion is today permitted for any reason through 24 weeks (or fetal viability outside of the uterus), 29% of residents would, if they could, make it easier for California residents to obtain an abortion, 32% would leave the legislation as it is now, and 22% would make it harder to obtain an abortion in California.

In Arizona, where abortion is today permitted for any reason through 15 weeks, 36% of residents would, if they could, make it easier for Arizona residents to obtain an abortion, 36% would leave the legislation as is, and 23% would make it harder to obtain an abortion in Arizona.

In Texas, where abortion is today banned unless the mother's life is at risk, 50% of residents would, if they could, make it easier for Texas residents to obtain an abortion, 33% would leave the legislation as is, and 9% would make it harder to obtain an abortion in Texas.

Table 4 provides the distribution of Arizona, California and Texas residents' position vis-à-vis their state's current abortion policy broken down by partisan identification.

Table 4. Partisan ID & Attitudes in Each State Toward Their Current Abortion Legislation: Make it Easier or Make it Harder to Obtain an Abortion, or Leave the Law As Is (%)

State	Partisan Group	Make It Easier	Leave As Is	Make It Harder	Don't Know
Arizona	Democrat	62	21	8	9
	Independent	36	35	21	8
	Republican	13	43	37	7
California	Democrat	40	40	11	9
	Independent	25	36	26	13
	Republican	17	32	43	9
Texas	Democrat	71	19	3	7
	Independent	55	30	8	7
	Republican	33	48	13	6

An overwhelming majority of Democrats in Arizona (62%) and Texas (71%) want to make it easier to obtain an abortion in their respective states, with 21% and 19% favoring leaving the law as it

currently stands, and 8% and 3% wanting to make it harder to obtain an abortion. California Democrats are evenly split between those who want to make it easier to obtain an abortion (40%) and to maintain the status quo of abortion being legal through 24 weeks (40%), with only one in ten (11%) wanting to make it harder to obtain an abortion in California.

Republicans in Arizona and California are relatively evenly split between those who want to maintain the status quo in each state (43% and 32% respectively) and those who want to make it harder to obtain an abortion in each state (37% and 43%), with only 13% and 17% wanting to make it easier to obtain an abortion. Almost half (48%) of Texas Republicans want to leave the state's current law banning abortion except when the mother's life is at risk unchanged, with one-third (33%) in favor of making it easier to obtain an abortion and one-tenth (13%) in favor of making it harder to obtain an abortion.

In California the median Democrat, Independent and Republican all are in favor of not changing California law (abortion legal through 24 weeks) to make it either easier or harder to obtain an abortion.

In Arizona the median Independent and Republican both are in favor of not changing Arizona law (abortion legal through 15 weeks) to make it either easier or harder to obtain an abortion. The median Arizona Democrat however wants to make it easier to obtain an abortion.

In Texas the median Democrat and Independent both are in favor of changing Texas law (abortion ban unless mother's life at risk) to make it easier to obtain an abortion. The median Texas Republican however favors maintaining the status quo.

As California has a Democratic trifecta and Texas a Republican trifecta, Table 4 suggests any noteworthy changes in the extant regulations governing abortion in the near future would appear to be very unlikely, especially in California where even the median Republican favors the status quo of abortion through 24 weeks. Similarly, in purple Arizona, where the governor is a Democrat and the state senate and state house are controlled by Republicans, the status quo's popularity among Republicans and Independents, along with the large proportion of Democrats who want to make it easier to obtain an abortion (63%) balanced by the large (albeit not as large) proportion of Republicans who want to make it harder to obtain an abortion (37%), suggests that a change in the status quo is also unlikely in the Grand Canyon State.

Both Arizona and California provide a second route for legislative change via a citizen's initiative, a direct democracy institution which is not available to Texans. In California, the survey results suggest that the median California voter would not be supportive of a citizen's initiative that would modify existing legislation to make it either easier or harder to obtain an abortion. In Arizona, any initiative attempting to make it easier to obtain an abortion would have difficulty passing, as would any legislation that attempted to ban abortion outright as in Texas. However, under the right voter turnout scenarios and context, an initiative that reduced the number of weeks of pregnancy through which an abortion could take place to a number greater than six, but less than 15, could potentially obtain sufficient support at the ballot box to pass.

The survey also asked respondents who did not believe that abortion should always be legal with no restrictions if they supported a ban on abortion after 15 weeks of pregnancy. And, for those who supported a ban after 15 weeks of pregnancy, an additional question was posed as to whether or not they supported a ban after six weeks of pregnancy. Bringing these data together with those in Table 1 and Table 3 allows us to better pinpoint the position of the median Arizonan, Californian and Texan vis-à-vis abortion policy. The median Californian wants abortion to be legal through 24 weeks while the median Arizonan want abortion to be legal up through 15 weeks of pregnancy. In contrast, the median Texan wants there to be a ban on abortion after 6 weeks of pregnancy, unless the mother’s life is at risk.

III. Self-Identification As “Pro-Choice,” “Pro-Life,” Or “Neither”

Arizona, California and Texas residents were asked if they would call themselves “Pro-Choice” or “Pro-Life”, or neither, with a not sure option also provided. Significantly more Arizonans (43% vs. 31%) and Californians (43% vs. 28%) consider themselves to be Pro-Choice than consider themselves to be Pro-Life (see Table 5). In contrast, Texans are evenly split between those who are Pro-Choice (39%) and those are Pro-Life (37%). Between one in seven (16%) and one in five (20%) residents in these states say they are neither Pro-Choice nor Pro-Life, with slightly less than one in ten not sure.

Table 5. Would You Call Yourself “Pro-Choice” or “Pro-Life”, or “Neither”?

State	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life	Neither	Not Sure
Arizona	43	31	17	9
California	43	28	20	9
Texas	39	37	16	8

Table 6 provides the distribution of Pro-Choice, Pro-Life, Neither and Not Sure Arizonans, Californians and Texans broken down by their partisanship.

Table 6. Partisan ID & Would You Call Yourself “Pro-Choice” or “Pro-Life” or “Neither”?

State	Partisan Group	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life	Neither	Not Sure
Arizona	Democrat	68	13	9	10
	Independent	40	30	18	12
	Republican	23	53	22	2
California	Democrat	59	16	17	8
	Independent	39	29	23	9
	Republican	23	53	19	5
Texas	Democrat	65	17	13	5
	Independent	35	26	28	11
	Republican	24	58	11	7

Between three-fifths and two-thirds of Arizona (68%), California (59%), and Texas (65%) Democrats refer to themselves as being pro-choice. In contrast, between one-tenth and one-fifth (13%, 16% and 17% respectively) refer to themselves as being pro-life.

Between one-half and three-fifths of Arizona (53%), California (53%) and Texas (58%) Republicans refer to themselves as being pro-life. In contrast, one-quarter (23%, 23% and 24% respectively) refer to themselves as being pro-choice.

While in all three states the proportion of Democrats who consider themselves to be Pro-Choice is higher than the proportion of Republicans who consider themselves to be Pro-Life, this difference is only significant in Arizona.

Approximately 10% more Independents in Arizona (40% vs. 30%), California (39% vs. 29%), and Texas (34% vs. 26%) consider themselves to be Pro-Choice than consider themselves to be Pro-Life.

IV. Pro-Choice Voters and Pro-Life Candidates & Pro-Life Voters and Pro-Choice Candidates

Pro-Choice Arizonans, Californians and Texans were asked if they would consider voting for a Pro-Life candidate for public office (see Table 7) while Pro-Life residents in these three states were asked if they would consider voting for a Pro-Choice candidate for public office (see Table 8).

Table 7. Would Pro-Choice Voters Vote For A Pro-Life Candidate?

State	Yes	No	Depends
Arizona	19	46	35
California	15	48	37
Texas	24	45	31

Between one in seven and one in four Pro-Choice voters would consider voting for a Pro-Life candidate in these three states, ranging from a low of 15% in California to a high of 24% in Texas, underscoring the notably greater probability (albeit still only one in four) that a Texas Pro-Choice voter would cast a ballot for a Pro-Life candidate than would their Pro-Choice peer in California. Arizona Pro-Choice voters occupy an intermediate position between these two extremes at 19%.

In all three states slightly less than one-half of Pro-Choice voters would not consider voting for a Pro-Life candidate, ranging narrowly from 45% in Texas to 48% in California, with Arizona in between at 46%.

Table 8. Would Pro-Life Voters Vote For A Pro-Choice Candidate?

State	Yes	No	Depends
Arizona	19	49	32
California	25	35	40
Texas	14	56	30

Between one in seven and one in four Pro-Life voters would consider voting for a Pro-Choice candidate in these three states, ranging from a low of 14% in Texas to a high of 25% in California, underscoring the significantly greater probability (albeit still only one in four) that a California Pro-Life voter would cast a ballot for a Pro-Choice candidate than would their Pro-Life brethren in Texas. Arizona occupies an intermediate position between these two extremes at 19%.

Texas (56%) and Arizona (49%) Pro-Life voters are significantly more likely than California (35%) Pro-Life voters to respond that they would not vote for a Pro-Choice candidate, with the gap between Texas and California Pro-Life voters especially large (56% vs. 35%).

Tables 9 and 10 respectively provide the distributions for the proportion of Pro-Choice voters who would cast a ballot for a Pro-Life candidate and the proportion of Pro-Life voters who would cast a ballot for a Pro-Choice candidate broken down by partisanship. It is important to keep in mind that the proportion of Democratic Pro-Life voters and of Republican Pro-Choice voters is sufficiently small that in Table 9 the focus should be on Democrats' decision to vote for (yes) or not vote for (no) a Pro-Life candidate and in Table 10 the focus should be on Republicans' decision to vote for (yes) or not vote for (no) a Pro-Choice candidate.

Table 9. Partisan ID & Whether Pro-Choice Voters Would Vote For A Pro-Life Candidate

State	Partisan Group	Yes	No	Depends
Arizona	Democrat	20	56	24
	Independent	13	51	36
	Republican	25	17	58
California	Democrat	16	59	25
	Independent	6	47	47
	Republican	19	18	63
Texas	Democrat	18	60	22
	Independent	22	40	38
	Republican	40	16	44

Table 9 reveals little in the way of inter-state differences in the proportion of Pro-Choice Democrats who indicate they would vote for a Pro-Life candidate (20% in Arizona, 16% in

California, 18% in Texas) and who indicate they would not vote for a Pro-Life candidate (56%, 59%, and 60% respectively).

One noteworthy cross-state difference revealed in Table 10 is the significantly greater tendency of Pro-Life Republicans in Texas (63%) than in Arizona (50%) and California (46%) to state that they would never consider voting for a pro-choice candidate. In a similar, albeit not as stark, vein, 21% and 22% of Pro-Life Arizona and California Republicans said they would vote for a Pro-Choice candidate, compared to 14% of Pro-Life Texas Republicans.

Table 10. Partisan ID & Whether Pro-Life Voters Would Vote For A Pro-Choice Candidate

State	Partisan Group	Yes	No	Depends
Arizona	Democrat	17	31	52
	Independent	18	52	30
	Republican	21	50	29
California	Democrat	41	17	42
	Independent	19	33	48
	Republican	22	46	32
Texas	Democrat	21	41	38
	Independent	11	45	44
	Republican	14	63	23

V. Republicans & Abortion: An In-Depth Focus

In order to obtain a better understanding of preferences and opinions of Republicans, including those who will play a pivotal role in selecting the 2024 Republican presidential nominee, this section re-examines the information previously presented at a more granular level within the GOP. This is accomplished in two ways. First, Republicans are separated between those who consider themselves to be strong Republicans and those who consider themselves to not be very strong Republicans or who only lean toward the Republican Party. Second, Republicans are separated between those who identify as MAGA Republicans and those who do not.

Table 11 provides the distribution of opinions of when abortion should be legal among strong and not strong Republicans and among those Republicans who self-identify as a MAGA Republican and those who do not.

Table 11. Republican Sub-Group Opinions on When Should Abortion Be Legal? (%)

State	Category	Sub-Group	Always Legal With No Restrictions	Legal With Some Minor Restrictions	Legal Only In Special Circumstances (Mother's Life)	Illegal	
Arizona	Type of Republican?	Strong	5	29	55	11	
		Not Strong	22	31	34	13	
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	3	28	56	13	
		No	18	38	31	13	
	California	Type of Republican?	Strong	9	31	44	16
			Not Strong	23	39	29	9
MAGA Republican?		Yes	5	31	51	13	
		No	21	37	32	10	
Texas		Type of Republican?	Strong	11	26	44	19
			Not Strong	9	22	46	23
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	10	19	46	25	
		No	13	32	38	17	

In Arizona and California, strong Republicans are significantly more likely than non-strong Republicans to believe that abortion should only be legal in special circumstances, such as to save the mother's life, by margins of 55% to 34% and 56% to 31% respectively. Strong Republicans in these two states are also significantly less likely than non-strong Republicans to believe that abortion should always be legal with no restrictions, 5% to 22% and 9% to 23% respectively. In contrast, in Texas there do not exist any noteworthy differences in the proportions of strong and non-strong Republicans who believe that abortion should only be legal in special circumstances (44% vs. 46%) or who believe that abortion should always be legal with no restrictions (11% vs. 9%).

In Arizona and California, Republicans who identify as MAGA Republicans are significantly more likely than Republicans who do not identify as MAGA Republicans to believe abortion should be legal only in special circumstances (56% to 31% and 51% to 32%), while non-Maga Republicans are significantly more likely than MAGA Republicans to believe that abortion should always be legal with no restrictions (18% to 3% and 21% to 5%). In contrast, there do not exist any noteworthy differences in the respondent's position on when abortion should be legal between Texas MAGA Republicans and Texas non-MAGA Republicans, either vis-à-vis the position that abortion should be legal only in special circumstances (46% vs. 38%) or always legal with no restrictions (10% v. 13%).

Table 12 provides the distribution of respondent opinions regarding the modification of their state's existing abortion law for strong and not strong Republicans and for those Republicans who self-identify as a MAGA Republican and those who do not.

Table 12. Republican Sub-Group Attitudes in Each State Toward Current Abortion Law (%)

State	Category	Sub-Group	Make It Easier	Leave As Is	Make It Harder	Don't Know	
Arizona	Type of Republican?	Strong	10	42	42	6	
		Not Strong	15	46	28	11	
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	8	42	42	8	
		No	13	56	26	5	
	California	Type of Republican?	Strong	4	34	54	8
			Not Strong	26	31	34	9
MAGA Republican?		Yes	3	12	69	16	
		No	22	43	31	4	
Texas		Type of Republican?	Strong	27	53	15	5
			Not Strong	35	45	12	8
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	20	57	20	3	
		No	46	39	9	6	

In Arizona and California strong Republicans are significantly more likely than non-strong Republicans to want to modify the state's current legislation regulating abortion to make it harder to obtain an abortion (42% to 28% and 54% to 34%). This is not the case in Texas, where

the proportions of strong Republicans and non-strong Republicans who want to make it harder to obtain an abortion are effectively the same (15% vs. 12%), but also is occurring within a context where, unlike the case in California and Arizona, only a small proportion of Texas Republicans (13%) would modify the state's already very restrictive existing legislation to make it more difficult to obtain an abortion in Texas.

In Arizona and California, MAGA Republicans are significantly more likely than non-MAGA Republicans to want to modify the state's current legislation in order to make it harder to obtain an abortion (42% to 26% and 54% to 34%) while in Texas significantly more MAGA than non-MAGA Republicans favor leaving the states' highly restrictive abortion regulations as they are today (57% to 39%). In contrast, non-MAGA Republicans are significantly more likely than MAGA Republicans to favor the adoption of legislation to make it easier to obtain an abortion in both California (22% vs. 3%) and Texas (46% vs. 20%).

Table 13 provides the distribution of those who identify as Pro-Choice, Pro-Life or Neither among strong and not strong Republicans and among those Republicans who self-identify as a MAGA Republican and those who do not.

In California and Texas strong Republicans are significantly more likely than non-strong Republicans to identify as Pro-Life (63% to 42% and 65% to 46%), with the Arizona difference in the same direction (55% to 48%), albeit not at a statistically significant level.

In Arizona (66% to 40%), California (77% to 39%) and Texas (76% to 48%) MAGA Republicans are significantly more likely than non-MAGA Republicans to identify as Pro-Life.

Table 13. Republican Sub-Group & Would You Call Yourself “Pro-Choice” or “Pro-Life”? (%)

State	Category	Sub-Group	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life	Neither	Not Sure
Arizona	Type of Republican?	Strong	14	55	29	2
		Not Strong	33	48	11	8
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	18	66	15	1
		No	30	40	28	2
California	Type of Republican?	Strong	13	63	22	2
		Not Strong	30	42	20	8
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	3	77	16	4
		No	38	39	20	3
Texas	Type of Republican?	Strong	24	65	8	3
		Not Strong	19	46	23	12
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	17	76	6	1
		No	29	48	17	6

Table 14 provides the distribution of those Republicans who identify as Pro-Life and whether they would vote for a Pro-Choice candidate among strong and not strong Republicans and among those Republicans who self-identify as a MAGA Republican and those who do not.

With some modest exceptions in Arizona, there do not exist any noteworthy differences between these Pro-Life Strong and Not-Strong Republicans and between these Pro-Life MAGA and Non-MAGA Republicans in their propensity to vote for a Pro-Choice candidate.

Table 14. Republican Sub-Group and Would Pro-Life Republican Vote for a Pro-Choice Candidate (%)

State	Category	Sub-Group	Yes	No	Depends
Arizona	Type of Republican?	Strong	25	45	30
		Not Strong	9	60	31
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	23	48	29
		No	22	49	29
California	Type of Republican?	Strong	26	47	27
		Not Strong	14	36	50
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	23	44	33
		No	24	49	27
Texas	Type of Republican?	Strong	15	66	19
		Not Strong	7	54	39
	MAGA Republican?	Yes	7	67	26
		No	20	61	19

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