

Abortion in the United States after the fall of Roe

Elizabeth Sully, PhD

September 21st, 2024

guttmacher

Roadmap for today

1

Where we were before the *Dobbs* decision

2

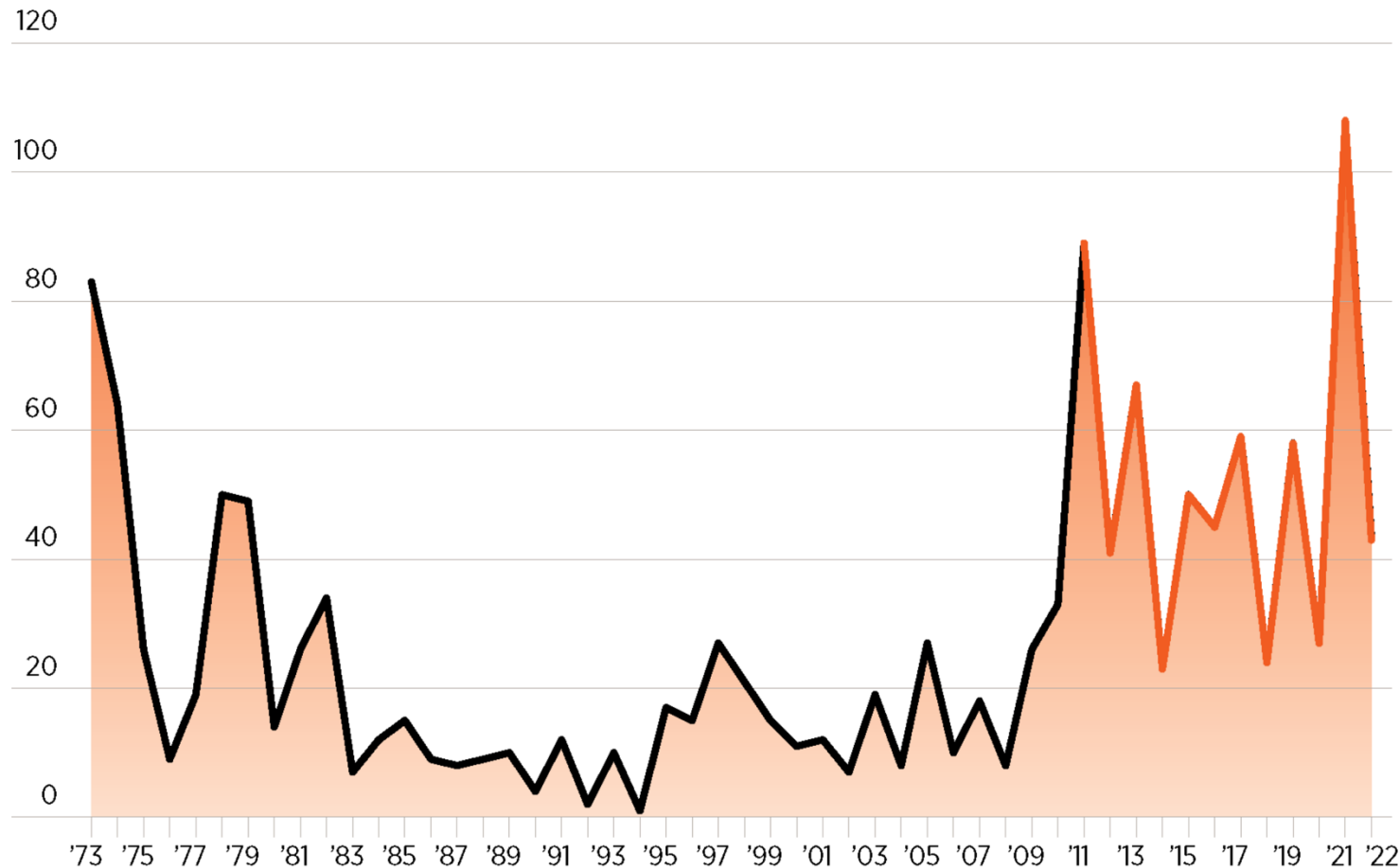
Where we are now:
policy landscape & access

3

What lies ahead

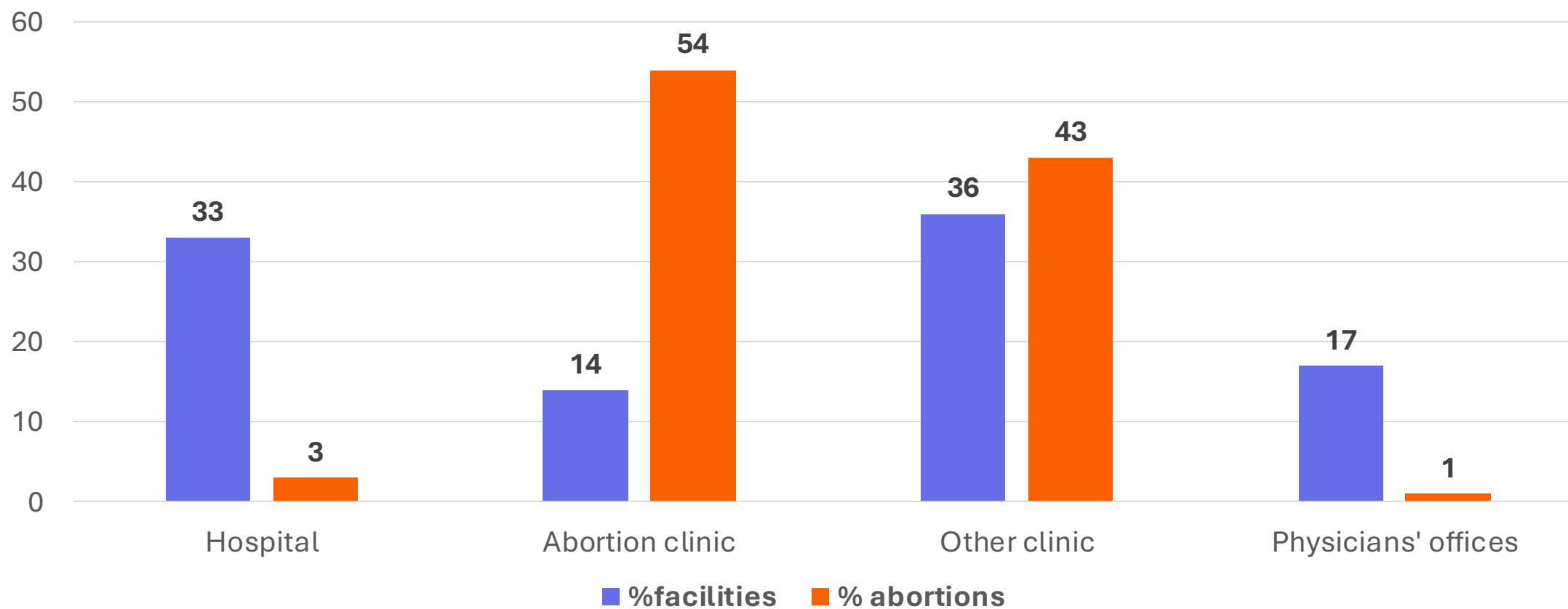
Abortion in the United States was heavily restricted **before** the fall of Roe

No. of restrictions enacted per year, as of June 21, 2022

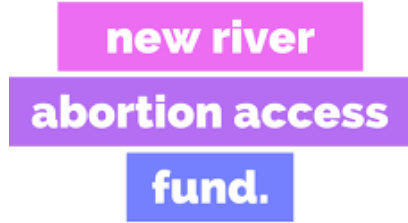


US states enacted 1,381 restrictions after Roe v. Wade was decided in 1973

Abortion care landscape before Dobbs (2020)



The critical role of abortion funds



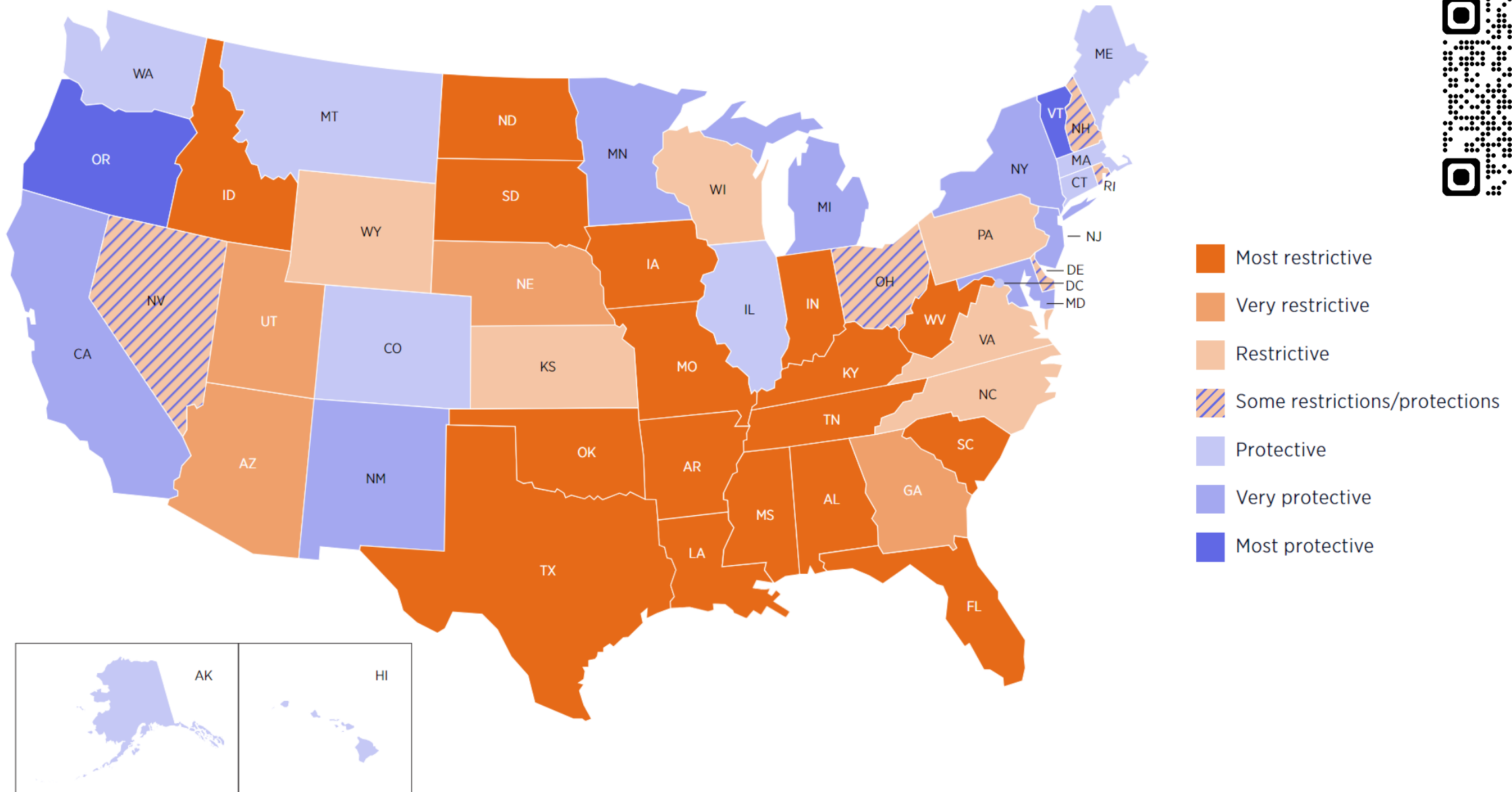
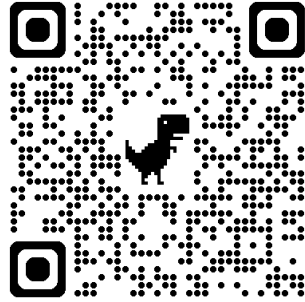
NATIONAL NETWORK OF ABORTION FUNDS



PRAIRIE ABORTION FUND



After Dobbs: state abortion policies



Impacts of bans on patients

PUBLIC HEALTH

In Oklahoma, a woman was told to wait until she's 'crashing' for abortion care

APRIL 25, 2023 · 10:10 AM ET

 Selena Simmons-Duffin



20 women are now suing Texas, saying state abortion laws endangered them

NOVEMBER 15, 2023 · 11:31 AM ET

 Selena Simmons-Duffin



Texas abortion ban linked to increase in infant deaths, new study finds

The Guardian

Study analyzed effects of state's six-week abortion ban, and may be an indicator of how post-Roe bans affect the US

Health Care

Abortion Bans Have Delayed Emergency Medical Care. In Georgia, Experts Say This Mother's Death Was Preventable.

At least two women in Georgia died after they couldn't access legal abortions and timely medical care in their state, ProPublica has found. This is one of their stories.

by Kavitha Surana

Sept. 16, 5 a.m. EDT

PROPUBLICA

Health Care

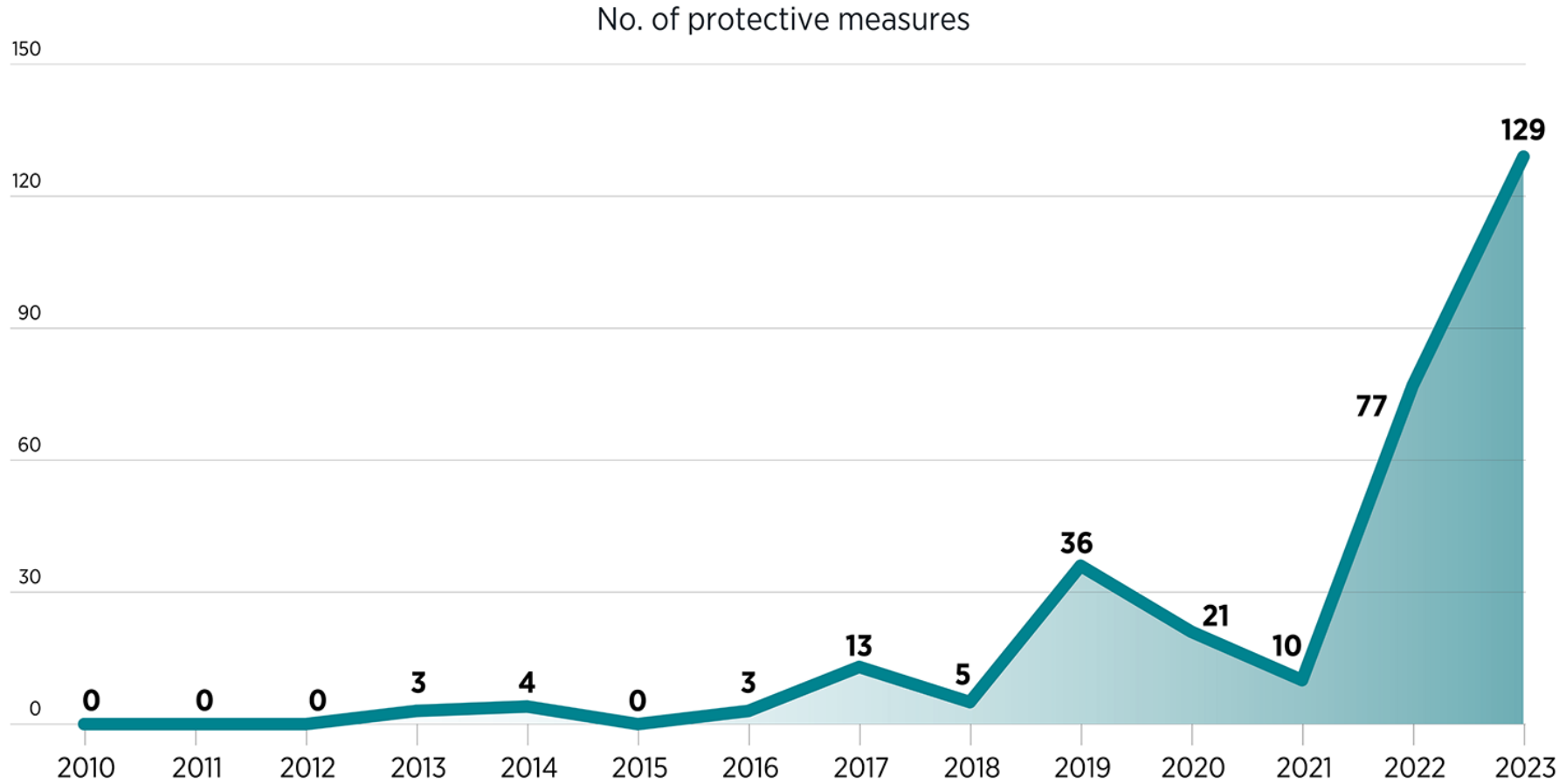
Afraid to Seek Care Amid Georgia's Abortion Ban, She Stayed at Home and Died

Candi Miller's family said she didn't visit a doctor "due to the current legislation on pregnancies and abortions." Maternal health experts deemed her death preventable and blamed Georgia's abortion ban.

by Kavitha Surana

Sept. 18, 6 a.m. EDT

Record abortion protections passed in 2023



Protective state efforts on abortion

1

Legal
protections for
patients and
providers

2

Increasing
access to
medication
abortion via
telehealth

3

Ballot
Initiatives

Abortion access after Dobbs

Clinician-provided abortions

Monthly Abortion Provision Study

Isaac Maddow-Zimet

Ava Braccia

Isabel DoCampo

Rachel Jones

Aisiri Murulidhar

Mariah Menanno

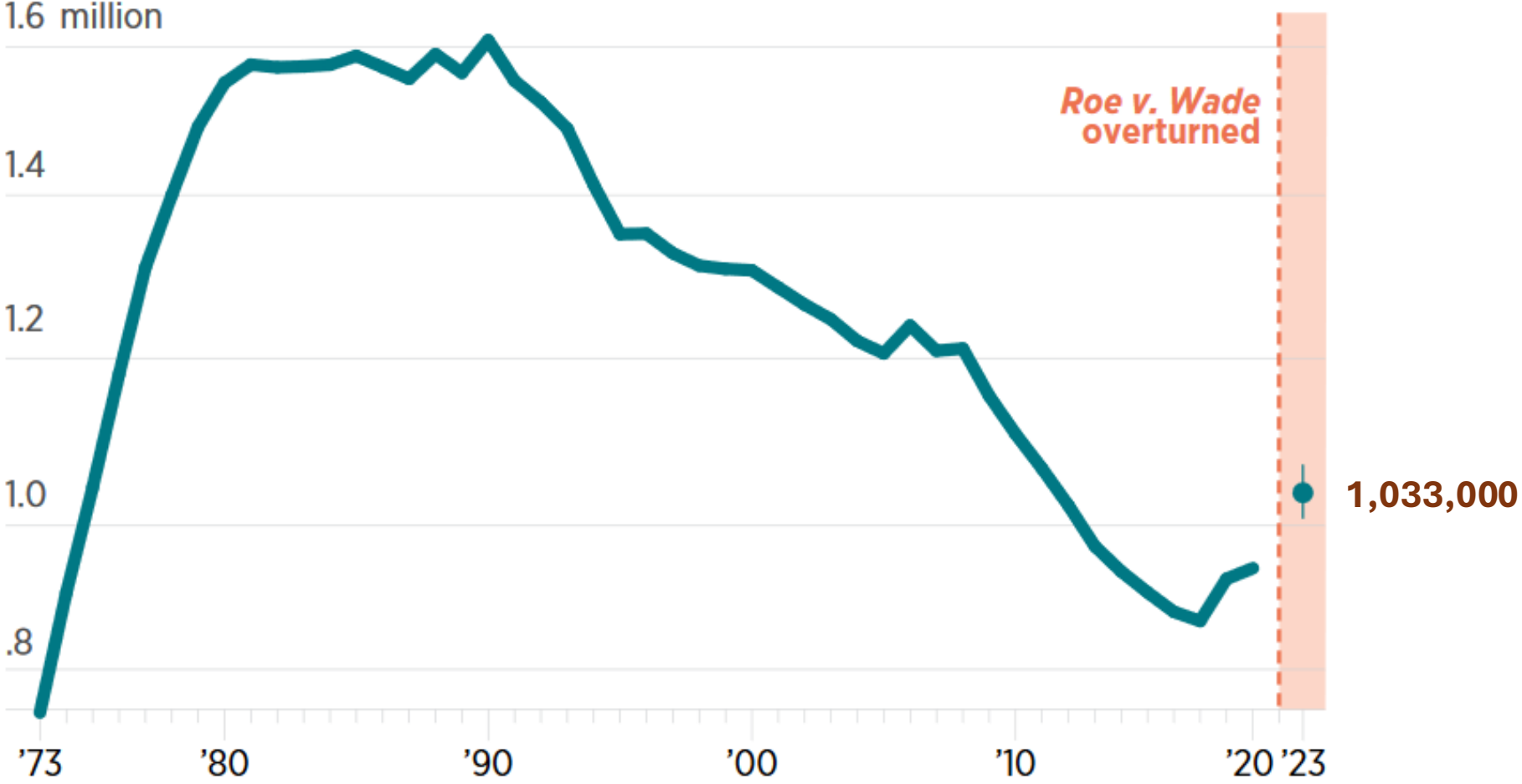
Cici Osias

Lauren Mitchell

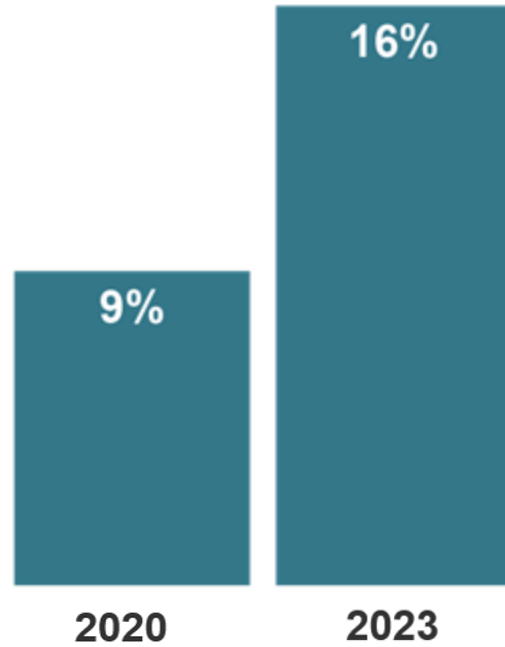
Elizabeth Sully

- Produce “live,” publicly available estimates of state-level abortion incidence monthly
- Recruit monthly samples of abortion providers to collect info on:
 - Number of abortions provided, by month
 - Patient state of residence
 - Gestational age
 - *One other rotating policy relevant question*
- Combine sample data with Guttmacher’s wealth of historical facility-level data in a Bayesian model to produce iteratively updated national and state estimates

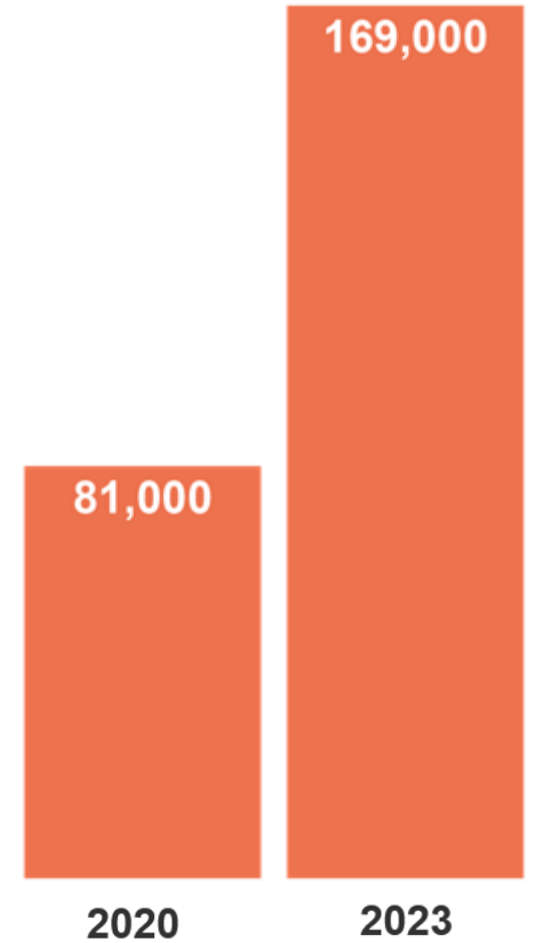
Estimated number of clinician-provided abortions in states without total bans, 1973-2023



Travel across state lines

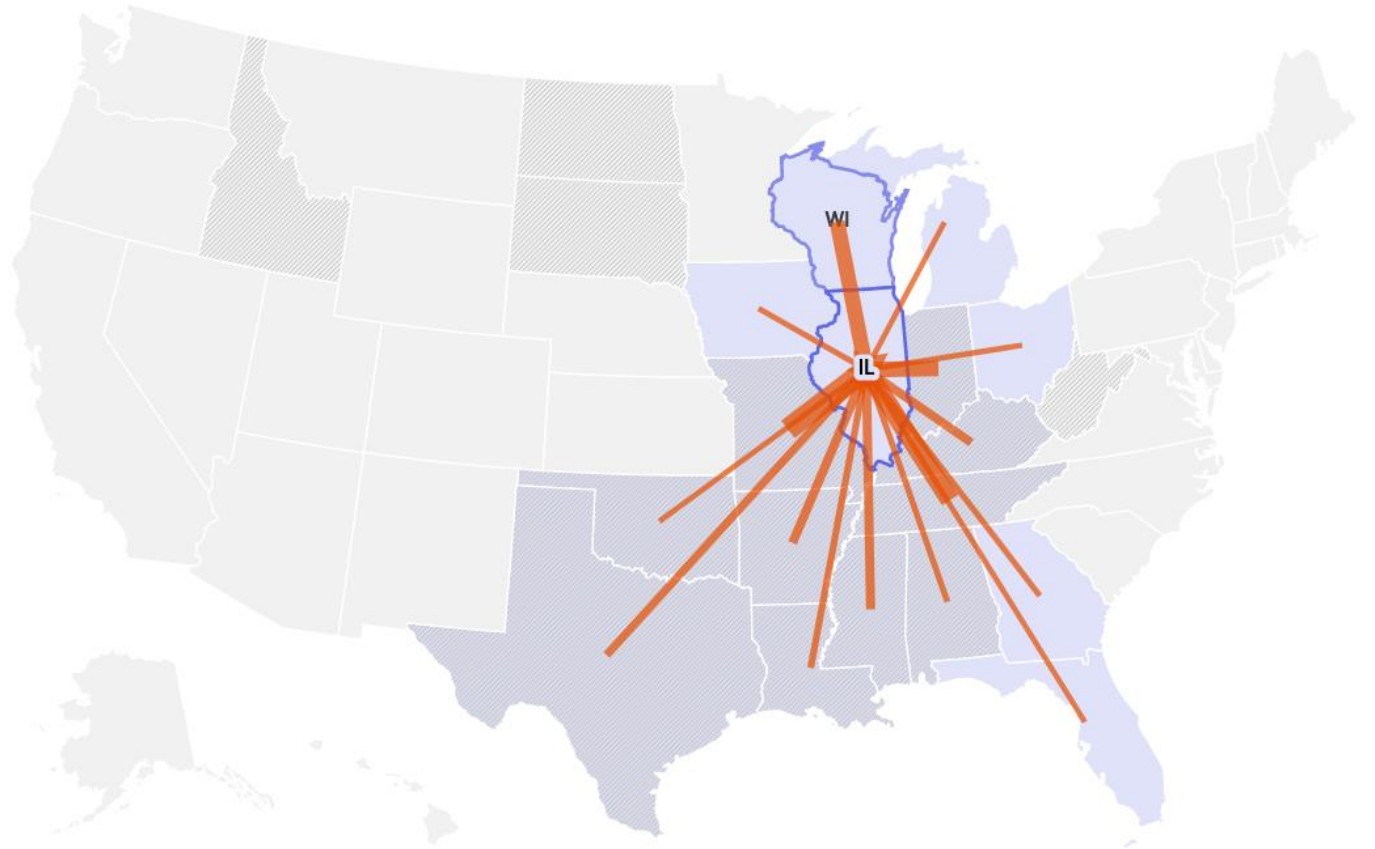
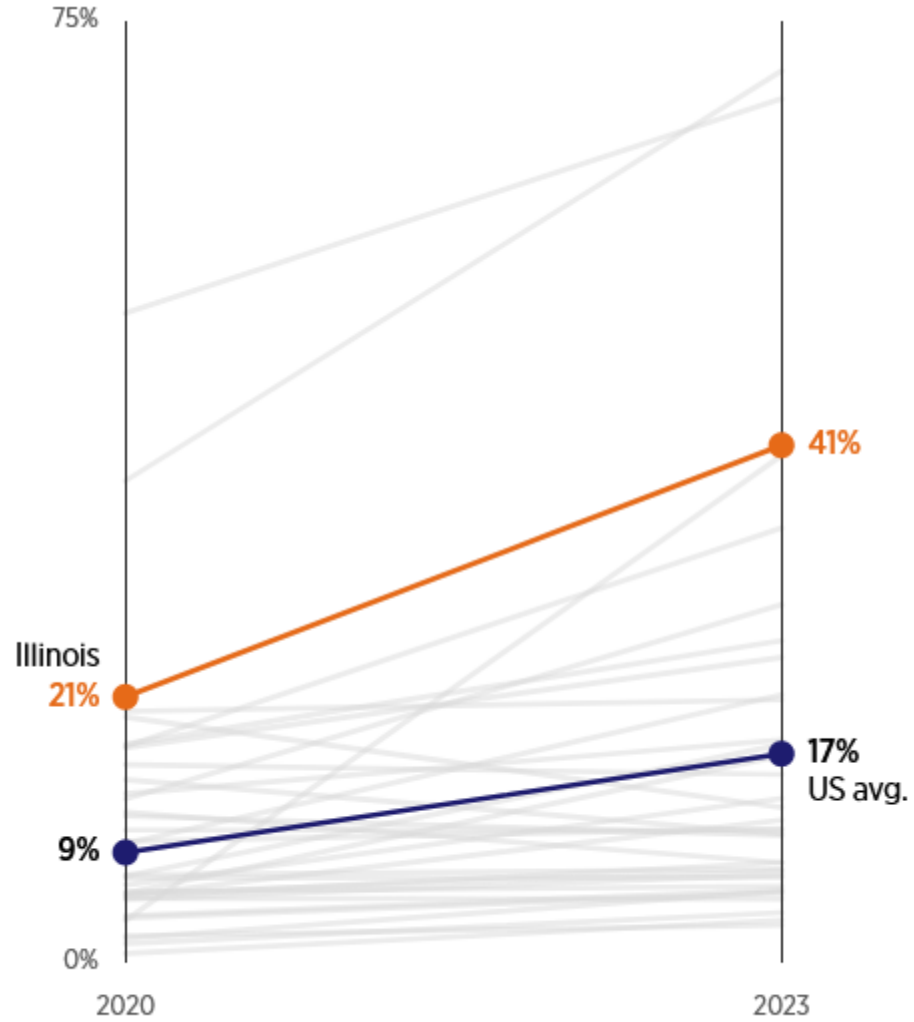


Proportion of patients crossing state lines

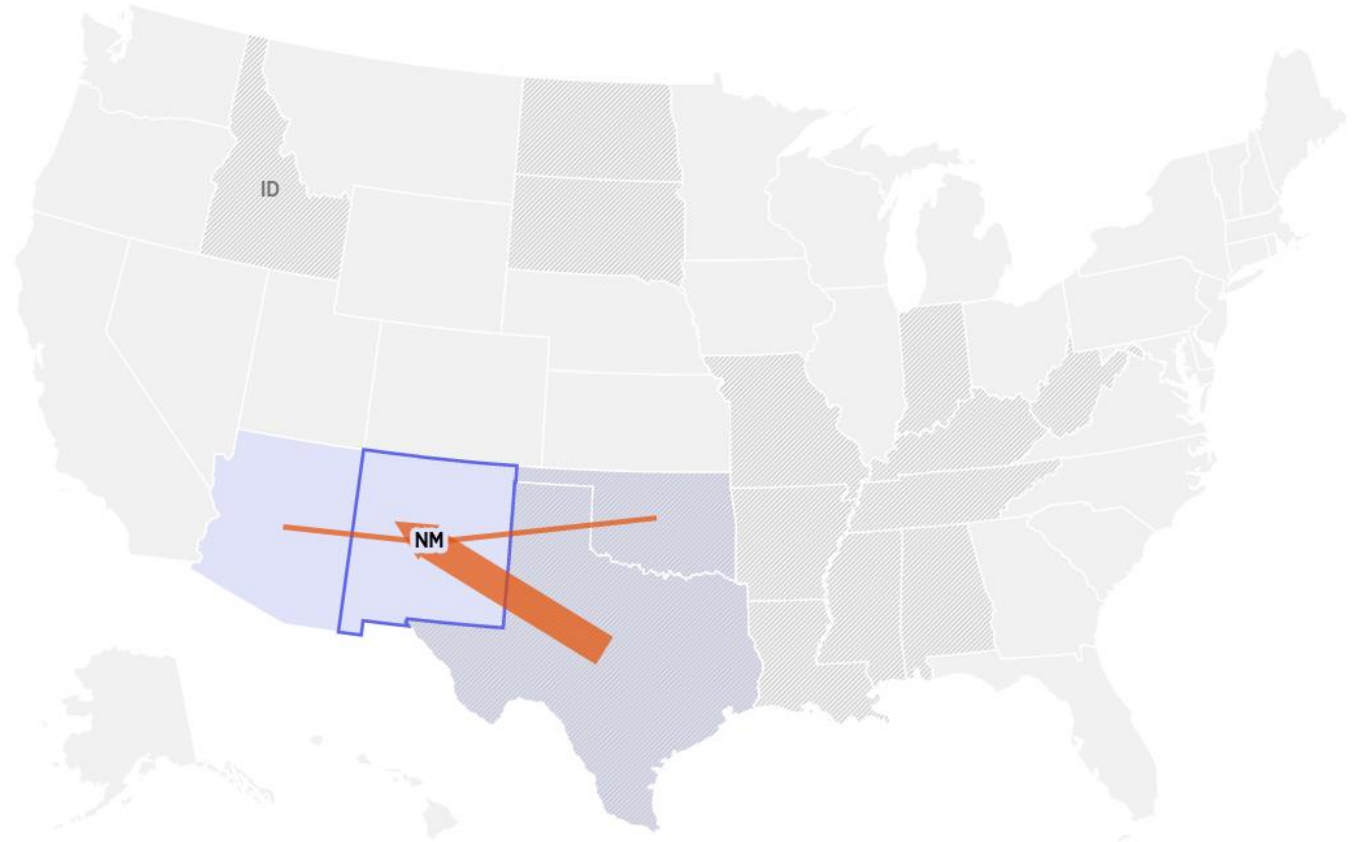
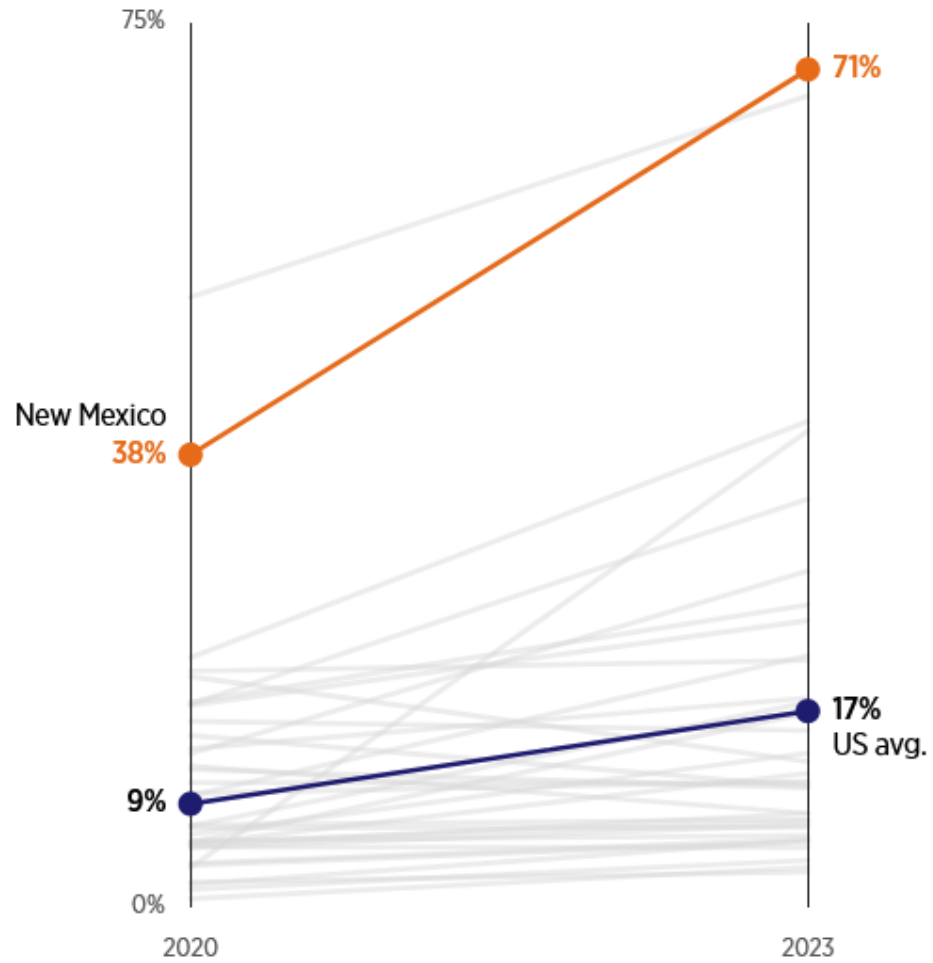


Number of patients crossing state lines

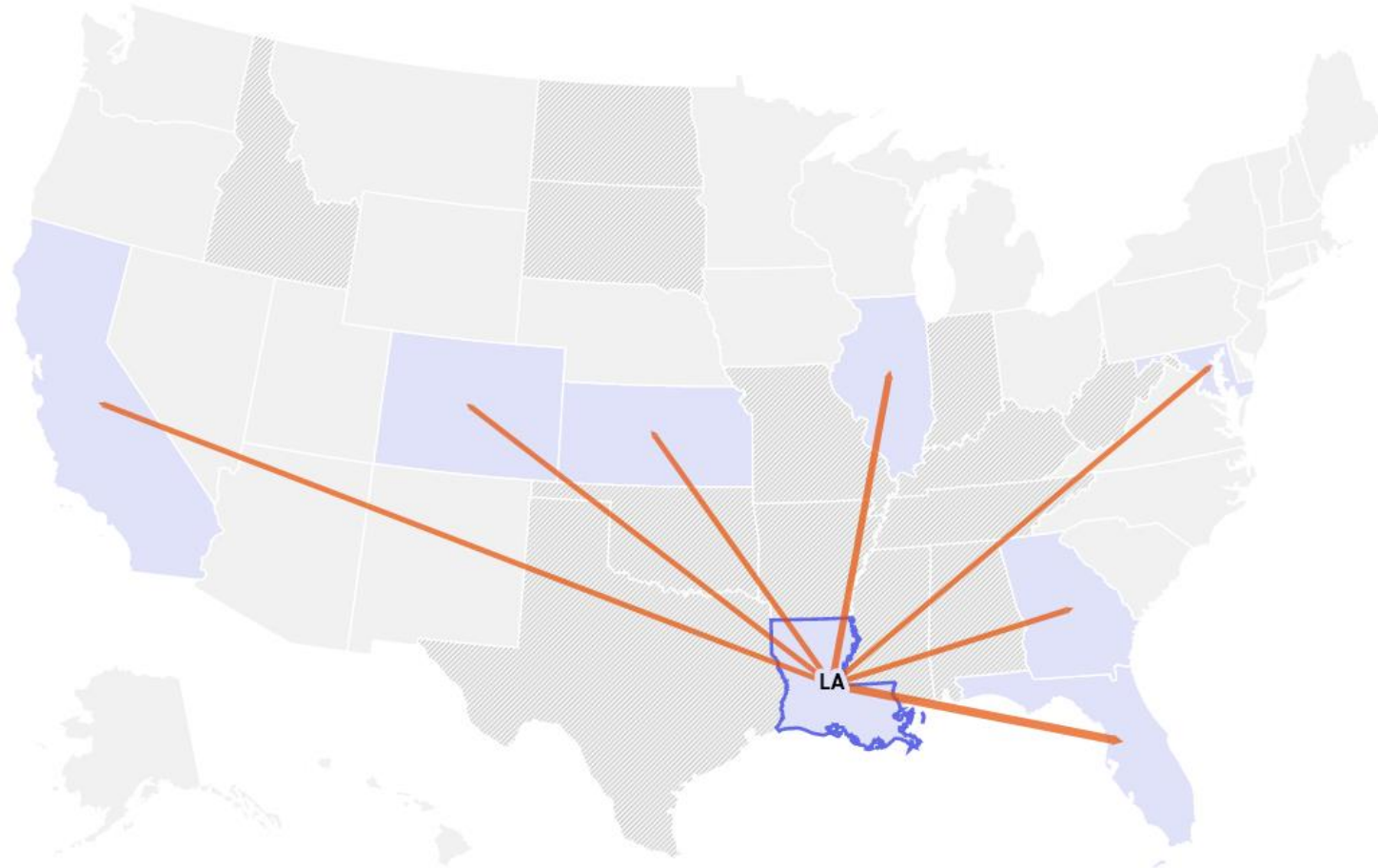
Travel across state lines: IL



Travel across state lines: NM



Travel across state lines: LA



What these data don't capture

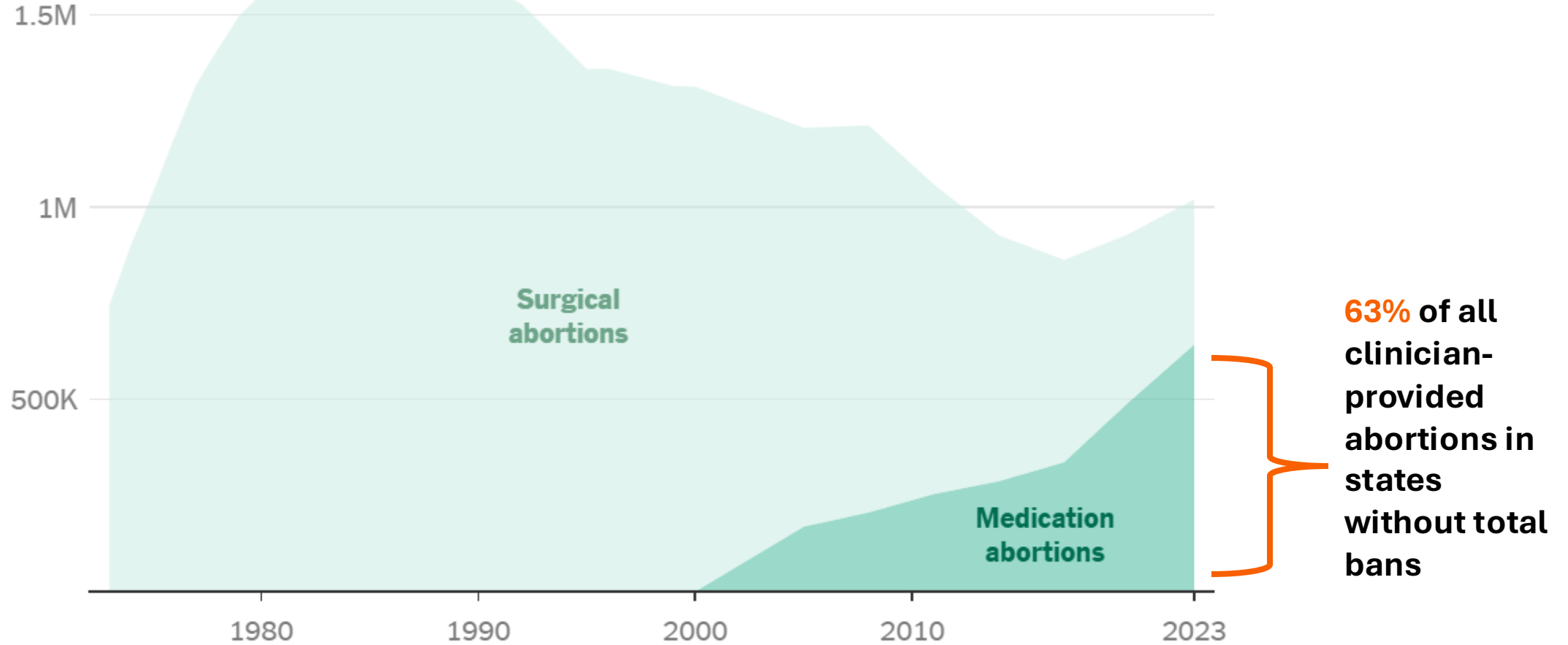
- People at later gestational ages have far fewer options for care, and likely travel much farther (e.g. 16+ weeks gestation)
- Who is able to travel: Requires enormous amounts of resources, and adolescents in particular face additional barriers
- How travel patterns have shifted post-Florida ban, and as funding landscape gets more difficult

Abortion access after Dobbs

Telemedicine, shield laws, and other online medication
abortion services

Growth of medication abortion in the US

Number of abortions

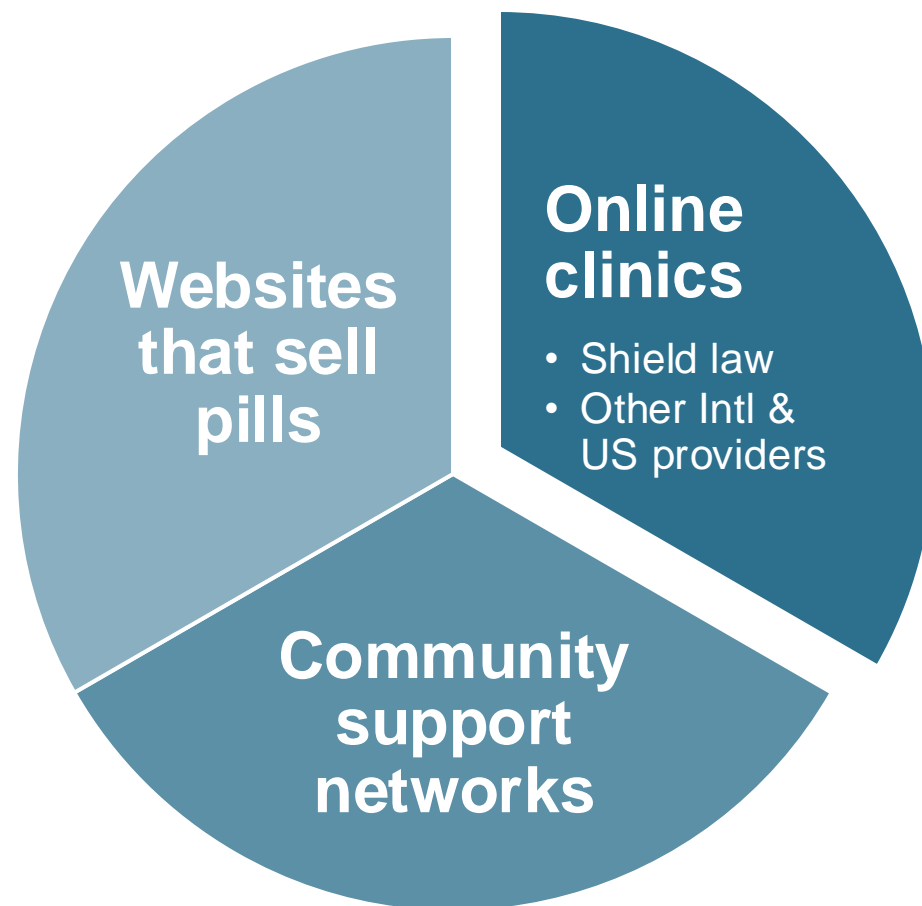


Source: Guttmacher •

Expanding access through new care delivery models

- Telehealth provision, including through shield laws, provides critical access to abortion care.
- In the first quarter of 2024, #WeCount found that:
 - 20% of abortions were provided through telehealth
 - 19,700 telehealth abortions per month, including virtual-only clinics, brick-and-mortar clinics, and shield law providers

Landscape of online medication abortion access



How people get abortion pills in Louisiana



Online clinics that mail pills

For people who want abortion pills by mail and follow-up support from a clinician.

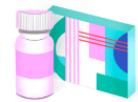
\$150 or less 1-5 days

Clinician support

FDA-approved medications

Potential legal risk

See 8 results



Websites that sell pills

For people who want abortion pills by mail without consulting a clinician.

\$30 and up 3-9 days

Generic medications (from India)

Potential legal risk

See 13 results



Community networks that mail pills

For people who can't afford other services and want free pills mailed by volunteers.

Free 5-10 days

Generic medications (from India)

Potential legal risk

See 2 results

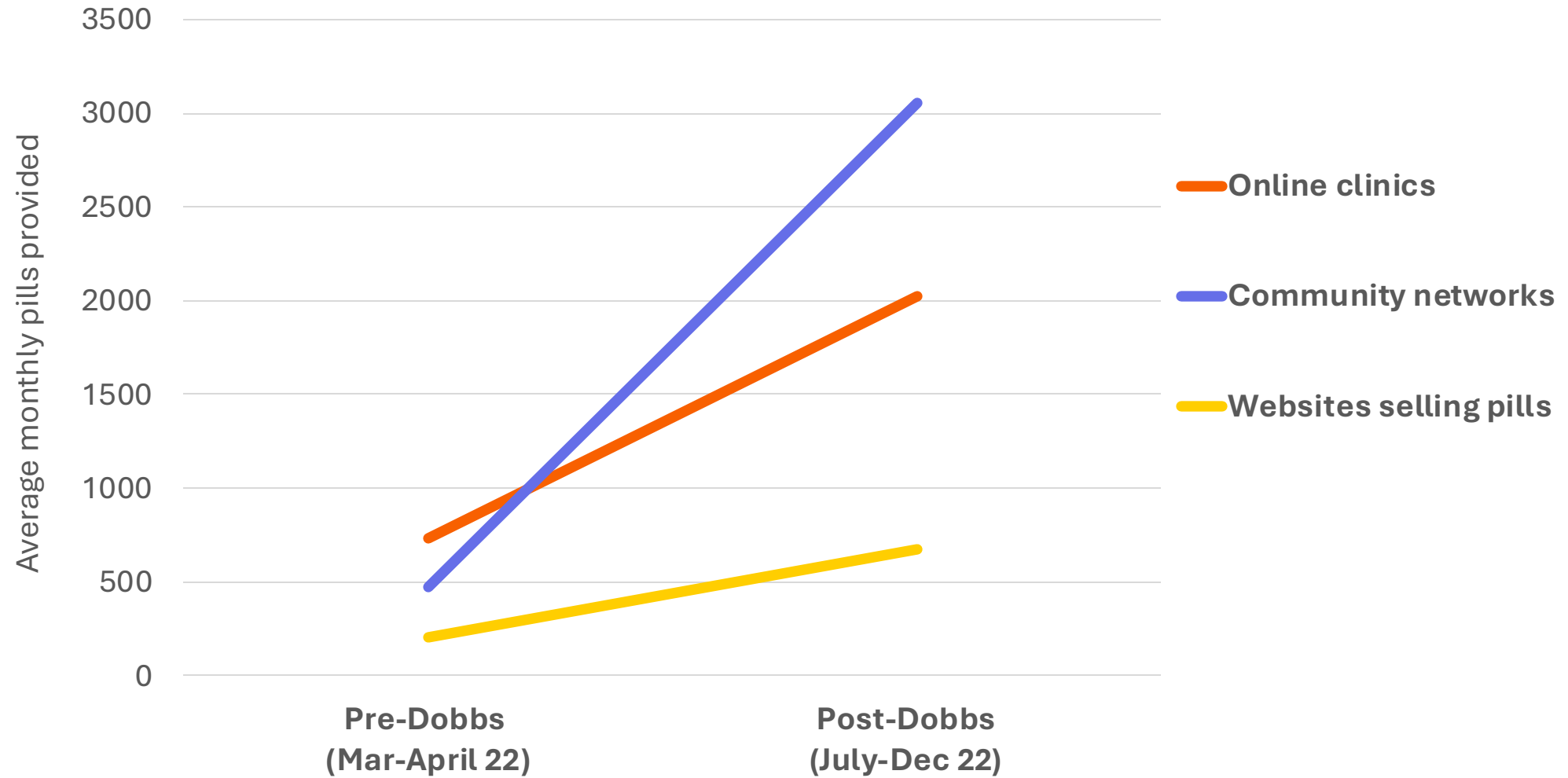


In-person clinics



Monthly online medication abortion *requests* in the US after Dobbs

guttmacher



Source: Aiken et al. Provision of Medications for Self-Managed Abortion Before and After the Dobbs v Jackson Women's Health Organization Decision. JAMA. 2024;331(18):1558-1564. doi:10.1001/jama.2024.4266

Online Medication Abortion Study - Pilot

Elizabeth Sully

Isabel DoCampo

Sidney Cech

Isaac Maddow-Zimet

Abigail Aiken

James Scott

- **Survey of online medication abortion users**
 - Data on treatment seeking behaviors, health care needs, support and satisfaction
 - Florida (pre/post ban), Indiana (pre/post ban), and Louisiana (post ban)
 - Round 1: May - December 2023
 - Round 2: May - August 2024
 - Recruited participants via eleven providers listed on Plan C, including online clinics, community networks and websites selling pills.
 - N=441 (data collection ongoing)
- **Survey of online medication abortion providers**

Where are we now?

- Fractured policy landscape
- More abortions occurring after Dobbs, driven by
 1. Expanded capacity in states without bans
 2. Financial and logistical support for travel
 3. Expansion of telemedicine services, including shield law provision
- Many other people are accessing medication abortion through online providers, and receiving a high level of support and information
- But healthcare needs remain for people using these services, particularly in states with bans

What lies ahead?

1

November election

- Federal protection/ban
- Ballot initiatives
- State legislators

2

Future Supreme Court cases

- EMTALA?
- Comstock?

3

Attacks on abortion travel, contraceptive care, IVF, and gender-affirming care

Acknowledgements

- To all the people who have provided data
- To the National Institutes of Health, for funding this work

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Thank you.

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