

THE SUPREME COURT OF IOWA

Supreme Court No. 21-0856
Johnson County District Court No. EQCE081855

PLANNED PARENTHOOD OF THE HEARTLAND, INC., and JILL
MEADOWS, M.D.,
Appellees,

v.

KIMBERLY REYNOLDS ex rel. STATE OF IOWA AND IOWA BOARD
OF MEDICINE,
Appellants.

Appeal from the Iowa District Court for Johnson County
Mitchell E. Turner, District Judge

BRIEF OF *AMICUS CURIAE* ON BEHALF OF IOWA COALITION
AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE and IOWA COALITION AGAINST
SEXUAL ASSAULT, in support of Appellees

<p>ELIZABETH A. BATTLES Iowa Coalition Against Domestic Violence 4725 Merle Hay Road, Suite 107 Des Moines, IA 50322 P: 515-244-8028 / F: 515-244-7417 lizb@icadv.org ATTORNEY FOR <i>AMICUS</i> <i>CURIAE</i></p>	<p>JOSHUA OPPERMAN Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault 3030 Merle Hay Road Des Moines, IA 50310 P: 515-244-7424 / F: 515-850-1900 attorney@iowacasa.org ATTORNEY FOR <i>AMICUS</i> <i>CURIAE</i></p>
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Neither party nor their counsel participated in drafting this brief in whole or in part. Neither party nor their counsel contributed any money to the undersigned for the preparation or submission of this brief. The drafting of this brief was performed *pro bono publico* by amicus curiae.

INTEREST OF *AMICI CURIAE*

Amici curiae are organizations committed to ensuring that women are able to make their own decisions about their lives, including whether to obtain an abortion, without undue interference. Therefore, *Amici* have an important interest in the outcome of this case. *Amici* write to highlight the negative impact of Amendment H-8314 (“the Amendment) to House File (“H.F.”) 594, 88th Gen. Assemb. (Iowa 2020), codified at Iowa Code § 146A.1(1) (2020) on Iowa women—with a particular focus on rural women, low-income women and women working low-wage jobs, sexual assault survivors, women in abusive relationships, and women seeking medication abortion either for deeply personal reasons or because it is medically indicated based on their unique health circumstances—for whom the barriers imposed by the Amendment would make it harder or in some cases impossible to access abortion services. *Amici* also write to describe the serious adverse consequences the Amendment would have on women’s

economic security and future wellbeing.

The **Iowa Coalition Against Domestic Violence (ICADV)** is a state level non-profit organization representing 23 local programs providing direct services to survivors of domestic violence. ICADV provides training and technical assistance to member programs, and strives to engage all people in changing social and institutional contexts that perpetuate relationship violence. Member programs served approximately 30,000 domestic violence survivors last year. Reproductive coercion is an element of relationship violence that occurs when a partner uses intimidation, threats, or violence to impose his intentions upon a woman's reproductive autonomy. Victims of relationship violence have an acute need for timely access to reproductive health services, especially abortion care. Enacting barriers to timely access to abortion services often subjects women to increasing levels of violence.

The **Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault (IowaCASA)** is a statewide organization comprising 25 agencies that provide assistance to 10,000 victims of sexual assault annually. IowaCASA focuses on improving the programs and services available to sexual assault survivors, and supporting communities to prevent sexual violence before it occurs. The trauma of sexual violence is caused by the loss of power and control



over one's body—one's most intimate self. Sexual assault can result in physical and mental health challenges, including injuries and disease related to the assault, shame, terror, depression, guilt, anxiety, addiction, and post-traumatic stress.

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

In this action, Appellees Planned Parenthood of the Heartland, Inc. (“PPH”) and Dr. Jill Meadows ask the Court to permanently enjoin Amendment H-8314 (“the Amendment”) to House File (“H.F.”) 594, 88th Gen. Assemb. (Iowa 2020)¹, codified at Iowa Code § 146A.1(1), requiring PPH and other abortion providers to “obtain written certification from the pregnant woman” that she has undergone an ultrasound and received state-mandated information about the alternatives to abortion at least twenty-four hours prior to receiving an abortion. The Amendment would force women² in Iowa to make an additional and medically unnecessary trip to a health center to receive critical health care services.

If enforced, the extreme mandatory delay imposed by the Amendment would impose serious and sometimes insurmountable barriers on Iowa women, including forcing some women to travel hundreds of miles roundtrip to obtain an abortion, and increasing indirect costs such as transportation, child care, and lost wages. Some women would be forced to

¹ <https://www.legis.iowa.gov/legislation/BillBook?ga=88&ba=H8314> and at App. in Supp. of Petr’s Mot. for Summ. J. (“P. App.”) 002.

² *Amici* use “women” as a shorthand for many of the people who are or may become pregnant, but people of all gender identities, including transgender and gender non-conforming individuals, may become pregnant, seek abortion services, and be equally harmed by the Amendment.

endure these burdens twice, if they are unable to make the first appointment at a health care provider closer to home. Whether a woman is forced to make two trips to an abortion provider or a trip to health care provider and then another to an abortion provider, this requirement would have a significant negative impact on Iowa women who already face considerable challenges obtaining health care, including rural women, women living in poverty and women working low-wage jobs, sexual assault survivors, women experiencing intimate partner violence, and women who may prefer medication abortion to surgical abortion for profoundly personal reasons or because it is necessary for their health. For some women, these burdens would be insurmountable and they would be forced to carry the pregnancy to term. The Amendment would have significant consequences for Iowa women's equality, economic security, and ability to care for their families.

The Court previously ruled in Planned Parenthood of the Heartland v. Reynolds that a seventy-two-hour waiting period violated the Constitution. The seventy-two-hour waiting period could not satisfy strict scrutiny because it impeded a woman's fundamental right to determine whether or not to continue a pregnancy without meaningfully advancing the State's interest.³ The Amendment does not resolve that imbalance by reducing the

³ Planned Parenthood of the Heartland v. Reynolds ex rel. State, 915 N.W.2d

waiting period to twenty-four hours. Logistical realities mean that the twenty-four-hour waiting period required by law becomes, functionally, a much longer waiting period. The barriers created by the Amendment remain serious and potentially insurmountable because of the two-appointment requirement inherent in the Amendment.

I. The Amendment infringes upon a woman’s protected right to decide whether to terminate her pregnancy in violation of the Iowa Constitution, threatening the health and safety of women who have decided to have an abortion.

The Amendment would inflict serious harm on a woman’s constitutionally protected right to decide whether to terminate her pregnancy. The barriers created by the Amendment would be most difficult to surmount for those women who already face significant barriers to obtaining health care. The Amendment may even force women to forgo abortion altogether. As a result, the Amendment would threaten Iowa women’s equality, economic security, and ability to care for their families. “[I]t is axiomatic that a right that is only accessible to the wealthy or privileged is no right at all.”⁴ This Court listed several of the barriers that layer upon a lengthy waiting period to render such a restriction a violation of due process rights, including “the patient’s decisional certainty, income,

206, 212 (Iowa 2018). (“PPHII”)

⁴ Id., at 232 (Iowa 2018)

distance from the clinic, and status as a domestic violence or rape victim.”⁵

The Court must review the Amendment by “its impact on those whose conduct it affects.”⁶

Even under the less protective “undue burden” standard of the U.S. Supreme Court, the Amendment cannot stand. The U.S. Supreme Court has specifically cited several of the same burdens caused by the Amendment and enumerated by *Amici*, below, as factors to consider when determining whether restrictions on a woman’s right to abortion constitute an undue burden. For example, the Court has identified travel distances, the particular burdens two trip requirements pose for “poor, rural, or disadvantaged women” and “those who have difficulty explaining their whereabouts to husbands, employers, or others,” safety and confidentiality concerns for women in abusive relationships, and lack of health benefits of a restriction or threats to patient safety caused by a restriction as burdens that are relevant to an abortion restriction’s constitutionality. June Med. Servs., LLC v. Russo, 140 S. Ct. 2103, 2129-2131 (2020); Whole Woman’s Health v. Hellerstedt, 136 S. Ct. 2292, 2302, 2313, 2318 (2016); Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pa. v.

⁵ Id., at 243 (Iowa 2018)

⁶ Id., at 232 (Iowa 2018), *citing* Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pa. v. Casey, 505 U.S. 853, 894 (1992).

Casey, 505 U.S. 853, 886, 894-98 (1992). The disproportionate harm caused to women facing those barriers means the Amendment imposes an undue burden, at the very least. More accurately, the Amendment violates due process and must be found unconstitutional.

A. The Amendment would disproportionately harm women who already face significant barriers to obtaining health care.

The Amendment's mandatory twenty-four-hour delay and the delays caused by an additional trip to a health care provider impose difficulties and threaten harm to all women in Iowa who are seeking an abortion. For example, delays in accessing abortion care increase the risk of complications⁷ and also the expense.⁸

The twenty-four hour waiting period requires appointments on two separate business days, a requirement of two trips to a medical provider. However, few women will be able to access abortion care with the maximum efficiency of appointments on two consecutive days. Planned Parenthood testified that their schedules are overburdened, and requiring two

⁷ Although abortion is very safe, it is invasive and the risk of complications increases with each week of pregnancy. Bonnie Scott Jones & Tracy A. Weitz, Legal Barriers to Second-Trimester Abortion Provision and Public Health Consequences, 99 Am. J. Pub. Health 623, 623 (2009).

⁸ The median cost of a first-trimester abortion in the United States is \$490, with a range between \$225 and \$750. The median cost for an abortion between 14 and less than 20 weeks is \$750, with a range of \$490 to \$1,500. Sarah C.M. Roberts et al., Out-of-Pockets Costs and Insurance Coverage for Abortion in the United States, 24 Women's Health Issues e211, e214 (2014).

appointments for each abortion procedure would cause a serious backlog in their appointment books.⁹ They anticipate that they would need to schedule the first and second appointments several weeks apart – far longer than the twenty-four hours required by law. In effect, the twenty-four hour waiting period presents the same barriers the Court considered and found untenable in PPHII.

The burden of a twenty-four-hour delay and two trips to a healthcare provider would fall hardest on women in Iowa who already face significant barriers to obtaining health care. This includes women living in rural areas, women living in poverty and working low-wage jobs, women who are survivors of sexual assault, women experiencing intimate partner violence, and women who may prefer medication abortion for profoundly personal reasons or for their health.

1. The Amendment would impose substantial burdens on rural Iowa women.

The Amendment presents unique obstacles for the 35% of Iowa's population who live in rural areas.¹⁰ The Amendment would force many of these women to travel long distances, multiple times, in order to access

⁹ Appendix, Dr. Meadows P. App. 033

¹⁰ Iowa Quick Facts, State Data Ctr. of Iowa (last updated 2019), <http://www.iowadatatcenter.org/quickfacts>.

abortion. Increased travel often leads to increased delay. For example, in a study of nearly 400 patients in a much-less-rural area in California, up to 10% of women who obtained a delayed abortion reported that difficulties in travel contributed to the delay.¹¹ In addition, the percentage of women able to obtain an abortion decreases the farther they have to travel to reach an abortion provider.¹² The increased delay resulting from the two-trip requirement imposed by the Amendment would not only limit the number of women who are able to obtain an abortion, especially in a rural state like Iowa, but would also lead to myriad collateral consequences, as discussed in more detail below, that may prevent women from receiving care and jeopardize their health.

2. The Amendment would increase barriers to care for women living in poverty and women working low-wage jobs.

The Amendment would not only increase the travel many women would have to undertake to receive an abortion, but also the financial burdens posed by the indirect costs of abortion care—including transportation, child care, and lost wages. This is especially harmful for

¹¹ Diana G. Foster et al., Predictors of Delay in Each Step Leading to an Abortion, 77 *Contraception* 289, 292 (2007).

¹² Daniel Grossman et al., Change in Abortion Services After Implementation of a Restrictive Law in Texas, 90 *Contraception* 496 (2014)

women in Iowa living in poverty.¹³ Data from 2018 shows more than 12% of women in Iowa live in poverty and the rates of poverty in Iowa are even higher for minority women—29% of Black women, 21% of Latinas, 16% of Asian women, and 19% of Native women in Iowa live in poverty.¹⁴ Following the economic turmoil surrounding COVID-19, those figures very likely increased in the year 2020. And PPH data presented at trial shows that the poverty rate among its patients in Iowa is substantially higher than even those percentages: more than half of PPH’s patients have incomes at or below 110% of the federal poverty guideline. The additional financial burdens imposed by the Amendment would have real consequences for these PPH patients, forcing some to forgo basic necessities to raise money for the procedure.¹⁵ Others may be forced to delay the procedure until a later stage of pregnancy, when an abortion may be more expensive and more complicated.¹⁶ In a nationally representative study, over a quarter of women obtaining later abortions

¹³ Nat’l Women’s L. Ctr., Poverty Rates by State, 2016 (Sept. 2017), <https://nwlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Poverty-State-by-State-2016-2.pdf>.

¹⁴ Id.

¹⁵ See, e.g., Maryam Guiahi & Anne Davis, First-Trimester Abortion in Women with Medical Conditions, 86 *Contraception* 622, 625 (2012).

¹⁶ Heather D. Boonstra, et. al., Guttmacher Inst., Abortion in Women’s Lives 15-17 (2006), <http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/2006/05/04/AiWL.pdf>.

report that the need to save money for the procedure contributed to the delay.¹⁷ The added burdens and expenses imposed by the Amendment would be insurmountable for some women, forcing them to forgo having an abortion.

These costs also take their toll on the 20% of Iowa women who work in low-wage jobs,¹⁸ which do not typically offer any benefits, such as paid time off, and often do not have fixed schedules.¹⁹ The Amendment would require women to request time off for two separate appointments, which is no easier to achieve on consecutive days or weeks apart. Women in low-wage jobs may be given their schedule only a few days in advance and may not be allowed to request particular days off or ask for changes.²⁰ This can make it extremely hard or even impossible to schedule an appointment weeks in advance, arrange for travel and child care, find someone to go

¹⁷ Lawrence B. Finer et al., Timing of Steps and Reasons for Delays in Obtaining Abortions in the United States, 74 *Contraception* 334, 341–42 (2006).

¹⁸ Nat'l Women's L. Ctr., Underpaid and Overloaded: Women in Low-Wage Jobs 25 (2014), http://www.nwlc.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/final_nwlc_lowwagereport2014.pdf.

¹⁹ Id. at 3 (citing Claudia Williams et al., 44 Million U.S. Workers Lacked Paid Sick Days in 2010: 77 Percent of Food Service Workers Lacked Access, Inst. for Women's Pol'y Rsch., (Jan. 2011), <http://www.iwpr.org/publications/pubs/44-million-u.s.-workers-lacked-paid-sick-days-in-2010-77-percent-of-food-service-workers-lacked-access>).

²⁰ Id.

with them to the appointment, get time off from work, miss a day's pay or more, and explain why they need to travel or miss work in order to get an abortion—let alone do all of that twice.

3. The Amendment would inflict particular harm upon women who have become pregnant as a result of sexual assault and have decided to have an abortion.

The Amendment is particularly cruel as applied to women who become pregnant as a result of rape. According to the National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey, 19% of women in Iowa—an estimated 225,000 women—have been raped.²¹ If a survivor decides she cannot go through with a pregnancy resulting from a crime, and decides to have an abortion, she needs access to timely health care. Because Iowa is a rural state and resources are not available in many communities, not all survivors have access to local health care or the resources to travel to receive an abortion. In working with survivors, *Amici* have seen individuals who must take time off work or school and ride a bus, alone, for several hours in order to receive an abortion. Others have been transported by parents, who take time off work to transport a daughter

²¹ Nat'l Ctr. for Inj. Prevention & Control of the Ctrs. for Disease Control & Prevention, The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Violence Survey (NISVS): 2010-2012 State Report 33 (2017), <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/pdf/NISVS-StateReportBook.pdf>.

who is pregnant as a result of a rape. If a married couple has struggled together to make this difficult decision, they both travel. Survivors, as they travel, are inevitably reminded of the rape. Requiring a twenty-four-hour mandatory delay and two long-distance trips exacerbates the distress survivors already feel as a result of the crime and the resulting pregnancy.

4. The Amendment jeopardizes the safety of women experiencing intimate partner violence.

The Amendment would make accessing abortion more difficult and dangerous for women experiencing intimate partner violence. There were 5,625 reported instances of intimate partner violence against women in Iowa in 2009, the most recent year for which data are available.²² Women in small rural towns in Iowa are more likely than other women to experience intimate partner violence and the violence becomes more severe the more geographically isolated a woman is.²³ Among Iowa women who reported intimate partner violence, 61.5% of isolated rural women reported four or more events of physical violence in the past year compared with 39.3% of urban women.²⁴ Iowa women living in rural areas also have fewer domestic

²² Iowa Dep't of Pub. Safety, 2009 Iowa Uniform Crime Report 125 (2009), http://www.dps.state.ia.us/commis/ucr/2009/2009_UCR_Table_16_DMVChar.pdf.

²³ Corinne Peek-Asa et al., Rural Disparity in Domestic Violence Prevalence and Access to Resources, 20 J. Women's Health 1743, 1745 (2011).

²⁴ Id.

violence intervention programs available to them and have to travel farther to obtain help.²⁵

The Amendment's mandatory delay and resulting two-trip requirement impose unique burdens on women experiencing intimate partner violence, who are often more in need of the procedure. Women in abusive relationships are more likely to experience an unintended pregnancy than other women.²⁶ Abusive partners may engage in "reproductive coercion"—behaviors, such as interfering with contraception, intended to promote pregnancy.²⁷ In one study, 8% of women seeking an abortion reported they did so because of an abusive partner.²⁸ A 40-year-old woman in that study stated, "Our relationship became violent and I couldn't see bringing another kid into a life that was going to be surrounded by violence."²⁹ Another woman echoed this sentiment. "I didn't want to [raise a child] by myself. I couldn't and the man

²⁵ Id. at 1746.

²⁶ Elizabeth Miller et al., Reproductive Coercion: Connecting the Dots Between Partner Violence and Unintended Pregnancy, 81 *Contraception* 457, 457-58 (2010).

²⁷ Id.

²⁸ Karuna S. Chibber et al., The Role of Intimate Partners in Women's Reasons for Seeking Abortion, 24 *Women's Health Issues* e131, e134 (2014).

²⁹ Id.

was abusive and horrible.”³⁰

Not surprisingly, women reported that having a child with an abusive partner would make it harder for them to leave the abusive relationship.³¹ According to one woman, “I was trying to leave an abusive relationship and I didn’t want to have any ties.”³² This woman’s concerns were well-founded. Among women seeking an abortion, the chance of experiencing violence decreases if they have an abortion but remains the same if they do not.³³ Women denied an abortion remain tethered to the abusive man and at risk for continued violence, even if they are able to end the relationship.³⁴

Yet, obtaining an abortion can be especially difficult for women in abusive relationships. Abusive partners often engage in controlling behaviors such as isolating women from family and friends, keeping track of a woman’s whereabouts and phone calls, and controlling access to money or otherwise limiting her movements.³⁵ Finding a safe window to

³⁰ M. Antonia Biggs et al., Understanding Why Women Seek Abortions in the U.S., 13 BMC Women's Health 1, 7 (2013).

³¹ Id.

³² Id.

³³ Sarah C.M. Roberts et al., Risk of Violence From the Man Involved in the Pregnancy After Receiving or Being Denied an Abortion, 12 BMC Medicine 1, 5-6 (2014).

³⁴ Id. at 5.

³⁵ Joan B. Kelly & Michael P. Johnson, Differentiation Among Types of Intimate Partner Violence: Research Update And Implications for

travel for services at a time when their abuser is not intensely supervising and controlling their time and mobility is difficult. Service providers in rural Iowa communities report that these opportunities are especially few and far between and the lack of access to transportation compounds the difficulty— thus, making even one trip to a provider adds an enormous burden to an already difficult endeavor. Many of *Amici*'s clients experiencing intimate partner violence also lack independent access to money. Saving money that the abuser will not miss can mean weeks or months of putting away small amounts of cash so they have enough money to pay for the procedure and additional costs such as travel and child care. The Amendment's mandatory delay and resulting two-trip requirement increase the expense for survivors, making it even more difficult to procure the necessary funds.

Taking two trips to a health care provider also increases the likelihood that the abusive partner or others will discover that a woman is having an abortion—possibly subjecting her to further violence or preventing her from receiving care. In *Amici*'s experience, even before the mandatory delay,

Interventions, 46 Fam. Ct. Rev. 477, 481 (2008) (describing “coercive controlling violence” as including “intimidation; emotional abuse; isolation; minimizing, denying and blaming; use of children; asserting male privilege; economic abuse; and coercion and threats”) (internal citations omitted).

overcoming the barriers to accessing abortion delayed the ability of women experiencing intimate partner violence to access care until later in their pregnancies and increased their risk for harm from an abusive partner. And too often, the burdens were too much to overcome. Either because of lack of money, inability to get away undetected, or difficulty traveling, numerous clients returned to an abusive relationship and carried an unintended pregnancy to term.

The story of one of *Amici*'s Iowa clients is illustrative of the difficult and time sensitive nature of securing abortion care for women who are experiencing domestic violence. This client's partner took her to work, picked her up, and on pay day, required her to sign her check in front of him and he took it to the bank. She had no access to transportation and had two young children. When she became pregnant, she asked for help in getting an abortion because she said that every time she became pregnant the physical violence increased and she was also worried about the safety of her children. Service providers worked with her to develop a safety plan, to help her save money, and assisted in arranging transportation. Her window of opportunity for lining everything up to obtain abortion care was very small. She successfully accessed care, but it would have been impossible under the requirements imposed by the Amendment.

Another client, “Client 2,” had an entirely different outcome. She was working with a local program making plans to leave a violent relationship when she learned she was pregnant. She said she wanted to obtain an abortion and the service provider began planning. Unfortunately, the obstacles were too great—travel, money, no window of leaving undetected—and she ultimately returned to the abusive relationship she was trying to flee and carried an unwanted pregnancy to term. The burdens imposed by the Amendment could force many more Iowa women into situations like Client 2’s, unable to secure care and thus unable to escape dangerous relationships from which they were making plans to leave.

5. The Amendment threatens Iowa women’s ability to use medication abortion, which many women prefer and others need.

If enforced, the Amendment would harm women by jeopardizing access to medication abortion—which many women prefer and some women need. The mandatory delay imposed by the Amendment, and the supplementary delays that would result, would eliminate many women’s option to use medication abortion³⁶—a time sensitive procedure—denying

³⁶ Potentially hundreds of women each year would be unable to access medication abortion because of the twenty-four-hour delay and supplementary delays. PPHII, 915 N.W.2d at 230; P. App. 32 at Paragraph 30.

these women the right to select their preferred procedure, visit further trauma on survivors of sexual assault, impose unnecessary medical risks, and increase travel costs and delays on all women.

In general, women often have a strong preference for medication abortion³⁷ as opposed to surgical abortion, because medication abortion offers greater privacy and autonomy, is less invasive, and seems more “natural” than surgery.³⁸ For example, one woman describing her experience with medication abortion stated, “I was so thankful that there was an alternative to having a surgical abortion. And that was...my biggest concern.”³⁹ Another woman stated, “I was in my own home. I wasn’t in a hospital bed or anything. . . . I was with my family. . . . My ex was there with me. My mom was there.”⁴⁰ Women also report multiple reasons for choosing medication abortion over surgical abortion, including because medication abortion allowed them to maintain control.⁴¹

³⁷ Beverly Winikoff, Acceptability of Medical Abortion in Early Pregnancy, 27 *Fam. Plan. Persps.* 142, 148 (1995).

³⁸ Mitchell Creinin & Maureen Park, Acceptability of Medical Abortion with Methotrexate and Misoprostol, 52 *Contraception* 41, 42 (1995).

³⁹ Stephen Fielding, Having an Abortion Using Mifepristone and Home Misoprostol: A Qualitative Analysis of Women’s Experiences, 34 *Persp. Sexual & Reprod. Health* 34, 38 (2002).

⁴⁰ Id.

⁴¹ M. Antonia Biggs et al., Understanding Why Women Seek Abortions in the U.S., 13 *BMC Women's Health* 1–13, 7 (2013).

Sexual assault survivors in particular may prefer medication abortion. Intimate exams and childbirth can trigger post-traumatic stress in sexual assault survivors.⁴² Medication abortion is less invasive, allows women to have the abortion at home with the support of their families, and gives them more control. By making medication abortion more difficult to access, the Amendment would leave sexual assault survivors without a vital option and might force them to undergo an invasive procedure at a time when they most need to assert control over their lives.⁴³

Access to medication abortion is also particularly important for women with pre-existing medical conditions for whom first-trimester surgical abortion is contraindicated. Medication abortion is preferred over surgical abortion for patients at risk of surgical and anesthetic complications.⁴⁴ Medication abortion may also be safer for extremely obese women and women with pelvic tumors that interfere with access to the cervix. It is also safer for women with orthopedic conditions, such as hip

⁴² Erica Sharkansky, Sexual Trauma: Information for Women's Medical Providers, Nat'l Ctr. for PTSD (last updated Jan. 3, 2014), www.ptsd.va.gov/professional/treatment/women/ptsd-womens-providers.asp.

⁴³ See, e.g. id. (for discussion of the importance of control to sexual assault survivors).

⁴⁴ Maryam Guiahi & Anne Davis, First-Trimester Abortion in Women with Medical Conditions at 625.

disease, because medication abortion does not require lithotomy positioning.⁴⁵

This Amendment would deprive a significant number of women their method of choice and threaten others' health. Apart from these harms, a delay that pushes a woman past the gestational limit for medication abortion can force her to undertake significantly increased travel in order to receive a surgical abortion.⁴⁶

By imposing a mandatory delay, the Amendment could result in fewer women being able to access medication abortion when they are already facing what can be an extremely difficult decision. By denying access to a medical procedure that is best able to preserve a woman's health or allows her to regain control over her life, especially following a sexual assault, the Amendment severely compromises women's dignity and jeopardizes women's health and wellbeing.

It is important to acknowledge that women in Iowa face multiple intersecting and overlapping identities, life experiences, and barriers, which combine to compound the harms and burdens imposed by abortion

⁴⁵ Id.

⁴⁶ Ushma D. Upadhyay et al., Denial of Abortion Because of Provider Gestational Age Limits in the United States, 104(9) Am. J. Public Health 1687 (2014).

restrictions such as the Amendment's twenty-four-hour mandatory delay. A recent experience of one of *Amici's* clients is illustrative of how an Iowa woman may fall into multiple categories identified above, and how the Amendment would harm her. "Client 3" is a single mother of five children. She relocated to Mason City, Iowa from a larger urban area out-of-state to escape an abusive husband. She got the fresh start she was looking for in Iowa. She found a safe house in a decent neighborhood. Her and her family's lives are much better in Iowa than in their old community, but she still struggles to make ends meet. She struggles to be a full-time parent without support from the father of the children. She struggles to fit into the community. But she is determined to make a better life for her children. When she was faced with an unintended pregnancy, Client 3 sought the help of *Amici*. When she arrived at *Amici's* office, she was embarrassed, ashamed, and scared. But she knew she could not support another child. The father of the child wanted nothing to do with the child or with her. She considered adoption but after much soul searching decided that an abortion was the best option for her and her circumstances. She was able to secure the funds needed through a variety of local sources, found a friend that could watch her children after school, took the day off work (without pay), and found a friend to drive her to the clinic in Iowa City. She

returned home later that night. Under the mandatory delay imposed by the Amendment, she either would have had to stay overnight or make a second trip, which means she would have had to raise more funds, take more time off of work, find overnight child care or care on another day and find another ride to the clinic or a health care provider. Client could have been overcome by these burdens. Unable to obtain the abortion she decided to have, she and her family could have been forced over the edge into economic instability or poverty.

B. The Amendment threatens women’s equality, economic security, and ability to care for their families.

If the Amendment is enforced, the burdens outlined above, with a disproportionate effect on women who already face significant barriers to obtaining health care, would harm the ability of Iowa women to work, care for their families, and secure their economic future.

The additional time off needed for an overnight stay or a second trip could result in a woman losing her job or having to choose between keeping her job and having an abortion.⁴⁷ Further, although abortion is a

⁴⁷ Nat’l Women’s L. Ctr., Underpaid and Overloaded: Women in Low-Wage Jobs at 30-31 (discussing the consequences of inflexible schedules and lack of paid leave on low wage workers).

safe procedure, the risks increase with each week of pregnancy.⁴⁸ A minor complication could result in a woman losing her job or having to take additional unpaid time off.⁴⁹ A woman's inability to work or a serious reduction in her wages can be catastrophic to her and her family's economic security. Families' reliance on women's earnings has increased dramatically over the past 40 years.⁵⁰ Working mothers are primary breadwinners in 41% of families with children, and they are co-breadwinners – bringing in between 25% and 50% of family earnings – in another 22% of these families.⁵¹ A lack or reduction of wages could push more women and their families closer to poverty and others deeper into the poverty they already endure.

If the Amendment goes into effect, some Iowa women will be forced to forgo the abortion altogether, with devastating consequences to themselves and their families. As the U.S. Supreme Court has recognized, “The ability of women to participate equally in the economic and social life

⁴⁸ Bonnie Scott Jones & Tracy A. Weitz, Legal Barriers to Second-Trimester Abortion Provision and Public Health Consequences at 623.

⁴⁹ See, e.g. Nat'l Women's L. Ctr., Underpaid and Overloaded: Women in Low-Wage Jobs, at 31.

⁵⁰ Id. at 3 (citing Sarah Jane Glynn, Breadwinning Mothers, Then and Now, Ctr. for Am. Progress 6 (2014), <http://cdn.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Glynn-Breadwinners-report-FINAL.pdf>).

⁵¹ Id.

of the Nation has been facilitated by their ability to control their reproductive lives.”Casey, 505 U.S. at 855. Having a child creates both an immediate decrease in women’s earnings and a long-term drop in their lifetime earning trajectory.⁵² Women who delay childbearing can mitigate this earnings loss by investing in education and obtaining crucial early work experience. Women earn 3% more for each year of delayed childbearing.⁵³ Mothers – especially those in low-wage jobs – also struggled to afford the safe and stable child care they need to be able to work.⁵⁴

Indeed, women have abortions for a variety of reasons related to their economic stability and future wellbeing—to continue school, because they cannot afford to care for a child, to be able to care for the families they

⁵² Adam Sonfield et al., Guttmacher Inst., The Social and Economic Benefits of Women’s Ability to Determine Whether and When to Have Children 14-15 (2013), <http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/social-economic-benefits.pdf>.

⁵³ See, e.g., Kelleen Kaye et al., The Benefits of Birth Control in America: Getting the Facts Straight, The Nat’l Campaign to Prevent Teen & Unplanned Pregnancy 4 (2014) <http://thenationalcampaign.org/sites/default/files/resource-primary-download/getting-the-facts-straight-final.pdf>.

⁵⁴ Nat’l Women’s L. Ctr., Underpaid and Overloaded at 3 (citing Lynda Laughlin, U.S. Census Bureau, Who’s Minding the Kids? Child Care Arrangements: Spring 2011 15 (Apr. 2013) <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p70-135.pdf>).

already have, or because they are not emotionally ready to have a child.⁵⁵

According to one woman, “I was too young, and I barely started going back to school and getting my life back on track. I wouldn’t have enough things to support a baby.”⁵⁶ The need to care for other children features prominently in many women’s decision to have an abortion.⁵⁷ One woman explaining why she decided to have an abortion stated, “My son was diagnosed with cancer. His treatment requires driving 10 hours . . . The stress of that and that he relies on me.”⁵⁸

By requiring a twenty-four-hour mandatory delay, the Amendment undermines the decisions women make about what is best for their lives and the wellbeing of their children. By imposing substantial collateral consequences on women, including adverse effects on a woman’s financial security and ability to care for her family, the Amendment undermines women’s full and equal participation in society.

The harm imposed by the Amendment is overwhelming, especially

⁵⁵ See M. Antonia Biggs et al., Understanding Why Women Seek Abortions in the U.S. at 6.

⁵⁶ Diana G. Foster & Katrina Kimport, Who Seeks Abortions at or After 20 Weeks, 45(4) *Persp. Sexual & Reprod. Health* 210, 216 (2013).

⁵⁷ M. Antonia Biggs et al., Understanding Why Women Seek Abortions in the U.S. at 6.

⁵⁸ Id.

for the Iowa women who already face significant barriers to obtaining health care. It will force women to travel long distances, wait for appointments, make multiple trips, and absorb unnecessary and possibly insurmountable costs. It will place some women that are experiencing intimate partner violence in greater danger. It will result in some women losing their ability to use medication abortion, which they may prefer or need, and will increase the incidence of more invasive surgical abortion procedures. It will even force some women to forego their constitutionally protected right to abortion. This jeopardizes not only the health of Iowa women, but also their ability to work, get an education, care for their families, and secure their own and their family's economic future. Thus, the Amendment's negative impact on women's intimate right to determine whether to carry a pregnancy to term cannot be justified.

CONCLUSION

For the reasons set forth above, the Amendment violates Iowa Constitution. The twenty-four-hour delay violates the substantive due process rights of Iowa women without being narrowly tailored to serve the compelling state interest. In particular, the rights of women living in rural areas, women living in poverty or working low-wage jobs, survivors of sexual assault and women experiencing intimate partner violence would be

severely restricted by the Amendment without advancing the State's interest. This Court should affirm the summary judgement decision of the lower court.

/s/ Elizabeth A. Battles
ELIZABETH A. BATTLES
Iowa Coalition Against
Domestic Violence
4725 Merle Hay Road, Ste.
107Des Moines, IA 50322
Phone: (515) 24-8028; Fax: (515) 244-7417
Email: lizb@icadv.org
ATTORNEY FOR AMICUS CURIAE

/s/ Joshua Opperman
JOSHUA OPPERMAN
Iowa Coalition Against
Sexual Assault
3030 Merle Hay Road
Des Moines, IA 50310
Phone: (515) 244-7424; Fax (515) 850-1900
Email: attorney@iowacasa.org
ATTORNEY FOR AMICUS CURIAE

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/s/ Elizabeth A. Battles

November 1, 2021

ELIZABETH A. BATTLES

Iowa Coalition Against Domestic Violence

4725 Merle Hay Road, Ste. 107

Des Moines, IA 50322

Phone: (515) 24-8028; Fax: (515) 244-7417

Email: lizb@icadv.org

ATTORNEY FOR AMICUS CURIAE

/s/ Joshua Opperman

JOSHUA OPPERMAN

Iowa Coalition Against Sexual Assault

3030 Merle Hay Road

Des Moines, IA 50310

Phone: (515) 244-7424; Fax (515) 850-1900

Email: attorney@iowacasa.org

ATTORNEY FOR AMICUS CURIAE