# The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and Abortion

# **Quotes from Pro-Abortion Groups:**

The ERA could be used to permanently overturn pro-life laws and require legal abortion until birth for any reason, without limits on taxpayer funding, throughout the nation.

<u>NARAL Pro-Choice America</u>: "With its ratification, the ERA would reinforce the constitutional right to abortion by clarifying that the sexes have equal rights, which would require judges to strike down anti-abortion laws because they violate both the constitutional right to privacy and sexual equality."<sup>1</sup>

<u>NARAL Pro-Choice America</u>: "The ERA will help protect women's rights to... abortion. With five anti-choice justices on the Supreme Court and *Roe v. Wade* on the chopping block, it's more important than ever that we codify women's bodily autonomy in our laws."<sup>2</sup>

<u>National Organization for Women (NOW)</u>: "An ERA –properly interpreted – could negate the hundreds of laws that have been passed restricting access to abortion care and contraception."<sup>3</sup>

<u>Senior Counsel, National Women's Law Center</u>: "The ERA would help create a basis to challenge abortion restrictions. We see the ERA as another tool that would strengthen our existing protections."<sup>4</sup>

<u>Alexis McGill Johnson</u> (President and CEO of Planned Parenthood) in response to the House passing H.J.Res. 17 in the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress: "The Equal Rights Amendment is an important tool for strengthening the existing legal foundation created by the courts. We know an equal society cannot exist unless all people have the right to make their own decisions, plan their own futures, and control their own bodies. And we know the fight for reproductive rights — including access to abortion — is inextricably linked to the fight for women's equality."<sup>5</sup>

<u>Kate Kelly</u> (Majority Counsel, House Oversight & Reform Committee): "My hope is that what we could get [on abortion] with the ERA is FAR BETTER than Roe."<sup>6</sup>

**Kate Kelly** (Majority Counsel, House Oversight & Reform Committee): "Section two [of the ERA] is the section that says we can pass laws to enforce the Equal Rights Amendment." Kelly called the section a "trojan horse" before then opting for the phrase "positive piñata of potential legislation" and adding, "we get this Equal Rights Amendment and there's all this great candy we can get inside." She explained that it's "a much more impactful amendment than folks realize."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "ERA Y-E-S." NARAL Pro-Choice America. <u>https://www.prochoiceamerica.org/campaign/era\_yes/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The ERA, Explained! NARAL Pro-Choice America. April 10, 2019. <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3dWiJNfiX5U&feature=youtu.be</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Is the Equal Rights Amendment Relevant in the 21st Century?" National Organization for Women (NOW). <u>https://now.org/resource/is-the-equal-rights-amendment-relevant-in-the-21st-century/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> National Women's Law Center. May 1, 2019. <u>https://nwlc.org/nwlc-in-the-press/republicans-want-to-make-a-debate-over-discrimination-into-an-abortion-battle/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "U.S. House of Representatives Moves To Advance Long Overdue Equal Rights Amendment." Planned Parenthood. March 17, 2021. <https://www.plannedparenthood.org/about-us/newsroom/press-releases/u-s-house-of-representatives-moves-to-advance-long-overdueequal-rights-amendment>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Tweet. January 24, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "28<sup>th</sup> Amendment: The Final Push for the ERA." The California Women's Law Center's Speaker Series. March 31, 2021. https://cwlc.salsalabs.org/the28thamendmentthefinalpushfortheera/index.html

**Emily Martin (general counsel for the National Women's Law Center)** said that the ERA would enable courts to rule that restrictions on abortion "perpetuate gender inequality." <sup>8</sup>

<u>Erin Matson</u> (co-director of Reproaction): "Abortion restrictions amount to sex discrimination because they single out people for unfair treatment on the basis of sex, and a federal ERA could provide a backstop to fight the wave of restrictions on abortion."<sup>9</sup>

<u>Erin Matson</u> (co-director of Reproaction): "In a 1986 case in Connecticut and a 1999 case in New Mexico, ERAs adopted into state constitutions were cited when striking down restrictions on funding for abortions."

<u>Planned Parenthood/Women's Law Project</u> say past ruling that state ban on government funding of elective abortion is consistent with ERA "is contrary to a modern understanding" of ERA. <sup>10</sup>

<u>American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)</u>: "Moreover, the Equal Rights Amendment could provide an additional layer of protection against restrictions on abortion, contraception, and other forms of reproductive healthcare."<sup>11</sup>

<u>Columbia Law School, Center for Gender + Sexuality Law</u>: "The ERA would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in multiple forms including discrimination against men, sexual orientation, gender identity, sex or gender stereotyping (such as discrimination against a person because they are a masculine woman or a feminine man), **as well as discrimination in access to health care, including reproductive health care**."<sup>12</sup>

# Ongoing litigation in Pennsylvania and past cases in New Mexico and Connecticut demonstrate that the ERA could require taxpayer-funded abortion on demand:

#### **Pennsylvania** [Ongoing Lawsuit]:

**Background:** Abortion providers (including Planned Parenthood) are suing Pennsylvania **because state Medicaid does not pay for elective abortions.** The abortion providers claim this violates the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Amendment. *Note: the abortion providers are represented by the Women's Law Project*.<sup>13</sup>

- <u>Planned Parenthood/Women's Law Project</u>: The central claim in the case is that the state's Medicaid abortion coverage ban violates the Equal Rights Amendment and equal protection provisions of the Pennsylvania Constitution.<sup>14</sup>
- **<u>ERA Project/Columbia Law School:</u>** "...Pennsylvania's Equal Rights Amendment should be understood to invalidate the Pennsylvania Abortion Control Act's limit on state-funded health care as a matter of fundamental sex equality."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Matson, Erin. "Abortion Rights Opponents Are Terrified of the Equal Rights Amendment." Rewire. January 21, 2020. <u>https://rewire.news/article/2020/01/21/abortion-rights-opponents-are-terrified-of-the-equal-rights-amendment/</u> <sup>10</sup> "Allegheny Reproductive Health Center v. Pa. Department of Human Services ." Women's Law Project. Pg. 2.

https://www.womenslawproject.org/project/allegheny-reproductive-health-center-v-pa-department-of-human-services-medicaid-case/ <sup>14</sup> "Litigation Challenging Pennsylvania's Medicaid Ban on Abortion Coverage Heads to State Supreme Court." Women's Law Project and Planned Parenthood. <u>https://www.womenslawproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/WLP-PPPA-MA-Lit-Press-Release-Final.pdf</u>

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<sup>15</sup> Franke, Katherine and Ting Ting Cheng. "Brief of Amicus Curiae Equal Rights Amendment Project at the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law at Columbia Law School in Support of Petitioners." October 13, 2021.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Rankin, Sarah and David Crary. "Lawmakers pledge ERA will pass in Virginia. Then what?" January 1, 2020. <u>https://apnews.com/959a29cfbdc59029bba9e97887331f07</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> "Vote YES on H. J. Resolution 17 (Removing the Deadline for the Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment)." American Civil Liberties Union. March 16, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "The ERA: The Amendment is Just the Beginning." Editors at Women's eNews. February 24, 2021. <<u>https://womensenews.org/2021/02/theera-the-amendment-is-just-the-beginning/</u>>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "Allegheny Reproductive Health Center v. Pa. Department of Human Services." Women's Law Project.

- <u>Susan J. Frietsche</u> (senior staff attorney at the <u>Women's Law Project</u>): "This case is an opportunity for the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania to put into practice a central promise of our state constitution by ending the discriminatory ban on Medicaid coverage of abortion and affirming the right to safe, legal abortion care."<sup>16</sup>
- <u>Alexis McGill Johnson</u> (President and CEO of Planned Parenthood): "The state's ban on abortion coverage for Medicaid enrollees is blatantly discriminatory against Black and Latinx Pennsylvanians."<sup>17</sup>

#### <u>New Mexico</u> [1998]

- This lawsuit was brought by state affiliates of NARAL and Planned Parenthood against the state.
- The Supreme Court of New Mexico ruled unanimously that **the state was required to fund abortions** based *solely* on the state ERA.
- It found that the law "undoubtedly singles out for less favorable treatment a genderlinked condition that is unique to women" and therefore "violates the Equal Rights Amendment."<sup>18</sup>
- <u>Ellie Rushforth</u> (attorney with American Civil Liberties Union of New Mexico): "[A]ny restrictions [on abortion access] should be deemed unconstitutional under the equal rights amendment."<sup>19</sup>

#### Connecticut [1986]

- **Background:** The plaintiffs challenged a Connecticut Medicaid's refusal to pay for elective abortion, claiming that it violated the Connecticut Equal Rights Amendment.
- <u>The Court agreed</u>: "It is therefore clear, under the Connecticut ERA, that the regulation excepting medically necessary abortions from the medicaid [sic] program discriminates against women." <sup>20</sup>

## **Quotes from Third-Party Reporting:**

**David Crary, Associated Press:** "Another subplot in this year's abortion drama involves the Equal Rights Amendment.... Abortion-rights supporters are eager to nullify the [ERA ratification] deadline and get the amendment ratified so it could be used to overturn state laws restricting abortion. Abortion opponents cite that stance in arguing that the deadline should be enforced and the ERA sidelined."<sup>21</sup>

Noah Feldman (Harvard Law Professor): ..."[I]t's not implausible that a newly ratified ERA could be used by pro-choice advocates to make a fresh constitutional case for abortion

Planned Parenthood. <u>https://www.womenslawproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/WLP-PPPA-MA-Lit-Press-Release-Final.pdf</u> <sup>18</sup> New Mexico Right to Choose/NARAL v. Johnson. 1998. <u>https://law.justia.com/cases/new-mexico/supreme-court/1998/23239-0-0.html</u> <sup>19</sup> Dueler Super "The foture of second within health area in NM if Deeu v. Wede is supervised." NM Political Depart. May 21, 2021

 <sup>19</sup> Dunlap, Susan. "The future of reproductive healthcare in NM if Roe v. Wade is overturned." NM Political Report. May 21, 2021. <u>https://nmpoliticalreport.com/2021/05/21/the-future-of-reproductive-healthcare-in-nm-if-roe-v-wade-is-overturned/</u>
<sup>20</sup> Doe v. Maher, 515 A.2d 134 (Conn. Super. Ct. 1986). <u>https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/3349959/doe-v-maher/</u>

<sup>21</sup> Crary, David. "Supreme Court Case Looms Large for Rivals in the Abortion Debate." Associated Press in the <u>Washington Times</u>, January 21, 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> "Litigation Challenging Pennsylvania's Medicaid Ban on Abortion Coverage Heads to State Supreme Court." Women's Law Project and Planned Parenthood. <u>https://www.womenslawproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/WLP-PPPA-MA-Lit-Press-Release-Final.pdf</u> <sup>17</sup> "Litigation Challenging Pennsylvania's Medicaid Ban on Abortion Coverage Heads to State Supreme Court." Women's Law Project and

rights. If the current Supreme Court reverses Roe v. Wade — a possibility that must be taken very seriously — then new constitutional arguments will be needed... The ERA could provide the basis for an updated version of that argument, because anti-abortion laws can be said to target women in particular."<sup>22</sup>

Alexis McGill Johnson (quoted by *Politico*): "Advocates for the ERA acknowledge that abortion needs to be part of the conversation. Any debate over women's rights, they say, must also address control over when and whether to have children. 'There are no equal rights for women without access to abortion, plain and simple,' said Alexis McGill Johnson, acting president and CEO of Planned Parenthood."<sup>23</sup>

<u>National Women's Law Center (quoted by Politico):</u> "...some anti-abortion groups including the NRLC say they would be neutral on the amendment if it included language explicitly stating that it doesn't apply to abortion. ERA supporters say such a carve-out is a nonstarter. 'The ability of women to participate equally and the idea of equality in our economy is fundamentally bound up with the ability to access reproductive rights,' said Fatima Goss Graves, the president of the National Women's Law Center."<sup>24</sup>

**Julie Suk (quoted by** *Politico*): CUNY professor Julie Suk, cited as an expert in comparative constitutional law who is writing a book on the ERA, agreed ... 'That is an argument that I think is a persuasive argument, and some state Supreme Courts have been persuaded by that argument, but there are also arguments on the other side....My own view as a legal thinker is that the right to make decisions about reproductive health care, including abortion, is central to any understanding of gender equality,' Suk said. 'I'm not saying it's unlikely to be the law of the land, but I'm saying it's not a certainty that the ERA would lead to abortion funding.'"<sup>25</sup>

<u>The Daily Beast, quoting Jennifer Weiss-Wolf</u> (Vice President, Brennan Center for Justice): "Both the basis of the privacy argument and even the technical, technological underpinnings of [Roe] always seemed likely to expire." ... "Technology was always going to move us to a place where the trimester framework didn't make sense." ... "If you were rooted in an equality argument, those things would not matter," she said.<sup>26</sup>

*Daily Beast follows by explaining,* "The Equal Rights Amendment, which would prohibit sex discrimination the way the Constitution currently prohibits discrimination based on race, religion and national origin, could do just that."<sup>27</sup>

**Pete Williams, NBC News:** "The ERA has been embraced by advocates of abortion rights. NARAL Pro-Choice America has said it would 'reinforce the constitutional right to abortion' and 'require judges to strike down anti-abortion laws.' Abortion opponents agree with that analysis... 'It would nullify any federal or state restrictions, even on partial-birth or thirdtrimester abortions,' the National Right to Life Committee said."

<u>Sady Doyle, Elle Magazine</u>: "Questions of discrimination -- like... legal abortion... often come down to the Supreme Court... It would be reassuring, to say the least, if those justices

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Feldman, Noah. "The Equal Rights Amendment Could Still Do Some Good." February 15, 2020. Yahoo Finance.

https://finance.yahoo.com/news/equal-rights-amendment-could-still-130014475.html?soc\_src=social-sh&soc\_trk=tw\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Mueller, Eleanor and Alice Miranda Ollstein. "How the debate over the ERA became a fight over abortion." *Politico*. February 11, 2020. <u>https://www.politico.com/news/2020/02/11/abortion-equal-rights-amendment-113505</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Russell-Kraft, Stephanie. "Wanna Save Roe v. Wade? Don't Look To The Courts." July 30, 2018. <u>https://www.thedailybeast.com/wanna-save-roe-v-wade-dont-look-to-the-courts</u>

were forced to rule that laws which discriminate against women's healthcare are unconstitutional."  $^{\!\!\!\!^{28}}$ 

Daily Kos: "Ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment... would...expand reproductive rights..."

**Jessica Mason Pieklo** (executive editor, Rewire News Group) as reported by Amanda Marcotte with *Salon*: "Pieklo, however, thinks that a longer-term fix [than the Women's Health Protection Act] might be found in the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which has been on the cusp of joining the constitution for a few years now, even if it keeps not quite tipping over into reality. If it was fully ratified, the ERA would make discrimination on the basis of sex fully unconstitutional. Pieklo said this would strengthen the constitutional case for abortion rights."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Doyle, Sady. "The ERA Is Suddenly Within Reach. Does It Matter?" Elle Magazine. June 1, 2018. <u>https://www.elle.com/culture/career-politics/a20980485/equal-rights-amendment-ratify-illinois/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Marcotte, Amanda. "How Biden and the Democrats can save abortion access before the Supreme Court overturns Roe v. Wade." Salon. May 21, 2021. <u>https://www.salon.com/2021/05/21/how-biden-and-the-democrats-can-save-abortion-access-before-the-supreme-court-overturns-roe-v-wade/</u>

## **Quotes from Pro-Life Groups:**

**National Right to Life (NRLC):** "under this doctrine . . . it would nullify any federal or state restrictions even on partial-birth abortions or third trimester abortions (since these too are sought only by women)."<sup>30</sup> "the proposed federal ERA would invalidate the federal Hyde Amendment and all state restrictions on tax-funded abortions."<sup>31</sup>

<u>Susan B. Anthony List:</u> "Any law limiting abortion or imposing upon it such conditions as a funding limit will be struck down as violating the amendment's plain language."<sup>32</sup>

<u>March for Life Action</u>: "Since their inception these 'equal rights amendments' (ERAs) have been used to further the scourge of abortion through the court systems."<sup>33</sup> "It is with little doubt that if such language was enshrined in the United States Constitution it would be of great harm to taxpayers and lead to the elimination of most, if not all, pro-life protections in current law.<sup>34</sup>

**U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops:** "One consequence of the ERA would be the likely requirement of federal funding for abortions. At least two states have construed their own equal rights amendments, with language analogous to that of the federal ERA, to require government funding of abortion." "Arguments have been proffered that the federal ERA would... restrain the ability of the federal and state governments to enact other measures regulating abortion, such as third-trimester or partial birth abortion bans, parental consent, informed consent, conscience-related exemptions, and other provisions."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Letter to the U.S. House of Representatives. National Right to Life Committee. January 27, 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Score Letter. Susan B. Anthony List. November 12, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Score Letter. March for Life Action. January 31, 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Letter to U.S. House of Representatives. United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. February 6, 2020.