Contents

| List of Tables and Figures Preface Acknowledgments | | xi xv xix |
|--|--|-----------------|
| 1 | Abortion and American Politics | 1 |
| | Abortion: A Concise and Contested | |
| | History, 5 | |
| | The Abortion Issue: The Search for an Analogue, 10 | |
| | Conclusions, 23 | |
| 2 | The Social Bases of Abortion Attitudes | 31 |
| | Attitudes Toward Legal Abortion: | |
| | Methods of Analysis, 32 | |
| | Abortion Attitudes: An | |
| | Overview, 35 | |
| | State Differences in Abortion Attitudes, 41 | |
| | Group Differences in Abortion | |
| | Attitudes, 44 | |
| | Demographic Differences in Abortion | |
| | Attitudes: Multivariate Analyses, 62 | |
| | Conclusions, 64 | |
| 3 | The Subjective Bases of Abortion Attitudes | 69 |
| | Ideological Self-Identification, 70 | |
| | A Matter of Life and Death? 72 | |
| | Abortion and Gender Role Attitudes, 76 | |

viii Contents

Attitudes Toward Parenthood and Female Employment, 80 Attitudes Toward Sexual Morality, 83 Putting Things Together: Multivariate Analyses, 86 Conclusions, 90 **Religion and Abortion Attitudes** 93 Religion and Abortion Attitudes Among Whites: Theological Traditions, 94 Denominational Preference and Abortion Attitudes Among Whites, 101 The Sources of Abortion Attitudes: White Evangelicals, Mainline Protestants, and Roman Catholics, 108 Religion and Abortion Attitudes Among African-Americans, 114 Religion and Abortion Attitudes Among American Jews, 118 Religion and Abortion Attitudes: A Comprehensive Model, 121 Conclusions, 124 Who Is Pro-Life, Pro-Choice, and In Between? 131 Pro-Choice and Pro-Life Supporters: An Overview, 133 Pro-Life Citizens, 140 Issue Divisions Among Pro-Life Citizens, 142 Pro-Choice Citizens, 144 Issue Groups Among Pro-Choice Supporters, 146 Situationalists, 147 Conclusions, 155

5

Contents ix

| The Electoral Politics of Abortion | 161 |
|---|--|
| Abortion and Vote Decisions, 164 | |
| The Abortion Issue in Presidential | |
| | |
| —————————————————————————————————————— | |
| · | |
| | |
| Conclusions, 183 | |
| From Rights to Policy: The Future of | |
| the Abortion Debate | 191 |
| Abortion and the Anti-Politics | |
| of Rights, 193 | |
| Abortion Policy in the Post- | |
| Webster Era, 196 | |
| Conclusions, 205 | |
| ndir: Detailed Results of Multivariate Analyses | 209 |
| Bibliography | |
| 5 . • | 219 229 |
| Index | |
| | Abortion and Vote Decisions, 164 The Abortion Issue in Presidential Elections, 166 Abortion and Congressional Elections, 171 Abortion and State Electoral Politics After Webster, 173 Conclusions, 183 From Rights to Policy: The Future of the Abortion Debate Abortion and the Anti-Politics of Rights, 193 Abortion Policy in the Post- Webster Era, 196 Conclusions, 205 |

Tables and Figures

| _ | | |
|----|----|----|
| Ta | hi | 00 |

| 2.1 | Respondents Supporting Legal Abortion in Various Circumstances, 1989, by State | 43 |
|------|--|-----|
| 2.2 | Demographic Variables and Abortion Attitudes, | 51 |
| | 1987-1991 | 31 |
| 2.3 | Support for Legal Abortion by Cohort, 1987-1991 | 53 |
| 2.4 | Cohort Differences in Abortion Attitudes: | |
| | Longitudinal Trends, 1972-1991 | 59 |
| 3.1 | Relationship Between Ideological Self- | |
| | Identification and Support for Legal | |
| | Abortion | 72 |
| 3.2 | Relationship Between Respect for Life Measure | |
| | and Support for Legal Abortion | 76 |
| 3.3 | Relationships Between Feminism Measures and | |
| | Support for Legal Abortion | 79 |
| 3.4 | Relationship Between Desirability of Children | |
| | Index and Support for Legal Abortion | 81 |
| 3.5 | Relationship Between Desirability of Female | |
| - 10 | Employment Index and Support for Legal | |
| | Abortion | 83 |
| 3.6 | Relationship Between Sexual Morality Index | |
| 5.0 | and Support for Legal Abortion | 84 |
| 4.1 | Abortion Attitudes by Denominational | |
| | Preference, Whites | 102 |
| 4.2 | Abortion Attitudes by Religious Involvement, | |
| | by Denomination (White Christians) | 104 |

| 4.3 | Abortion Attitudes by View of the Bible, by Denomination (White Christians) | 106 |
|-------|---|-----|
| 4.4 | Abortion Attitudes by Belief that Sin Must Be Punished, by Denomination (White | 100 |
| | Christians) | 107 |
| 4.5 | Religion and Abortion Attitudes Among | |
| | African-Americans | 116 |
| 4.6 | Religion and Abortion Attitudes Among Jews | 119 |
| 4.7 | The Sources of Abortion Attitudes: | |
| | A Comprehensive Model | 123 |
| 5.1 | Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Citizens: A | |
| | Compositional Analysis of Demographic | |
| | and Religious Differences | 136 |
| 5.2 | Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Citizens' Attitudes | 138 |
| 5.3 | Issue Groups Among Pro-Life Citizens | 141 |
| 5.4 | Issue Groups Among Pro-Choice Citizens | 148 |
| 5.5 | Abortion Scale and Approval of Specific Items: Situationalists | 151 |
| 5.6 | | 131 |
| 3.0 | The Situationalists: A Compositional Analysis | 152 |
| 6.1 | Abortion Attitudes and Presidential | |
| | Vote | 167 |
| 6.2 | Sources of Party Positions, 1988 | |
| | (percent of voters, delegates, and | |
| | contributors taking each position) | 168 |
| 6.3 | Salience and Direction of Abortion Attitudes | |
| | in Gubernatorial Elections | 174 |
| 6.4 | Abortion Attitudes and Vote Choice in | |
| | Gubernatorial Elections, by State, | |
| | 1989 and 1990 | 178 |
| Figur | res | |
| 2.1 | Respondents Favoring Abortion in Zero | |
| | to Six Circumstances | 34 |
| 2.2 | Respondents Favoring Abortion in | |
| | Elective and Traumatic Circumstances | 36 |

| Tables and Figures | | xiii |
|--------------------|---|------|
| 2.3 | Mean Level of Support for Legal Abortion | |
| | Under Various Conditions | 38 |
| 2.4 | Mean Support for Legal Abortion: A Closer Look | 40 |
| 2.5 | Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Respondents in | |
| | Selected States | 42 |
| 2.6 | Mean on Legal Abortion Scale for Blacks and Whites, | |
| | 1972-1991 | 45 |
| 2.7 | Pro-Choice Respondents by Race, 1972-1991 | 47 |
| 2.8 | Pro-Life and Pro-Choice Attitudes by Level | |
| | of Education | 49 |
| 2.9 | Support for Legal Abortion Under Six | |
| | Circumstances by Cohort | 57 |
| 2.10 | Demographic Predictors of Abortion Attitudes | 63 |
| 3.1 | Attitudinal Predictors of Abortion Attitudes | 88 |
| 4.1 | Religious Differences in Abortion Attitudes | |
| | Among Whites | 103 |
| 4.2 | Predictors of Abortion Attitudes of White | |
| | Catholics | 109 |
| 4.3 | Predictors of Abortion Attitudes of White | |
| | Mainline Christians | 111 |
| 4.4 | Predictors of Abortion Attitudes of White | |
| | Evangelical Protestants | 113 |
| 4.5 | Predictors of Abortion Attitudes of African- | |
| | Americans | 117 |
| 4.6 | Predictors of Abortion Attitudes of Jews | 120 |