Contents

Figures	viii
Tables	ix
Preface	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
1. The Link Between Public Opinion and Policy	1
2. The Supreme Court and Abortion Policy	13
3. The Impact of Policy Change: Courts and Legislatures	41
4. The Structure and Stability of Attitudes on Abortion	59
5. State Public Opinion and Abortion Policy	75
6. Abortion Policy in the United States	91
7. Explaining Abortion Rates in the United States	113
8. Conclusion	125
References	131
Index	145

Figures

1. National Abortion Ratio, 1966–1992	45
2. Percent of Abortions Obtained Out of State	50
3. Legal Abortions and Hospital D&C Operations, 1969–1989	51
4. Colorado Abortion Ratio, 1974–1990	53
5. Pennsylvania Abortion Ratio, 1974–1990	53
6. Massachusetts Abortion Ratio, 1974–1990	55
7. California Abortion Ratio, 1972–1990	56
8. A Hypothesized LISREL Model of Abortion Attitudes	71
9. Estimates for a LISREL Model of Abortion Attitudes	72
10. Abortion Policy Restrictions and Support for Abortion in the States	89
11. A Causal Model of Abortion Ratios in the United States, 1992	121

Tables

1.	Major Hypotheses and Research Methods in the Study	9
2.	State Abortion Laws Before Roe v. Wade	16
3.	Supreme Court Positions on Parental Notification in <i>Hodgson v. Minnesota</i> , 1990	19
4.	Supreme Court Voting in the Casey Decision	25
5.	Supreme Court Voting in the Madsen Decision	27
6.	Abortion Cases Decided by the Supreme Court, 1973-1994	28
7.	Voting on Abortion Issues Before the Court, 1975-1979	32
8.	Supreme Court Voting on Abortion Cases, 1973-1981	33
9.	Supreme Court Voting on Abortion Cases, 1983-1987	35
10.	Supreme Court Voting on Abortion Cases, 1989-1994	36
11.	Pro-Choice Voting Scores on the Supreme Court, 1973-1994	38
12.	Abortion Ratios—Pearson Correlation Coefficients	44
13.	ARIMA Time Series Estimates—Ratio of Abortions to 1,000 Live Births, 1966–1992	49
14.	ARIMA Time Series Estimates—D&C Operations in U.S. Hospitals, 1969–1989	52
15.	ARIMA Time Series Estimates—Abortion Ratio per 1,000 Live Births, Colorado and Pennsylvania	54
16.	ARIMA Time Series Estimates—Massachusetts Abortion Ratio per 1,000 Live Births, 1974–1990	56
17.	ARIMA Time Series Estimates—California Abortion Ratio per 1,000 Live Births, 1972–1990	57
18.	Approval of Abortion Circumstances in 1977–1987 General Social Surveys	63
19	Abortion Opinion Results from the General Social Survey, 1974–1991	64
20	The Stability of Abortion Attitudes in the Illinois Policy Survey	65

x TABLES

21.	Factor Loadings on Six Abortion Questions on General Social	69
	Surveys, 1988–1989	72
	Correlation of Error Terms in the LISREL Model	
	State Public Opinion on Abortion Issues, 1988–1990 NES Surveys	78
	Expected Impact of Variables on State Abortion Opinion	81
25.	Regression Estimates: Support for Abortion in the States	82
26.	Regression Estimates: Support for Government Funding	82
27.	Regression Estimates: Opposition to Parental Consent	83
28.	The Influence of Fundamentalism and Socioeconomic Levels on Public Support for Abortion	84
29.	Public Opinion and State Policies on Abortion, 1988-1992	87
30.	Abortion Policy Enactments After Roe v. Wade, Glen Halva-Neubauer's Categories of State Policy Response	94
31.	An Index of Twenty-Four Abortion Policy Restrictions, 1988	95
32.	Measurement of Abortion Policy and Research Questions	97
33.	Factor Loadings of Abortion Policy Measures: The Commonality of Policy Measures	99
34.	Bivariate Correlations of the Various Policy Indicators	99
35.	State Policies Limiting Medicaid Funding and Access to Abortions by Minors, 1991	101
36.	Regression Estimates of Policy Restrictions on Minors: The Impact of Institutional and Demographic Variables	106
37.	Regression Estimates of Medicaid Restrictions: The Impact of Institutional and Demographic Variables	108
38.	Regression Estimates of Nine-Point Policy Index: The Impact of Institutional and Demographic Variables	110
39	Abortion Policy and Abortion Rates, Bivariate Correlations, 1988	111
40.	The Expected Effects of Variables in a Causal Model of Abortion Rates	118
41.	Bivariate Correlations of Independent Variables with Abortion Rates, Access, Policy, and Public Support	119
42	A Causal Model of Abortion Rates: The Direct, Indirect, and	122