SURVEY *of* AMERICAN PUBLIC CULTURE

Life Choices

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PREFACE

Understanding the Controversy Over Abortion

The Abortion Deadlock

Seventeen years have passed since the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision and while the abortion debate has fluctuated in intensity during this period, it has never shown any signs of abating. If anything, the debate is more deeply entrenched now than it has ever been. This is seen in the heightened rhetorical passion and human emotion poured into the issue — by activists and ordinary citizens alike. It is also seen in the growing number of resources invested by both Pro-Life and Pro-Choice organizations into strategies of political mobilization. With every "rescue," with every NOW pronouncement, with every election campaign, and with every Pro-Life activist imprisoned, we see greater and greater resolve on the part of both sides of this debate to achieve their ends. After seventeen years of controversy, the conflict over abortion seems deadlocked in a cycle of advantage and counter-advantage.

The Supreme Court's 1989 *Webster* decision and its aftermath provide the most recent case in point. Ironically, the net effect of the decision was the opposite of the one anticipated. Rather than cast it into disarray, the Pro-Choice movement was galvanized into action: Pro-Choice organizations mobilized new grass-roots and celebrity support, increased its number and level of contributions, and garnered widespread sympathetic press coverage. What is more, it has been very effective in portraying the Pro-Life movement as a whole as extremist, interventionist and anti-women. Their success has been due, in part, to the high visibility of Operation Rescue and the "demonizing" of its leader, Randall Terry. It has also been due, in part, to the selective inattention by the media establishment to the more responsible and conciliatory advocates of the Pro-Life position.

Though the Pro-Life movement failed to anticipate this reaction, nevertheless it continued to mobilize popular opinion in local and regional settings around the country and to generate resources of its own. Buoyed by the Supreme Court decisions of 1990 backing parental notification laws in Ohio and Minnesota, the Pro-Life movement has pressed ahead, many expressing confidence that it is only a matter of time before *Roe v. Wade* is overturned.

The Legal Deadlock

Whether or not *Roe v. Wade* is overturned, the *Webster* decision has ensured that state legislatures, federal courts and ultimately the Supreme Court will be locked in an almost endless number of legal battles for many years to come. Under what conditions will abortion be acceptable? What will be the penalty given to those who perform them illegally? Besides the mother, who else will have a legal right to be a part of the decision? As each state legislature debates these matters and as each federal judge decides on their constitutionality, there will be intense political pressures. In not many years we may wonder whether there has been any other issue in the history of American jurisprudence in which the issue of justice has been more politicized?

Yet even if the legal deadlock is broken and established legal opinion and practice begins to favor the Pro-Life ideal, there will continue to be a *moral deadlock* over the abortion issue. It is the

moral deadlock over abortion that places ever increasing strains upon American democratic practice. Therefore, it will not be enough just to change the law. The moral deadlock over this issue must also be broken. Effective strategy, then, will not only seek to influence law but to change the hearts and minds of Americans everywhere as well.

The Opinion Deadlock

To speak of a moral deadlock over the abortion issue is to speak of the opposition of fundamental beliefs, convictions, and values. The problem is that we know far less than we should about the melange of perspectives that make up the abortion controversy.

The Problem of Survey Research

Survey research has itself contributed to the problem. For one, the cost of surveys is very high, all things considered, and thus the ability of an independent scholar, a newspaper or a television network, or an advocacy group to pay for any more than a few questions is not great. The consequences of this are that the few questions that are posed to the general public are generally designed to elicit sharp contrasts at the extremes rather than shade and nuance in the middle. Another consequence of this is that attitudes about abortion are generally explored in isolation — as though other issues that engage people's minds and commitments were completely unrelated to it.

Another problem is found in the ways survey research is used. Though originally intended as a tool of social scientific analysis and interpretation, the method has come to take on a life of its own. Practically, this means that most survey research does not proceed as part of a larger conversation with political and social theory. This has been true for much of the work on abortion as well. This only adds to the superficiality of our knowledge of the topic.

On top of this, survey research has come to be used as an ideological weapon by both sides of the controversy, each side claiming that the majority of Americans supports their position. This matter is only complicated further by the fact that some pollsters themselves have come to ignore the canons of professional objectivity by taking sides in the debate.

Thus, past efforts to utilize the tools of public opinion research on the abortion controversy has brought us at best, a mixture of insight and ignorance.

What We Know and Don't Know

Despite these foibles, there are some things about the public's view of abortion that we do know.

First, we know something about the general distribution of attitudes about abortion. We know, for example, that anywhere between fifteen and twenty-five percent of the population is unambiguously and unshakably Pro-Life in their commitments and roughly the same percent (if not slightly less) are equally committed to the Pro-Choice position. This polarity has remained fairly consistent since the early 1970s.

Between the two ideologically polarized extremes is the majority of Americans population — anywhere between 50 and sixty percent — whose views on the issue are difficult to characterize. Many of them believe, for example, that abortion is murder but they also believe that the pregnant woman should have the choice over whether to abort or not. (The implication, as nearly everyone points out, is that the plurality of Americans believe that mother has the right to murder her unborn child!) Most of these individuals also claim to live according to a Judeo-Christian set of values and commitments but religious affiliation does not seem to have any influence upon their views of abortion at all.

This leads us to a piece of wisdom deriving from previous public opinion surveys, namely, that the traditional categories of analysis do not help very much in explaining the distribution that we see.

Religious affiliation is just a case in point. Whether a person is Protestant, Catholic or Jewish seems to have no bearing upon their views of abortion. "Social class" is another case. Whether a person is rich or poor or middle class does not help us predict what a persons views are going to be. The same is true for age, gender, race, and marital status. It is true that the respondent's education is a fairly good predictor of attitudes as is the region of the country the person lives in. (The better educated tend to hold more favorable attitudes toward abortion as do people who live in the Rocky Mountain and Pacific states.) A person's religiosity is also a somewhat useful predictor of opinions. (The more observant the person is, the more likely they will believe in protecting the life of the unborn.) These general findings are interesting and suggestive but they still leave us wanting to know much more.

At the end of the day, we do not know enough about the nature and range of attitudes on abortion, nor do we have an adequate grip on *why* people hold them. Who are these people at the extremes and in the middle? What systems of moral reasoning do they rely upon in coming to their opinion? Are the contradictions in attitudes due to competing moral appeals — e.g. the obligation to stand up for the helpless and the obligation to respect the moral autonomy of others? If so, which appeals, which sets of obligations, which values have the greater priority?

Toward a Deeper Understanding

In light of recent developments on the one hand and the intractable nature of the abortion debate as a whole, it is clear that we need to better understand the underlying currents of American society and culture that contribute to the continuation of the status quo. The Life Choices Survey summarized in this report is an effort in that direction. It holds the promise of telling us more about the polarizations and contradictions that seem to characterize American public opinion on the matter. The following summary, however, is only a start. A more technically precise understanding of these findings as well as the task of mining these data for still other rich discoveries awaits and will reward others.

Part I

The Crisis of Abortion

1

Americans Facing the Abortion Issue

If a foreign visitor — say, a modern Tocqueville — were to come to the United States for an extended stay, he would soon come to see what is commonplace to virtually all Americans, that abortion has become one of the most divisive issues the nation faces. He would easily discern the basic contours of the debate and how certain political actors (such as politicians, advocacy groups and the like) relate to that debate — who stands for what and why. And yet to talk to the Americans who do not get their pictures in the paper or quoted on the evening news he would confront a much more confusing array of passions and arguments and positions and wonder how to make sense of it all.

That bewilderment is not surprising. Even the so-called experts themselves are not sure of how the abortion issue plays out in the lives of ordinary citizens. The questions we address in this chapter, then, are very basic: *how do Americans personally relate to the abortion issue? Where do Americans locate abortion in a larger field of moral and social problems they live with? How much do they know about the laws that frame the debate? Have their own lives been touched by the issue? And if so, how does this effect their views of the controversy.*

Findings:

1. Abortion as a Social Issue

Abortion is clearly one of the issues about which Americans are most concerned. Over three-fourths of the American population say that they are either very concerned (45%) or fairly concerned (32%) about the issue. (See Figure 1-1) It is of greater concern than minority rights, pornography, censorship, nuclear war, population growth, illegal immigration, secular humanism and homosexuality. It is of comparable concern with women's rights and racial discrimination. And yet as important as this issue is to the general public, they are even more concerned with such headline issues as child abuse, drug abuse, pollution, poverty and homelessness.

This concern is fairly evenly spread across public opinion with the exception that women are significantly more taken with the issue than men. Just over half of all the women surveyed (52%) said that they were very concerned about the issue compared to only 37 percent of the men. The reason for the difference, one would be fair to assume, is that the issue is always tangible and concrete for women while relatively abstract for men. Interestingly, women tend to be more concerned about all issues dealing with human suffering than are men.

2. Personal Experience

The issue is not hypothetical for a surprizing number of men and women. Half (51%) of those surveyed know someone who has had an abortion and 16 percent of all women say that they have seriously considered an abortion at some time in their lives. (See Figures 1-2)

Age

Those in their mid-forties and younger were twice as likely to know someone who had an abortion than their parents or grandparents

(those 60 years and older) and *younger women were four to five times more likely to have seriously considered an abortion themselves.* Where only 5 percent of the older women have considered it, 20%-25% of the women in their mid-40's and younger have considered it.

Education

Similarly, those with some college experience or a college degree were two times more likely than the poorest educated to know someone who has had an abortion and (among women) to have considered one themselves.

3. How Americans See Themselves on the Abortion Issue

Given the vituperative nature of the abortion debate and the fact that so many know of someone who has had one, it is not surprising that almost everyone in America has a definite opinion on the issue. Only 3 percent of those surveyed said that they just did not know where they stood. But where do they stand?

The Life Choices Survey shows that the public is widely though fairly evenly divided in the way they position themselves on the issue. One-fourth (26%) of the American public identified themselves as "strongly pro-life," and another one-sixth (16%) said that they were moderately pro-life. By contrast, 17 percent claimed to be "strongly pro-choice" and another 16 percent said "moderately pro-choice." Nearly one our of four (23%) claimed that they were "neutral" on the issue. (See Figure 1-3)

The Drift of Public Opinion

It is important to point out that this general distribution of opinion is not flat and unchanging. There are signs, in fact, that public opinion is shifting in two important ways. (See Table 1-1)

- The first is that *Pro-Life and Pro-Choice support in the population may be becoming more polarized.* Just over half of the public say that their views have remained essentially the same over the past two years. Over one-third, however, say that their views have changed: 20 percent said that their views have drifted closer toward a Pro-Choice position while 16 percent said that their views had drifted toward the Pro-Life position. When comparing how they view their position on abortion with how they are drifting, most of the strongly Pro-Life have become more Pro-Life while the strongly Pro-Choice have become more Pro-Choice. Even the moderately Pro-Life and Pro-Choice said that their views have moved more toward the extremes.

- The second is that *the Pro-Choice position seems to be gaining some support at the expense of the Pro-Life movement.* For example, only 4 percent of those who claimed to be neutral, only 1 percent of those who identified themselves to be moderately Pro-Choice and not one of the strongly Pro-choice respondents saw themselves drifting toward a Pro-Life position in the past two years. This contrasts with 13 percent of the neutral, 10 percent of the moderately Pro-Life and 2 percent of the strongly Pro-Life who view themselves drifting closer to a Pro-Choice position.

Background Effects

There is some interesting variation in the background of people who identify themselves one way or another on this issue. As one can see from Table xxx, the strongly Pro-Life and strongly Pro-Choice have fairly distinct social backgrounds. Pro-Life Americans slightly more inclined to be women who are older, live in the country side and in the South. They also tend to be less well-educated than others. By contrast, the strongly Pro-Choice are significantly more inclined to be women who are young adults or middle-aged, who live in the dense urban areas of the northeast and the west. And like the moderately-Pro-Choice are disproportionately from the ranks of the better educated.

A person's personal experience with abortion is also related to how they position themselves in the debate. Those who identify themselves as moderately or strongly Pro-Choice are more likely to have known someone who has had an abortion. (Figure 1-4)

4. Knowledge of Abortion Law

Given how much of a concern abortion is to the general public, that about half surveyed know someone who has actually had an abortion, and that they also have positioned themselves in a fairly distinct way on the subject, one would assume that Americans know a great deal about abortion law as it has stood for many years and as it has recently changed. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth.

When asked how familiar they were with the

1973 Supreme Court decision known as *Roe v. Wade*, only half of the respondents claimed to know much about it. Of these, 14 percent said they were "very familiar" with the decision, while another 34 percent said they were "fairly familiar" with it. (See Figure 1-5) Yet the latter were more confident than was merited by the situation.

Roe: Misinformed

In fact, nine out of ten Americans surveyed did not have a grasp of the legal outcome of *Roe*. One-fourth (26%) thought *Roe* made abortions legal during the first three months regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one. Another one-sixth (16%) believe the decision made abortions legal only during the first three months, and only when the mother's life or health were threatened. Four percent actually believe that the decision outlawed all abortion in the United States. Finally, four out of ten (43%) just admitted that they did not know what the legal outcome of this landmark case. In the end, only about one out of ten (11%) knew that today, abortions are legal for the duration of the pregnancy regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one.

Webster: Uninformed

The respondents showed a similar lack of knowledge about the more recent *Webster* decision, though in this case they were a bit more honest about it. Roughly eighty percent of the respondents admitted they were not at all familiar with the decision. Only three percent of the remainder said they were very familiar with it.

When asked specifically what the outcome of the decision was, 9 percent knew that abortions that were legal in one state may be illegal in another. Curiously, 4 percent thought that the consequences of *Webster* were that abortions would only be legal during the first three months and only when the mother's life or health were endangered.

A Failing Grade

In sum, only about 1 out of 10 Americans could be considered "legally literate" about abortion law, even though many more think they know more than they do.

Three points need to be made here:

First legal literacy tends to be greatest in the West, among college graduates and least among the poorly educated and Southern. Yet it is also among the poorly educated that one will find the greatest willingness to admit that they do not have any idea what these decisions entailed.

Secondly, to the extend that there is a legal literacy on this category of law, there is a generally tendency that the more strongly committed are the most literate. The strongly Pro-Life and the strongly Pro-Choice tend to get the answers right more often than the more moderately inclined and those who claim to be neutral are the least literate.

Finally, in the entire sample, the most "confident in their misinformation" about abortion law, and *Roe v. Wade* in particular, are those most hostile to the Pro-Life cause. Those who view themselves as moderately or strongly Pro-Choice (who are also disproportionately college-educated) are nearly two times more likely than the national average to say that *Roe* allowed abortion for any reason only in the first three months. (This "misinformation" may be due in part to the difference between what *Roe* allows and what particular local clinics or state agencies may fund or permit.)

Clearly there is an opportunity to educate the general public on this important issue — to bring their "knowledge" up to speed, if you will, with their concern and commitment. Effective education alone could very well redraw the map of public opinion on this issue.

Part II

The Morality of Abortion

2

The Moral Meaning of Abortion

The reason abortion is such an irritable issue in American public discussion is that the very act — the surgical procedure itself and the decision that sets the act in motion, has important and often severe consequences at nearly every level of human experience. It touches on the meaning of motherhood and of human obligation, the meaning of sexual intimacy and the structure of family life, the meaning of human life itself. Regardless of one's position on the abortion issue, everyone finally agrees that struggle over abortion takes us to the core of what our society is and will be.

There are those who would try to dismiss the significance of abortion, but even they admit to making implicit judgements about the rightness and wrongness of the act. In the survey, for example, of those who said that they knew someone who had had an abortion, roughly half (46%) said it was the right thing to do in that particular case and the other half (43%) said it was the wrong thing to do. As one might expect, the views differed sharply and in predictable ways according to how they position themselves on the abortion issue. While this raises the question of ethics concretely, the ethical issue quickly becomes much more complicated.

It is the task of this chapter to begin to explore the subtleties and complexities of public opinion as it bears on the morality of abortion. *The focus of our inquiry in this chapter is summarized by two questions: what is the philosophical and ethical significance that people impute to the act of abortion? And, how do they come to this view?*

Findings:

1. The Matter of "Murder"

Perhaps one of the reasons why the debate over abortion is polarized in America is that polarizing language is used. Pro-Life advocates believe abortion is "murder," while Pro-Choice advocates do not.

Survey research has only solidified this impression by asking simplistic "either-or" questions. A CBS/*New York Times* poll conducted in April, 1989 posed the issue this way — "Is abortion murder? Yes? or No?" — and found that slightly more Americans said yes it is (48%) than no it isn't (40%). Similarly, a *Los Angeles Times* poll of *women* conducted one month earlier that year found the same general pattern but slightly more polarized: 58 percent said it was murder compared to 34 percent who said it was not.

The question, like the word "murder," is laden with meaning that must be "unpacked," as it were, to really understand the ethical significance that people impute to the act.

The Ethical Meaning of Abortion

When asked to choose from a series of statements about the ethical meaning of abortion,

- 37 percent said that, "abortion is just as bad as killing a person who has already been born; it is murder.
- 12 percent said that, "abortion is murder but is not as bad as killing someone who has already been born.
- 28 percent said that, "abortion is not murder, but it does involve the taking of human life."

- 16 percent said that, "abortion is not murder; it is a surgical procedure for removing human tissue."

- 7 percent responded "can't say." (See Figure 2-1)

An overwhelming majority of Americans, then, impute serious ethical significance to the act of abortion. Only one in six would dismiss the act as a mere "surgical procedure."

As one might expect, where one has placed oneself on the abortion issue explains much of the variation in ethical judgement. For example, three-fourths (77%) of all strongly Pro-Life believe that abortion is just as bad as killing a person who has already been born. By contrast, half (49%) of all the strongly Pro-Choice believe that it is just a surgical technique for removing human tissue. The plurality of those who identify themselves in the middle or moderately on one side or another lean toward viewing abortion as the taking of human life but that this is not murder. Indeed, even one-third of the strongly Pro-Choice take this precise position.

2. The Matter of Personhood

The question that leaps to mind at this point is, what explains such diversity of opinion? The most generous (and probably accurate) assumption one can make is that people come to different conclusions about the meaning of abortion because they have fundamentally different ideas about who or what is being aborted. This, in fact, appears to be the case.

The Meaning of Persons

When asked what in their opinion was the most important thing distinguishing persons from other forms of life, a very small number of Americans (1%) believe it had to do with membership in a community; a very small number (5%) believe it has to do with the capacity of emotions, such as compassion or jealousy, and a very small number believe it has to do with the ability to work and be productive. (See Figure 2-2)

Overwhelmingly, however, public opinion was almost completely polarized:

- Half (49%) believe that the most important thing distinguishing persons was their "ability to think and reason."

- Just over one-third (36%) believe that persons are distinguished by the notion that they "were created by God in his own image."

These views were fairly evenly spread across socio-demographic groups with the exception of region, education and issue identification. College educated respondents and those from the east and west and the moderately to strongly Pro-Choice were more inclined to define personhood by rational criteria while the more poorly educated, Southerners and the strongly Pro-Life were slightly more inclined to define personhood according to "theistic" criteria.

When They Become Persons

If persons are distinguished in these ways, when does it happen? When does the "fertilized egg inside a mother's womb first become a person?" (See Figure 2-3)

- Nearly 6 in 10 believe that a fertilized egg becomes a person at conception. This view is held almost unanimously by the strongly Pro-Life, 86 percent of whom held this view. The number decreases, as one would expect, the further a person distances himself from the Pro-Life position, and yet the plurality of opinion in each of the other positions holds this view. Even one-fifth (22%) those identifying themselves as strongly Pro-Choice maintain this view.

- About one in six (16%) believe that the fertilized egg becomes a person at "quickening" — when the mother first feels movement inside her womb. Roughly one-fifth of each of the "middle" categories of self-identification on this issue hold this view as do 15 percent of the "strongly Pro-Choice."

- About one in eight (13%) believe that personhood begins the moment that the baby could survive on her own. This was the position taken by the plurality of the respondents who identified themselves as strongly Pro-Choice (34%).
- Finally, less than one in ten of all those surveyed believe that personhood begins at birth. (Less than 1 percent said that this was the case only when doctors concluded that the baby is healthy). Yet the "strongly Pro-Choice were more than three times more likely to identify this as their own.

In general, respondents show a fair degree of consistency between their views of the fetus and their ethical judgement about abortion.

- Of those who believe that abortion is as bad as killing someone already born, nearly nine out of ten view personhood occurring at conception. Only a very few who believe that abortion is murder in the strongest sense of that word, then, believe that personhood takes place later. (The few who do place it at the time of first movement.)

- At the other end of the ethical continuum, of those who judge abortion as little more than a surgical procedure for removing human tissue, one-fourth (24%) believe personhood does not take place until the moment of birth and an additional one-third (36%) believes that the fetus becomes a person at the time when the baby can survive on its own. Interestingly, 14 percent of these respondents also believe that personhood begins at the moment of conception.

- The majority of those who take a "middling" position — that is, who believe abortion is a kind of murder or at least the taking of human life — also believe that personhood begins at conception. With some variation, the remainder in these more shaded and middle ethical positions generally believe that a fetus becomes a person at quickening.

In general, then, the American public is fairly conservative in its philosophy of the fetus. This leads to a certain ethical conservatism as well. Americans generally do not like the idea that the act of abortion is taking away a person's life. It is fair to say that this is why most of those who view abortion as just surgery, view life beginning much later in the pregnancy.

3. Balancing Rights

This general conservatism toward the fetus is reflected again in the way the general public responded to the following question: At what point in a pregnancy do you feel that the unborn child's right to be born outweighs the woman's right to choose whether she wants to have a child?

- Half (50%) of all surveyed said that the right to be born outweighs the right to choose at the moment of conception, one-sixth take this to be at quickening, one-sixth, at viability, and 8 percent take this to be at birth. At least at this *philosophical level, then, two-thirds of the public are completely opposed to abortion after the first trimester. And most of the rest are opposed to abortion* (again at this philosophical level), *after viability.* Those who do take the balancing point to be the viability of the fetus or later, are disproportionately pro-choice in their commitments.

3

Confronting the "Difficult" Situations

An effort to go beyond the present impasse in the abortion debate in an ethically meaningful and politically responsible way requires that the sociological reality must be faced squarely: personal prejudices aside, the morality of abortion is not clear cut for most Americans. Certain circumstances of life, often if not always unanticipated, periodically force us to decide between one moral good and another, or to choose from the lesser of two moral evils.

This chapter takes up the morality of abortion issue again. But here we leave the philosophical questions of human life and personhood behind and pick up the issue in terms of the practical situations that, for many Americans, make the rightness or wrongness difficult to ascertain. The questions pursued in this chapter then are, *under what particular circumstances do Americans find abortion morally acceptable or unacceptable? What are the real-life points of tension that make the morality of the issue grey and unclear?*

Findings:

1. Tough Cases

A large number and wide range of questions from the Life Choices Survey are dealt with in this chapter. All of these are clustered together in terms of the particular circumstance in which a decision has to be made. In all of these circumstances, we begin by asking about their general moral stand: is abortion acceptable or unacceptable in certain situations in the first trimester; if they say it is, is it also acceptable in the second trimester? (See Figures (3-1, 3-2, 3-3)

Rape and Incest

Among the hardest of cases, for most survey respondents, were the circumstances created by rape and incest. The situations are different, of course, and yet at the level of moral judgement, the general public responded identically to them. In both circumstances, seven out of ten said that abortion would be acceptable during the first three months of pregnancy; one fourth (or 24 percent) said it was not; and 6 percent said they were uncertain.

- The strongly Pro-Life are virtually alone in saying that rape and incest are not reasons for justifying abortion. They were just more than twice as likely as the general population to say that abortion is unacceptable in these circumstances. Of course, the moderately and strongly Pro-Choice were virtually unanimous in claiming the acceptability of abortion in this situation. But even three-fourths of those who claim to be neutral on the issue as well as three-fourths of the moderately Pro-Life say it is acceptable.

Is it as acceptable in the second trimester? Only about half (48%-54%) of those surveyed said it was in the second.

An almost identical spread of public opinion was found in this survey's replication of the National Opinion Research Corporation question: Should it be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if the woman became pregnant as a result of rape. Again, roughly 7 out of 10 respondents (72%) said yes, 2 of 10 said no, and less than 1 out of 10 (or 8%) said they did not know.

- Here again, the balance of public opinion was in favor of the idea, with the only group substantially dissenting being the strongly Pro-Life, only 41 percent of whom favored the idea.

Health Problems: the Mother

The most difficult situation of all results when the mother's *life is endangered* by the pregnancy. When such a situation exists, an even greater number of respondents (80%) said that abortion would be acceptable.

- In this circumstance even a majority of the strongly Pro-Life (64%) believe abortion is acceptable. Once more, however, the balance of public opinion is even more accepting of abortion in this situation.

Do Americans believe that an abortion intended to save the mother's life is still acceptable *after* the first trimester? While the survey shows a greater reticence in the public, more than half (56%) of all of those surveyed still say that it is acceptable.

What about the situation when the danger is not life threatening, but simply the possibility of damage to the mother's *mental or emotional health*? Public opinion is still generally supportive of abortion, yet not with the strong consensus that existed when the danger was life threatening. In this case, just over half (55%) found it acceptable.

- Here again, the balance of opinion (even among the moderately Pro-Life) is in sympathy with the mother. Around 80 percent of the moderately and strongly Pro-Choice find it to be acceptable.

The idea of second or third trimester abortions for women in this situation, however, completely changes the balance of public opinion. For most surveyed, and particularly the neutral and Pro-Life respondents, this was *not* acceptable.

Health Problems: the Baby

The issue of abortion becomes even more complicated when it involves a deformity or a genetic abnormality in the fetus. Overall, when respondents are asked to deal with this as a *general moral principle*, their response is one thing; when it is applied to *their own personal situation*, their response is another. The exception to this is found in the "extremes": the strongly Pro-Life consistently maintain the unacceptability of abortion in these cases for themselves and for others. By contrast, the strongly Pro-Choice consistently maintain the acceptability and, in some cases, desirability of abortion in these cases. Consider the following:

When asked, for example, if they personally "felt an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if there is a strong chance of serious deformity in the baby," 6 out of 10 respondents (58%) said it would be acceptable during the first trimester; 45 percent said it would be acceptable after that.

- Nearly 9 out of 10 (87%) strongly Pro-Choice and 8 out of 10 (82%) moderately Pro-Choice accept this, compared to only 25 percent of the strongly Pro-Life.

- The balance of opinion in the middling positions, once again, tilts toward acceptance, though it is not as strong when considering abortion *after* the first three months.

So too, 61 percent say that a pregnant woman should have a legal right to an abortion if there is a strong chance of serious defect. Here again, with the exception of the strongly Pro-Life, the balance of public opinion leans toward favoring such a law.

Once the decision has been made to give birth to a handicapped child rather than having the abortion, however, a plurality of those surveyed (60%) believe that keeping the child is the right thing to do.

- One should keep in mind that the hypothetical situation described in this question concerns a decision made by another woman and not themselves or their partner. But even in this situation, 40 percent of the strongly Pro-Choice disagree, saying that keeping the child was the wrong thing to do.

How do people feel about infant deformity when an intangible situation becomes a personal problem?

Thirty-seven percent of those surveyed say that they would have an abortion if a test showed that their *own* baby had a serious deformity.

- Most of those who say they would have the abortion if one of these difficult situations becomes their own, as one would expect, identify themselves as moderately or strongly Pro-Choice. Around two-thirds of these respondents say they would.
- The neutral and moderately Pro-Life are

divided fairly evenly on this, some saying they would, a few more saying they would not, and a large number who were really unsure.

When asked to make a decision on the basis of *specific genetic problems*, we see a similar pattern:

- The majority (between 51 percent and 73 percent depending on the situation), would only give a little consideration or none at all toward having the abortion themselves.

- Only about one in ten, on average say that they would have an abortion if a test reveals that the baby is mentally retarded (12%), born blind (8%), missing a limb (9%), has a serious heart defect (11%). If a test shows that a child will be born with a terminal illness that will end its life in six years, one-fourth (24%) of those surveyed said that they would have the abortion.

- For each of the physical conditions just mentioned, *the strongly Pro-Choice were 2 to 3 times more likely to say they would have the abortion.* By contrast, the strongly Pro-Life were in most cases, less than half as likely to say they would have the abortion.

Poverty, Social Disadvantage and the Quality of Life

The issues of poverty (e.g. how the addition of a child might create a heavy financial burden) and the abandonment of the mother by the father raise the *quality of life* issue, not only for the family bringing the child into the world but for the child, him or herself. These issues are different, of course, and yet at the level of general moral evaluation, Americans respond identically to them. In both instances, two-thirds of the respondents (66% and 68% respectively) said that abortion is *not* acceptable during the first three months of pregnancy — poverty and abandonment are insufficient grounds. The number disapproving of abortion jumped to more than eight out of ten when the frame was shifted to the second and third trimester.

- The polarization among the most opinionated could hardly be greater. Ninety-three percent of the strongly Pro-Life say that abortion would be unacceptable under these circumstances while 73 percent of the strongly Pro-Choice say that it would be acceptable.

- Unlike the earlier situations described, the balance of moral judgement in the middling positions on this issue leans toward the unacceptability of abortion. It is those who favor abortion under these circumstances who are out of step with popular sentiment.

The issue of the child's *quality of life* was raised more directly in another question: is abortion a "better option than bringing a child into a home where it is not wanted?" Responses to this question make it amply clear that abortion for *quality of life* motives is an issue which sharply polarizes the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice.

- When asked whether they thought "abortion is usually a better option than bringing in a child into a home where it is not wanted," one-third (35%) agreed it was compared to three-fifths (59%) who disagreed.

- Yet three-fourths (74%) of the strongly Pro-Choice agreed with that statement compared to only 8 percent of the strongly Pro-Life!

Quality of the Mother's Life

A new dimension to the quality of life issue is raised when considering how the pregnancy, birth and care of the child will effect the mother.

- In the case of *a teenager*, who would have to drop out of school because of a pregnancy, two-thirds (66%) said that abortion was unacceptable during the first three months. More than three-fourths (83%) said abortion was unacceptable any time after the first trimester.

- In the case of *a professional woman*, whose career would be interrupted by an unplanned pregnancy, three-fourths (77%) said that abortion was unacceptable during the first three months. Nine out of ten (89%) said abortion was unacceptable under these circumstances any time after the first trimester.

- In the case of *any woman*, whose life plans are changed "in ways that are hard to live with," three-fourths (74%) disagreed that such circumstances would make abortion "alright."

How one identifies oneself on the abortion issue generally has a large impact on the attitudes expressed.

- In each of these situations, the strongly Pro-Choice are the only ones for whom a majority find abortion to be "acceptable" or "alright." In every one, they are again 2 to 3 times more likely to find the act acceptable than the rest of the population.

While the rest of the American public is not as consistent as the strongly Pro-Life, nevertheless the majority in these situations tilt fairly strongly toward the protection of the unborn. In summary, the majority of Americans object to abortion for *quality of life* reasons, and the quality of the mother's life is viewed as even weaker grounds than concern for the quality of the child's.

Birth Control and Gender Selection

If nominally altruistic "quality of life" rationales fail to garner support, more blatantly utilitarian birth control and gender selection arguments are met with even greater moral resistance.

- Just under one in ten (9%) say that abortion is acceptable during the first three months when used as a "repeated means of birth control," and only 6 percent say this is acceptable after the first trimester.

- Only one in twenty (6%) say that abortion is acceptable if a couple wants a boy but a test shows that it is a girl. This marginal support all but vanishes when the situation is personalized — only two percent admit they would actually *have* an abortion for the purpose of sex selection.

Nevertheless, as a matter of principle, the strongly Pro-Choice find gender selection abortion morally acceptable by a substantial margin. Twenty-one percent of the strongly Pro-Choice say it is acceptable during the first tri-mester and 15 percent of the same say it is acceptable in the latter stages of gestation.

2. The Overall Impact of Social Background

Without more complex analysis of the data it is difficult to say whether the effects of certain background factors would diminish or disappear if still other factors were held constant. Nevertheless, by studying the basic tables presented in the Appendix, one can see that background factors have different bearings on the respondent's views of the morality of abortion in different situations.

- Region: The south and mid-west are clearly more conservative regions — no surprise there. Individuals from the western states, however, are typically even more unrestrained in their acceptance of abortion than those in the east. Along these lines, those who are from the most urban settings are also the most morally accepting of abortion.

- Education: The better educated the respondent, the more likely they will hold to Pro-Choice moral positions on abortion. Any exposure to university life has a profound impact on world view but those who have earned a college degree or more are even more likely to be confirmed in a Pro-Choice orientation.

- Political Party: In most situations, Republicans are slightly more Pro-Life in their views than are Democrats — however the difference between them is *far* narrower than one might expect given the rhetoric of contemporary political campaigns. For all of the rant about the Democratic Party as the pro-abortion party, it is the Independents who are most inclined to view abortion as morally acceptable.

- Registered Voter: The registered voter is also more inclined toward a Pro-Choice position than the unregistered voter.

All of these are general tendencies in the data. The differences mentioned are not always great, but they are statistically significant and though doggedly consistent. Further analysis of the data will reveal just which of these factors are the most influential in the general public.

3. The Adoption Alternative

Within the larger field of moral judgement about abortion and childbearing, where does adoption fit? To get at this, respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "abortion is usually a better option than giving a child up for adoption." To this, 12 percent of the general population agreed; 82 percent disagreed, 7 percent did not know how to respond.

- Most of the patterns described above hold true here as well. Most striking, however is the fact that the strongly Pro-Choice are more than twice as likely as the average American to agree with this statement.

For the majority of Americans to agree that adoption is a better option than abortion does not imply that abortion should not be an option at all in their minds. The data reviewed in section two of this chapter belies this.

4. Who Has A Say? The Question of Input

The decision of whether to abort a fetus or not has an impact beyond the woman who presently makes the final decision. It effects others in concentric circles away from the woman out through that abstraction we call society. Because others are effected by this act, should they or should they not have a voice in the decision-making process?

The survey shows that after the pregnant woman herself, the majority of Americans believe that the baby's father and the parents of a pregnant teenager should have a voice in the decision — a great deal or at least a moderate amount. (See Figure 3-4)

- Two-thirds (66%) of the public also believe that the woman's family or personal physician should have some input. This opinion, however, does not extend, to the doctor at an abortion clinic nor to any counselor at an abortion clinic. (Thirty percent of the public, however, believes that both of the latter should have a voice.)

- Another one-third of the population believe that a counselor at an adoption agency should have a voice. This is especially attractive to those who are Pro-Life, but even those who are Pro-Choice are nearly as inclined to agree that they should have some say.
- By the same measure, about one-third (or slightly more), Americans believe that the woman's church, religious community or pastor should have a voice in the decision. This view, however, is held disproportionately by those who claim to be neutral or Pro-Life.

- Everyone, it seems — not least the strongly Pro-Life — are nervous about the role of the federal or state government becoming involved in this issue. Only 17 percent or so believe that these institutions should have a say in the matter. Only slightly more (27%) agree that "the law, the courts, and the judge" should have a say.

Overall Americans are most inclined to see the abortion decision as a family matter; afterward, as a community or religious matter; last *and* least, they view it as a matter for the courts or the state.

Conclusions:
The Shifting "Balance Point" of Public Opinion

That there is a diversity of moral opinion on the abortion issue is not at all surprising. But in our search to understand this diversity better we have stumbled upon an interesting concept, that of a "balancing point" of public opinion. The balancing point of public opinion is that point of divergence between the majority view and a minority view. In some cases there is no strong divergence of opinion and therefore the balance point is in the middle of two extremes. In other cases, however, one group may really stand out from all of the others. In these, the balance point is the point of divergence.

In sorting out the moral attitudes of Americans on abortion as it plays out in a complex range of real life situations and circumstances, we have seen that the balance point — between majority and minority opinion — shifts. In the situations of rape, incest and the likelihood of infant deformity, it is the strongly Pro-Life who are the outliers; whereas in the situations of an increased economic burden, the potential of a lower quality of life for the child or the mother, a need for birth control and gender selection, it is the strongly Pro-Choice (and in some cases, the moderately Pro-Choice) who are the outliers. Understanding where the balance point of opinion shifts says much about the moral instincts of Americans as a whole — what they will likely accept and not accept by way of legal restriction and also where the challenges of public education lay.

4

Abortion Coalitions

One of the perplexing mysteries of the abortion controversy concerns the "muddled middle" — those people who are neither strongly Pro-Life nor strongly Pro-Choice. We know a fair amount about the moral positioning and reasoning at the opposite ends of the debate but about all we can say of the middle is that they resemble one side on certain issues and the other side on other issues. In the end it is difficult to be very coherent about the moral positionings of those not at the extremes.

The question guiding our inquiry in this chapter is, *how can we more coherently understand those Americans who are not or choose not to identify themselves at the mutually antagonistic ends of the abortion controversy?*

Findings:

1. Abortion Coalitions

Through a technique called "cluster analysis," we have been able to isolate certain sub-groups distinguished by their relatively unique moral viewpoints on the abortion issue. (This procedure does this by drawing on a range of information and organizing it according to average differences along several sets of variables.) In our own analysis, a typology of six relatively distinct clusterings of meaningful moral viewpoints emerged. (See Table 4-1, 4-2 and 4-3) They are as follows:

The "Consistently Pro-Life"

The first and largest coalition comprises about 35 percent of the American population and it is made up of individuals who maintain assumptions and moral judgements that are consistently in keeping with the protection of the unborn. Generally speaking, they view the fetus as constituting a "person" at the moment of conception, believing that its right to life outweighs a woman's right to choose whether to have a baby, at the very start of the pregnancy. These individuals believe that abortion is just as bad as killing someone who has already been born. For them, abortion is nothing if it is not murder. When confronted by a range of morally compromising situations they consistently maintain the view that abortion is unacceptable. Even when they personally are faced with the likelihood that their own child would be born with a serious genetic abnormality, in virtually all cases they would not consider an abortion. On top of this, they self-consciously and strongly identify with the Pro-Life movement.

The "Secretly Pro-Life"

This coalition (20 percent of the population) is also very much on the Pro-Life side of the controversy, particularly insofar as its views of the fetus is concerned. They generally believe that the fetus becomes a person at conception or a little after and, in principle, believe that the right to life outweighs the right to choose at conception or soon thereafter. In spite of these views of the fetus, however, they hesitate to call abortion "murder," and they believe that abortion is acceptable under a few more difficult situations than the consistently pro-life. They might even consider an abortion themselves under extreme circumstances. What really stands out about this coalition, however, is that they disproportionately think of themselves, and identify themselves, as neutral or even moderately pro-choice. They balk at the

general idea that government should have input into the abortion decision, even though they respond relatively favorably toward *specific* proposals that would monitor or restrict abortion. This group is younger and more tolerant in their sexual morality than any of the other pro-life groups. In fact, they are younger on the average than any of the other abortion coalitions, belying the otherwise accurate impression that the younger the cohort, the more pro-choice the moral outlook.

The "Conveniently Pro-Life"

This coalition, representing about 14 percent of the American public, is also very much Pro-Life in its general orientation to the unborn. The majority believe that the fetus becomes a person at conception, and also, just like the previous group, believe that the fetus' right to life outweighs the woman's right to choose at conception or shortly thereafter. Interestingly, they are convinced that abortion is murder, indeed more convinced than the previous group, but "not as bad as someone who has already been born." Moreover, the majority within this coalition think of themselves as moderately or even strongly Pro-Life, although a substantial minority think of themselves as neutral.

But there is more to this group. When asked to consider *specific situations* under which abortion might be acceptable, they are a little more accepting than the previous two coalitions. Even more telling, however, is the fact that when faced with a personal decision about abortion, they balk. Under difficult circumstances, they would not hesitate to have or strongly consider having an abortion. At the risk of over-simplification, these people are Pro-Life in principle, but Pro-Choice in personal practice. On a preliminary scale assessing the importance of individualistic criteria in moral decision-making, this group was exposed as the most individualist coalition in the sample.

The "Ambivalent Pro-Choice"

On balance this coalition, which makes up only 7 percent of the adult population, thinks of itself as moderately pro-choice and to a certain degree, even morally neutral on the issue. Nevertheless, their assumptions about the nature of the fetus and whose rights should be protected are very much Pro-Choice. Specifically, they focus upon *viability* as a key point in the pregnancy, believing that personhood begins at this point or even later, and that the right to life does not outweigh the woman's right to choose until the same point in the pregnancy. If they personally had to make the decision, faced with the likelihood that their child would have a genetic abnormality, they would either have the abortion or seriously consider it. What makes them "ambivalent" in their approach to this issue is that they tend to be *reticent to accord broad moral acceptability for abortion* in the range of difficult situations (i.e. those mentioned in the previous chapter.) This ambivalence is also reflected in the way they identify themselves on the issue: namely, as neutral to moderately Pro-Choice. Perhaps one reason for this ambivalence has to do with their view of the ethical status of abortion itself. While they generally do not believe the act is murder, they do believe that it is the taking of human life. Thus, they vacillate, and since they are not really positive one way or the other about abortion, they are pro-choice. In a word, *they are pro-choice by default, rather than by conviction.*

The "Personally Opposed" Pro-Choice

In nearly every way this coalition, which comprises 8 percent of the population, is on the Pro-Choice side of the controversy. The majority believe that the fetus only becomes a person at the point of viability or even later. In line with this, the majority state in principle that the fetus' right to life outweighs the woman's right to choose at about the fifth month, once again close to the time when experts say the fetus is viable outside the mother's womb. Is abortion murder within this coalition? No, not really. While a good many will say that abortion is the taking of human life, they emphatically state that it is not murder. The predominant opinion, however, is that abortion is only a surgical procedure for removing human tissue. Ethically, they show a fair degree of consistency with the pro-choice stance. Pro-choice by commitment, rather than default, they view abortion as morally acceptable in many if not most situations. Yet what really marks this coalition is their emphatic unwillingness to consider an abortion for themselves if their baby were shown to have serious genetic problems. Only in the most extreme cases would abortion ever be a consideration. Thus, they are the "personally-opposed Pro-Choice.

The Consistently Pro-Choice

This group (16 percent of the American public) is the polar opposite of the consistently Pro-Life coalition. The individuals who make up this clustering disproportionately identify themselves as "strongly pro-choice." As a matter of general moral principle, they believe that abortion is acceptable under many circumstances and if they personally were faced with the decision whether to abort a fetus that has deformities or other genetic problems, they

would be more inclined under more circumstances than any other group to do so. The reason for this, we may assume, is that the majority believe that the act of abortion is nothing more than a surgical procedure for removing human tissue. Their strong pro-choice position, however, is not without some qualification for most view viability as a key moral boundary between abortions that are acceptable and unacceptable, and many approve of moderate legislative restrictions. For example, 4 out of 10 (39%) approve limiting abortion to the first trimester except in cases where the mother's life is threatened, and another 6 percent are undecided. Still, one-fourth (23%) believes that the right to life only outweighs the right of a woman to choose at birth.

2. A Demographic Footnote

The social and demographic characteristics of these abortion coalitions are not terribly distinct in most cases, except at the ends of the typology. (See Table 4-4) In this they resemble the ends of the self-identification typology. The Pro-Life coalitions tend, by the very slightest margin, to be more greatly represented by women, while the Pro-Choice coalitions by men — but again, only by a small degree. The Consistently Pro-Life tend to be slightly older. The Consistently and Secretly Pro-Life are also more widely represented among the lowest levels of academic achievement compared to the Consistently (and to a certain extent, Personally-Opposed) Pro-Choice who are represented at the highest levels.

3. Parting Observations

These is much more to be learned about these abortion coalitions, but we have already learned a great deal. Even a cursory sketch of their intricate differences reveals that "pro-life" and "pro-choice," by themselves, are rather crude constructions. A bipolar view may only serve to conceal much more nuanced variations in abortion morality that partition the "muddled middle." We have seen that some are pro-choice by default, some by design. Some are pro-life in principle, but not in personal practice. Some are personally opposed, but legally permissive. And some are just plain permissive. But even these are "pro-life" by their own definitions, while supporting a sprinkling of proposals that are pro-life even by the definitions of the opposition.

5

Life and Death Matters

Intuitively, one would suppose that the abortion controversy is related to a variety of other issues contested in contemporary America. The activists themselves insist that there is such a relationship. And to listen carefully one may hear the most passionate on all sides articulate how their work is related to the larger effort of establishing an ideal America.

It is too much of a temptation to assume, in the case of the abortion controversy, that Pro-Life Americans are "conservative" and Pro-Choice Americans are "liberal." There is at least superficial evidence to support this generalization but will it really hold up under inspection? The Life Choices Survey provides a unique opportunity to explore some of these issues. The principle question that guides this chapter is this: *how do people's views of and positions on abortion relate to their attitudes toward a number of other important contemporary social issues? ?*

Findings:

1. The Changing Role of Women

Clearly one of the social issues about which Americans deeply disagree concerns the role of women. The Life Choices Survey shows this disagreement well.

- Except for the oldest age cohorts, Americans are about evenly split on the issues of whether a woman should put her family before her career and whether her preschool child is likely to suffer if she takes a job outside the home.

- While Americans tend to reject the idea that being a housewife is less fulfilling than working for pay, they might have equally rejected the notion that working for pay is less fulfilling than being a housewife.

The bottom line, at least among younger people surveyed, seems to be that women should follow their own hearts in carving their domestic and vocational niches. The fact that this attitude is a recent one is underscored by the greater importance older generations place upon women's domestic role — 76 percent of those sixty or older believe that a woman should put her husband and children ahead of her career, compared to 50 percent of those who are younger than thirty.

But how do these divergent views on the role of women relate to the abortion issue? In perhaps the most important book on the subject, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood*, Kristen Luker contends that different understandings of gender roles and human sexuality are central to the "world view" differences that separate Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movements. Abortion, for one side, is a symbol of economic autonomy while for the other side it is a symbol of an attack on motherhood. The Life Choices Survey confirms these general associations.

- Seventy-two percent of the strongly Pro-Life believe that a woman should put her family ahead of her career, compared to only 43 percent of the strongly Pro-Choice.

- Similarly, 61 percent of the strongly Pro-Life feel that a young child will suffer if his or her mother works; only 41 percent of the strongly Pro-Choice feel the same.

2. Changing Sexual Mores

Another theme that is central to Luker's study of the world view differences among activists concerns the moral meaning of sexual activity. Again, the Life Choices Survey confirm her basic hunch.

- Pro-Choice Americans are divided fairly evenly in the meanings they assign to sexual activity — one-third say it is mainly a source of pleasure and recreation; another third, that it has a sacred and spiritual meaning; and the remaining third, that it combines both.

- On the Pro-Life side, the story is dramatically distinct. Only 9 percent of those who identify themselves as strongly Pro-Life and 16 percent of the moderately Pro-Life say that sex is basically a source of pleasure and recreation, compared to 61 percent of the former, and 52 percent of the latter who say that it has a sacred and spiritual meaning.

The differences in the meaning of human sexuality given by opposing factions extends to their evaluation of certain forms of sexual behavior.

- Three-quarters (75%) of the strongly Pro-Choice say that sex before marriage is okay if a couple loves each other, compared with only one-quarter (26%) of the strongly Pro-Life.

- Two-thirds (68%) of the strongly Pro-Choice say that homosexual relations are okay, compared to only one-fifth (20%) of the strongly Pro-Life.

- Almost 9 out of every 10 persons (86%) who call themselves strongly Pro-Choice believe that birth control should be available to teenagers even if their parents do not approve. Only a little more than a third (36%) of the strongly Pro-Life feel likewise.

When recreation and pleasure are interpreted as the essence of sexual expression, moral strictures lose their foundation. Right becomes a personal matter of feeling good, rather than one of conforming to common definitions of goodness. Since pleasure is not the essence of sex for the strongly Pro-Life, it is rejected as a criterion of moral judgment.

In sum, while the lives of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice proponents are obviously lived-out in the same society, the meanings they attach to their everyday activities in that society differ in fundamental ways.

3. Meaning and the Self

Even though it is both natural and accurate to think of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice advocates as moral opponents or opposites, it is worth noting that they share certain things in common that the muddled middle lacks. First, the activists on both ends tend to have a shared sense of commitment to something larger than themselves. For the strongly Pro-Choice that something may be viewed as a *cause* while for the strongly Pro-Life it would be viewed as a *calling*. Those who strongly identify with one end of the argument or the other share a sense of closure, coherence, and commitment that is lacking in the middle of the road. It is in the center of the abortion spectrum, not at the Pro-Choice end, where one finds greatest agreement with the idea that "realizing your full potential as a human being is more important than helping others."

- Thirty-six percent of those professing to be "neutral" on abortion agree that realizing your potential is more important than helping others, compared to 29 percent of those who are strongly Pro-Choice and 18 percent of those who are strongly Pro-Life.

Grounded in the deeper commitments of those who strongly identify with either of the two movements is an intensified sense of personal efficacy, a feeling that they can make an impact upon the world around them. Those who profess to be neutral, on the other hand, are somewhat more fatalistic.

- Sixteen percent of those who are "neutral" strongly agree that "we really have little control over what happens to us" compared to only 10 percent of those who strongly identify with one or the other the two movements.

Yet these points of correspondence should not be overstated; the general pattern that emerges from the comparison of Pro-Life and Pro-Choice extremes is one of difference rather than similarity. And while they share a slightly greater sense of commitment than those in the middle, those commitments are qualitatively different.

4. Suicide, Euthanasia, Right to Die

The Pro-Choice "lack of moral rigor" or "defense of moral emancipation," (depending upon one's per-

spective) carries over into many concrete areas of ethical evaluation. Lack of commitment to absolute standards, for example, translates into a softening of judgment against those who commit *suicide*.

- Only 28 percent of those who are strongly Pro-Choice unequivocally reject the idea that suicide is morally acceptable, compared to 60 percent of those who are strongly Pro-Life. The strongly Pro-Choice are five times as likely as the strongly Pro-Life to agree that taking one's own life is "morally acceptable because a person has a right to do whatever he wants with himself."

Generally speaking, those who identify themselves as being in the middle on the abortion issue are closer to the Pro-Choice position of reserving judgment than to the Pro-Life response of moral indignation.

The same pattern is seen in the case of a *terminally ill patient who requests that he or she be permitted to die*.

- Almost two thirds (63%) of the strongly Pro-Choice say that they would approve of witholding food or water in order to comply with the wishes of the patient. Only one-quarter (24%) of the strongly Pro-Life say the same.

In this case, however, the views of those who are neutral on abortion are closer to those of the Pro-Life — few of them approve of witholding life-support.

In contrast to the issues of suicide and the terminally ill patient, both of which involve a conscious decision on the part of the living to end their own lives, the case of *a person who has fallen into a vegetative state* involves others in a decision to end the life of one who has lost the capacity to decide for themselves. The vast majority of Americans, regardless of religious or political persuasion, support the right of family members, in consultation with doctors, to remove life support from someone in a vegetative state who has no real hope for improvement. Three quarters (76%) of the general public support such a right. Given that support for this passive form of euthanasia is ubiquitous, do any groups stand out as having unusually high support for such a measure?

- Yes - college graduates, secularists, and residents of the Pacific Coast express unusually high support for such euthanasia, at 85 percent, 88 percent, and 84 percent respectively.

- Yet the greatest approbation of all comes from the strongly Pro-Choice, 91 percent of whom support the right of family members to terminate life support in such cases.

- Interestingly, even among the strongly Pro-Life, more than two-thirds (68%) support the right of family members to make such a decision.

What about the child born with "extreme deformity?" Would it be best for all concerned to let such an infant die? Forty percent of the American public say "yes it is." This figure, however, masks important differences among Americans who have different positions on the abortion question. Two-thirds (67%) of the Strongly Pro-Choice agree with this compared to only one-fourth (24%) of the Strongly Pro-Life. (See Figure 5-3) (The contrast is even more stark when considering the differences among abortion coalitions — see Table 5-1.)

Based upon this evidence, is it accurate to conclude that Americans embrace what some have touted as a "right to die?" Hardly! Four-fifths of the population still say that suicide is morally unacceptable and a plurality disapprove of euthanasia, — either withdrawing sustenance from a terminally ill patient who wishes to die or letting a severely deformed child die. Only among those with no religious affiliation and those who call themselves Pro-Choice is there an overall rejection of this moral censure.

5. Death Penalty and Military Service

All of the issues of life and death that we have touched on thus far have either involved instances where a person wished to die or where they were reduced to a level where they could no longer wish. Shifting our focus to one of the great life and death controversies of modern times, how does the general public evaluate the *death penalty*, a situation where a perfectly healthy person wants to live, but society has judged them no longer worthy? In this instance, the public clearly concedes a "right to die" — three-quarters (74%) say that they favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder. Support is fairly uniform across social and demographic categories, with the level of *opposition* being highest among single persons, secularists, and those in the large cities. Contrary to popular caricatures of Pro-Lifers as preoccupied about the lives of unborn fetuses while embracing "death" measures such as military intervention and the death penalty, the evidence from this survey reveals that those who are Pro-Life are no more supportive of the death penalty than those who are Pro-Choice. If anything, *the supposedly "conserva-*

tive" strongly Pro-Life are less supportive of the death penalty than the supposedly "liberal" strongly Pro-Choice.

- Sixty-eight percent of the strongly Pro-Life say that they favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder, compared to 75 percent of the strongly Pro-Choice.

- Seventy-four percent of those who have drifted closer to a Pro-Life position over the past two years favor the death penalty compared to 79 percent of those who have drifted closer to Pro-Choice.

With respect to military service, 80 percent of both the strongly Pro-Life and the strongly Pro-Choice say they would be willing to fight if they were twenty years old and the country were at war. However, the consent of the strongly Pro-Choice is more qualified — only 32 percent say they would be willing, if the country were at war, to fight "under any condition" compared to 42 percent of the strongly Pro-Life. What is more, this difference persists even when controlling for the overrepresentation of secularists among the strongly Pro-Choice and the fact that secularists are particularly likely to decline military service.

How do the different *abortion coalitions* relate to the ideal of military service? In this an interesting face surfaces. Openness toward military service is not directly associated with moral censure of abortion. On the contrary, the Consistently Pro-Life, the Conveniently Pro-Life, the Ambivalent Pro-Choice and the Personally-opposed Pro-Choice are all approximately equal in their willingness to fight for their country. About 40 percent of each say they would fight unconditionally. It is the Secretly Pro-Life, young and firmly opposed to abortion, and the Consistently Pro-Choice, progressive and individualistic, who are most hesitant about military service.

- Only 28 percent of the Secretly Pro-Life and 32 percent of the Consistently Pro-Choice would unconditionally agree to fight if their country were at war.

Conclusion:
Making Sense of "Pro-Life" and "Pro-Choice" Worlds

The importance of considering how different Abortion Coalitions relate to the idea of military service opens a new line of inquiry and the possibility of understanding the worlds of the "Pro-Life" and "Pro-Choice" better. Far from constituting monolithic subgroups of like-minded citizens, both the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice ends of the abortion spectrum are comprised of distinct clusters who view society from different perspectives.

While the "Pro-Life" share a certain commonality with respect to their views on abortion, they are also separated by points of difference and contention. In fact, the greatest separation in the entire spectrum of abortion postures may be that separating the Consistently Pro-Life from other Pro-Life groups and from the mainstream of American moral thinking. Even though the Consistently Pro-Choice also depart dramatically from the middle-of-the-road, the Consistently Pro-Life are even more disconnected. On matters of sexual morality generally, the Secretly Pro-Life share more in common with the various Pro-Choice coalitions than they do with the conservative views of the Consistently Pro-Life. For example,

- Only 27 percent of the Consistently Pro-Life agree that sex before marriage is okay, compared to 60 percent of the Secretly Pro-Life, 71 percent of the Personally-Opposed Pro-Choice and 83 percent of the Consistently Pro-Choice.

- The same pattern can be found in attitudes toward homosexuality. Only 19 percent of the Consistently Pro-Life strongly agree that homosexual relations are okay compared to nearly half (46%) of the Secretly Pro-Life. Here again, the Secretly Pro-Life are more likely to resemble the Ambivalent Pro-Choice (51% of whom agree) and the Personally Opposed Pro-Choice (56% of whom agree with that statement). (Seventy percent of the Consistently Pro-Choice agree with that statement.)

Much the same pattern is apparent when comparing the different Abortion Coalitions on other matters of value and orientation. Thus,

- Almost half (47%) of the Consistently Pro-Life classify themselves as politically conservative, compared to only 28 percent of the Secretly Pro-Life, 29 percent of the

Personally-opposed Pro-Choice, and 26 percent of the Consistently Pro-Choice.

- When asked their understanding of *evil*, only 26 percent of the Consistently Pro-Life said that evil was either "whatever limits human progress and the advance of knowledge" or "whatever hurts someone and causes them to suffer," both of which emphasize societal or humanitarian obligations. This compares with 49 percent of the Conveniently Pro-Life, 51 percent of the Secretly Pro-Life, 60 percent of the Ambivalent Pro-Choice, 66 percent of the Personally-opposed Pro-Choice, and 68 percent of the Consistently Pro-Choice who gave one of these answers. Departing from national norms, the Consistently Pro-Life were more likely to define evil in either transcendent (39%) or individualistic terms. They were the *only* group for which violations of civic and humanitarian obligations did not resonate when they reflected upon evil.

Each of these examples illuminate the moral uniqueness and marginality of the Consistently Pro-Life. Whether the focus is sexual morality, gender roles, the immanence of God in everyday life, understandings of good and evil, or self-identification as political conservatives, there is a qualitative break between the moral constitution of the Consistently Pro-Life and that of the other Abortion Coalitions, even their closest allies.

This may, in fact, explain why the Secretly Pro-Life are secretly Pro-Life. They sense a profound gap between their own moral make-up and that of the most openly and vigorously Pro-Life. At the same time, they sense a certain consistency with those who are more moderate or Pro-Choice on the abortion issue. Thus, *in spite of the fact that they see abortion as morally reprehensible, they are hesitant to think of themselves as Pro-Life, an identification that would align them with persons who are fundamentally dissimilar.* Although the data also reveal that the Consistently Pro-Choice depart from national norms in their liberalism, secularism and libertarianism, they are nearer to the center on many of the issues cited in this chapter than are the Consistently Pro-Life. What is more, the slope of opinion from the Secretly and Conveniently Pro-Life across the Pro-Choice coalitions to the Consistently Pro-Choice tends to be more continuous, without any ruptures comparable to the one separating the Consistently Pro-Life from the rest of the American population.

6

Communities of Moral Discourse: Their Decisive Role

In our attempt to understand the abortion controversy in American public opinion thus far, the most striking differences of belief and conviction have been between the strongly Pro-Life and the strongly Pro-Choice. A person's social background has some influence, as we have seen, yet it is how they position themselves *in* that controversy that explains the most *about* the controversy.

Yet this is circular reasoning at its best. The question we must ask is *"why?" What is it that makes someone who identifies himself or herself as Pro-Life so concerned to protect the life of the unborn. Conversely, what is it that makes someone who identifies himself or herself as strongly Pro-Choice as relatively cavalier (or at least just faintly concerned) about the moral consequences of the act?* These are the questions that will guide this chapter.

Findings:

The answer to this question, according the Life Choices Survey, has everything to do with the religious and moral assumptions people bring to the debate. Indeed, one of the central findings of the Life Choices Survey is that *cultural and religious factors explain more about the range of opinion we have seen, than anything else,* including the standard demographic factors of which social scientists are so fond. Indeed, these factors give meaning and substance to the positions that activists, observers and marginally involved citizens alike call "Pro-Life" and "Pro-Choice."

1. Traditional Formulations

To anyone who follows survey research on the topic, the very idea that religious and cultural factors are important should seem strange and unlikely. After all, as we alluded in the preface, survey research has not had much success in explaining very much about the abortion debate through conventional religious and cultural factors. Protestants, Catholics and Jews, for example, always share a similar if not identical distribution of opinion.

- In a 1988 survey conducted by the Times Mirror Corporation, for example, Americans were asked their views of a constitutional amendment restricting abortion. Of those surveyed, 47 percent of all Protestants supported it and 46 percent of all Catholics supported it.

- In another national survey conducted in 1988 by the Gallup Organization, Americans were asked when abortion should be legal. Once again, the pattern of response between Protestants and Catholics was identical: each religious grouping had 17-20 percent who said all cases, 60-62 percent who said certain cases, and 17-19 percent who said in no cases.

Examples such as these are plentiful in the literature on the subject. The comparison between Protestants and Catholics and Christians and Jews has been so uninteresting, in fact, that many polling organizations do not even report the comparison. "Why should they?" they might reason. "Religious faith has little bearing on people's opinions on the subject."

That conclusion is premature. The reason the survey research establishment comes to this conclusion is that *it has failed to see what almost every activist in the controversy long ago recognized, and as a consequence, it has either missed or ignored what may be the central explanatory factor of this controversy.*

2. The Hypothesis of a "New Cultural Divide"

The problem resides in the practice of lumping all Protestants together, all Catholics together, all Jews together, all Mormons together, etc., and ignoring those who claim to have no religious faith at all. This is a problem because Protestants themselves would never lump themselves together. Neither would Catholics or Jews.

The reality is that each major faith in America is increasingly split between their "orthodox" and "progressivist" camps.

- Within Protestantism (and every denomination in Protestantism), it takes form in the division between Evangelical and Mainline.

- Within Roman Catholicism, it is the division between those loyal to the Pope and those once-called, "Americanists," but now simply "liberal" or "progressive."

- Within Judaism, it is the division between the Reform and secular camps and the Orthodox movement. (The Conservative movement in Judaism is presently dividing right down the middle.)

- Finally, there is a growing number of Americans who claim no faith at all. These are the Secularists and they, with a few important exceptions, tend to line up on the "progressivist" side of the new cultural divide.

What divides the "orthodox" from "progressivist" in each of these faiths, we would contend, is the issue of "moral authority," that is, the sources and authorities individuals and communities turn to in deciding what is right and wrong. The basic tension in American religion and in American culture more broadly is between those who believe moral truth comes from "transcendent sources," (as expressed in an "inerrant Scripture" for Evangelicals, the "Roman Magesterium" for Catholics, or "Torah and the community that upholds it," for Orthodox Jews) and those who believe that our understanding of right or wrong derives from inner-worldly sources, say our experience, or science, and so on.

If this hypothesis is true, then theologically conservative Catholics and Evangelical Protestants will have more in common with each other than they do with those "progressivists" within their own faith traditions. So too, progressive Catholics, Mainline Protestants and Secularists will have more in common with each other than they do with the traditionalists in their own faith camp.

This is precisely what the Life Choices Survey shows at almost every level. Consider first the ways in which different groups orient their lives.

3. Who are the "Orthodox" and the "Progressivists?"

The Demographic Profile

Of course, some factors have been shown to be more important than others, yet overall, the role of social and demographic factors in shaping the public's views on abortion has been relatively slight. Likewise the demographic profile of Americans who view themselves as Pro-Life or Pro-Pro-Choice has been illuminating at the extremes but rather muddled and confused in the middle. Yet when considering the social and demographic attributes of the various orthodox and progressive groups, the our understanding of the nature of the conflict becomes sharpened.

Table 6-1 presents a demographic profile of the various religious coalitions

- Evangelicals make up about 28 percent of the population surveyed. They are disproportionately older, married and women from the South or Midwest with modest educational achievement. They also lean toward the Republican party.

- Mainline Protestants comprise 31 percent of the sample. One will find slightly more men than women here. The majority are married but a fairly large minority (16%) are currently divorced or separated. They also hail in fairly larger numbers from the Midwest and South but can also be found in the East and West too.

- Orthodox Catholics comprise 14 percent of the sample population. Like the Evangelicals, the typical Orthodox Catholic is a married, older woman of moderate educational background. Orthodox Catholics are found more in the East and are overwhelmingly Democratic.

- Progressive Catholics make up 20 percent of the sample population. They divide fairly evenly among men and women, are married and are baby-boomers. They are slightly better educated than their orthodox counterpart, but like the Orthodox, they can be found most plentifully in large cities in the East.

- Secularists comprise 7 percent of this survey sample. They are twice as likely to be male as female and disproportionately younger (under 44 years) married to their first spouse or single. (Though despite their youth, the highest divorce rates are found in their ranks.) They also are generally drawn from the large cities of the West and Midwest. They are a very well-educated group who identify themselves as political independents.

Where Each Looks For Truth

When asked, "what in your opinion is the most believable authority in matters of truth?," the range of response (see Table 6-2) was telling:

- Evangelical Protestants and Orthodox Catholics were the most likely to turn to the teachings of scripture. In keeping with their tradition, Orthodox Catholics were also the most likely to turn to "what religious leaders say."

- The majority of secularists (68%), and the plurality of Mainline Protestants (49%) and Progressive Catholics (49%) (note the similarity!) were most likely to turn to their "own personal experience." Though in smaller numbers, they were also more likely to turn to the "teachings of science" than the Evangelicals or conservative Catholics.

When asked, "If you were unsure of what was right or wrong, how would they decide what to do," we can see the same general pattern of responses.

- Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics disproportionately said the would "do what God or Scripture tells them." They were the least likely to say they would "do what would make them happy," or "do what would get them ahead."

- The majority of secularists (59%), and the plurality of Mainline Protestants (47%) and Progressive Catholics (46%) (once again, note the similarity!) were most likely to choose the humanist response and "do what would be best for everyone." Though in smaller numbers, Secularists really stood out in saying they would "do what would make them happy." Progressive Catholics stood out in saying the would "do what would get them ahead."

It becomes clear that this translates into a general moral orientation for different sides of the cultural divide. The strongly Pro-Life are committed to specific moral guidelines which they believe to be universal, while the strongly Pro-Choice are bound to the universal precept that morality should not be universal, that individuals should be free to formulate their own. It is in this sense that the overemployed terms of conservative and liberal still have meaning. Those on the orthodox side of the cultural divide seek to *conserve* a morality that has timeless value, while progressivists seek to *liberate* personal conscience from external constraint.

Because the advocacy of specific standards requires greater consensus and moral protagonism than does the more nebulous agreement to grant moral sovereignty to individuals, the Pro-Life position can be said to require a stronger commitment than that of their opponents.

- Almost 8 of every 10 secularists (79%) mainline Protestants (75%) and progressive Catholics (73%) say that there are "few moral absolutes," that what is right or wrong varies from situation to situation. The orthodox communities (and tthe Evangelicals in particular) are less likely to hold this view.

To Whom Each Feel Chiefly Obligated

When asked to choose one thing to which respondents felt more responsible than anything else, the majority of Americans said the family (40%), then God (31%), then "myself" (18%), and then "all of humanity" (8%). The differences among orthodox and progressive groups, however, is striking. (See Table 6-3)

- 59 percent of the Evangelicals and 41 percent of the Orthodox Catholics said they were most responsible to God — they were the least likely of all groups to say "myself."

- Progressive Catholics (53%) were the most likely to say they were responsible to the family, followed by Mainline Protestants

(47%). Just over one-fifth (21%-22%) of the respondents in both of these camps said that they were mainly responsible to "myself" — two and a half times more likely than their orthodox counterparts.

- Secularists were just over twice as likely to say they were responsible to "myself" than the national average, and almost 5 times more likely than the orthodox Protestants and Catholics. They were just as likely, however to say they were obligated to their family. Though the numbers are comparatively small, secularists were still twice as likely as the orthodox groups to say they were responsible to "all of humanity."

How Each Views Matters of Spirit and Faith

From Table 6-4 one can see that the identical (and by now, predictable) pattern of responses take form over matters of religious and spiritual practice.

- The orthodox groups are just over twice as likely as their progressivist counterparts and more than 5 times more likely than the Secularists to describe their religious beliefs as "very important."

- Where the overwhelming majority of Evangelicals (61%) and Orthodox Catholics (72%) attend religious services once a week or more, only 20 percent of the Mainline Protestants and 28 percent of the Progressive Catholics do so. The majority of these attend religious services once a month or less. Predictably, 72 percent of the secularists say that they never go to church or synagogue.

- Orthodox and progressivist groups show the same pattern in their prayer lives as well as in response to a question asking if they have ever had a religious experience that has changed the direction of their lives.

4. Related Issues of Life and Death

Much the same pattern can be seen in the way these communities relate to other social issues and life and death concerns. (See Tables 6-7 through 6-9)

Consider first how their attitudes differ over the changing role of women:

- Seven out of 10 Evangelical Protestants and Orthodox Catholics agree that "a woman should put her husband and children ahead of her career" compared to roughly 5 out of 10 Mainline Protestants and Progressive Catholics and 4 out of 10 Secularists.

On matters of sexual behavior, the differences are even more stark:

- Only about one-third of the Evangelical Protestant (31%) and Orthodox Catholics (34%) agreed that "sex before marriage is okay, if a couple loves each other." This compares to half (49%) of the Progressive Catholics; two-thirds (63%) of the Mainline Protestants and four-fifths (79%) of the Secularists.

- Half of all Evangelicals (58%) and Orthodox Catholics (51%) say that birth control should be made available to teenagers compared to nearly three-fourths of the Mainline Protestants (69%) and Progressive Catholics (71%) and Secularists (82%).

- And Secularists (61%) are three times as likely and Mainline Protestants (43%) are twice as likely to approve of homosexual relationships between consenting adults as are Evangelical Protestants (only 21 percent of whom approve). Likewise, half (50%) of all Progressive Catholics approve of homosexual relationships compared to roughly one-third (35%) of all conservative Catholics.

Finally, some differences can be seen in the way different moral communities view matters other "edge of life" issues.

- Compared to the Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics, the mainline religious communities are twice as likely and the secularist community is five times as likely to agree that "suicide is morally acceptable because a person has a right to do whatever he wants to himself."

- One half of those in the various progressivist groups (51% — Mainline Protestant; 46% — Progressive Catholic and 52% — Secularists) agree that "there are cases of extreme infant deformity when the best thing for everyone concerned may be for doctors to let the new born infant die" compared to one-third of all Evangelical Protestants (32%) and Orthodox Catholics (31%).

- The majority of all groups believe that a family, in consultation with doctors, has a right to remove life-support from a person who is in a vegetative state. The differences still exist in the same pattern though they are less dramatic. They become more stark again when presented with a situation of having to decide whether to approve or disapprove of withholding food and water from a terminally ill patient. The orthodox communities are far less likely to approve of this than are the progressivist communities. For example, Secularists are nearly two and a half times more likely to approve of these measures as are the Evangelical Protestants. The difference is between 64% and 26%, respectively.

5. The Orthodox, the Progressivist and the Abortion Controversy

How does the "new cultural divide" relate to the abortion controversy? If it is true, as we have argued, that the different orthodox and progressivist communities are distinct because they live by different and opposing sources of moral authority, this will play out as different and opposing ideas about the morality of abortion as well. And indeed they do.

"*Self-Identification" on the Abortion Issue*

The first thing we notice is that religious/moral orientation is a much better predictor of position on the abortion issue than education, region or any other background factor. (See Table 6-10).

- Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics are far more likely to be strongly Pro-Life or moderately Pro-Life than anything else. They are by no means uniformly Pro-Life, however. One out of five Evangelicals (22%) and 1 out of 6 Orthodox Catholics (16%) claim to be neutral on the issue, and a minority of each (between 16% and 18%) view themselves as Pro-Choice.

- The typical Mainline Protestant views his or her position as being either neutral or slightly Pro-Choice, where the typical Progressive Catholic views his or her stance as being either neutral or slightly Pro-Life. Persons of these faiths can also be found at either end of the continuum as well.

- The average Secularists position themselves on the Pro-Choice side of the continuum and more often than not, as strongly Pro-Choice. Roughly 1 in 7 (14%), however, can be found on the Pro-Life side of the divide.

Personhood and the Ethics of Abortion

As it will be recalled, the public as a whole divided their opinion about the nature of "persons" primarily between the enlightenment conception (one distinguished by an ability to think and reason) (49%) and the theistic conception (36%) of a creature made in God's image.

- People from every category could be found holding all views yet the strong tendency was for the orthodox to embrace the theistic ideal while progressive Protestants and Catholics leaned toward the Enlightenment ideal.

- Over two-thirds of the Secularists said that the most important thing distinguishing persons was their ability to think and reason.

It is largely for this reason that the groups differ so widely on the question of when the fertilized egg inside a mother's womb first becomes a person.

- A full-three fourths of the Evangelicals (73%) and Orthodox Catholics (77%) maintain that this happens at conception. This compares to half (50%) of the Orthodox Catholics, less than half (44%) of the Mainline Protestants, and one-fourth (26%) of the Secularists.

- About one-fifth of all those on the progressive side of the cultural divide (Protestant, Catholic and Secularist) believe that a fertilized egg becomes a person at quickening.

- Secularists (28%) are nearly twice as likely as Progressive Protestants (18%) and Catholics (14%) to say this happens at the point of fetal viability.

- Finally about one out of every ten progressive Protestants, Catholics and Secularists believe that a fertilized egg does not become a person until birth itself.

How does the new cultural divide bear on a person's ethical judgement about the nature of abortion?

- Well over half (58%) of the Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics believe that abortion is just as bad as killing someone who has already been born, compared to one-fourth (22%-24%) of their progressive counterparts. Just 13 percent of the Secularists hold this view.

- The plurality of Mainline Protestants (34%) and Progressive Catholics (42%) view the act not as murder, but still as the taking of human life.

- The major portion of Secularists (40%) view abortion as simply the removal of human tissue.

The Morality of Abortion in the Difficult Situations

It would be too tedious and, in the end, unnecessary to review how the new cultural division effects the moral judgement of people confronted with the entire range of difficult situations and circumstances. The reader may consult the summary found in Tables 6-11 as well as the Summary Tables in the Appendix for details. The overall pattern, however, is clear and in every way confirming of the hypothesis described above.

In every situation, however unclear and morally compromising:

- Those on the orthodox side of the cultural divide — the Evangelicals and the Orthodox Catholics — take positions that are most protective of the fetus.

- Those on the progressivist side of the cultural divide take positions that are significantly less protective of the fetus. Mainline Protestants and Progressive Catholics are generally much more accepting of abortion than their conservative counterparts. In every case, Secularists take positions that are the least protective of the life of the fetus.

This pattern also holds in situations where the respondent is asked to consider how they personally would respond to news that a test has shown their baby to have a genetic tendency toward a variety of traits or deficiencies.

Finally the pattern holds when Americans were asked "at what point in a pregnancy do you feel that the unborn child's right to be born outweighs the woman's right to choose whether she wants to have a child." About 7 out of 10 Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics put this at conception; about 4 out of 10 Mainline Protestants and Progressive Catholics put this at conception; and just over 2 out of 10 Secularists place this at conception. Indeed 30 percent of the Secularists say that the right to life outweighs the right to choose at the point of fetal viability and 17 percent say that this is at the time of birth. (See Table 6-12)

Abortion Coalitions and the New Cultural Divide

More interesting are the ways the abortion coalitions discussed in Chapter Four relate to the new cultural divide. (See Table 6-13 and 6-14)

- Nearly nine out of ten Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics are on the Pro-Life side of the controversy. Just over half in both cases are Consistently Pro-Life. One-fifth of each are Secretly Pro-Life and one out of seven from each of these faith communities are Conveniently Pro-Life.

- Progressive Catholics also tend to be on the Pro-Life side of the controversy but only one-fourth are Consistently Pro-Life. As many are likely to be Secretly Pro-Life and just a few less than this are likely to be Conveniently Pro-Life, publicly approving of the agenda yet privately given to the abortion option. Very few Progressive Catholics are in the Ambivalent and Personally-Opposed Pro-Choice coalitions *yet 16 percent* of all progressive Catholics are Consistently Pro-Choice.

- Mainline Protestants are the most evenly divided among the various abortion coalitions. About one-fifth of their number can be found each among the Consistently Pro-Life and Consistently Pro-Choice. Another one-fifth (22%) are those who Pro-Life in almost every way but think of themselves as neutral or Pro-Choice — the Secretly Pro-Life. About 1 in 10 are found among the Personally-Opposed Pro-Choice.

- The majority of Secularists are not only on the Pro-Choice side of the controversy but are Consistently Pro-Choice. Some of these would not consider abortion for themselves, even within difficult situations but they are nevertheless ideologically-committed to progressive abortion morali-

ty (the Personally-Opposed Pro-Choice). There is an interesting minority of 16 percent are Secretly Pro-life.

6. The Significance of the New Cultural Divide

These findings are as dramatic in their consistency as they are in their revelation. A more convincing empirical argument could not have been fabricated.

The significance of these findings can be framed in this way: In Chapter Five we came to see that the way a person positions him or herself on the abortion issue relates very clearly to other attitudes and opinions, particularly those concerning the changing role of women, human sexuality, and the "edge of life" issues of suicide, euthanasia, and the "right to die." This confirms much of the argument made by Kristen Luker in her book, *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood* who argued that attitudes toward abortion were part of a world view. In this chapter, however, we have seen that attitudes and opinions on the abortion controversy are related to even deeper and more fundamental assumptions that people hold — assumptions about the sources of truth and of goodness, about the ultimate meaning of life, and so on — which in turn are born out of a participation in distinct moral and religious communities. What this means, then, (contrary to so much of the previous research), is that *people's attitudes toward abortion are not at all random but are deeply rooted within "communities of moral conversation or discourse" that sustain these positions.*

Over the centuries, Orthodox Catholics, Evangelical Protestants and Orthodox Jews have typically been enemies. But today they share the same views and work together in large part because they participate in similar kinds of communities, communities distinguished by their reliance upon transcendent expressions of moral authority.

The Mainline Protestants and Progressive Catholics are clearly on the progressivist side of the new cultural divide. It is fair to say that most of these individuals look to and rely upon other sources of moral truth in addition to scripture, religious tradition or church authority. Nevertheless, while they do not approach the religious life and doctrine as intensely as the orthodox, simply living in the shadow of the church has a strong influence in their lives. The evidence? They are Pro-Choice in their approach to abortion and yet not nearly as much as those who do not abide at all in its shadow.

The Life Choices Survey also shows that the new cultural divide has an impact not only among the leaders of each side of the controversy, but upon the ranks of ordinary citizens as well. Not only are the movement activists polarized but the ordinary Americans are increasingly polarized as well.

Part III

The Politics of Abortion

7

Legislative Possibilities

We have seen that there is considerable diversity of opinion concerning the morality of abortion. The extremes of opinion are certainly represented in this survey yet even they who hold the strongest and most consistent opinions on opposite sides of the controversy are not caricatures. There are a good number who would be considered among the strongest and most consistent Pro-Life supporters who believe abortion is acceptable under some conditions, such as rape, incest, and when the mother's health is in danger. Likewise, there are a number of staunchly Pro-Choice supporters who recoil at the very idea of what *Roe v. Wade* could conceivably allow, such as gender-selection abortions or abortion as a repeated form of birth control, etc.. So, for all the talk about a ban on abortion altogether or, on the other hand, maintaining *Roe v. Wade* as it is, neither of these options sits well with the American public, even with the majority of those at opposing sides of the controversy.

But moral judgment privately offered on a survey is one thing, actual restrictions on abortion legally enforced is quite another, particularly when many Americans have become accustomed to a liberal abortion policy. The first question we raise for this chapter, then, is, *to what extent will the American public support various legislative proposals currently being debated around the country that would create constraints against the practice of abortion?* The second question takes the matter further: *which regions of the country are the most receptive and the most resistant to these legislative proposals.*

Findings:

1. Legislative Possibilities: An Overview

The Life Choices Survey posed nine legislative proposals to the general public to gauge their reaction. The general response, which is remarkably and almost consistently favorable, is summarized in Figure 7-1. The most widely favored proposals are for "informed consent" (86%-favor) and health and safety standard (84%-favor). Other proposals also receive broad public support: prohibiting abortion after the third month except to save the mother's life (73%-favor), requiring doctors to pay fines for performing illegal abortions (70%-favor), not allowing abortions to be used as a means of birth control (69%-favor), parental consent (69%-favor) and requiring a test for viability after the fifth month (65%-favor). Still receiving broad support are proposals requiring the consent of the baby's biological father (55%-favor) and prohibiting the use of fetal tissue for medical research (41%-favor).

Contested Terrain: Abortion Coalitions

Though a majority of Americans say they favor these legislative proposals, this does not mean that they favor them uniformly. Table 7-1 shows that the degree of favor and opposition range in every case (predictably) between the Consistently Pro-Life and the Consistently Pro-Choice. (By consulting the Summary Tables one can see that the same range is seen in "self-identification" on the abortion issue.)

The *least contested issues* are the proposals dealing with informed consent, safety standards for abortion clinics and a test for viability after the fifth month of pregnancy where the "opinion gap" is less than 20 percent.

The *most contested issues* are parental consent (with a difference of 51 percent between ends), requiring the father's consent (50 percent difference), fining doctors (47 percent difference), prohibiting second and third trimester abortions (46 difference) and prohibiting abortions used as birth control (41 percent difference).

- Though sharply contested on these issues, one can see a general consensus that includes not only the various Pro-Life coalitions but the Ambivalent Pro-Choice as well.

Moral Communities

We get a slightly different perspective when considering how these legislative proposals play to the various communities of moral discourse.

In the proposals dealing with parental consent, birth control, father's consent, and even prohibitions on abortion after the first trimester, the Secularists are the outliers, standing outside of a broader consensus in favor of these proposals. As one would expect at this point, it is the Orthodox Catholics and Evangelicals who are most uniformly in support of these proposals.

2. The Geography of Abortion Politics

Popular wisdom has it that New England and the West Coast are liberal, the plains are conservative, the Midwest is moderate, and the South is conservative-fundamentalist. What more is required to predict the outcome of moral skirmishes over abortion? The answer is "a great deal." Popular wisdom in this case contains grains of truth, but distorts through over-simplification.

As is true when a yes/no question is used to assess whether respondents view abortion as "murder," and when a bipolar Pro-Life/Pro-Choice breakdown is used to classify abortion viewpoints, so a simple four-way regional breakdown of the United States blurs important regional differences. There is more to the country's moral and political geography than differences between West, Midwest, South, and East would suggest. A clear advantage of this survey's large sample size is the ability to disaggregate into smaller, more substantively meaningful regional units. This chapter will take us on a brief tour of the country's moral geography, highlighting its bearing upon the abortion controversy.

New England - Progressivism Tempered by Catholicism

New England is widely recognized as the land of liberalism and the home of such heroes or villians (depending on your perspective) as Teddy Kennedy, Tip O'Neil, and Michael Dukakis. Consistent with this image, the AUL/Gallup data reveal that there is, in fact, a strong Pro-Choice sentiment in the region. The main stronghold of New England's Pro-Choice sentiment resides on the progressivist side of the new cultural divide — among mainline Protestants.

- New England's mainline Protestants are almost twice as likely as mainline Protestants nationwide to hold a Consistently Pro-Choice moral outlook. Thirty-nine percent do so, compared to 20 percent of mainline Protestants nationally.

- Adding to this Consistently Pro-Choice group those who are Personally-opposed and Ambivalent Pro-Choicers, we find that 72 percent of New England's mainline Protestants are Pro-Choice, compared to 42 percent of mainline Protestants nationally.

The other base of Pro-Choice support is among progressive Catholics who are distributed across the abortion spectrum from the weaker, Secretly Pro-Life position, to the Consistently Pro-Choice coalition on the other extreme.

- Only 15 percent of New England's progressive Catholics take a Consistently Pro-Life stance on abortion.

- Forty-two percent of all Progressive Catholics, on the other hand, belong to one of the three Pro-Choice coalitions. Of these, 16 percent take the strongest, Consistently Pro-Choice view.

Interestingly, both New England's progressive Catholics and mainline Protestants populations are more Pro-Choice in their views than the same groups nationally. Couple this factor with the region's under-representation of Evangelical Protestants, and one would surmise that Pro-Choice sentiment runs deeper here than anywhere else in the country. And in fact, there are fewer Consistent Pro-Lifers in New England than anywhere else in the country — 20 percent compared to 34 percent nationally.

However, the strong regional concentration of Catholics acts as a moderating presence on the region's Pro-Choice domination. Even though New

England's Catholics are more Pro-Choice than Catholics nationally, still the proportion of *orthodox* Catholics (at 22 percent), is almost double the national average. And even in New England, orthodox Catholics represent a bastion of Pro-Life strength.

- Forty-eight percent of New England's orthodox Catholics are Consistently Pro-Life. Another 33 percent are either Secretly or Conveniently Pro-Life. This leaves only 20 percent which are distributed among the three Pro-Choice coalitions.

In short, what Pro-Life sentiment there is in New England is inextricably tied to its large Catholic base — 57 percent of the region's adult population is Catholic, almost double the national average of 31 percent.

Considered as a whole, New England's support for legislative proposals to restrict abortion is moderate — the region's citizens tend to support certain initiatives while rejecting others.

- Seventy-five percent of the New Englanders supported between 4 and 7 of the eight legislative initiatives mentioned in the Life Choices Survey. Only 17 percent, however, supported all eight, a figure 7 percent lower than the national average.

- Massachusetts supported an average of 6 of the 8 initiatives mentioned, a figure which places the state toward the upper-middle range of states favoring such initiatives.

The issue of the overall acceptance of abortion restrictions, however, is less revealing than the issue of *which* initiatives resonate with the region's population. Here, the region's progressivism and Catholicism together yield a unique legislative posture: *abortions which violate the progressive conception of rational procedures and reasonable action, as well as those which clearly violate the Catholic conception of the sacredness of human life, are those which are most likely to be rejected* by the region's inhabitants. Massachusetts is a case in point.

- The idea of requiring a woman to receive information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion ("informed consent"), and of passing laws to set health and safety standards for private abortion clinics, receive the overwhelming backing of the state's respondents.

Nine out of ten of the state's respondents supported each of these initiatives which conform to progressive canons of reasonable action.

- Eight out of ten Massachusetts respondents (79%) support the idea of requiring a test for fetal viability in cases where the woman is more than five months pregnant (this is 14 percent higher than the national figure of 65 percent). Similarly, 80 percent support the idea of prohibiting abortions after the third month, compared to 74 percent nationally.

Both of these proposals limit abortions late in the pregnancy, in cases where the fetus' status as a "human life" is more certain. Such abortions directly violate Catholic moral sensitivity regarding the sacredness of human life. Looking at the region as a whole, 70 percent of New Englanders support the idea of requiring a test for viability, a figure exceeded by only one other region of the country (the West Central states).

On the other hand, restrictions on abortion which are more do not reflect either the progressive "rational-procedure" morality and to Catholic "sacred-life" morality receive less support.

- Legislation which requires parental consent for minors seeking abortions, prohibits abortion as a means of birth control, or imposes fines upon physicians who perform illegal abortions, receives *less* support in Massachusetts than the idea of a test for fetal viability. Nationally, all three receive *greater* support.

- Any legislation which requires the consent of a third-party — be it the woman's partner or the parents of a minor — receives little backing in New England compared to other areas of the country.

Could it be that the same procedural morality which magnifies the appeal of "informed consent" and of health/safety standards for private abortion clinics, diminishes the appeal of proposals that a third-party (eg. a parent or spouse) should "intervene" in the rational decision-making process of the woman who is considering the abortion? This is certainly a possibility.

Whatever the case, it is clear that New England's less than enthusiastic embrace of certain legislative proposals — requiring the consent of the baby's father or parental consent for minors — would cause

one to classify it as Pro-Choice; while its relative acceptance of other elements of the Pro-Life platform — testing for fetal viability, restrictions upon late abortions, and support for health/safety standards for private abortion clinics — depict it as surprisingly Pro-Life.

The region's unique mix of progressive and Catholic constituencies molds its moral ecology in subtle ways that only begin to be tapped by the detailed series of questions found in the Life Choices Survey. Catholicism and progressivism presuppose certain moral sensibilities, most importantly a concern for the sacredness of human life and for the rational structuring of the abortion process itself. Anything that violates these sensibilities elicits moral censure.

The Southeast - Evangelicalism Tempered by Individualism

Popular thinking has it that the southeastern states of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, etc. are the heart of the Bible belt. The Life Choices Survey reveals that this reputation is not undeserved - 4 out of every 10 adults in the region (39%) are Evangelical Protestant. This is the highest concentration of Evangelicals anywhere in the nation. As one would expect, the region's moral topography is impacted accordingly.

- A full 40 percent of southeastern respondents are Consistently Pro-Life in their general moral outlook on abortion.

- This is the second highest concentration of *Consistent* Pro-Lifers anywhere in the nation, exceeded only by the southwest's Pro-Life majority.

Even the southeast's *mainline* Protestants are opposed to abortion (compared to the same group nationally), yet upon closer inspection, there is a partial unraveling of what at first blush appeared to be a tightly woven Pro-Life fabric. That is, the profusion of Evangelicals and the general moral indignation at abortion is not matched by a correspondingly high identification with the Pro-Life movement and with high support for abortion legislation. The answer may lie in the region's blending of religious and moral conservatism with high doses of individualism and anti-statism. Residents of the southeast are less likely to identify with national political parties, with centralized denominations, with a variety of national associations and labor unions than are other Americans. Why not also with the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movements and their organizations?

- In spite of their moral aversion to abortion, reflected in the fact that a full three-quarters (75%) of Southeasterners fall into one of the three Pro-Life abortion coalitions, they are no more likely to *consciously* identify themselves as Pro-Life (44%) than the nation as a whole (43%).

What is more, they show slightly *less support for abortion legislation than the national average.*

- Forty percent say they support at least 7 of the 8 legislative proposals cited in this survey, compared with 45 percent nationally.

- The support for legislation to restrict abortions is no greater than in "liberal" New England, where 40 percent also support 7 or more such initiatives.

Perhaps part of the secret lies in the region's slightly elevated number of *Conveniently Pro-Choice* — the highest concentration anywhere in the nation. Equally significant is the fact that the southeast's Conveniently and Secretly Pro-Lifers are unusually likely to oppose abortion restrictions compared to the same groups nationally.

- Nationally, only 19 percent of the Conveniently Pro-Life support fewer than 5 of AUL/Gallup's abortion restrictions, compared to 27 percent in the southeast.

- Similarly, only 18 percent of the nation's Secretly Pro-Life support fewer than 5 restrictions, compared to 21 percent of the southeast's Secretly Pro-Life.

By contrast, the region's Consistently Pro-Life are as likely to support such proposals as members of the same coalition residing in other regions.

Whatever the explanation, it is clear that the region's striking religious and moral conservatism is not channeled into commensurate support for the Pro-Life legislative platform.

- Support for measures prohibiting the use of abortion as a means of birth control is particularly soft in Virginia and North Carolina, where 64 percent support such restrictions compared to 69 percent in the nation as a whole.

- Support for a test for fetal viability is only moderate. Sixty-six percent of both Virginia and North Carolina respondents,

and 63 percent of those from Georgia, supported such a test, compared to 65 percent nationally.

- Although 8 out of every 10 Southeasterners support the idea of informed consent and of health and safety standards for private clinics, support for both of these proposals is lower here than in any other region in the nation.

- The AUL/Gallup data depict Florida's 88 respondents as a true Pro-Choice aberration. On the average, Florida respondents supported fewer elements of the Pro-Life legislative agenda than any other state in the nation. Whether the proposal was to test for viability, require informed consent, require parental consent for minors, impose health/safety standards for private clinics, or to prohibit abortions after the first trimester or in cases where they are used for birth control, support by Florida respondents consistently fell about 25 percent below national averages.

Looking again at the region as a whole, southeastern *self-identification* on the abortion issue merely replicates the national averages. What is more, *to the extent that there is moral momentum, it appears to be in the Pro-Choice direction.*

- Twenty-four percent of the region's respondents report a recent Pro-Choice drift in their thinking, compared to 17 percent who report a Pro-Life drift.

- Only in New England (31%) and on the Pacific Coast (24%) do a greater percentage report a Pro-Choice drift.

In sum, in spite of its greater religious and social conservatism, and in spite of stronger moral opposition to abortion, *the Southeast is no more supportive of abortion legislation than progressive New England.* More specifically, New England's heavily Catholic population is more inclined to support moderate restrictions without going to the extremes of all or none. Southeastern Protestants, on the other hand, are more apt to support either the fewest of restrictions, or in the case of strong Evangelicals, to support them all.

It is an interesting question to what extent historic differences in Catholic vs. Protestant postures toward centralized authority still impact, directly or indirectly, upon regional attitudes towards abortion legislation. Such differences may in part account for the greater congruity between *moral* and *legislative* positions in New England than exists in the Southeast. The Southeast's traditions of independence and individualism may be partially responsible for its greater dissonance between general moral judgments and public policy orientations.

Unlike some other areas of the country, both New England and the Southeast (along with the entire Atlantic seaboard) appear to be polarizing on the abortion issue. The regions with the lowest percent of respondents whose views have "remained the same" over the past two years are New England (45%), the Mid-Atlantic States (57%), and the Southeast (59%), in that order. New England's rapid polarization is dramatically reflected in the fact that it has the highest percentage anywhere in the nation of respondents who have drifted towards a Pro-Choice viewpoint (34%) as well as the highest percent whose views have become more Pro-Life (23%).

The West Central & Rocky Mountain Regions
Conservative Calm

The mirror image of the polarizing east coast is the West Central and Rocky Mountain region of the country. Seven out of ten adults in this area report no recent drift in their thinking toward either the Pro-Life or the Pro-Choice end of the abortion spectrum. Apparently their moral imaginations have not been overly stimulated by the recent barrage of press and media attention.

One could say that the Rocky Mountain states are *most notable for their being unnotable* on the entire issue. Due to the 24 percent who say they are "moderately" Pro-Life and to its somewhat elevated support for abortion legislation, the region can be viewed as *slightly* more Pro-Life than the national average. Its residents are also somewhat more hesitant to have an abortion themselves, but all of these are only borderline departures from the national norm. The most accurate depiction is that they are average — *their distribution across abortion coalitions essentially replicates the national percentage in each category.*

- The only legislative options which generate above average support are: requiring parental consent for minors, testing for viability after the fifth month, and "informed consent" before going ahead with an abortion. In each of these cases, however, departures were too small to be statistically significant.

Moving east toward the western plains, the picture changes slightly. The West Central region (comprised of Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin) is characterized by a slightly greater crystallization or sharpening of Pro-Life sentiment. This is not to say that there are more Pro-Life respondents than in the Rocky Mountain region — on the contrary — but the ones that are there are more decidedly Pro-Life. Thirty-two percent of West Central respondents report that they are "strongly" Pro-Life. Few are Conveniently Pro-Life; rather, many are convinced, both personally and at the level of abstract evaluation, of the moral reprehensibility of abortion.

Many of the differences between the Rocky Mountain and West Central regions probably stem from the higher concentration of Evangelical Protestants in the latter.

- Thirty-five percent of West Central respondents are Evangelical Protestants compared with only 23 percent of Rocky Mountain respondents.

On the average West Central residents are less inclined to consider abortions themselves, and more inclined to favor legislative restrictions, than residents of any other region in the country, with one dramatic exception which shall be presented shortly. Their sharpened identification with the Pro-Life movement translates into broad support for maximum legislative restrictions.

- Three in ten of the region's residents (29%) support all eight of the Pro-Life legislative initiatives.

- What is more, more than half (53%) support at least 7 of the eight proposals. This compares with 40 percent in the Southeast and 40 percent in New England.

Which Pro-Life legislation stands the greatest chance of success in the West Central region? Proposals to limit abortion to the first trimester, to require informed consent, to impose health and safety standards for abortion clinics, to require a test for viability, to fine doctors who perform illegal abortions, and to prohibit the use of abortion as a means of birth control. All of these have a high likelihood of success.

- Seventy-four percent of West Central respondents support the idea of requiring a test for fetal viability compared to 65 percent in the nation as a whole. Similarly, 78 percent favor limiting abortion to the first trimester, compared to 73 percent across the entire nation.

- Ninety-two percent of West Central residents favor the idea of requiring a woman to receive information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion before going ahead with the procedure.

- Departing from the general pattern of above average support for Pro-Life legislation, regional support for the idea of requiring parental consent only mirrors, and in some cases falls below, the national average. In Wisconsin and Missouri, for example, 60 percent favor parental consent compared to 69% in the nation as a whole.

In summary, even though the abortion issue has not exactly captivated the West Central region, and even though Pro-Life sentiment is not altogether dominant, it does increase as one moves east across the Rockies and onto the plains. More significantly, it is *sharpened* as the proportion of Evangelicals expands relative to those on the other side of the cultural divide.

The Southwest - A Pro-Life Citadel

By virtually all AUL/Gallup indicators, the Southwestern region (comprised of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas) is Pro-Life kingdom come. A full four-fifths (83%) of its adult residents favor 5 or more of the 8 legislative restrictions cited in the study. This is significantly higher than even the West Central and Rocky Mountain states, the regions with the next highest levels of support. What is more, 53 percent of Southwestern respondents consciously identify themselves as Pro-Life, 10 percent higher than the national average. Even more notable is the fact that this 10 percent increment is entirely accounted for by those who say they are *"strongly" Pro-Life*. Southwesterners consider abortion to be morally acceptable in conspicuously fewer situations than the inhabitants of any other region. Furthermore, this broad moral censure is tangibly linked to a personal unwillingness to even consider abortion in their own lives.

Not only is the southwest solidly Pro-Life on any number of abortion indicators, but recent trends suggest that they are moving even further toward the Pro-Life end of the moral spectrum. Unlike the West Central and Rocky Mountain states, where an unusually high proportion say they have moved in neither direction during the last two years, there is

unmistakable Pro-Life momentum in the southwest. It is no wonder that Pro-Life forces have recently focused their legislative efforts upon the state of Louisiana!

- Twenty-two percent of Southwestern respondents say they have drifted closer to the Pro-Life view over the past 2 years, compared to only 14 percent who say they have become more Pro-Choice.

Those in the Southwest who do not call themselves "Pro-Life" generally say they are neutral; few are so audacious as to claim they are Pro-Choice.

- Less than 1 in 5 (18%) say they are Pro-Choice. This is notably lower than the 33 percent in the Rocky Mountain states, 34 percent in the West Central region, and 32 percent in the Southeast who say the same.

Southwestern support for Pro-Life legislation is nothing less than overwhelming.

- Eighty-four percent support the proposal to require parental consent for minors, compared to 69 percent nationally.

- Seventy-nine percent support legislation opposing abortion as a means of birth control, compared to 69 percent in the nation as a whole.

- Eighty-one percent approve of assessing fines for doctors who perform illegal abortions, compared to 70 percent nationwide.

- A full 83 percent support the idea of limiting abortions to the first trimester compare to 73 percent nationally.

The only Pro-Life legislative initiatives which betray some softness of support are:

- Requiring a test for fetal viability - while support for this measure is strong in Texas (75%), Louisiana and Arkansas respondents expressed less support (about 50%).

- The passage of a law requiring health and safety standards for private abortion clinics - 83 percent of Southwesterners support this measure compared to 84 percent nationally. (The regional average is lowered by Louisiana, where only 65 percent of respondents approve.)

Still, *softness of support* in the Pro-Life Southwest in no way implies *lack of support*. It simply means that levels of support are closer to national averages. Even on these two proposals, support is high — seven out of ten Southwesterners (69%) support testing for viability and more than 8 out of 10 (83%) back health/safety standards for private abortion clinics.

Given the consistency across indicators of the Southwest's Pro-Life stance, it is not surprising that a full 52 percent are counted among our "Consistently Pro-Life" coalition.

- Another 21 percent are Secretly Pro-Life and 11 percent are Conveniently Pro-Life.

- This leaves only 16 percent to be distributed among the three Pro-Choice coalitions.

One can reasonably conclude that this is the only region in the country without a critical mass of residents who adopt the minority, Consistently Pro-Choice viewpoint.

What religious topography undergirds this Pro-Life climate? Where do Southwesterners fall on the new cultural divide? Thirty-six percent are Evangelical Protestant. Coupled with the region's 16 percent who are orthodox Catholic, this is the *only region of the country with more than half the population on the orthodox side of the divide.*

This underscores the important parallel between the concentration of Evangelical/orthodox residents within a particular region and support for the Pro-Life agenda. As indicated above, Pro-Life sentiment is highest in the Southwest, followed by the West Central and Rocky Mountain states, and then by the Southeast, East Central and Middle Atlantic states. The total proportion of each of these regions on the orthodox side of the cultural divide is, correspondingly: Southwest - 51 percent; West Central - 47 percent; Rocky Mountain - 42 percent; Southeast - 44 percent; East Central - 36 percent; Mid-Atlantic - 35 percent; New England - 29 percent; and finally the Pacific Coast - 25 percent.

- Even though the Southeast has a slightly higher number within the othodox camp than the Rocky Mountain region, the latter's stronger Pro-Life sentiment may be due to its relatively large concentration of orthodox Catholics, the most solidly Pro-Life group of all.

Before concluding this tour of the country's abortion geography, we must consider the moral antithesis of the solidly Pro-Life Southwest: the Pacific Coast region.

The Pacific Coast — A Sanctuary for Secularists

The Pacific Coast region, more than New England, is the one with a decidedly Pro-Choice tilt. While its component states (California, Oregon, and Washington) retain a sizable core (24%) who consider themselves to be "strongly" Pro-Life, 29 percent identify themselves as "strongly" Pro-Choice, surpassing the national average by 11 percent. With about half (47%) of the region's adults openly calling themselves Pro-Choice, and another 17 percent saying they are neutral, *Pro-Life residents find themselves in the clear minority*, a situation unique to the west coast.

- Even in "liberal New England," we found that Pro-Life identification approximately equaled that of Pro-Choice.

More than a third of Pacific Coast residents (35%) favor half or fewer of the proposals to restrict abortion posed by the survey, again conspicuously higher than the next highest region (the Southeast, at 28 percent).

- Comparing the Pro-Choice Pacific Coast with the Pro-Life Southwest, Pacific Coast residents are twice as likely to support few legislative restrictions (35 percent compared to 17 percent).

As was true of New England and other regions, however, the underlying configuration of abortion attitudes is only revealed by disaggregating global measures. More interesting than the question of "how much" is the issue of "what types" of legislation are supported or rejected.

- The popularity of parental consent plummets west of the Rockies. Only 53 percent of Pacific Coast residents support the measure compared to 69 percent nationwide.

- Requiring the consent of the baby's father also receives little backing — only 47 percent of California respondents support this measure (compared to 55% across the nation).

- While the proposal to limit abortion to the first trimester receives two-thirds support (64%) among Pacific Coast residents, nationally it is approved by almost three-quarters of the population (73%).

- Similarly, the Pacific Coast endorsement for fining doctors who perform illegal abortions is about 10 percent below the national figure of 70 percent.

With support for Pro-Life legislation lagging well behind national levels in so many areas, what is gained by an issue-by-issue analysis of legislative options? Very simply, the recognition of two clear exceptions: 1) the Pacific Coast is amazingly receptive to the idea of health and safety standards for private abortion clinics (90 percent approve compared to 84 percent nationally); and 2) the vast majority (85%) of Pacific Coast residents also support the idea of informed consent. Still these two items must be viewed as exceptions to the broader pattern of weak Pacific Coast support for Pro-Life legislation relative to other areas of the country.

It is not surprising, given its Pro-Choice slant, that Pacific Coast representation in the Consistently, Secretly, and Conveniently Pro-Life coalitions are all below national averages. Its representation among the Consistently Pro-Choice, on the other hand (28%), represents a 75 percent increase over the national figure of 16 percent.

Even so, the size of the Consistently Pro-Life and Consistently Pro-Choice coalitions is approximately equal. What then makes the West Coast such a haven of Pro-Choice opinion? It is not the absence of a Pro-Life core of activists, but their small numbers *relative* to the country as a whole, where the Consistently Pro-Life typically outnumber the Consistently Pro-Choice by more than 2 to 1.

Not only is Pro-Choice sentiment unusually strong, but (similar to the southeast) momentum is in the Pro-Choice direction. Twenty-four percent of Pacific Coast respondents have drifted toward a *more* Pro-Choice outlook during the past two years compared to 15% who are following a Pro-Life current.

The moral underpinnings of this scenario are exactly what one would expect. Only 25% of Pacific Coast dwellers are on the orthodox end of the new cultural divide, compared to 51% who are either mainline Protestants or progressive Catholics. Add to this figure the remarkably high percent of Secularists (14%), and the number of Progressives climbs to two-thirds of the Pacific Coast population.

One way to characterize the Pacific Coast position on the abortion controversy would be to think

of it as duplicating New England's liberalism, exaggerated by a large sprinkling of secularists, and without the mitigating effect of New England's Catholic majority. This combination of factors yields a larger and more strident Pro-Choice extreme who are willing to tolerate few controls over a woman's alleged "right to choose."

3. Turning Legislative Proposals into Law

A final note. It has become clear to all that law itself is a weapon in the abortion controversy. Battles are fought around the country over just such legislative proposals. These invariably find their way to the general public. Do they really care?

About half of the American population really does care. One measure of this is seen in the following question. When presented with a candidate for political office with whom they agreed on most other issues, but disagreed with their stand on abortion, would they still vote for that candidate? Forty percent said "yes"; 42 percent said "no," and 18 percent said they were not sure.

Who were those who said they would change their vote?

- The strongly Pro-Life and strongly Pro-Choice were significantly more likely than those who were either neutral or moderately leaning.

- Likewise, the Evangelicals and Orthodox Catholics and their principle antagonists, the Secularists were significantly more likely than the Mainline Protestants and Progressive Catholics.

8

Movement Strategies

Changing American law and public policy to a posture that will protect the unborn is, of course, a critical end of the Pro-Life movement, (just as maintaining the policy status quo is central to the Pro-Choice movement). But law and public policy is not much good in a democracy unless it enjoys a certain legitimacy in the public imagination, that is, a consensus that these laws are just and good.

Gaining popular legitimacy for a certain social and political end, however, is always tied up in the legitimacy of the movement that advocates that end. If organizations and movements successfully create positive images and impressions about itself and the ends they stand for, their objective is that much easier to attain. If those images are negative, their objectives, even if supremely good, will be much more difficult to achieve.

The two questions that guide this chapter, therefore, are, *what images do Americans have of the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movements? And in the case of the Pro-Life movement, how effective are its key (image- building) arguments?*

Findings:

Images and impressions are often formed on the basis of little knowledge. This is partly true in the case of the abortion controversy as well where the amount of news and information about the different organizations and personalities of these movements varies widely. The range of awareness, however broad, is identical in the case of both the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movements. Roughly one-third of the public has heard "a great deal" of these movements, one-third has heard "a moderate amount" and about one-third has heard either little or nothing at all. This general pattern, however, conceals two undercurrents, one very striking.

- First, the more opinionated on the abortion issue (as measured by self-identification) are more likely to have heard a great deal.

- Secondly, the education gap is huge. College graduates are three times as likely to have heard a great deal than those with less than a high school diploma. Conversely, those with less than a high school diploma are five times as like to have heard nothing at all. This is interesting insofar as much of the Pro-Life support comes from the ranks of the least well-educated.

1. Competing Images and Symbols

Of what they have heard, is it positive or negative? Once again the range of impression at this very superficial level is identical in the case of both the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice movements. About 1 in 7 said that what they heard was "very positive," roughly 4 in 10 said "somewhat positive," about a quarter said "somewhat negative" and another 1 in 7 said what they had heard was "very negative."

In this situation, however, the education gap of opinion is much smaller and the gap between the activists on each side is enhanced. The Pro-Life and Pro-Choice, naturally hearing the most positive things about their own movements and the most negative things about their opposition. What else should we expect?

The matter of images and impressions becomes much more interesting when we get down to cases.

Overlapping and Contrasting Images

A complex array of information is presented in Table xx of this report and in the Summary Tables 133a-c and 135a-c. Rich and interesting detail awaits the reader who pours over them. For now, a few summary observations:

- Neither movement has impressed the general public as a whole that they represent the *silent majority*, or that they pose a fundamental *threat to American society*. Neither movement has impressed the general population as a whole that they are *violent*, yet more people (34%) are likely to view the Pro-Life movement as violent than they are the Pro-Choice movement (24%).

- Both movements have an image in the public mind of being *concerned about the family*, although the consensus is much greater in viewing the Pro-Life movement in this way (72% to 60%).

- To a lesser extent, both movements also have an image as being concerned about the *quality of life* (around 60%).

The Pro-Life movement is distinguished by several characteristics in the public imagination.

- The majority of Americans view it as being *religious* (76%) and being concerned about *values and morality* (70%).

- To a substantial degree, they also view the Pro-Life movement as being *extremist* (54%), *intolerant* (54%) and *hypercritical* (46%).

- Most view the Pro-Life movement as being relatively unconcerned about *poverty*.

The Pro-Choice movement, by contrast, is distinguished by other attributes.

- The majority of the American population views it as being concerned about *women* (74%) to a much greater degree than the Pro-Life movement (51%). To a large extent, they also view the Pro-Choice movement as being concerned about *poverty* and even concerned about *values and morality*.

- On the negative side, they also tend to view the Pro-Choice movement as being *intolerant* (43%) although to a significantly lesser degree than the Pro-Life movement.

The Image Problem of the Pro-Life Movement

On balance, then, the public image of the Pro-Choice movement would seem to be substantially better than it is for the Pro-Life movement. This becomes even more painfully clear when considering the various images of the two opposing movements from the vantage point of the various Abortion Coalitions. Figures 8-1 through 8-6 show the pattern dramatically.

- The most consistent "positive" image of the Pro-Life movement is that it is viewed as being "concerned about values and morality." All of the coalitions, save the Consistently Pro-Choice, believe this to be more true for the Pro-Life movement than the Pro-Choice movement. (Some coalitions, however, are almost as likely to view the Pro-Choice movement this way.) (See Figure 8-2)

The story becomes more dismal from this point on.

- All three Pro-Life coalitions view the Pro-Life movement as being more "concerned about the family" than the Pro-Choice movement. Yet in this, the Secretly and Conveniently Pro-Life are far more willing to give the benefit of the doubt to the Pro-Choice movement than are the Consistently Pro-Life. Yet, by the same token, the three Pro-Choice coalitions are more likely to view the Pro-Choice movement as being "concerned about the family" than the Pro-Life movement. (See Figure 8-1)

- While the Consistently Pro-Life are more likely to believe that their movement is "concerned about poverty" than the Pro-Choice movement, they are all alone in this perception. Very, very few of the Consistently and Personally-Opposed Pro-Choice believe that the Pro-Life movement is concerned about poverty, imagining their own Pro-Choice movement to be champions of the economically dispossessed. What is surprising is that the Secretly and Conveniently Pro-Life believe this to be true as well. (See Figure 8-3)

- So too, the Consistently Pro-Life are more

prone to think of themselves more than their opposition as being "concerned about women." This overall perspective, however, is rejected by every other coalition. Looking at the distribution of their opinion in Figure 8-4, the Personally-Opposed and Consistently Pro-Choice would find this view utterly laughable.

- An identical pattern is apparent with the images of "extremism" and "intolerance." (See Figures 8-5 & 8-6) The Consistently Pro-Life are more inclined to view the Pro-Choice movement as both extremist and intolerant than they are themselves. Yet even 32 percent of the Consistently Pro-Life view their own movement in this way. By contrast, the overwhelming majority of people in the three Pro-Choice coalitions view the Pro-Life movement in this way, while scant minorities in their ranks view themselves this way.

Two key findings that stand out from all of this:

1. The first is this: the most consistent and staunch supporters of the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice positions carry fundamentally opposite images of the movements involved in this controversy. Each of these coalitions views their own movement as being much more concerned about values and morality, and about the family, as being compassionate toward the poor and toward the interests of women than their opposition. What is more, they each view their opposition as being given to extremism and intolerance.

All of this would not be very surprising if this were a survey of full-time or even part-time, politically involved activists — but they are not. This is a survey of ordinary Americans, significant minorities of whom feel quite strongly about the abortion issue. All of this, then, provides an indication of just how politicized the pro-life and pro-choice public (and not just the movement activists) are.

2. Secondly, though the Pro-Life and Pro-Choice extremes in the population have opposite views of their respective movements, *the closest allies of the Pro-Life movement* — the Secretly and Conveniently Pro-Life coalitions — *consistently view the Pro-Life movement in the same negative way that the Pro-Choice coalitions do.* This is a powerful measure of the success of the Pro-Choice movement in casting the Pro-Life movement in a negative light and the failure of the Pro-Life movement to effectively counter it.

Image vs. Reality: Smashing the Stereotypes

The success of the Pro-Choice movement in demonizing the Pro-Life movement becomes all the more dazzling when one compares image to reality. When asked to express their personal concern for a wide range of issues, the Pro-Life coalitions were, with but a few exceptions, "as liberal" and in most cases even "more liberal" than the so-called liberal Pro-Choice coalitions. (See Figures 8-7 to 8-11)

- On average, there were slightly more Pro-Life Americans who expressed concern about child abuse and drug abuse than there were Pro-Choice.

- So too, there were significantly more Pro-Life Americans who expressed concern about poverty and about homelessness than there were Pro-Choice expressing the same.

- The Pro-Life coalitions consistently showed as much concern for the issues of racial discrimination, minority rights and women's rights. It was only the Consistently Pro-Choice who were more likely to express more concern for women's rights.

- Generally more Pro-Life Americans are generally concerned about pornography than are the Pro-Choice and as many of the former as the latter are concerned about homosexuality and population growth.

- Finally, the Pro-Life are even more likely to be concerned about fundamentalism than are the Pro-Choice coaltions.

2. Arguments that Appeal; Arguments That Don't

Since the overall public perceptions of the Pro-Life movement are shaded in such a negative way, the question might be raised whether the movement might gain ground through the substance of its many arguments.

This question is addressed in the Summary Tables 137-147. The answer, in brief, is mixed. Overall, the most convincing arguments are that:

- All human life, including that of the unborn, should be protected. (49 percent say very convincing)

- Every unborn child has a basic right to life. (50 percent say very "convincing")

- It is wrong to use abortion as a form of birth control or sex selection. (64 percent say very "convincing")

- Human life begins at conception, therefore, abortion is murder. (42 percent say very "convincing")

- While abortion is sometimes necessary, it is used too frequently as an easy way out. (42 percent say very "convincing")

Yet even in these cases, the general numbers mask a remarkable range of opinion. The strongly Pro-Life, particularly those in the Evangelical and Orthodox Catholic camps, are wildly enthusiastic about such moral logic. No one should be surprised for such rationales "preach directly to the choir." With the exception of the birth control and gender selection rationale, only about 1 in 10 or so of the strongly Pro-Choice find such arguments convincing. These rationales do have some play in the Mainline Protestant and Progressive Catholic circles but probably mainly those within those camps that are already moderately or strongly Pro-Life, and these, as one can see again, are in the minority.

Symbols That Appeal; Symbols That Don't

The issue of symbols and images is raised again by way of word associations seen in Summary Tables 136 a-f. Respondents were shown a series of words and asked to rank them on a scale of -5 to +5. by so doing, they indicated which words and symbols they liked and which they did not. (Note: The tables present averages for the sample as a whole, and broken down by sub-group. The difference may not seem great but even tenths of a percent in either direction among sub-groups can be significant.)

The most appealing symbols to those surveyed were the family, motherhood, the American flag — all symbols the Pro-Life movement actively identifies with. Also highly regarded were the symbols of physical fitness, "individual rights," and self-fulfillment. Also generally appealing were the symbols of progressive, community, therapy, career, intellectual and reproductive rights. Among the most hated feelings were generated over the phrase, "abortion on demand," right to die and holocaust.

These merely provide clues as to how each side could improve its own public appeal while discrediting their opposition.

9

Media Liabilities

Pro-Life advocates regularly complain, and with some justification, about the role of the media in the abortion controversy. Rather than report current events dealing with the legal and political debate objectively, they say, the media establishment biases their coverage and editorial stance toward a Pro-Choice agenda. Media elites and their organizations, then, aid and abet the opposition — indeed, are a central part of the opposition — and make it that much more difficult for the Pro-Life coalition to get their own message out.

The question is, *are these views shared by ordinary Americans? And regardless of how the public views the professional standards of the media, how else does the media establishment influence them. And are there other sources of information that Americans rely upon as much or even more?* These are the questions that guide our inquiry in this chapter.

Findings:

1. Learning about Current Events and Public Issues

Our entre into the influence of the media is a question that asked respondents to rate their awareness of current events. Table 1xx in the Summary Tables shows that only about a third (36%) of the American population keeps up with current events "a great deal," half (50%) keep up a "fair amount," 13 percent do not keep up very much and only 2 percent say they do not keep up with events taking place in the world at all.

- Those who most keep up with current events are older, better educated men. A good number of strongly Pro-Life Evangelicals keep up with current events "a great deal," but so do the strongly Pro-Choice.

- Poorly educated, non-registered voters are those who keep up with current events least.

Sources of News

Where do Americans learn about current events? About a third (33%) say the national television news, another third (31%) say the local television news, about one-fourth (26%) say the daily newspaper, one in ten (9%) say it is the radio and only 1 percent say the weekly news magazine.

In very general terms,

- The progressive coalitions — Mainline Protestants, Progressive Catholics and (especially) Secularists — who are Pro-Choice rely slightly but still significantly more on the print media of the daily newspaper.

- The orthodox coalitions — Evangelical Protestants and Orthodox Catholics — tend to rely a bit more on local and national television news.

- Uniformly, the college and post-graduate educated will rely on the daily newspaper much more than the less well-educated.

Influences on Knowledge of Public Issues

The media of mass communications is clearly an important source of information for Americans, but it is not the only source. Figure 9-1 shows that the general public rate the family itself as at least as important as the television in influencing their knowledge and views of public affairs. Those surveyed also say that they come to their views of public affairs through conversations with friends and through reading books. Speeches, sermons, religious magazines, film and even direct mail all play a role, in their view, but not nearly so great.

When taking a closer look at the breakdowns (See Tables 1xx-1xx in the Appendix) only a few things stand out.

- Religious magazines are enormously influential to the orthodox coalitions. Sermons are also important but especially to the Evangelical Protestants. These media have negligible impact on the Mainline Protestants and Progressive Catholics and virtually no effect on the Secularists.

- The reported influence of direct mail is relatively small, yet it is greater among the strongly Pro-Life.

- Finally the influence of school on one's knowledge and views of public issues is inversely related to age (as one would expect). Young adults rank its influence much higher than senior citizens.

Media Bias?

Despite all the talk about media bias, only about one-fourth of all Americans view the reporting of public issues by the mass media as "not very fair." The majority (60%) believe that they are fair and a minority (10%) believe that they are very fair.

Interestingly, the orthodox coalitions are as likely if not more likely to hold this view as the progressivist coalitions, including the Secularists. Correspondingly, the strongly Pro-life are about as likely as the strongly Pro-Choice to maintain this assessment.

Part IV

Abortion and the Democratic Imperative

10

Changing Hearts and Minds

A study as rich and complex as the Life Choices Survey on the Abortion Controversy in America will keep both scholars and policy makers engrossed for some time to come. The preceding overview of the survey results represents a first stage in a process that could lead and should lead to greater analytic refinement and precision. Because the issue is so divisive, this process should continue in close conversation with policy makers who both care deeply about this issue and the traditions of democratic practice in America, to the end that greater protections can be extended to the unborn without either sacrificing civil order or burdening, in an undue manner, individual liberties.

Parting Observations:

1. The Balance of Public Opinion

At a fairly superficial level, this survey merely confirms what many others have uncovered, namely that most Americans value both human life and individual liberty (and privacy) and sorting these values in the crucible of the abortion controversy is very difficult for them to do. *The bottom line at this level, however, is that the overwhelming majority of Americans are morally disposed and politically ready to accept a wide number of restrictions on the practice of abortion as it is currently allowed by Roe v. Wade.* Pro-Life activists anticipating the day when all abortions will be outlawed will be disappointed, however. At least as public opinion stands now, this would not be popularly condoned any time soon. Even among the ranks of the majority of the most stout-hearted Pro-Lifers in the survey, there is a moral soft-spot that would permit at least a few exceptions.

Nevertheless, the good news for the Pro-Life movement is that *legislatures hither and yon across the country should be able to do what Webster allows and to do so with a fair degree of popular acceptance.* Of course, what legislatures can do legally with popular approval will depend on the state and the kind of legislation being put forward. But as a general rule, this should hold. Given the constraints of public opinion, the Pro-Life movement (like it or not) has no choice but to adopt a legal strategy of incrementalism. Not to do so would be, in all likelihood, to create a popular backlash that would make it harder than ever to effect a Pro-Life agenda.

2. Changing Hearts and Minds

For the time being, the abortion controversy can only be moved out of the legal deadlock as far as public opinion will allow. To move it any further requires persuasion. This however, is not going to be easy for the Pro-Life movement. *First*, public opinion has drifted slightly more toward the Pro-Choice side of the debate than the Pro-Life side. What is more, the drift to the Pro-Choice side has been primarily among key allies of the Pro-Life movement, the Secretly and Conveniently Pro-Life. *Second*, the public image of the Pro-Life movement is sullied in the minds of many Americans — predictably among its fiercest opposition, but distressingly among its closest allies. *Third*, the rationales for restricting abortion are most plausible to the Pro-Life and not to those whose hearts and minds they would like to change. *Fourth*, the Pro-Choice opposition is rooted in a community that is elitist — relatively young, very well-educated, urban, professional, and well read and politicized. The issue of numbers — that their numbers at the extreme are relatively small — is irrelevant. They definitely represent a concentra-

tion of power against a larger but less well-educated, small-town and rural, older non-professional female population.

If the objective is to move public opinion along so that the consensus favors even greater protections for the unborn, the strategic question is, how can this happen against such formidable obstacles?

Even at this preliminary stage in the analysis, our is somewhat novel. Many marketing strategies are based completely upon the demographic profile of different sectors of the population. We believe that this alone would yield marginal results. A more effective strategy, we think, is one that builds upon our notion of moral community. A word of explanation.

We have seen that Pro-Life and Pro-Choice opinions and assumptions are not isolated but are rooted in larger worldviews. The moral and religious communities we spoke of in Chapter 6 provide various contexts within which those worldviews — which include their opinions and attitudes about abortion — make sense. To be sure, these moral communities are distinguished by certain demographic characteristics, but what unites them into a community is not their social background but their larger moral commitments. These commitments are articulated in fairly distinct moral languages, to use the phrase from *Habits of the Heart*. (E.g. God-talk, fem-speak, etc. etc.) They also follow fairly distinct forms of logic. (E.g. There are different priorities that make action rational.)

To target the standard demographic sectors of the American population, then, as the chief mechanism of a message strategy is to miss all of these important sensibilities. Our contention, therefore, is to suggest that efforts to persuade be concentrated on different moral communities (and perhaps demographic subsets *within* them).

Even based on this model, there is an enormous amount of work to be done.

The Evangelical and Orthodox Catholic communities, as we have seen, are the most receptive to the protection of the unborn. The moral reasoning for this is clear. Nevertheless, these communities are by no means monolithic. There are many Secretly and Conveniently Pro-Life within their ranks. In these communities, then, the goal should be to shore up and crystallize their Pro-Life assumptions and opinion into self-conscious identification with and advocacy of the Pro-Life agenda.

Within the Mainline Protestant and Progressive Catholic communities, there is solid support for the Pro-Life movement, but it tends to be hidden. They can be brought along as well as others in those communities not entrenched in a Pro-Choice position. Though the languages differ slightly, the biblical and religious language still has resonance in these groups and it is conceivable that it could be effectively employed to help crystallize opinion away from the Pro-Choice position.

It would seem as though one could make little headway against the Secularists who are so disproportionately Pro-Choice and strongly so. Efforts at persuasion may not be possible but a message strategy needs to be designed for them as well, if only to undermine their confidence about the "rightness" of their views. How can this be done? Education. (It will be recalled that the strongly Pro-Choice and Secularists are among the most poorly informed of what current law allows.

In each of the strategies created, the Pro-Life movement will have to be attentive to the symbols it creates and projects, for more often than not, they repel rather than attract. These strategies will also have to be attentive to the moral sensibilities unique to different moral communities. But what will have to be a central part of any strategy is clear program of mass education (using the range of media and community organizations) on what current laws allow, on what the Pro-Choice agenda conceals, and on what is ultimately at stake in the abortion controversy. This survey provides a step in that direction.

Appendix One:

Demographic Profile

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
Total	3812	100
Gender		
Male	1823	49
Female	1923	51
Marital Status		
Single	623	17
Married	2302	63
Separated or Divorced	427	12
Widowed	326	9
Age		
30 or under	893	23
30-44	1284	34
45-59	707	19
60 or over	927	24
Region		
East	941	24
Midwest	969	25
South	1168	31
West	733	19
Education		
less than High School	846	22
High School Graduate	1241	33
Some College	994	26
College Graduate	731	19
Religion		
Protestant	2041	54
Catholic	1158	30
Jew	96	3
Other	279	7
None	238	6
Self-identification		
Strongly Pro-life	984	27
Moderately Pro-life	608	16
Neutral	862	23
Moderately Pro-choice	600	16
Strongly Pro-choice	649	18

Appendix Two:

Questionnaire

Q. 101 [KEEPUP]

How much would you say you keep up with news and current events - a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or not at all?

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Not very much
4. Not at all

Q. 102 [MEDIA1]

Which of the following media do you depend upon the most for news and information on current events?

1. National TV news
2. Local TV news
3. A daily newspaper
4. The radio
5. Weekly news magazines

Q. 103 [MEDIA2]

After (Answer in Q. 102), which do you depend upon the most for news and information on current events?

1. National TV news
2. Local TV news
3. A daily newspaper
4. The radio
5. Weekly news magazines

Q. 104

How important are each of the following in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?

	Very Important	Fairly Important	Not too Important	Not at all Important
a. Television [ITV]	1	2	3	4
b. Films [IFILM]	1	2	3	4
c. Sermons [ISERMON]	1	2	3	4
d. School courses [ISCHOOL]	1	2	3	4
e. Talking with friends [ITALKFRN]	1	2	3	4
f. Speeches [ISPEECH]	1	2	3	4
g. Reading books [IBOOK]	1	2	3	4
h. Religious magazines [IRELMAGS]	1	2	3	4
i. Direct mail from lobbying groups [IDIRMAIL]	1	2	3	4
j. Your family [IFAMILY]	1	2	3	4

Q. 105 [HOWFAIR]

How fair do you feel that the mass media are in their reporting of public issues and events. Would you say they are very fair, fair, not very fair, or not fair at all?

1. Very fair
2. Fair
3. Not very fair
4. Not at all fair

Q. 106
Now I want you to consider a series of opinions on a variety of issues. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
a.	A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works. [APRESCH]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	A woman should put her husband and children ahead of her career. [AHUSHEAD]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Being a housewife is generally less fulfilling than working for pay. [AWIFELES]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Suicide is morally acceptable, because a person has a right to do whatever he wants with himself. [ASUICOK]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Homosexual relations are okay, if that is the person's choice. [AHOMOSOK]	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Sex before marriage is okay, if a couple loves each other. [APRESXOK]	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Methods of birth control should be available to teenagers even if their parents do not approve. [ABCAVAIL]	1	2	3	4	5
h.	The public schools have a responsibility to provide sex education for teenagers. [ASEXEDOK]	1	2	3	4	5
i.	It is wrong to use animals such as monkeys, cats and mice for the purpose of medical research. [AANIMRES]	1	2	3	4	5
j.	Realizing your full potential as a human being is more important than helping others. [AFULLPOT]	1	2	3	4	5
k.	It is very important that the events in my life be planned and take place according to schedule. [ALIFPLAN]	1	2	3	4	5
l.	There are few moral absolutes — what is right or wrong usually varies from situation to situation. [ANOABSOL]	1	2	3	4	5
m.	No matter how much we pretend to run our own lives, we really have little control over what happens to us. [ANOCONTR]	1	2	3	4	5
n.	I believe that suffering and hardship is a necessary part of life and can actually enrich my life. [ASUFFER]	1	2	3	4	5
o.	Most personal hardship is caused by ignorance and old-fashioned ideas, and can be avoided. [AOLDFASH]	1	2	3	4	5
p.	It is possible through social programs and planning to lessen human suffering and difficulty. [ASOCPROG]	1	2	3	4	5

Now I would like your opinion on a number of issues. First. . .

Q. 107 [DIDEFORM]
Do you feel that there are cases of extreme infant deformity when the best thing for everyone concerned may be for doctors and parents to let the newborn infant die.

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't Know

Q. 108 [DITRMILL]
Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of witholding food and water from a terminally ill patient who is in great pain and who requests that he or she be permitted to die?

1. Approve
2. Disapprove
3. Don't Know

Q. 109 [DIDEPRES]
Suppose that a depressed person, without the will to live, takes their own life. Would you say this is always wrong, usually wrong, sometimes wrong, or never wrong?

1. Always wrong
2. Usually wrong
3. Sometimes wrong
4. Never wrong
5. Don't know

Q. 110 [DIVEGET]
Consider a person who is in a vegetative state with no real hope for improvement. Generally speaking, do you feel that his family, in consultation with doctors, should have the right to remove life support, ending his life.

1. Yes, they should have the right
2. No, they should not have the right
3. Don't know

Q. 111 [DEATHPEN]
Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. Favor
2. Oppose
3. Don't know

Q. 112 [FIGHTWAR]
If you were twenty years old and our country were at war, would you be willing to fight under any condition, under some but not all conditions, or under no condition?

1. Under any condition
2. Under some conditions
3. Under no condition
4. Not sure

Q. 113
Today there is a lot of discussion about animal rights and cruelty to animals. Please tell me whether you mostly favor or mostly oppose each of the following proposals.

		Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Don't Know
a.	Laws to protect endangered species. [ANIMRIT1]	1	2	3
b.	Laws to limit the sale of fur coats. [ANIMRIT2]	1	2	3
c.	Laws to limit the use of animals for medical research. [ANIMRIT3]	1	2	3

d.	Laws to punish people for cruelty to animals. [ANIMRIT4]	1	2	3
e.	Laws to prevent meat and poultry producers from treating animals poorly in order to increase food production. [ANIMRIT5]	1	2	3

Q. 114 [SEXPLEAS]

Which of these statements best reflects your thinking about human sexual activity — sex is basically a source of pleasure and recreation, or sex has a sacred and spiritual meaning?

1. A source of pleasure and recreation
2. Has a sacred or spiritual meaning
3. Both (VOL)

Q. 115 [WHENPERS]

When would you say that the fertilized egg inside a mother's womb first becomes a person ... at the moment of conception; at the moment when the mother first feels movement inside her; at the moment when the baby could survive on its own, outside the mother's womb; at the moment of birth; or when the doctor confirms the baby is healthy ... when would you say it becomes a "person?"

1. Moment of conception
2. When the mother first feels movement
3. When the baby could survive on its own
4. Moment of birth
5. When the baby is healthy
6. Can't say

Q. 116 [UNIQHUM]

Which of the following, in your opinion, is the most important thing distinguishing persons from other forms of life?

1. Their ability to think and reason
2. Their broad range of feelings, such as compassion and jealousy
3. Their work and productivity
4. The idea that they were created by God in his own image
5. Their membership in a community
6. Can't say

Q. 117

I am going to read you a list of social and political issues that are being discussed today. For each, please tell me how concerned you are personally — very concerned, fairly concerned, not too concerned, or not concerned at all?

		Very Concerned	Fairly Concerned	Not too Concerned	Not Concerned At All	Don't Know
a.	Abortion [CABORT]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	AIDS [CAIDS]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Censorship [CCENSOR]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Child abuse [CCHABUSE]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Drug abuse [CDRUGS]	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Environmental pollution [CPOLLUTE]	1	2	3	4	5
g.	The growing size and influence of minority groups [CMINORIT]	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Homelessness [CHOMELES]	1	2	3	4	5

i.	Illegal immigration [CILEGALS]	1	2	3	4	5
j.	The possibility of nuclear war [CNUCWAR]	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Population growth [CPOPGROW]	1	2	3	4	5
l.	Pornography [CPORNO]	1	2	3	4	5
m.	Religious fundamentalism [CFUNDIES]	1	2	3	4	5
n.	Secular humanism [CSECHUM]	1	2	3	4	5
o.	Minority rights [CMINRITE]	1	2	3	4	5
p.	Women's rights [CWOMRITE]	1	2	3	4	5
q.	Racial discrimination [CRACDISC]	1	2	3	4	5
r.	Poverty [CPOVERTY]	1	2	3	4	5
s.	The rights of homosexuals [CHOMRITE]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 118 [RVWFAM]

How familiar are you with the 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion known as Roe vs. Wade? Would you say you are very familiar, fairly familiar, not too familiar, or not at all familiar with Roe vs. Wade?

1. Very familiar
2. Fairly familiar
3. Not too familiar
4. Not at all familiar — GO TO Q. 120
5. Don't know

Q. 119 [RVWMEANS]

Which of these statements would you say best describes the legal outcome of the Roe vs. Wade decision?

1. All abortions are illegal in the United States.
2. Abortions are legal only during the first 3 months, and only when the mother's life or health is threatened.
3. Abortions are legal during the first 3 months, regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one.
4. Abortions are legal for the duration of the pregnancy, regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one.
5. Not sure

ASK EVERYONE:

Q. 120 [WEBFAM]

How familiar are you with the 1989 Supreme Court decision on abortion in the Webster Case? Would you say you are very familiar, fairly familiar, not too familiar, or not at all familiar with this decision?

1. Very familiar
2. Fairly familiar
3. Not too familiar
4. Not at all familiar — GO TO Q. 122

Q. 121 [WEBMEANS]

Which of these statements would you say best describes the legal outcome of the Webster decision?

1. All abortions are illegal in the United States.
2. Abortions are legal only during the first 3 months, and only when the mother's life or health is threatened.
3. Abortions are legal during the first 3 months, regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one.

4. Abortions are legal for the duration of the pregnancy, regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one.
5. Abortions that are legal in one state may be illegal in another.
6. Not sure

ASK EVERYONE:
Q. 122
I am going to read you some situations where a woman might consider having an abortion. For each situation, I want you to tell me whether you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable. First. . .

		Acceptable	Unacceptable	Don't Know
a.	If the woman's life is endangered by the pregnancy - would abortion be acceptable or unacceptable during the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WWOLIFE1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WWOLIFE3]	1	2	3
b.	If the woman's mental or emotional health might be damaged by the pregnancy - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WWOHLTH1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WWOHLTH3]	1	2	3
c.	If the pregnancy was the result of rape - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WRAPE1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WRAPE3]	1	2	3
d.	If the pregnancy was the result of incest - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WINCEST1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WINCEST3]	1	2	3
e.	If there is a strong chance of serious deformity in the baby - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WDEFORM1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WDEFORM3]	1	2	3
f.	If the pregnancy would require a teenager to drop out of school - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WTEENSC1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WTEENSC3]	1	2	3
g.	If the family has a very low income and another child would create a heavy financial burden - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WLOWINC1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WLOWINC3]	1	2	3

h.	If the pregnancy is unplanned and would interrupt a professional woman's career - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WWOPROF1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WWOPROF3]	1	2	3
i.	If the woman has been abandoned by her partner, the father of the unborn child - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WABAND1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WABAND3]	1	2	3
j.	If the couple is using abortion as a repeated means of birth control - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WBIRCON1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WBIRCON3]	1	2	3
k.	If the couple wants a boy and a test has revealed that the baby will be a girl - is it acceptable or not during the first 3 months? [WOTHSEX1]	1	2	3
	(IF ACCEPTABLE) How about after the first 3 months of pregnancy? [WOTHSEX3]	1	2	3

Q. 123 [OUTWAYS]

At what point in a pregnancy do you personally feel that the unborn child's right to be born outweighs the woman's right to choose whether she wants to have a child — at the moment of conception, at the moment she first feels movement inside her, at the moment when the baby could survive on its own, outside the womb, or at the moment of birth?

1. Moment of conception
2. When the mother first feels movement
3. When the baby could survive on its own
4. Moment of birth
5. Can't say

Q. 124 [MURDER]

Which of these statements best describes your feelings about abortion?

1. Abortion is just as bad as killing a person who has already been born; it is murder.
2. Abortion is murder, but it is not as bad as killing someone who has already been born.
3. Abortion is not murder, but it does involve the taking of human life.
4. Abortion is not murder; it is a surgical procedure for removing human tissue.
5. Can't Say

Q. 125
When decisions are being made about abortions, a variety of people or groups may want to have some input. For each of the following, I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think they should have in the abortion decision.

		A Great deal	A Moderate Amount	A Little	None at all	Don't Know
a.	The pregnant woman [IPWOMAN]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	The unborn baby's father [IPFATHER]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	The pregnant woman's personal or family physician [IPMDPERS]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	A doctor at an abortion clinic [IPMDABRT]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	A counselor at an abortion clinic [IPCOUNAB]	1	2	3	4	5
f.	A counselor at a adoption agency [IPCOUNAD]	1	2	3	4	5
g.	The woman's church or religious community [IPCHURCH	1	2	3	4	5
h.	Her pastor, priest or rabbi [IPPASTOR]	1	2	3	4	5
i.	The law, the courts, and the judge [IPLAW]	1	2	3	4	5
j.	The state government [IPSTAGOV]	1	2	3	4	5
k.	The federal government [IPFEDGOV]	1	2	3	4	5
l.	The parents of a pregnant girl who is under 18 years of age [IPPATEEN]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 126
Please tell me whether your strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements.

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
a.	Abortion is usually a better option than giving a child up for adoption. [ABADOPT]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Abortion is usually a better option than bringing a child into a home where it is not wanted. [ABNOWANT]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	A woman who gives birth to a handicapped child rather than having an abortion is doing the right thing. [ABDEFORM]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	The quality of life a child will have after it is born is an important thing to consider when deciding on an abortion. [ABQOL]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Abortion is alright, if having a baby will change your life plans in a way you will find hard to live with. [ABCHPLAN]	1	2	3	4	5

f.	A woman's right to choose whether to have an abortion is more important than the human fetus' right to life. [ARTCRTL]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 128 [GENETEST]

If (you/your partner) were pregnant, would you want (her) to have a test to find out if the baby has any serious genetic defects?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

Q. 129 [ABORTEST]

Suppose a test shows the baby has a serious deformity. Would you (yourself want to / want your partner to) have an abortion if a test show the baby has a serious deformity?

1. Yes, have an abortion
2. No
3. Don't know

Q. 130

New technologies make it possible to discover many things about the unborn early in the pregnancy. For each of the following test results I read, please tell me which statement on this card best describes your feelings. Just call off the letter. A test reveals. . .

		CARD				
		Serious enough to have an abortion	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion	Serious enough to give a little consideration to an abortion	Not a consideration, you would definitely not consider an abortion	Don't know
		A	B	C	D	E
a.	The baby will be the opposite sex of what the parents had wanted. [TOPPSEX]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	The baby will have a genetic tendency toward obesity — being overweight. [TOBESE]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	The baby will be mentally retarded. [TRETARD]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	The baby will be born with a terminal illness that will end its life within six years. [TTERMILL]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	The baby will be born blind. [TBLIND]	1	2	3	4	5
f.	The baby will be missing an arm or a leg. [TMISSLEG]	1	2	3	4	5
g.	The baby will have a serious heart defect. [THARTDEF]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 131

Here is some legislation on abortion that is being considered in some states. Please indicate whether you mostly favor or mostly oppose the following proposals:

		Mostly Favor	Mostly Oppose	Don't Know
a.	Requiring that women under 18 years of age get parental consent before they are allowed to have an abortion. [LPARCONS]	1	2	3
b.	In cases where the woman is more than five months pregnant, requiring a test to see if the fetus might survive outside of the womb before allowing the abortion. [LVIABLE]	1	2	3

c.	Not allowing abortions in cases where they are being used as a method of birth control. [LBIRCONT]	1	2	3
d.	Requiring women to get the consent of the baby's biological father before having an abortion. [LFACONS]	1	2	3
e.	Requiring women to receive information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion before going ahead with the procedure. [LINFCONS]	1	2	3
f.	The passage of a law prohibiting the use of fetal tissue and organs for medical research. [LLICCLIN]	1	2	3
g.	The passage of a law requiring health and safety standards for private abortion clinics. [LRESERCH]	1	2	3
h.	In states that restrict abortions, require doctors who perform an illegal abortion to pay a large fine. [LMDFINES]	1	2	3
i.	Not allowing abortions after the third month of pregnancy, unless it is required to save a woman's life. [LAFTER3]	1	2	3

Q. 132
Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion…

	Yes	No	Don't Know
If there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby. [GSSDEFORM]	1	2	3
If the woman became pregnant as a result of rape. [GSSRAPE]	1	2	3

Now on another topic . . .

Q. 133 [MORALOR]
What, in your opinion, is the most believable authority in matters of truth ?

1. Your own personal experience
2. What you learn from television, newspapers and books
3. The teachings of scripture, for example, the bible, the torah
4. What science teaches us
5. What has been handed down from your parents or other authorities
6. What religious leaders say
7. Other (SPECIFY):

Q. 134
If you personally were unsure what was right or wrong in a particular situation, how important would each of the following be in deciding what to do? Would it be absolutely essential to you, very important, only somewhat important, or not important at all?

		Absolutely Essential	Very Important	Only Somewhat Important	Not Important At All	Don't Know
a.	Doing what would make you happy [EXPRIND]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Doing what would improve your situation or get you ahead [UTILIND]	1	2	3	4	5

c.	Following the advice of an expert or authority figure [AUTHORIT]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Doing what would be best for everyone involved [CIVIC]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Doing what God or scripture tells you is right [BIBLICAL]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 135 [MORALAMB]

If you were unsure of what was right or wrong, which would be the most important in deciding what you would do?

1. Doing what would make you happy
2. Doing what would improve your situation or get you ahead
3. Following the advice of an expert or authority figure
4. Doing what would be best for everyone involved
5. Doing what God or scripture tells you is right
6. Not sure

Q. 136 [RESPONSI]

Each of us feels that we are responsible to something or someone. If you had to choose one thing to which you are more responsible than to anything else, what would it be? Would you say you are ultimately responsible to yourself, to your family, to those who make up your own social world, to all of humanity, to God, or to something else?

1. Myself
2. My family
3. Those who make up my own social world
4. All of humanity
5. God
6. Something else (specify):

Q. 137 [RELIMP]

How important to you are your religious beliefs?

1. Very important
2. Fairly important
3. Not too important
4. Not at all important
5. Not sure

Q. 138 [GOD]

Which one of these statements comes closest to your belief about God?

1. There is a God
2. There is a spirit or life force
3. I don't believe there is any kind of spirit, God or life force
4. Don't know

IF ANSWERED "THERE IS A GOD" (1 IN Q. 138) ASK Q. 139:

Q. 139 [GODREL]

Do you feel that you have a personal relationship with God?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Not sure

ASK EVERYONE:

Q. 140 [ATTEND]

How often do you go to church or Synagogue — daily, several times a week, once a week, 2 or 3 times a month, once a month or less, or never?

1. Daily
2. Several times a week
3. Once a week
4. 2 or 3 times a month
5. Once a month or less
6. Never
7. Don't Know

Q. 141 [PRAY]

How often do you pray — daily, several times a week, once a week, 2 or 3 times a month, once a month or less, or never?

1. Daily
2. Several times a week
3. Once a week
4. 2 or 3 times a month
5. Once a month or less
6. Never
7. Don't Know

Q. 142 [RELEXPER]

Have you ever had a religious experience that has changed the direction of your life?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't Know

Q. 143 [BIBLE]

Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

1. The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally
2. The Bible is the inspired work of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.
3. The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history and moral precepts recorded by men.
4. None of these

Q. 144 [RELIBCON]

On a scale from 1 to 6 where 1 is very liberal and 6 is very conservative, where would you place yourself to describe your general religious outlook?

Very Liberal					Very Conservative
1	2	3	4	5	6

Q. 145 [HEARPL]

In recent years pro-life and pro-choice groups have formed on opposite sides of the abortion issue. How much would you say you have heard about groups that are pro-life ... a great deal, a moderate amount, a small amount, or nothing at all?

1. A great deal
2. A moderate amount
3. A small amount
4. Nothing at all - GO TO Q. 149
5. Don't Know

Q. 146 [MEANPL]
What does the term "pro-life" mean to you?

Q. 147 [POSNEGPL]
Have the things you have heard about pro-life groups been very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?

1. Very positive
2. Somewhat positive
3. Somewhat negative
4. Very negative
5. Don't know

Q. 148
For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-life ... does it describe them very well, somewhat, Not very well, or Not at all?

	Very Well	Well	Not very Well	Not at all Well	Don't Know
a. Concerned about the family [PLFAMILY]	1	2	3	4	5
b. Hypercritical [PLCRITIC]	1	2	3	4	5
c. Concerned about poverty [PLPOVERT]	1	2	3	4	5
d. Extremist [PLEXTREM]	1	2	3	4	5
e. Mainstream [PLMAINST]	1	2	3	4	5
f. Religious [PLRELIG]	1	2	3	4	5
g. Violent [PLVIOLNT]	1	2	3	4	5
h. Silent majority [PLSILMAJ]	1	2	3	4	5
i. Concerned about the quality of life [PLQOL]	1	2	3	4	5
j. Concerned about women [PLWOMEN]	1	2	3	4	5
k. Pose a threat to American society [PLTHREAT]	1	2	3	4	5
l. Intolerant of other views [PLINTOL]	1	2	3	4	5
m. Concerned about values and morality [PLVALUES]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 149 [HEARPC]
How much would you say you have heard about groups that are pro-choice ... a great deal, a moderate amount, a small amount, or nothing at all?

1. A great deal
2. A moderate amount
3. A small amount
4. Nothing at all — GO TO Q. 153
5. Don't know

Q. 150 [MEANPC]
What does the term “pro-choice” mean to you?

Q. 151 [POSNEGPC]
Have the things you have heard about pro-choice groups been very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?

1. Very positive
2. Somewhat positive
3. Somewhat negative
4. Very negative
5. Don’t know

Q. 152
For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-choice ... does it describe them very well, somewhat, not very well, or not at all?

	Very Well	Well	Not very Well	Not at all Well	Don’t Know
a. Concerned about the family [PCFAMILY]	1	2	3	4	5
b. Hypercritical [PCCRITIC]	1	2	3	4	5
c. Concerned about poverty [PCPOVERT]	1	2	3	4	5
d. Extremist [PCEXTREM]	1	2	3	4	5
e. Mainstream [PCMAINST]	1	2	3	4	5
f. Religious [PCRELIG]	1	2	3	4	5
g. Violent [PCRELIG]	1	2	3	4	5
h. Silent majority [PCSILMAJ]	1	2	3	4	5
i. Concerned about the quality of life [PCQOL]	1	2	3	4	5
j. Concerned about women [PCWOMEN]	1	2	3	4	5
k. Pose a threat to American society [PCTHREAT]	1	2	3	4	5
l. Intolerant of other views [PCINTOL]	1	2	3	4	5
m. Concerned about values and morality [PCVALUES]	1	2	3	4	5

ASK EVERYONE:
Q. 153 [SELFID]
Which of the following would you say best describes your general outlook on the abortion issue - strongly pro-life, moderately pro-life, neutral, moderately pro-choice, or strongly pro-choice?

1. Strongly pro-life
2. Moderately pro-life
3. Neutral
4. Moderately pro-choice
5. Strongly pro-choice

Q. 154 [DRIFT]

Over the past two years, would you say you have drifted closer to the pro-life viewpoint, closer to the pro-choice viewpoint, or have your views remained about the same?

1. Closer to the pro-life viewpoint
2. Closer to the pro-choice viewpoint
3. Views have remained the same
4. Don't know

Q. 155 [RALLY]

Have you ever participated in a rally or demonstration concerned with abortion?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

Q. 156 [SWITCH]

If you agreed with a candidate for political office on most other issues, but disagreed with their stand on abortion, would you still vote for that candidate?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

Q. 157

I am going to read you several reasons that people have given for limiting legal access to abortion. For each of these reasons I want you to tell me whether it is very convincing, fairly convincing, not very convincing, or not at all convincing, as a reason for limiting access to abortion.

		Very Convincing	Fairly Convincing	Not very Convincing	Not at all Convincing	Don't Know
a.	All human life, including that of the unborn, should be protected. [RPROTECT]	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Human life begins at conception, therefore, abortion is murder. [RMURDER]	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Every unborn child has a basic right to life. [RRTLIFE]	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Abortion hurts women by enabling men to take advantage of them, knowing that abortion is a way out of their responsibility to care for the mother and child. [RADVANTG]	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Abortion promotes a general disregard for the value of human life. [RDISREG]	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Abortion leaves women with a burden of guilt and emotional scars that are very difficult to heal. [RGUILT]	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Adoption would be a less emotionally painful option for most women than abortion. [RLESPAIN]	1	2	3	4	5
h.	A pregnancy's significance is devalued by society's casual, permissive outlook on abortion. [RDEVALUE]	1	2	3	4	5
i.	While abortion is sometimes necessary, it is used too frequently as an easy way out. [REASYWAY]	1	2	3	4	5

j.	It is wrong to use abortion as a form of birth control or sex selection. [RBIRTCON]	1	2	3	4	5
k.	Some limitations on abortion are justified because there has to be a compromise between a woman's right to choose and the rights of her unborn child. [RCOMPROM]	1	2	3	4	5

Q. 158

Different words and images generate different feelings in people, both positive and negative. On a scale from plus 5 all the way down to minus†5, where plus 5 indicates a very positive feeling, minus†5 indicates a very negative feeling, and 0 indicates a neutral feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases. Does it give you a good feeling, a bad feeling, or neither? (Just call off the number.)

		Very Positive Feeling					Neutral Feeling					Very Negative Feeling
a.	Intellectual [FINTELL]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
b.	Worldly [FWORLDLY]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
c.	Fashionable [FFASHION]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
d.	Tolerant [FTOLERNT]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
e.	Progressive [FPROGRES]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
f.	Motherhood [FMOTHERH]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
g.	Family [FFAMILY]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
h.	Self-fulfillment [FSELFFUL]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
i.	Government [FGOVT]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
j.	Individual rights [FINDRITE]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
k.	Reproductive rights [FREPRITE]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
l.	The American flag [FFLAG]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
m.	Physical fitness [FPHYSFIT]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
n.	Judgement [FJUDGMNT]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
o.	Tradition [FTRAD]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
p.	Right to die [FRITODIE]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
q.	Holocaust [FHOLOCST]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
r.	Abortion on demand [FABRTDEM]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
s.	Career [FCAREER]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
t.	Feminism [FFEMINSM]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

u.	Community [FCOMMUN]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
v.	Therapy [FTHERAPY]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
w.	Jimmy Carter [FCARTER]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
x.	Jesse Jackson [FJACKSON]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
y.	Ronald Reagan [FREAGAN]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5
z.	Robert Bork [FBORK]	5	4	3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5

Q. 159 [POLIBCON]
Which one of the following best describes your overall political beliefs? Just call off the number please.

1. Far left
2. Very liberal
3. Somewhat liberal
4. Moderate
5. Somewhat conservative
6. Very conservative
7. Far right

Q. 160 [REGISTER]
Are you currently registered to vote?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

Q. 161 [VOTED]
Did you vote in the 1988 Presidential election?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

Q. 162 [NOANYONE]
Do you know anyone who has had an abortion?

1. Yes
2. No - GO TO Q. 164

Q. 163 [WASITRIT]
In that particular case, do you think that it was the right or the wrong thing to do?

1. Right thing to do
2. Wrong thing to do
3. Don't know

IF WOMAN ASK:

Q. 164 [CONSIDER]
Have you, yourself, ever seriously considered having an abortion?

1. Yes
2. No

ASK EVERYONE:

Q. 165 [MARITAL]

(HAND CARD) What is your marital status? Just call off the number please.

CARD
1. Never married
2. Now married
3. Separated
4. Divorced
5. Widowed

IF MARRIED OR WIDOWED, ASK:

Q. 166 [DIVORCED]

Have you ever been divorced?

1. Yes
2. No

IF MARRIED, ASK:

Q. 167 [SPEDUC]

What is the last grade or class your spouse completed?

1. None, or grades 1-4
2. Grade 5, 6 or 7
3. Grade 8
4. High school incomplete, grades 9-11
5. High school graduate, grade 12
6. Technical, trade or business school
7. College, university incomplete
8. College, university graduate

ASK EVERYONE:

Q. 168 [CHLDEVER]

How many children have you every had?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

0 None

Q. 169 [SIBLINGS]

How many brothers and sisters do you have, including any who may have died?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

0 None

Q. 170 [CHLDIDEL]

What do you think is the ideal number of children for a family to have?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 or more

0 None

Q. 171 [RESIDWRK]

(HAND CARD) Which of the statements on this card best describes the location of your place of work?

CARD
1. Very large city (1,000,000 or more)
2. Suburb of a very large city
3. Medium-sized city (100,000-999,999)
4. Small city (Under 100,000)
5. A rural area or small town
6. Do not work

Q. 172 [KINDWORK]

(HAND CARD) Which of the descriptions on this card best describes the kind of work you do?

CARD

1. Professional worker, for example, lawyer, doctor, engineer
2. Other white collar, for example, teacher, nurse, accountant, worker in an office setting, sales worker
3. Service worker such as policeman/woman, fireman, barber, beautician, nurses' aid
4. Other type of work
5. Full time homemaker
6. Not employed

Q. 173 [STATE21]

Prior to your 21st birthday, in which state did you reside for the longest period of time?

Q. 174 [CONT12MO]

During the past 12 months have you contributed money to any charitable organization or other group, not including your church, that used your donation to help other people?

1. Yes
2. No

Q. 175 [HOWMUCH]

Approximately what percentage of your total income did you give to charity, including contributions to your church, in the past 12 months? Just your best estimate. . .

_____%

Q. 176 [EVIL]

(HAND CARD) Which of the statements on this card best describes your understanding of evil? Just call off the numbers please. . .

CARD

1. Evil is whatever limits self-expression and personal growth
2. Whatever limits human progress & the advance of knowledge
3. Whatever keeps people from making their own decisions and living their own lives
4. Evil is whatever hurts someone or causes them to suffer
5. Evil is whatever goes against God's will and purpose

Appendix Three:

Summary Tables

Table 1

Exposure To News And Current Events

Question: "How much would you say you keep up with news and current events - a great deal, a fair amount, not very much, or not at all?"

	A great deal %	A fair amount %	Not very much %	Not at all %
TOTAL	**36**	**50**	**13**	**2**
Gender				
Male	40	47	11	1
Female	31	52	14	2
Marital Status				
Single	28	53	17	2
Married (1st marriage)	38	50	11	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	40	46	11	3
Separated or divorced	30	54	14	2
Age				
18-29	25	58	16	1
30-44	35	51	12	2
45-59	36	50	12	2
60 +	45	41	12	1
Region				
East	34	51	13	1
Midwest	35	53	10	2
South	35	47	16	2
West	39	49	11	1
Place of Residence				
Open Country	32	50	15	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	38	48	13	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	37	50	11	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	35	52	12	1
Large City (250,000+)	36	51	12	1
Education				
Less than High School	31	44	22	4
High School Graduate	29	55	15	2
Some College	36	54	9	1
College Graduate	52	43	5	1
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	42	44	13	1
Mainline Protestant	33	53	12	2
Orthodox Catholic	35	52	12	1
Progressive Catholic	31	55	13	1
Secularist	34	47	19	1
Political Party				
Republican	41	47	10	1
Democrat	35	51	12	1
Independent	32	52	15	2
Registered Voter				
Yes	38	50	10	1
No	27	48	22	3
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	37	50	11	2
Moderately pro-life	32	54	13	1
Neutral	31	51	17	1
Moderately pro-choice	37	52	11	0
Strongly pro-choice	45	45	9	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	34	52	13	1
No change	38	49	12	2
Closer to pro-choice	37	52	9	1

Table 2

Sources Of News & Information

Question: "Which of the following media do you depend upon the most for news and information on current events?"

	National TV News %	Local TV News %	Daily Newspaper %	The Radio %	Weekly News Magazines %
TOTAL	**33**	**31**	**26**	**9**	**1**
Gender					
Male	32	26	30	10	2
Female	34	35	22	8	1
Marital Status					
Single	30	33	23	12	2
Married (1st marriage)	33	29	27	9	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	39	28	26	6	1
Separated or divorced	36	32	24	8	0
Age					
18-29	28	38	20	13	1
30-44	32	30	28	9	1
45-59	40	25	26	7	2
60 +	35	29	30	5	1
Region					
East	33	31	28	8	0
Midwest	31	28	29	10	2
South	36	37	16	10	1
West	32	25	34	7	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	37	30	22	10	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	36	27	24	11	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	33	28	30	8	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	31	32	30	6	2
Large City (250,000+)	27	38	26	8	0
Education					
Less than High School	28	40	20	11	1
High School Graduate	36	36	22	6	0
Some College	34	27	29	10	1
College Graduate	32	17	37	10	4
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	35	33	21	10	1
Mainline Protestant	32	30	26	10	1
Orthodox Catholic	34	38	21	6	0
Progressive Catholic	36	31	26	6	1
Secularist	24	20	38	14	4
Political Party					
Republican	33	26	30	9	2
Democrat	34	36	23	7	0
Independent	32	27	29	11	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	34	29	29	7	1
No	31	36	18	14	1
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	36	30	22	11	1
Moderately pro-life	32	32	26	8	2
Neutral	32	34	24	9	1
Moderately pro-choice	30	27	32	10	1
Strongly pro-choice	36	26	32	5	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	37	32	20	12	0
No change	32	29	29	9	2
Closer to pro-choice	39	26	28	6	1

Table 3

Sources Of News & Information

Question: "After that, which of the following media do you depend upon the most for news and information on current events?"

	National TV News %	Local TV News %	Daily Newspaper %	The Radio %	Weekly News Magazines %
TOTAL	**27**	**33**	**26**	**11**	**3**
Gender					
Male	28	32	26	11	3
Female	26	35	26	11	3
Marital Status					
Single	35	31	19	12	4
Married (1st marriage)	26	33	29	9	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	32	32	22	11	3
Separated or divorced	18	39	22	17	3
Age					
18-29	26	36	25	11	2
30-44	26	34	25	12	4
45-59	26	30	29	12	2
60 +	31	32	26	8	3
Region					
East	29	31	29	8	2
Midwest	25	31	28	14	3
South	28	36	24	10	2
West	26	35	23	11	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	28	34	24	12	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	26	32	28	10	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	30	28	29	11	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	25	36	23	12	4
Large City (250,000+)	26	36	26	9	3
Education					
Less than High School	23	41	22	14	0
High School Graduate	29	35	26	9	1
Some College	26	34	28	10	3
College Graduate	29	22	29	12	8
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	28	34	22	14	2
Mainline Protestant	31	31	25	10	3
Orthodox Catholic	25	36	28	8	3
Progressive Catholic	25	35	31	6	3
Secularist	18	35	29	12	6
Political Party					
Republican	28	31	28	9	3
Democrat	27	36	26	9	2
Independent	25	32	24	15	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	28	32	27	10	3
No	24	38	23	12	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	25	34	26	13	1
Moderately pro-life	29	30	28	10	2
Neutral	26	40	23	10	1
Moderately pro-choice	26	30	28	10	4
Strongly pro-choice	32	28	25	9	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	26	34	27	12	2
No change	28	32	26	11	3
Closer to pro-choice	28	30	28	10	4

Table 4

The Influence Of Television

Question: "How important is television in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**39**	**43**	**14**	**4**
Gender				
Male	37	47	12	4
Female	41	40	15	4
Marital Status				
Single	40	44	12	3
Married (1st marriage)	38	45	14	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	44	36	14	6
Separated or divorced	43	39	11	6
Age				
18-29	42	43	12	3
30-44	37	46	13	4
45-59	37	44	15	3
60 +	41	39	15	5
Region				
East	39	46	12	3
Midwest	35	46	16	3
South	46	38	12	4
West	35	44	15	6
Place of Residence				
Open Country	38	43	15	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	40	44	12	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	31	49	16	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	40	43	14	4
Large City (250,000+)	48	37	11	4
Education				
Less than High School	41	42	13	4
High School Graduate	45	40	12	3
Some College	36	46	15	3
College Graduate	32	46	16	6
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	44	38	13	5
Mainline Protestant	39	42	15	4
Orthodox Catholic	44	44	10	2
Progressive Catholic	34	51	12	2
Secularist	32	44	13	11
Political Party				
Republican	35	46	15	4
Democrat	46	40	11	3
Independent	35	45	15	5
Registered Voter				
Yes	40	42	14	4
No	38	47	11	5
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	39	40	16	5
Moderately pro-life	35	48	12	5
Neutral	41	44	12	3
Moderately pro-choice	39	44	14	3
Strongly pro-choice	42	41	13	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	37	42	17	4
No change	37	44	15	4
Closer to pro-choice	44	42	11	3

Table 5

The Influence Of Films

Question: "How important are films in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**7**	**27**	**46**	**20**
Gender				
Male	6	27	47	20
Female	8	27	46	20
Marital Status				
Single	10	32	45	13
Married (1st marriage)	7	25	48	51
Married (2nd+ marriage)	8	27	45	21
Separated or divorced	5	40	35	20
Age				
18-29	10	36	43	12
30-44	7	29	48	16
45-59	6	23	47	24
60 +	6	18	46	30
Region				
East	8	28	44	20
Midwest	6	23	53	18
South	9	28	43	20
West	4	30	46	20
Place of Residence				
Open Country	7	24	46	23
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	27	48	18
Small City (25,000-49,999)	4	25	52	19
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	7	26	47	20
Large City (250,000+)	8	33	38	20
Education				
Less than High School	6	23	48	23
High School Graduate	9	30	44	17
Some College	6	29	45	20
College Graduate	6	25	51	19
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	7	22	47	24
Mainline Protestant	7	28	47	18
Orthodox Catholic	7	29	42	23
Progressive Catholic	8	29	47	16
Secularist	5	38	40	17
Political Party				
Republican	6	25	45	23
Democrat	8	28	47	18
Independent	6	26	49	18
Registered Voter				
Yes	7	26	47	20
No	9	30	42	19
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	6	25	46	22
Moderately pro-life	4	25	47	24
Neutral	8	27	46	18
Moderately pro-choice	6	31	49	15
Strongly pro-choice	11	30	42	17
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	6	24	51	19
No change	6	28	45	21
Closer to pro-choice	10	30	44	16

Table 6

The Influence Of Sermons

Question: "How important are sermons in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**18**	**28**	**33**	**21**
Gender				
Male	12	28	37	23
Female	23	29	29	20
Marital Status				
Single	18	29	28	25
Married (1st marriage)	18	28	35	18
Married (2nd+ marriage)	17	28	30	25
Separated or divorced	13	26	35	26
Age				
18-29	18	30	32	20
30-44	17	27	35	21
45-59	15	28	36	22
60 +	20	29	28	22
Region				
East	11	31	38	20
Midwest	15	30	34	21
South	27	30	26	18
West	15	22	36	27
Place of Residence				
Open Country	22	27	30	21
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	17	29	34	20
Small City (25,000-49,999)	17	25	40	18
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	17	29	32	23
Large City (250,000+)	14	31	30	25
Education				
Less than High School	24	28	31	17
High School Graduate	20	30	33	17
Some College	14	30	32	24
College Graduate	10	24	36	29
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	33	35	20	11
Mainline Protestant	13	26	37	24
Orthodox Catholic	17	37	33	13
Progressive Catholic	6	29	46	20
Secularist	0	14	32	54
Political Party				
Republican	18	30	33	19
Democrat	18	30	32	20
Independent	14	23	36	26
Registered Voter				
Yes	17	30	33	20
No	18	25	34	23
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	32	31	25	13
Moderately pro-life	13	38	33	16
Neutral	16	27	37	21
Moderately pro-choice	6	29	43	22
Strongly pro-choice	10	16	35	39
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	27	35	28	10
No change	17	27	34	22
Closer to pro-choice	10	28	35	26

Table 7

The Influence Of School

Question: "How important are school courses in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**24**	**32**	**23**	**20**
Gender				
Male	24	33	23	20
Female	24	32	24	20
Marital Status				
Single	32	36	18	14
Married (1st marriage)	22	33	25	20
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	32	22	16
Separated or divorced	26	28	23	23
Age				
18-29	36	38	16	11
30-44	26	37	24	14
45-59	20	34	25	21
60 +	16	20	28	36
Region				
East	24	36	23	16
Midwest	22	34	24	20
South	26	28	23	23
West	24	32	24	21
Place of Residence				
Open Country	27	27	19	27
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	26	36	20	18
Small City (25,000-49,999)	20	36	25	19
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	23	31	28	18
Large City (250,000+)	23	30	28	19
Education				
Less than High School	22	22	26	30
High School Graduate	28	31	22	19
Some College	26	38	22	14
College Graduate	18	38	25	19
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	27	28	22	22
Mainline Protestant	24	34	22	20
Orthodox Catholic	25	31	25	18
Progressive Catholic	24	36	25	15
Secularist	16	37	26	21
Political Party				
Republican	22	34	24	20
Democrat	25	33	24	19
Independent	26	30	22	21
Registered Voter				
Yes	24	33	23	20
No	27	29	25	20
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	26	30	24	21
Moderately pro-life	26	34	20	21
Neutral	26	31	25	18
Moderately pro-choice	21	36	26	18
Strongly pro-choice	24	35	21	20
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	29	30	26	15
No change	24	33	22	22
Closer to pro-choice	24	36	23	17

Table 8

The Influence Of Friends

Question: "How important is talking with friends in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**23**	**50**	**22**	**4**
Gender				
Male	21	53	21	4
Female	25	47	23	4
Marital Status				
Single	29	46	21	4
Married (1st marriage)	22	50	24	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	19	56	23	2
Separated or divorced	24	50	19	6
Age				
18-29	25	49	24	3
30-44	20	54	22	4
45-59	25	44	26	5
60 +	25	50	20	6
Region				
East	26	50	20	4
Midwest	20	51	26	4
South	28	47	19	6
West	17	54	26	3
Place of Residence				
Open Country	24	49	22	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	24	48	24	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	22	57	18	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	18	51	27	4
Large City (250,000+)	27	47	21	5
Education				
Less than High School	28	46	21	4
High School Graduate	27	48	20	5
Some College	18	54	25	3
College Graduate	18	53	25	4
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	26	47	22	4
Mainline Protestant	22	50	22	6
Orthodox Catholic	24	47	25	3
Progressive Catholic	21	47	28	4
Secularist	21	64	14	2
Political Party				
Republican	20	52	24	4
Democrat	26	48	21	5
Independent	22	50	24	4
Registered Voter				
Yes	24	51	21	4
No	23	46	26	4
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	24	47	26	4
Moderately pro-life	24	51	22	4
Neutral	24	48	20	7
Moderately pro-choice	20	58	20	2
Strongly pro-choice	21	52	25	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	24	48	26	2
No change	23	52	21	4
Closer to pro-choice	23	50	24	4

Table 9

The Influence Of Speeches

Question: "How important are speeches in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**9**	**37**	**39**	**15**
Gender				
Male	9	33	42	16
Female	10	40	36	14
Marital Status				
Single	11	36	37	16
Married (1st marriage)	10	38	38	14
Married (2nd+ marriage)	6	39	38	16
Separated or divorced	12	33	40	15
Age				
18-29	10	38	37	15
30-44	9	40	38	14
45-59	10	35	43	12
60 +	8	32	40	20
Region				
East	7	39	42	13
Midwest	8	38	40	15
South	12	32	37	18
West	10	39	37	13
Place of Residence				
Open Country	11	33	36	21
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	10	40	37	13
Small City (25,000-49,999)	7	38	43	12
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	8	30	46	16
Large City (250,000+)	9	41	35	14
Education				
Less than High School	9	32	39	21
High School Graduate	10	37	37	16
Some College	11	37	40	12
College Graduate	6	41	42	11
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	11	36	38	14
Mainline Protestant	9	35	39	17
Orthodox Catholic	9	41	40	10
Progressive Catholic	8	37	41	14
Secularist	5	43	35	17
Political Party				
Republican	8	37	43	12
Democrat	11	38	37	15
Independent	9	35	39	17
Registered Voter				
Yes	10	38	39	13
No	8	31	40	22
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	12	36	39	13
Moderately pro-life	7	40	36	16
Neutral	9	36	37	17
Moderately pro-choice	10	33	44	12
Strongly pro-choice	6	41	40	13
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	9	40	38	14
No change	9	39	37	16
Closer to pro-choice	10	34	44	12

Table 10

The Influence Of Books

Question: "How important is reading books in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**32**	**39**	**21**	**8**
Gender				
Male	29	39	25	8
Female	35	39	18	8
Marital Status				
Single	32	40	19	8
Married (1st marriage)	31	40	22	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	36	42	13	9
Separated or divorced	34	36	24	8
Age				
18-29	31	41	21	7
30-44	34	41	19	6
45-59	32	39	20	9
60 +	30	33	26	11
Region				
East	36	37	20	6
Midwest	32	42	18	8
South	28	36	26	11
West	34	41	20	5
Place of Residence				
Open Country	27	36	26	11
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	36	38	20	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	30	43	20	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	29	41	21	8
Large City (250,000+)	36	39	18	7
Education				
Less than High School	23	30	30	16
High School Graduate	33	38	22	8
Some College	35	43	18	4
College Graduate	37	46	14	4
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	32	36	23	9
Mainline Protestant	29	40	22	9
Orthodox Catholic	37	38	20	5
Progressive Catholic	32	39	23	6
Secularist	34	43	16	8
Political Party				
Republican	33	41	21	4
Democrat	31	38	21	9
Independent	33	37	22	9
Registered Voter				
Yes	34	39	21	6
No	25	39	23	13
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	33	38	23	6
Moderately pro-life	32	43	20	6
Neutral	29	37	22	12
Moderately pro-choice	32	43	18	7
Strongly pro-choice	39	38	18	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	35	37	22	6
No change	31	41	20	8
Closer to pro-choice	39	36	20	5

Table 11

The Influence Of Religious Magazines

Question: "How important are religious magazines in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**13**	**26**	**34**	**27**
Gender				
Male	10	21	38	31
Female	17	29	30	24
Marital Status				
Single	10	25	35	29
Married (1st marriage)	14	26	35	25
Married (2nd+ marriage)	11	25	35	29
Separated or divorced	11	23	32	34
Age				
18-29	10	26	35	29
30-44	13	22	37	27
45-59	11	25	35	28
60 +	18	30	26	26
Region				
East	11	27	34	29
Midwest	10	29	34	27
South	19	26	33	23
West	12	19	36	33
Place of Residence				
Open Country	13	25	30	31
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	14	27	37	23
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	31	30	27
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	22	35	30
Large City (250,000+)	14	24	35	27
Education				
Less than High School	14	28	32	26
High School Graduate	16	28	34	22
Some College	13	26	34	28
College Graduate	9	18	35	37
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	22	33	30	15
Mainline Protestant	8	20	38	35
Orthodox Catholic	21	37	32	9
Progressive Catholic	6	25	40	28
Secularist	1	8	28	62
Political Party				
Republican	14	26	35	25
Democrat	14	27	33	26
Independent	10	23	36	32
Registered Voter				
Yes	14	26	34	26
No	11	23	34	32
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	24	33	29	13
Moderately pro-life	11	30	35	25
Neutral	12	25	37	26
Moderately pro-choice	6	22	39	33
Strongly pro-choice	7	16	29	48
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	20	32	36	13
No change	13	24	32	30
Closer to pro-choice	8	26	36	30

Table 12

The Influence Of Direct Mail

Question: "How important is direct mail from lobbying groups in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**4**	**18**	**40**	**37**
Gender				
Male	5	17	39	38
Female	3	19	41	36
Marital Status				
Single	4	19	38	39
Married (1st marriage)	4	18	43	35
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	17	43	35
Separated or divorced	3	19	34	43
Age				
18-29	4	19	44	34
30-44	4	18	40	37
45-59	5	19	42	33
60 +	4	17	36	43
Region				
East	6	19	38	37
Midwest	2	19	42	38
South	6	16	40	38
West	2	20	41	36
Place of Residence				
Open Country	2	18	40	39
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	6	19	43	32
Small City (25,000-49,999)	3	18	38	40
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	3	16	38	43
Large City (250,000+)	6	20	40	34
Education				
Less than High School	4	17	35	43
High School Graduate	4	22	41	33
Some College	4	16	43	36
College Graduate	4	15	42	39
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	5	19	41	35
Mainline Protestant	4	16	41	38
Orthodox Catholic	5	22	39	35
Progressive Catholic	4	22	40	35
Secularist	2	12	41	45
Political Party				
Republican	4	17	47	33
Democrat	5	20	37	38
Independent	4	18	38	40
Registered Voter				
Yes	5	18	41	36
No	2	20	38	40
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	7	20	40	32
Moderately pro-life	3	20	39	37
Neutral	3	18	39	39
Moderately pro-choice	3	18	45	34
Strongly pro-choice	3	14	40	42
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	6	18	44	31
No change	4	19	39	39
Closer to pro-choice	5	18	42	35

Table 13

The Influence Of Family

Question: "How important is your family in influencing your knowledge and views of public issues?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %
TOTAL	**44**	**40**	**11**	**4**
Gender				
Male	42	42	11	5
Female	46	39	11	4
Marital Status				
Single	44	39	11	6
Married (1st marriage)	46	41	10	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	48	40	9	4
Separated or divorced	40	35	16	8
Age				
18-29	49	36	12	3
30-44	45	41	10	4
45-59	43	44	10	3
60 +	40	39	14	7
Region				
East	44	40	12	5
Midwest	42	40	13	5
South	50	37	9	4
West	36	47	13	4
Place of Residence				
Open Country	47	38	11	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	43	41	14	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	44	43	10	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	41	42	11	7
Large City (250,000+)	46	38	11	6
Education				
Less than High School	49	35	10	6
High School Graduate	51	36	9	4
Some College	41	43	11	4
College Graduate	30	49	16	5
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	53	34	11	2
Mainline Protestant	40	41	13	6
Orthodox Catholic	51	39	5	4
Progressive Catholic	37	45	14	4
Secularist	38	43	11	8
Political Party				
Republican	40	44	13	3
Democrat	48	38	9	4
Independent	41	40	13	6
Registered Voter				
Yes	43	42	12	4
No	48	36	11	5
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	51	37	9	3
Moderately pro-life	47	41	9	4
Neutral	47	36	11	5
Moderately pro-choice	34	47	15	4
Strongly pro-choice	36	45	15	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	48	43	7	2
No change	46	38	11	5
Closer to pro-choice	35	46	16	4

Table 14

Fairness Of The Mass Media

Question: "How fair do you feel that the mass media are in their reporting of public issues and events?"

	Very Fair %	Fair %	Not very Fair %	Not at all Fair %
TOTAL	**10**	**60**	**24**	**6**
Gender				
Male	10	57	25	8
Female	10	62	23	5
Marital Status				
Single	14	57	23	7
Married (1st marriage)	8	60	27	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	16	53	24	7
Separated or divorced	9	66	16	9
Age				
18-29	10	62	24	5
30-44	11	61	22	7
45-59	8	61	24	7
60 +	11	56	27	6
Region				
East	12	61	22	6
Midwest	10	55	29	7
South	10	63	20	6
West	7	60	27	6
Place of Residence				
Open Country	8	59	26	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	10	62	23	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	10	60	22	8
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	10	62	21	7
Large City (250,000+)	12	54	27	7
Education				
Less than High School	11	63	21	5
High School Graduate	10	61	21	8
Some College	10	58	26	6
College Graduate	7	56	30	6
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	12	56	24	7
Mainline Protestant	9	63	23	5
Orthodox Catholic	9	61	25	5
Progressive Catholic	10	64	22	4
Secularist	10	50	23	17
Political Party				
Republican	9	55	30	6
Democrat	12	62	21	5
Independent	8	62	21	8
Registered Voter				
Yes	10	57	26	7
No	10	68	17	5
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	11	56	26	7
Moderately pro-life	6	63	24	6
Neutral	11	62	22	5
Moderately pro-choice	8	59	27	5
Strongly pro-choice	12	59	22	8
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	7	56	29	8
No change	10	61	22	6
Closer to pro-choice	12	55	27	6

Table 15

Women's Roles: Working Mothers With Young Children

Agree/Disagree Statement: "A preschool child is likely to suffer if his or her mother works."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**14**	**38**	**38**	**6**	**3**
Gender					
Male	13	44	35	4	4
Female	14	33	41	8	3
Marital Status					
Single	14	35	40	8	3
Married (1st marriage)	15	39	38	6	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	6	38	46	8	2
Separated or divorced	10	41	38	9	3
Age					
18-29	14	34	41	8	3
30-44	13	34	43	9	2
45-59	13	43	37	4	3
60 +	16	47	29	3	6
Region					
East	15	40	36	5	4
Midwest	12	36	43	7	2
South	14	38	36	7	4
West	14	41	38	5	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	15	40	34	7	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	16	36	40	7	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	8	48	37	3	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	11	36	42	7	4
Large City (250,000+)	17	35	38	7	3
Education					
Less than High School	19	42	28	5	6
High School Graduate	15	39	39	5	2
Some College	9	40	41	7	3
College Graduate	12	31	44	10	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	17	39	37	3	4
Mainline Protestant	10	40	38	9	3
Orthodox Catholic	19	42	32	6	1
Progressive Catholic	12	38	41	6	2
Secularist	8	36	44	7	4
Political Party					
Republican	13	41	38	5	2
Democrat	15	37	38	7	3
Independent	13	38	39	6	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	14	38	39	7	3
No	13	42	36	5	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	20	41	30	5	4
Moderately pro-life	11	45	36	4	3
Neutral	15	35	40	6	4
Moderately pro-choice	11	37	44	7	1
Strongly pro-choice	9	32	46	10	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	19	42	32	4	2
No change	13	39	38	7	3
Closer to pro-choice	10	32	47	8	2

Table 16

Women's Roles: Family Vs Career

Agree/Disagree Statement: "A woman should put her husband and children ahead of her career."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**18**	**42**	**29**	**6**	**4**
Gender					
Male	16	42	31	5	5
Female	20	42	28	7	4
Marital Status					
Single	13	34	34	14	5
Married (1st marriage)	20	44	28	4	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	17	37	33	7	5
Separated or divorced	14	40	31	8	6
Age					
18-29	15	35	36	10	4
30-44	15	38	35	8	4
45-59	20	44	29	3	4
60 +	24	52	16	2	5
Region					
East	18	38	33	6	4
Midwest	15	42	33	7	4
South	22	45	23	6	4
West	15	42	30	8	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	20	42	29	4	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	20	41	31	5	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	13	50	25	7	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	17	40	29	7	8
Large City (250,000+)	18	38	31	9	4
Education					
Less than High School	25	43	22	4	7
High School Graduate	22	40	29	5	4
Some College	13	44	33	7	4
College Graduate	12	41	34	11	3
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	23	49	19	4	5
Mainline Protestant	13	42	34	7	4
Orthodox Catholic	24	46	25	3	3
Progressive Catholic	14	36	36	9	5
Secularist	11	30	44	10	5
Political Party					
Republican	16	44	32	4	4
Democrat	19	40	28	9	4
Independent	19	42	30	5	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	17	42	30	7	4
No	22	41	27	5	5
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	28	44	20	4	4
Moderately pro-life	18	47	29	4	3
Neutral	19	43	26	6	6
Moderately pro-choice	8	42	42	5	3
Strongly pro-choice	12	31	40	14	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	25	44	22	4	4
No change	17	44	29	6	4
Closer to pro-choice	10	36	42	9	3

Table 17

Women's Roles: Which Is Most Fulfilling?

*Agree/Disagree Statement: "Being a housewife is generally **less** fulfilling than working for pay."*

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**6**	**27**	**46**	**14**	**7**
Gender					
Male	5	31	44	10	10
Female	8	23	48	17	3
Marital Status					
Single	6	27	45	10	12
Married (1st marriage)	6	26	47	15	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	30	41	19	5
Separated or divorced	12	27	43	11	7
Age					
18-29	8	27	45	12	8
30-44	7	25	46	15	6
45-59	7	25	47	17	4
60 +	5	31	45	12	8
Region					
East	7	28	46	12	7
Midwest	6	27	48	14	5
South	6	27	45	14	7
West	8	25	44	16	7
Place of Residence					
Open Country	7	29	43	14	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	25	50	14	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	6	26	49	10	8
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	4	28	46	14	8
Large City (250,000+)	7	27	41	17	8
Education					
Less than High School	6	30	45	12	8
High School Graduate	7	26	47	14	6
Some College	6	25	48	15	7
College Graduate	8	27	42	16	7
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	23	47	19	5
Mainline Protestant	7	31	43	12	6
Orthodox Catholic	5	25	48	18	4
Progressive Catholic	7	30	46	9	8
Secularist	7	24	42	16	11
Political Party					
Republican	6	27	44	17	7
Democrat	7	27	45	14	7
Independent	7	27	50	12	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	6	26	47	14	6
No	7	29	44	12	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	5	20	47	21	6
Moderately pro-life	4	32	49	11	4
Neutral	10	30	42	10	8
Moderately pro-choice	7	28	48	11	5
Strongly pro-choice	7	27	45	14	8
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	5	20	49	20	6
No change	8	28	45	14	5
Closer to pro-choice	6	28	50	10	6

Table 18

The Morality Of Suicide

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Suicide is morally acceptable because a person has a right to do whatever he wants with himself."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**3**	**12**	**39**	**43**	**4**
Gender					
Male	3	13	40	42	3
Female	3	10	39	44	4
Marital Status					
Single	3	13	36	42	6
Married (1st marriage)	3	10	38	46	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	1	15	38	45	1
Separated or divorced	4	13	42	37	4
Age					
18-29	2	12	40	44	3
30-44	4	12	35	45	4
45-59	2	10	41	44	4
60 +	3	12	45	37	4
Region					
East	3	14	40	40	4
Midwest	1	11	42	44	3
South	4	10	37	44	5
West	3	13	38	44	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	2	9	41	42	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2	12	43	40	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	14	46	38	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2	10	37	47	4
Large City (250,000+)	5	14	29	48	4
Education					
Less than High School	3	9	42	42	4
High School Graduate	2	8	42	46	2
Some College	2	13	39	41	4
College Graduate	4	18	32	41	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	1	7	35	54	3
Mainline Protestant	3	13	46	34	4
Orthodox Catholic	2	5	42	49	3
Progressive Catholic	3	10	42	41	3
Secularist	3	38	30	27	2
Political Party					
Republican	2	12	38	43	4
Democrat	3	10	40	43	4
Independent	3	12	41	40	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	2	12	39	43	4
No	3	10	41	42	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	1	4	33	60	2
Moderately pro-life	2	8	41	47	3
Neutral	3	11	41	40	5
Moderately pro-choice	2	18	43	34	3
Strongly pro-choice	6	21	39	28	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	2	3	34	58	3
No change	2	10	40	44	3
Closer to pro-choice	4	20	39	31	5

Table 19

The Morality Of Homosexual Relationships

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Homosexual relationships are okay, if that is the person's choice."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**7**	**32**	**26**	**31**	**4**
Gender					
Male	5	28	31	33	2
Female	8	37	22	28	4
Marital Status					
Single	13	35	26	22	4
Married (1st marriage)	4	31	27	34	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	34	23	31	2
Separated or divorced	9	40	25	22	4
Age					
18-29	9	35	29	25	3
30-44	9	40	22	26	3
45-59	6	29	29	33	4
60 +	2	23	28	41	5
Region					
East	9	41	27	21	2
Midwest	5	33	28	30	5
South	5	24	26	40	4
West	8	34	25	30	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	4	24	30	37	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	5	34	30	29	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	4	33	28	33	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	7	38	24	28	3
Large City (250,000+)	14	36	18	27	4
Education					
Less than High School	5	23	28	40	4
High School Graduate	5	30	29	32	4
Some College	7	38	25	28	3
College Graduate	12	41	21	23	4
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	3	18	26	51	2
Mainline Protestant	6	37	27	25	4
Orthodox Catholic	3	32	31	31	4
Progressive Catholic	8	42	29	18	3
Secularist	18	43	15	20	4
Political Party					
Republican	4	31	26	36	3
Democrat	8	33	28	28	3
Independent	8	36	24	27	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	7	33	27	30	3
No	7	30	25	33	5
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	4	16	27	51	2
Moderately pro-life	5	28	34	30	3
Neutral	5	31	28	32	4
Moderately pro-choice	4	49	26	17	4
Strongly pro-choice	18	50	16	12	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	4	17	33	43	3
No change	6	32	26	34	3
Closer to pro-choice	11	50	21	14	4

Table 20

Sex Before Marriage

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Sex before marriage is okay, if a couple loves each other."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**11**	**42**	**28**	**17**	**4**
Gender					
Male	11	45	27	14	2
Female	10	39	28	19	4
Marital Status					
Single	25	44	20	9	2
Married (1st marriage)	7	40	32	18	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	52	22	12	4
Separated or divorced	13	52	17	14	4
Age					
18-29	18	54	18	8	3
30-44	13	50	21	14	2
45-59	5	36	34	18	6
60 +	5	24	39	28	5
Region					
East	12	52	23	10	3
Midwest	9	42	31	14	5
South	9	34	29	25	3
West	14	41	27	14	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	6	37	31	19	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	43	31	14	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	9	47	25	16	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	40	27	18	2
Large City (250,000+)	19	41	20	16	4
Education					
Less than High School	8	35	32	22	4
High School Graduate	10	39	30	17	4
Some College	11	46	26	14	2
College Graduate	14	48	21	13	4
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	25	34	33	2
Mainline Protestant	12	51	22	9	6
Orthodox Catholic	4	30	42	20	4
Progressive Catholic	13	56	23	7	2
Secularist	21	58	13	5	2
Political Party					
Republican	8	40	28	19	5
Democrat	13	38	30	16	3
Independent	10	48	26	13	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	10	40	29	17	4
No	11	46	23	16	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	6	20	36	35	2
Moderately pro-life	7	42	34	14	3
Neutral	11	44	25	14	6
Moderately pro-choice	12	57	19	6	5
Strongly pro-choice	19	56	18	5	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	7	27	38	26	2
No change	10	41	28	18	3
Closer to pro-choice	14	54	22	5	5

Table 21

Availability Of Birth Control

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Methods of birth control should be available to teenagers even if their parents do not approve."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**20**	**43**	**22**	**12**	**3**
Gender					
Male	17	44	23	12	4
Female	22	41	22	13	3
Marital Status					
Single	33	44	13	7	3
Married (1st marriage)	16	42	25	14	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	24	45	21	9	2
Separated or divorced	21	49	21	7	2
Age					
18-29	29	46	15	7	3
30-44	23	46	18	10	3
45-59	14	40	28	15	2
60 +	12	36	30	17	5
Region					
East	21	42	22	11	3
Midwest	17	43	25	11	4
South	17	43	22	15	3
West	26	43	19	10	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	15	40	28	12	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	18	44	25	12	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	18	47	20	12	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	19	44	21	14	3
Large City (250,000+)	30	38	15	12	5
Education					
Less than High School	19	36	25	15	5
High School Graduate	17	42	25	14	2
Some College	22	43	21	11	3
College Graduate	24	51	15	9	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	12	36	25	24	3
Mainline Protestant	22	47	22	5	4
Orthodox Catholic	11	40	31	17	2
Progressive Catholic	23	48	20	7	2
Secularist	33	49	9	5	3
Political Party					
Republican	16	43	22	17	2
Democrat	22	41	21	11	5
Independent	21	45	24	9	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	20	43	22	12	3
No	19	42	23	12	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	10	26	31	29	3
Moderately pro-life	17	45	26	10	3
Neutral	18	46	21	9	6
Moderately pro-choice	21	56	18	3	2
Strongly pro-choice	40	46	11	1	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	16	30	29	23	3
No change	18	43	24	12	3
Closer to pro-choice	31	50	12	4	3

Table 22

Sex Education In The Schools

Agree/Disagree Statement: "The public schools have a responsibility to provide sex education for teenagers."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**25**	**52**	**16**	**5**	**2**
Gender					
Male	23	54	16	5	2
Female	27	50	16	6	2
Marital Status					
Single	38	48	11	2	1
Married (1st marriage)	22	54	17	6	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	25	54	16	3	1
Separated or divorced	26	50	15	6	2
Age					
18-29	34	51	11	3	1
30-44	28	52	15	3	2
45-59	21	53	18	6	2
60 +	15	51	21	9	4
Region					
East	29	52	14	3	1
Midwest	19	55	20	3	2
South	23	49	18	9	2
West	30	51	12	5	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	22	52	17	7	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	24	53	18	4	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	19	56	20	4	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	24	51	16	7	2
Large City (250,000+)	35	48	9	5	3
Education					
Less than High School	18	48	20	8	4
High School Graduate	25	54	14	5	1
Some College	27	51	16	4	1
College Graduate	29	52	14	4	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	18	49	21	10	2
Mainline Protestant	26	53	15	4	2
Orthodox Catholic	22	54	17	6	1
Progressive Catholic	30	54	13	1	2
Secularist	26	61	9	4	1
Political Party					
Republican	21	52	19	8	1
Democrat	28	51	15	4	3
Independent	24	54	15	5	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	26	51	16	6	2
No	23	55	15	4	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	17	46	24	10	2
Moderately pro-life	23	58	13	5	1
Neutral	22	53	16	6	3
Moderately pro-choice	28	56	13	1	2
Strongly pro-choice	41	49	8	1	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	22	48	20	7	2
No change	25	52	16	5	1
Closer to pro-choice	32	55	10	2	2

Table 23

Animals In Medical Research

Agree/Disagree Statement: "It is wrong to use animals such as monkeys, cats and mice for the purpose of medical research."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**12**	**26**	**43**	**14**	**4**
Gender					
Male	10	25	45	16	3
Female	14	27	41	12	6
Marital Status					
Single	21	30	36	10	2
Married (1st marriage)	10	24	48	14	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	9	23	42	18	7
Separated or divorced	13	27	38	18	4
Age					
18-29	18	31	37	13	2
30-44	11	24	47	14	5
45-59	12	23	46	14	5
60 +	10	26	42	17	6
Region					
East	16	33	39	8	4
Midwest	11	21	49	15	3
South	14	26	40	14	5
West	7	23	44	21	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	14	19	50	14	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	10	27	46	13	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	8	24	48	14	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	11	27	41	15	6
Large City (250,000+)	19	33	27	16	5
Education					
Less than High School	14	35	34	10	7
High School Graduate	18	26	37	13	5
Some College	7	23	52	16	3
College Graduate	8	18	53	18	3
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	9	26	45	15	6
Mainline Protestant	11	24	46	15	4
Orthodox Catholic	13	30	37	16	4
Progressive Catholic	14	30	40	10	6
Secularist	13	19	48	18	2
Political Party					
Republican	10	21	48	17	3
Democrat	13	30	38	13	6
Independent	14	24	46	13	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	12	25	45	15	4
No	16	29	38	13	5
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	12	26	42	14	5
Moderately pro-life	10	28	45	14	4
Neutral	15	29	41	11	5
Moderately pro-choice	10	25	50	12	3
Strongly pro-choice	15	20	41	21	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	11	28	41	15	4
No change	11	23	48	14	4
Closer to pro-choice	15	28	39	16	2

Table 24

Helping Others Or Helping Oneself

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Realizing your full potential as a human being is more important than helping others."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**6**	**22**	**54**	**14**	**4**
Gender					
Male	6	24	52	14	4
Female	6	19	56	15	4
Marital Status					
Single	7	26	45	15	6
Married (1st marriage)	5	19	59	13	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	19	57	16	3
Separated or divorced	8	26	47	16	3
Age					
18-29	6	26	52	12	4
30-44	6	22	52	16	4
45-59	6	15	59	16	4
60 +	6	22	54	13	5
Region					
East	7	22	56	13	3
Midwest	4	22	58	12	4
South	4	20	51	19	6
West	10	22	51	12	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	5	21	59	12	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	5	21	57	14	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	3	21	58	15	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	7	21	50	15	7
Large City (250,000+)	10	24	44	17	5
Education					
Less than High School	7	22	51	14	6
High School Graduate	7	22	54	13	4
Some College	4	23	56	15	2
College Graduate	5	17	54	17	6
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	5	15	55	22	3
Mainline Protestant	6	21	57	11	6
Orthodox Catholic	6	22	58	12	3
Progressive Catholic	7	28	53	9	3
Secularist	4	29	47	7	13
Political Party					
Republican	5	20	57	14	4
Democrat	7	23	51	14	5
Independent	6	22	55	14	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	6	21	53	16	4
No	6	22	56	12	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	4	14	58	22	3
Moderately pro-life	4	21	57	14	3
Neutral	8	28	49	9	6
Moderately pro-choice	7	25	50	12	6
Strongly pro-choice	7	22	53	14	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	5	18	59	18	1
No change	6	20	55	15	5
Closer to pro-choice	8	26	50	13	3

Table 25

Keep It On Schedule

Agree/Disagree Statement: "It is very important that the events in my life be planned and take place according to schedule."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**8**	**35**	**44**	**10**	**3**
Gender					
Male	8	39	43	9	2
Female	8	32	46	11	4
Marital Status					
Single	11	38	36	10	5
Married (1st marriage)	8	33	48	10	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	7	33	47	11	2
Separated or divorced	7	38	43	10	2
Age					
18-29	8	38	40	10	4
30-44	8	32	45	12	2
45-59	7	32	48	10	2
60 +	7	39	44	7	3
Region					
East	7	34	45	10	3
Midwest	7	39	46	6	1
South	7	31	45	12	4
West	10	39	39	10	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	6	33	47	11	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	36	46	10	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	5	37	50	7	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	7	37	40	11	5
Large City (250,000+)	13	34	39	10	4
Education					
Less than High School	9	39	40	8	4
High School Graduate	9	36	44	9	2
Some College	6	32	50	11	2
College Graduate	7	35	43	12	3
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	9	35	42	10	3
Mainline Protestant	7	34	46	9	3
Orthodox Catholic	8	38	44	7	2
Progressive Catholic	6	38	46	7	3
Secularist	8	30	45	17	1
Political Party					
Republican	6	40	44	9	1
Democrat	9	34	44	9	3
Independent	7	32	47	11	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	7	36	45	9	2
No	9	32	42	12	5
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	7	37	44	10	2
Moderately pro-life	7	38	44	9	2
Neutral	9	38	40	9	4
Moderately pro-choice	8	36	45	8	2
Strongly pro-choice	8	24	53	12	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	8	38	44	8	2
No change	7	36	45	10	2
Closer to pro-choice	10	32	45	10	3

Table 26

Shades Of Gray

Agree/Disagree Statement: "There are few moral absolutes -- what is right or wrong usually varies from situation to situation."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**14**	**55**	**20**	**7**	**4**
Gender					
Male	14	56	20	7	3
Female	14	54	20	7	5
Marital Status					
Single	19	56	17	4	4
Married (1st marriage)	12	54	22	8	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	11	66	16	6	1
Separated or divorced	18	52	17	5	7
Age					
18-29	18	55	18	4	5
30-44	14	54	21	8	3
45-59	13	54	24	5	4
60 +	10	59	18	8	5
Region					
East	15	56	20	5	4
Midwest	12	61	18	7	3
South	12	52	23	7	6
West	16	53	18	10	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	10	58	18	7	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	12	58	21	7	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	11	58	21	8	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	17	54	18	6	5
Large City (250,000+)	19	46	22	8	6
Education					
Less than High School	11	59	16	5	10
High School Graduate	12	59	17	7	4
Some College	13	55	24	7	2
College Graduate	20	45	24	10	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	8	49	26	14	4
Mainline Protestant	16	57	20	3	4
Orthodox Catholic	10	59	20	9	2
Progressive Catholic	14	60	16	4	6
Secularist	25	54	13	5	4
Political Party					
Republican	12	52	23	10	3
Democrat	15	58	18	5	5
Independent	14	57	20	6	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	14	54	20	8	4
No	13	57	19	5	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	9	46	23	16	6
Moderately pro-life	12	54	26	6	2
Neutral	13	61	16	3	6
Moderately pro-choice	16	60	19	3	2
Strongly pro-choice	21	57	16	4	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	10	50	23	14	3
No change	13	54	21	7	4
Closer to pro-choice	22	58	16	2	2

Table 27

It Is Out Of Our Hands

Agree/Disagree Statement: "No matter how much we pretend to run our own lives, we really have little control over what happens to us."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**12**	**35**	**42**	**9**	**2**
Gender					
Male	12	34	44	10	1
Female	12	37	42	8	2
Marital Status					
Single	15	32	46	6	1
Married (1st marriage)	11	34	43	10	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	33	50	11	1
Separated or divorced	16	34	40	8	2
Age					
18-29	15	34	42	8	2
30-44	10	31	47	11	2
45-59	11	35	43	10	2
60 +	12	44	36	6	2
Region					
East	12	39	39	8	2
Midwest	10	36	46	7	2
South	14	35	41	8	2
West	10	30	45	14	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	12	38	39	8	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	11	35	44	10	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	6	34	51	7	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	15	37	37	8	2
Large City (250,000+)	12	32	42	10	3
Education					
Less than High School	18	41	32	5	4
High School Graduate	14	38	39	8	2
Some College	9	35	46	10	0
College Graduate	6	25	55	13	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	14	34	42	9	2
Mainline Protestant	12	34	42	9	2
Orthodox Catholic	8	47	36	7	2
Progressive Catholic	10	38	42	8	2
Secularist	9	24	58	9	0
Political Party					
Republican	8	35	44	11	1
Democrat	14	36	40	7	3
Independent	12	35	44	8	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	11	35	43	10	2
No	14	36	41	7	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	10	37	42	10	2
Moderately pro-life	12	37	38	12	1
Neutral	16	37	39	6	2
Moderately pro-choice	7	40	46	6	2
Strongly pro-choice	10	24	51	12	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	12	37	42	8	1
No change	9	35	44	10	2
Closer to pro-choice	14	32	43	10	1

Table 28

The Gift Of Suffering

Agree/Disagree Statement: "I believe that suffering and hardship is a necessary part of life and can actually enrich my life."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**8**	**51**	**29**	**8**	**3**
Gender					
Male	8	51	31	7	3
Female	9	52	28	9	2
Marital Status					
Single	9	48	31	9	2
Married (1st marriage)	8	51	30	8	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	7	56	26	8	2
Separated or divorced	8	52	28	9	4
Age					
18-29	8	49	32	9	2
30-44	9	55	27	7	3
45-59	6	48	32	10	3
60 +	10	52	28	7	3
Region					
East	6	51	31	9	3
Midwest	7	53	32	7	2
South	10	49	27	10	4
West	10	54	27	6	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	8	53	28	7	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	55	29	7	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	9	54	27	8	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	8	46	34	9	4
Large City (250,000+)	10	48	29	10	4
Education					
Less than High School	12	53	24	6	5
High School Graduate	9	51	29	8	3
Some College	6	51	34	8	1
College Graduate	6	50	30	11	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	10	56	22	8	3
Mainline Protestant	8	50	32	8	3
Orthodox Catholic	8	61	24	7	0
Progressive Catholic	6	49	33	8	4
Secularist	10	44	33	9	5
Political Party					
Republican	8	55	28	6	3
Democrat	9	48	30	10	3
Independent	7	54	30	8	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	8	51	30	8	3
No	9	52	27	8	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	10	55	25	7	3
Moderately pro-life	9	58	22	10	2
Neutral	9	48	31	8	5
Moderately pro-choice	4	52	35	7	2
Strongly pro-choice	8	43	36	10	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	11	55	24	8	3
No change	8	51	30	8	2
Closer to pro-choice	7	50	31	8	4

Table 29

Hardship -- The Fruit Of Ignorance

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Personal hardship is caused by ignorance and old-fashioned ideas, and can be avoided."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**5**	**30**	**48**	**13**	**4**
Gender					
Male	5	31	48	12	3
Female	5	28	48	15	4
Marital Status					
Single	7	33	44	10	5
Married (1st marriage)	4	28	51	14	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	4	23	57	14	2
Separated or divorced	5	32	42	17	3
Age					
18-29	6	34	45	11	4
30-44	5	27	51	15	2
45-59	3	30	48	15	3
60 +	6	30	48	11	5
Region					
East	7	30	45	15	3
Midwest	4	30	52	11	3
South	4	27	50	14	5
West	5	32	45	15	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	6	32	45	12	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	4	29	53	12	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	32	54	11	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	3	28	47	15	6
Large City (250,000+)	10	27	41	18	5
Education					
Less than High School	9	38	40	7	7
High School Graduate	4	30	46	14	4
Some College	3	27	55	13	2
College Graduate	4	23	51	20	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	4	25	50	16	5
Mainline Protestant	5	31	50	11	3
Orthodox Catholic	5	28	46	18	2
Progressive Catholic	5	34	48	10	3
Secularist	6	29	44	14	6
Political Party					
Republican	4	27	53	14	2
Democrat	7	31	44	13	5
Independent	4	30	51	12	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	4	28	50	14	3
No	7	33	43	11	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	4	26	48	17	5
Moderately pro-life	5	29	50	15	2
Neutral	6	34	46	10	5
Moderately pro-choice	4	29	50	15	2
Strongly pro-choice	6	27	51	12	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	6	28	49	14	3
No change	4	27	50	15	3
Closer to pro-choice	5	32	50	11	3

Table 30

The Power Of Social Planning

Agree/Disagree Statement: "It is possible through social programs and planning to lessen human suffering and difficulty."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**13**	**68**	**12**	**2**	**5**
Gender					
Male	12	69	13	2	3
Female	14	67	12	2	6
Marital Status					
Single	16	62	13	4	6
Married (1st marriage)	13	69	12	2	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	11	72	13	1	2
Separated or divorced	14	71	10	2	3
Age					
18-29	14	64	13	3	6
30-44	13	68	12	2	4
45-59	14	71	12	1	2
60 +	12	69	11	2	6
Region					
East	13	73	9	3	3
Midwest	9	70	15	1	5
South	14	64	13	2	7
West	17	65	12	3	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	11	68	12	1	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	12	72	12	3	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	7	77	14	0	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	67	11	2	8
Large City (250,000+)	22	55	13	4	5
Education					
Less than High School	13	62	14	1	10
High School Graduate	11	71	11	2	5
Some College	13	70	12	2	3
College Graduate	17	66	12	3	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	12	70	12	1	4
Mainline Protestant	12	69	13	2	5
Orthodox Catholic	17	67	10	3	4
Progressive Catholic	12	67	14	2	5
Secularist	13	66	14	4	3
Political Party					
Republican	11	70	13	3	4
Democrat	16	67	11	2	4
Independent	12	69	12	2	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	14	68	12	2	4
No	11	68	12	1	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	12	66	13	2	7
Moderately pro-life	12	69	12	4	4
Neutral	10	68	14	2	6
Moderately pro-choice	14	72	11	1	2
Strongly pro-choice	18	66	12	1	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	15	66	12	4	3
No change	12	70	12	2	5
Closer to pro-choice	17	69	11	2	1

Table 31

Life Decisions - Infant Deformity

Question: "Do you feel there are cases of extreme infant deformity when the best thing for everyone concerned may be for doctors and parents to let the newborn infant die?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**43**	**42**	**16**
Gender			
Male	43	42	14
Female	42	42	17
Marital Status			
Single	37	48	16
Married (1st marriage)	44	40	16
Married (2nd+ marriage)	48	42	10
Separated or divorced	48	39	13
Age			
18-29	37	49	13
30-44	44	41	15
45-59	47	40	13
60 +	43	37	20
Region			
East	46	42	12
Midwest	44	38	18
South	36	46	19
West	48	39	13
Place of Residence			
Open Country	45	37	18
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	43	41	16
Small City (25,000-49,999)	43	43	14
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	40	45	14
Large City (250,000+)	41	44	15
Education			
Less than High School	29	52	18
High School Graduate	41	44	16
Some College	46	37	17
College Graduate	57	32	10
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	32	51	17
Mainline Protestant	51	33	16
Orthodox Catholic	31	55	14
Progressive Catholic	46	38	16
Secularist	52	34	14
Political Party			
Republican	45	40	15
Democrat	41	44	15
Independent	44	38	18
Registered Voter			
Yes	44	40	16
No	37	47	16
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	21	64	14
Moderately pro-life	40	44	16
Neutral	37	43	20
Moderately pro-choice	65	22	13
Strongly pro-choice	67	23	10
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	26	57	16
No change	43	43	14
Closer to pro-choice	58	27	15

Table 32

Life Decisions - The Terminally Ill Patient

Question: "Generally speaking, do you approve or disapprove of withholding food and water from a terminally ill patient who is in great pain and who requests that he or she be permitted to die?"

	Approve %	Disapprove %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**40**	**48**	**11**
Gender			
Male	40	49	11
Female	40	49	11
Marital Status			
Single	42	46	12
Married (1st marriage)	41	48	11
Married (2nd+ marriage)	43	48	8
Separated or divorced	42	45	13
Age			
18-29	41	46	13
30-44	41	48	11
45-59	42	47	11
60 +	39	52	9
Region			
East	42	46	11
Midwest	41	50	10
South	32	56	12
West	51	39	10
Place of Residence			
Open Country	35	51	14
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	42	50	8
Small City (25,000-49,999)	39	51	10
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	40	47	13
Large City (250,000+)	46	43	12
Education			
Less than High School	23	58	14
High School Graduate	36	53	12
Some College	48	42	10
College Graduate	53	38	9
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	26	63	11
Mainline Protestant	48	43	8
Orthodox Catholic	34	53	12
Progressive Catholic	42	44	14
Secularist	64	28	8
Political Party			
Republican	41	48	11
Democrat	39	50	10
Independent	43	48	9
Registered Voter			
Yes	42	48	10
No	34	53	13
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	24	63	12
Moderately pro-life	41	50	9
Neutral	34	51	16
Moderately pro-choice	54	36	10
Strongly pro-choice	63	31	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	29	60	11
No change	41	48	11
Closer to pro-choice	56	36	8

Table 33

Life Decisions - Suicide

Question: "Suppose that a depressed person, without the will to live, takes their own life. Would you say this is always wrong, usually wrong, sometimes wrong, or never wrong?"

	Always Wrong %	Usually Wrong %	Sometimes Wrong %	Never Wrong %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**40**	**25**	**25**	**4**	**6**
Gender					
Male	41	26	26	3	5
Female	39	24	25	5	6
Marital Status					
Single	41	28	21	4	5
Married (1st marriage)	40	24	27	3	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	44	23	25	3	4
Separated or divorced	35	26	26	6	8
Age					
18-29	44	27	22	3	6
30-44	41	26	22	4	6
45-59	38	25	28	4	5
60 +	36	21	32	6	6
Region					
East	37	26	27	5	4
Midwest	37	25	28	5	5
South	46	23	23	2	6
West	39	26	24	4	7
Place of Residence					
Open Country	39	23	27	3	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	39	22	28	4	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	34	25	31	4	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	45	27	21	3	4
Large City (250,000+)	42	28	18	6	6
Education					
Less than High School	46	20	23	4	8
High School Graduate	43	25	24	3	5
Some College	38	26	26	5	6
College Graduate	32	28	29	6	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	53	21	19	2	5
Mainline Protestant	34	23	31	5	7
Orthodox Catholic	46	22	24	3	6
Progressive Catholic	35	31	28	3	4
Secularist	27	29	23	13	8
Political Party					
Republican	37	26	28	4	5
Democrat	42	23	24	4	6
Independent	38	26	24	4	7
Registered Voter					
Yes	40	25	25	4	5
No	40	24	25	3	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	62	18	15	2	4
Moderately pro-life	40	29	23	4	4
Neutral	34	26	27	3	10
Moderately pro-choice	23	32	36	4	4
Strongly pro-choice	28	26	32	9	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	57	21	15	2	5
No change	41	24	26	5	4
Closer to pro-choice	24	30	34	4	7

Table 34

Life Decisions - Persons In A Vegetative State

Question: "Consider a person who is in a vegetative state with no real hope for improvement. Generally speaking, do you feel that his family, in consultation with doctors, should have the right to remove life support, ending his life?"

	Yes, They Should %	No, They Should Not %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**76**	**16**	**8**
Gender			
Male	80	15	5
Female	73	17	10
Marital Status			
Single	74	18	8
Married (1st marriage)	78	16	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	82	13	5
Separated or divorced	79	14	7
Age			
18-29	74	18	9
30-44	76	16	8
45-59	83	12	6
60 +	75	18	7
Region			
East	74	17	8
Midwest	80	13	7
South	71	20	9
West	84	12	4
Place of Residence			
Open Country	78	11	11
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	80	15	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	75	18	7
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	75	19	6
Large City (250,000+)	71	19	10
Education			
Less than High School	64	25	11
High School Graduate	76	16	7
Some College	80	12	8
College Graduate	85	12	4
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	70	21	9
Mainline Protestant	81	12	7
Orthodox Catholic	72	20	7
Progressive Catholic	74	17	10
Secularist	88	9	3
Political Party			
Republican	78	15	6
Democrat	74	18	8
Independent	78	14	7
Registered Voter			
Yes	77	16	7
No	72	18	9
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	68	24	8
Moderately pro-life	78	15	6
Neutral	68	20	12
Moderately pro-choice	86	9	4
Strongly pro-choice	91	7	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	72	22	7
No change	79	15	6
Closer to pro-choice	84	11	5

Table 35

Life Decisions - Attitudes Toward The Death Penalty

Question: "Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?"

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**74**	**19**	**7**
Gender			
Male	81	15	4
Female	68	22	10
Marital Status			
Single	66	26	8
Married (1st marriage)	76	17	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	79	17	4
Separated or divorced	79	17	4
Age			
18-29	73	22	5
30-44	73	20	7
45-59	79	16	5
60 +	72	18	10
Region			
East	70	23	6
Midwest	75	18	7
South	71	19	9
West	81	14	4
Place of Residence			
Open Country	75	15	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	77	17	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	77	16	7
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	70	22	8
Large City (250,000+)	69	26	5
Education			
Less than High School	67	23	10
High School Graduate	78	16	5
Some College	77	16	7
College Graduate	70	23	7
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	74	18	8
Mainline Protestant	78	16	6
Orthodox Catholic	74	17	8
Progressive Catholic	74	22	4
Secularist	64	28	8
Political Party			
Republican	82	13	4
Democrat	68	23	9
Independent	74	18	8
Registered Voter			
Yes	75	19	6
No	71	20	9
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	68	22	10
Moderately pro-life	77	18	5
Neutral	75	16	9
Moderately pro-choice	78	18	4
Strongly pro-choice	75	20	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	74	18	9
No change	74	20	6
Closer to pro-choice	79	17	4

Table 36

Life Decisions - Willingness To Fight For Country

Question: "If you were twenty years old and our country were at war, would you be willing to fight under any condition, under some but not all conditions, or under no condition?"

	Under Any Condition %	Under Some Conditions %	Under No Condition %	Not Sure %
TOTAL	**36**	**44**	**13**	**6**
Gender				
Male	49	41	7	4
Female	25	47	20	8
Marital Status				
Single	29	39	25	6
Married (1st marriage)	36	47	11	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	42	41	14	4
Separated or divorced	42	41	12	5
Age				
18-29	28	42	22	8
30-44	31	51	14	5
45-59	44	41	10	5
60 +	46	40	8	6
Region				
East	35	46	14	5
Midwest	39	40	15	6
South	36	45	13	7
West	37	47	12	4
Place of Residence				
Open Country	38	43	12	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	40	42	13	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	42	46	8	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	35	42	17	5
Large City (250,000+)	26	49	17	8
Education				
Less than High School	41	37	14	8
High School Graduate	38	40	15	7
Some College	36	47	13	4
College Graduate	29	56	11	4
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	40	40	14	6
Mainline Protestant	40	43	13	4
Orthodox Catholic	38	49	7	6
Progressive Catholic	30	49	12	8
Secularist	31	44	20	6
Political Party				
Republican	42	43	11	4
Democrat	36	43	15	6
Independent	34	47	12	6
Registered Voter				
Yes	37	46	12	6
No	36	38	19	7
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	42	38	14	6
Moderately pro-life	38	48	11	4
Neutral	38	39	14	9
Moderately pro-choice	31	54	11	4
Strongly pro-choice	30	50	15	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	38	46	11	4
No change	39	43	14	4
Closer to pro-choice	30	53	13	4

Table 37

Animal Rights - Endangered Species

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose laws to protect endangered species?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**92**	**5**	**3**
Gender			
Male	93	4	3
Female	92	6	2
Marital Status			
Single	92	4	4
Married (1st marriage)	93	5	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	94	4	2
Separated or divorced	94	5	1
Age			
18-29	94	3	2
30-44	94	4	3
45-59	93	5	2
60 +	88	9	3
Region			
East	94	4	2
Midwest	93	5	2
South	91	5	4
West	92	6	2
Place of Residence			
Open Country	90	7	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	94	4	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	91	6	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	94	4	2
Large City (250,000+)	92	5	3
Education			
Less than High School	87	9	4
High School Graduate	93	4	3
Some College	94	4	2
College Graduate	95	3	2
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	92	5	3
Mainline Protestant	92	5	2
Orthodox Catholic	94	4	2
Progressive Catholic	91	6	3
Secularist	95	3	2
Political Party			
Republican	93	5	2
Democrat	92	5	3
Independent	93	4	3
Registered Voter			
Yes	93	5	2
No	90	6	4
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	92	5	3
Moderately pro-life	96	3	2
Neutral	89	8	3
Moderately pro-choice	95	4	1
Strongly pro-choice	95	4	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	95	3	3
No change	93	6	1
Closer to pro-choice	95	4	0

Table 38

Animal Rights - The Sale Of Fur Coats

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose laws to limit the sale of fur coats?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**54**	**36**	**10**
Gender			
Male	53	38	9
Female	55	34	11
Marital Status			
Single	64	29	7
Married (1st marriage)	51	38	11
Married (2nd+ marriage)	56	34	9
Separated or divorced	58	35	8
Age			
18-29	63	29	8
30-44	59	32	9
45-59	51	38	11
60 +	39	48	12
Region			
East	55	35	10
Midwest	48	44	8
South	55	33	12
West	57	33	10
Place of Residence			
Open Country	49	41	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	53	37	10
Small City (25,000-49,999)	56	34	11
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	56	33	11
Large City (250,000+)	56	34	10
Education			
Less than High School	52	34	14
High School Graduate	55	34	11
Some College	56	36	8
College Graduate	50	42	8
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	52	38	10
Mainline Protestant	50	40	11
Orthodox Catholic	50	41	10
Progressive Catholic	57	32	11
Secularist	65	29	6
Political Party			
Republican	50	41	8
Democrat	55	33	11
Independent	53	38	9
Registered Voter			
Yes	52	39	9
No	57	28	14
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	57	33	10
Moderately pro-life	51	38	11
Neutral	50	37	14
Moderately pro-choice	54	41	5
Strongly pro-choice	56	37	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	55	37	8
No change	53	38	9
Closer to pro-choice	58	34	7

Table 39

Animal Rights - Laboratory Animals

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose laws to limit the use of animals for medical research?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**55**	**39**	**6**
Gender			
Male	54	41	5
Female	56	37	7
Marital Status			
Single	67	27	6
Married (1st marriage)	50	43	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	56	39	6
Separated or divorced	57	37	6
Age			
18-29	64	30	7
30-44	56	38	6
45-59	51	42	6
60 +	47	47	6
Region			
East	60	34	6
Midwest	53	41	6
South	57	35	8
West	46	50	4
Place of Residence			
Open Country	52	40	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	56	39	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	46	48	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	56	37	7
Large City (250,000+)	62	32	6
Education			
Less than High School	55	35	10
High School Graduate	61	33	6
Some College	53	42	5
College Graduate	45	50	5
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	50	44	7
Mainline Protestant	56	39	6
Orthodox Catholic	60	35	5
Progressive Catholic	57	35	8
Secularist	53	44	4
Political Party			
Republican	50	46	5
Democrat	58	36	6
Independent	54	38	8
Registered Voter			
Yes	53	42	5
No	60	29	11
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	54	40	6
Moderately pro-life	59	36	5
Neutral	54	37	9
Moderately pro-choice	53	44	3
Strongly pro-choice	54	40	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	57	36	6
No change	53	42	5
Closer to pro-choice	56	38	6

Table 40

Animal Rights - Cruelty To Animals

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose laws to punish people for cruelty to animals?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**91**	**5**	**3**
Gender			
Male	92	4	3
Female	90	6	4
Marital Status			
Single	90	6	3
Married (1st marriage)	92	5	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	94	3	3
Separated or divorced	90	8	2
Age			
18-29	92	5	3
30-44	91	5	4
45-59	92	5	3
60 +	91	6	3
Region			
East	92	6	2
Midwest	91	6	3
South	89	6	5
West	95	3	2
Place of Residence			
Open Country	90	4	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	92	5	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	91	6	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	93	4	3
Large City (250,000+)	91	6	3
Education			
Less than High School	89	6	5
High School Graduate	92	4	4
Some College	92	6	2
College Graduate	93	5	2
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	92	5	3
Mainline Protestant	92	6	2
Orthodox Catholic	93	4	3
Progressive Catholic	90	6	4
Secularist	95	2	3
Political Party			
Republican	91	6	3
Democrat	91	5	4
Independent	92	5	3
Registered Voter			
Yes	92	5	3
No	88	7	5
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	95	4	2
Moderately pro-life	94	4	3
Neutral	85	9	6
Moderately pro-choice	93	6	1
Strongly pro-choice	94	4	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	94	4	2
No change	93	5	2
Closer to pro-choice	92	6	3

Table 41

Animal Rights - Agricultural Abuses

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose laws to prevent meat and poultry producers from treating animals poorly in order to increase food production?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**75**	**19**	**6**
Gender			
Male	73	21	6
Female	77	17	6
Marital Status			
Single	76	19	5
Married (1st marriage)	75	19	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	72	21	7
Separated or divorced	74	20	5
Age			
18-29	76	19	4
30-44	77	16	7
45-59	73	21	6
60 +	72	22	6
Region			
East	83	14	4
Midwest	66	24	10
South	75	19	6
West	76	20	4
Place of Residence			
Open Country	67	25	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	77	18	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	73	22	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	78	16	6
Large City (250,000+)	79	15	6
Education			
Less than High School	72	20	8
High School Graduate	75	19	6
Some College	76	19	4
College Graduate	76	18	6
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	74	21	5
Mainline Protestant	70	23	7
Orthodox Catholic	80	14	6
Progressive Catholic	78	16	6
Secularist	79	18	7
Political Party			
Republican	74	22	5
Democrat	77	17	6
Independent	73	20	7
Registered Voter			
Yes	74	20	6
No	75	18	7
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	76	18	6
Moderately pro-life	77	19	4
Neutral	67	25	8
Moderately pro-choice	80	18	3
Strongly pro-choice	79	15	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	78	17	5
No change	74	21	5
Closer to pro-choice	79	17	4

Table 42

Conception Of Sexuality

Question: "Which of these statements best reflects your thinking about human sexual activity - sex is basically a source of pleasure and recreation, or sex has a sacred and spiritual meaning?"

	A source of pleasure and recreation %	Has a sacred or spiritual meaning %	Both %
TOTAL	**21**	**45**	**34**
Gender			
Male	26	40	35
Female	16	51	33
Marital Status			
Single	30	40	30
Married (1st marriage)	18	47	35
Married (2nd+ marriage)	20	45	35
Separated or divorced	25	43	33
Age			
18-29	26	41	33
30-44	23	40	37
45-59	18	49	33
60 +	16	54	30
Region			
East	24	45	32
Midwest	21	44	35
South	17	48	35
West	23	42	34
Place of Residence			
Open Country	18	46	36
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	18	50	32
Small City (25,000-49,999)	26	34	41
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	22	34	45
Large City (250,000+)	25	39	36
Education			
Less than High School	19	51	29
High School Graduate	20	49	31
Some College	20	43	37
College Graduate	25	35	40
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	10	60	30
Mainline Protestant	26	39	34
Orthodox Catholic	11	55	34
Progressive Catholic	23	41	36
Secularist	45	14	41
Political Party			
Republican	20	48	32
Democrat	22	44	34
Independent	22	43	34
Registered Voter			
Yes	20	45	35
No	23	46	31
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	9	61	30
Moderately pro-life	16	52	32
Neutral	22	40	38
Moderately pro-choice	32	36	32
Strongly pro-choice	34	29	37
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	12	57	30
No change	19	47	34
Closer to pro-choice	30	38	32

Table 43

When Does A Fetus Become A Person?

Question: "When would you say that the fertilized egg inside a mother's womb first becomes a person?"

	Moment of conception %	When the mother first feels movement %	When the baby could survive on its own %	Moment of birth %	When the baby is healthy %	DK %
TOTAL	**56**	**16**	**13**	**8**	**1**	**7**
Gender						
Male	49	19	13	10	1	9
Female	63	14	12	6	0	5
Marital Status						
Single	48	19	14	10	1	8
Married (1st marriage)	60	14	12	6	1	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	55	17	13	10	1	5
Separated or divorced	50	21	14	9	1	5
Age						
18-29	57	16	12	7	1	7
30-44	56	14	15	8	0	6
45-59	56	18	12	7	1	5
60 +	54	19	10	8	1	9
Region						
East	50	18	16	10	1	6
Midwest	58	14	14	7	0	7
South	63	16	7	6	1	8
West	48	19	16	10	2	6
Place of Residence						
Open Country	56	17	12	5	2	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	57	15	12	8	0	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	57	17	12	8	1	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	57	16	12	8	1	6
Large City (250,000+)	51	17	14	10	1	8
Education						
Less than High School	58	21	5	6	2	8
High School Graduate	62	18	7	6	1	6
Some College	56	13	14	9	1	7
College Graduate	41	12	30	11	0	6
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	73	12	5	4	0	6
Mainline Protestant	44	20	18	11	1	7
Orthodox Catholic	77	12	3	2	0	5
Progressive Catholic	50	20	14	9	0	6
Secularist	26	18	28	11	2	14
Political Party						
Republican	58	16	12	8	0	5
Democrat	57	16	12	8	0	6
Independent	49	17	15	8	2	9
Registered Voter						
Yes	56	16	13	8	1	6
No	55	18	9	7	1	9
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	86	7	2	1	0	3
Moderately pro-life	70	18	4	2	1	4
Neutral	52	20	10	5	2	10
Moderately pro-choice	36	23	21	11	1	9
Strongly pro-choice	22	15	34	23	0	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	86	8	2	1	1	3
No change	56	16	14	8	1	6
Closer to pro-choice	36	21	23	13	0	7

Table 44

The Uniqueness Of Human Life

Question: "Which of the following, in your opinion, is the most important thing distinguishing persons from other forms of life?"

	Ability to think and reason %	Broad range of feelings such as compassion and jealousy %	Work and productivity %	Idea that they were created by God in his own image %	Membership in a community %	Not Sure %
TOTAL	**49**	**5**	**3**	**36**	**1**	**7**
Gender						
Male	50	6	4	34	1	6
Female	47	5	2	38	1	7
Marital Status						
Single	44	8	3	32	3	10
Married (1st marriage)	50	5	2	37	0	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	48	5	4	38	1	5
Separated or divorced	52	5	4	32	1	6
Age						
18-29	47	8	3	32	2	8
30-44	50	6	3	35	0	6
45-59	54	3	3	33	0	7
60 +	45	4	2	43	1	5
Region						
East	57	6	3	28	0	5
Midwest	46	4	3	38	0	8
South	39	4	3	45	1	8
West	56	7	3	29	1	4
Place of Residence						
Open Country	47	3	2	38	2	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	49	6	2	37	1	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	49	9	3	30	0	10
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	48	3	4	39	1	6
Large City (250,000+)	50	6	4	32	0	7
Education						
Less than High School	35	5	3	44	1	11
High School Graduate	41	8	3	39	2	8
Some College	56	3	2	34	0	4
College Graduate	67	4	2	22	0	4
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	30	2	2	60	0	6
Mainline Protestant	54	5	3	30	1	6
Orthodox Catholic	42	5	2	42	1	7
Progressive Catholic	59	8	4	21	1	6
Secularist	68	7	3	9	0	13
Political Party						
Republican	50	4	3	37	1	5
Democrat	45	6	3	39	1	7
Independent	54	6	3	29	1	8
Registered Voter						
Yes	49	5	3	37	1	6
No	47	6	3	32	1	11
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	35	3	2	54	0	6
Moderately pro-life	46	8	2	40	1	3
Neutral	42	6	3	35	2	11
Moderately pro-choice	66	5	2	22	0	4
Strongly pro-choice	69	6	4	15	0	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	38	3	2	50	1	6
No change	52	5	2	35	1	4
Closer to pro-choice	61	6	3	23	1	6

Table 45

Public Concern Over Abortion

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of abortion."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**45**	**32**	**17**	**5**	**2**
Gender					
Male	37	34	22	5	2
Female	52	29	13	4	2
Marital Status					
Single	45	26	24	4	1
Married (1st marriage)	47	33	15	4	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	47	32	13	6	2
Separated or divorced	33	32	25	7	3
Age					
18-29	44	30	20	4	1
30-44	42	34	19	4	2
45-59	49	33	14	3	2
60 +	46	28	15	9	2
Region					
East	45	33	18	4	1
Midwest	41	32	20	5	2
South	50	30	14	5	1
West	42	32	18	5	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	46	34	14	4	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	49	32	14	4	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	40	33	22	4	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	42	29	21	6	2
Large City (250,000+)	44	29	19	6	2
Education					
Less than High School	49	28	14	7	2
High School Graduate	42	32	18	5	2
Some College	48	30	17	3	1
College Graduate	40	36	20	4	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	55	28	15	2	1
Mainline Protestant	35	36	22	6	1
Orthodox Catholic	58	25	10	4	2
Progressive Catholic	37	40	17	4	2
Secularist	38	28	22	10	2
Political Party					
Republican	48	32	16	4	0
Democrat	45	34	14	5	2
Independent	41	29	22	6	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	46	32	17	4	1
No	42	30	20	7	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	67	22	8	3	1
Moderately pro-life	43	40	15	2	0
Neutral	34	32	23	6	4
Moderately pro-choice	27	40	28	4	0
Strongly pro-choice	43	29	18	9	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	62	24	8	1	1
No change	44	31	19	5	1
Closer to pro-choice	35	39	20	5	0

Table 46

Public Concern Over Aids

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of AIDS."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**65**	**25**	**7**	**2**	**1**
Gender					
Male	60	28	7	3	1
Female	69	22	6	2	1
Marital Status					
Single	67	22	9	2	0
Married (1st marriage)	63	27	6	2	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	72	19	6	3	0
Separated or divorced	67	25	7	1	0
Age					
18-29	64	25	8	2	1
30-44	65	27	5	2	1
45-59	68	24	6	2	0
60 +	63	24	8	4	1
Region					
East	66	27	5	2	0
Midwest	60	26	10	3	1
South	68	22	6	2	1
West	63	26	8	2	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	67	22	6	3	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	65	26	6	2	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	58	32	6	2	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	62	24	10	3	0
Large City (250,000+)	69	21	7	2	1
Education					
Less than High School	65	23	8	2	2
High School Graduate	67	22	8	3	1
Some College	67	26	6	2	0
College Graduate	59	32	6	2	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	70	22	6	2	1
Mainline Protestant	64	24	8	3	1
Orthodox Catholic	70	22	7	1	0
Progressive Catholic	59	31	7	2	1
Secularist	62	27	6	5	0
Political Party					
Republican	62	26	8	3	0
Democrat	72	22	5	1	0
Independent	60	27	8	3	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	66	25	6	2	1
No	61	25	8	3	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	67	23	7	2	1
Moderately pro-life	62	29	6	2	0
Neutral	64	22	8	3	2
Moderately pro-choice	62	29	8	2	0
Strongly pro-choice	65	26	5	3	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	63	26	8	2	0
No change	66	24	7	3	1
Closer to pro-choice	63	28	7	2	0

Table 47

Public Concern Over Censorship

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of censorship."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**30**	**35**	**25**	**6**	**3**
Gender					
Male	31	34	26	6	3
Female	30	36	24	7	4
Marital Status					
Single	28	35	26	9	2
Married (1st marriage)	31	36	24	5	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	32	39	23	6	1
Separated or divorced	30	31	29	8	2
Age					
18-29	26	36	27	8	3
30-44	30	36	24	6	3
45-59	32	38	23	4	3
60 +	32	32	25	6	4
Region					
East	32	36	26	4	2
Midwest	28	39	24	5	3
South	28	32	24	10	6
West	34	34	25	5	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	25	35	26	9	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	34	38	21	5	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	29	35	28	4	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	28	35	27	7	3
Large City (250,000+)	34	32	26	5	3
Education					
Less than High School	26	30	26	10	8
High School Graduate	27	36	27	7	3
Some College	34	36	24	4	2
College Graduate	34	39	23	3	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	28	37	24	6	5
Mainline Protestant	30	33	24	9	3
Orthodox Catholic	30	38	28	2	2
Progressive Catholic	28	38	28	4	3
Secularist	40	32	20	6	2
Political Party					
Republican	28	40	25	5	2
Democrat	32	34	25	7	3
Independent	32	34	24	4	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	32	36	24	6	2
No	22	34	30	7	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	28	38	26	5	2
Moderately pro-life	26	40	26	4	3
Neutral	25	33	28	9	6
Moderately pro-choice	32	33	29	6	1
Strongly pro-choice	44	35	16	5	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	28	39	27	6	1
No change	30	37	24	6	3
Closer to pro-choice	36	32	26	5	1

Table 48

Public Concern Over Child Abuse

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of child abuse."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**82**	**14**	**2**	**1**	**0**
Gender					
Male	77	18	3	1	0
Female	86	11	2	1	0
Marital Status					
Single	77	18	3	2	0
Married (1st marriage)	83	14	2	0	0
Married (2nd+ marriage)	89	9	2	0	0
Separated or divorced	82	14	3	2	0
Age					
18-29	81	14	3	1	0
30-44	82	15	2	1	0
45-59	85	13	1	1	0
60 +	80	14	4	1	1
Region					
East	82	16	2	0	0
Midwest	80	15	3	1	0
South	80	14	3	2	0
West	87	11	1	0	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	78	17	3	2	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	87	11	1	1	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	81	17	2	0	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	81	14	4	1	0
Large City (250,000+)	80	15	4	1	0
Education					
Less than High School	80	15	3	1	1
High School Graduate	83	13	3	1	0
Some College	84	14	2	1	0
College Graduate	80	18	2	0	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	84	14	2	0	0
Mainline Protestant	79	15	4	2	1
Orthodox Catholic	89	11	0	0	0
Progressive Catholic	80	17	3	0	0
Secularist	74	23	2	1	0
Political Party					
Republican	83	14	3	0	0
Democrat	84	13	2	1	0
Independent	80	17	2	1	0
Registered Voter					
Yes	83	14	2	1	0
No	78	16	4	1	0
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	84	13	2	1	0
Moderately pro-life	83	14	2	0	0
Neutral	76	18	3	2	1
Moderately pro-choice	82	14	3	1	0
Strongly pro-choice	84	13	2	0	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	82	15	2	0	0
No change	84	13	3	0	0
Closer to pro-choice	80	15	3	1	0

Table 49

Public Concern Over Drug Abuse

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of drug abuse."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**80**	**16**	**3**	**1**	**0**
Gender					
Male	75	19	4	2	0
Female	85	13	2	1	0
Marital Status					
Single	70	22	5	3	0
Married (1st marriage)	82	15	2	1	0
Married (2nd+ marriage)	84	13	0	1	1
Separated or divorced	78	16	4	1	0
Age					
18-29	72	21	5	2	0
30-44	78	17	3	1	0
45-59	87	12	1	1	0
60 +	82	14	3	1	1
Region					
East	86	11	2	0	0
Midwest	74	20	4	2	0
South	80	15	3	1	0
West	79	19	2	0	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	76	18	2	2	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	85	12	3	1	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	77	18	4	2	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	79	17	3	0	1
Large City (250,000+)	78	17	3	2	1
Education					
Less than High School	80	16	2	2	1
High School Graduate	80	14	3	1	1
Some College	82	14	3	1	0
College Graduate	74	22	3	1	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	82	16	1	0	0
Mainline Protestant	79	16	3	1	1
Orthodox Catholic	88	11	0	0	0
Progressive Catholic	78	16	4	0	1
Secularist	58	28	10	4	0
Political Party					
Republican	80	16	2	1	1
Democrat	84	12	2	1	0
Independent	74	20	4	1	0
Registered Voter					
Yes	80	16	3	1	0
No	79	15	3	2	0
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	83	14	2	0	0
Moderately pro-life	81	16	3	1	0
Neutral	74	19	3	3	1
Moderately pro-choice	81	13	5	0	0
Strongly pro-choice	79	18	2	2	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	80	16	2	2	0
No change	82	15	3	0	0
Closer to pro-choice	78	17	3	1	0

Table 50

Public Concern Over Environmental Pollution

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of environmental pollution."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**60**	**32**	**6**	**2**	**1**
Gender					
Male	60	32	6	1	0
Female	60	31	6	2	1
Marital Status					
Single	57	32	8	2	1
Married (1st marriage)	60	32	6	1	0
Married (2nd+ marriage)	62	32	4	2	0
Separated or divorced	61	32	5	2	0
Age					
18-29	57	33	8	2	0
30-44	61	32	5	1	1
45-59	60	32	6	2	0
60 +	61	30	6	2	2
Region					
East	69	25	4	1	1
Midwest	56	35	7	2	0
South	53	35	8	2	2
West	64	30	5	2	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	58	31	6	3	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	61	32	5	1	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	60	31	9	1	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	61	32	6	2	0
Large City (250,000+)	58	32	8	1	0
Education					
Less than High School	54	32	8	3	3
High School Graduate	62	28	7	2	0
Some College	60	34	6	0	0
College Graduate	63	33	3	1	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	55	38	5	2	1
Mainline Protestant	56	34	8	2	1
Orthodox Catholic	70	25	4	0	1
Progressive Catholic	61	29	8	0	1
Secularist	63	28	7	1	0
Political Party					
Republican	58	34	6	1	0
Democrat	64	28	5	2	1
Independent	58	33	7	2	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	61	32	6	1	0
No	56	31	8	3	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	59	34	6	1	0
Moderately pro-life	62	32	5	1	0
Neutral	52	34	8	4	2
Moderately pro-choice	62	31	7	0	0
Strongly pro-choice	68	26	5	1	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	60	33	6	1	0
No change	63	30	5	1	0
Closer to pro-choice	62	31	6	0	0

Table 51

Public Concern Over The Influence Of Minorities

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the growing size and influence of minority groups."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**21**	**33**	**31**	**13**	**2**
Gender					
Male	22	33	31	12	2
Female	20	33	31	13	2
Marital Status					
Single	22	29	32	14	2
Married (1st marriage)	20	36	30	12	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	26	28	30	15	2
Separated or divorced	20	33	32	15	1
Age					
18-29	20	28	33	17	2
30-44	17	32	35	14	2
45-59	24	37	28	9	2
60 +	24	36	25	9	4
Region					
East	19	35	32	11	2
Midwest	16	32	36	14	2
South	24	35	26	11	4
West	25	30	30	15	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	20	35	27	14	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	21	34	31	12	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	38	36	12	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	26	30	32	11	1
Large City (250,000+)	25	30	28	15	2
Education					
Less than High School	24	34	22	13	7
High School Graduate	23	35	29	11	2
Some College	20	33	33	12	1
College Graduate	16	30	39	15	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	21	39	28	9	3
Mainline Protestant	21	33	31	12	3
Orthodox Catholic	23	38	27	11	1
Progressive Catholic	22	29	35	11	2
Secularist	16	27	35	22	1
Political Party					
Republican	21	34	34	9	2
Democrat	22	36	27	12	3
Independent	20	31	31	15	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	22	34	30	12	2
No	19	31	32	14	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	20	36	28	15	2
Moderately pro-life	20	36	31	11	1
Neutral	22	32	29	12	6
Moderately pro-choice	20	30	40	9	1
Strongly pro-choice	23	32	30	14	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	16	41	31	11	1
No change	22	32	31	14	2
Closer to pro-choice	22	31	35	10	2

Table 52

Public Concern Over Homelessness

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of homelessness."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**51**	**37**	**9**	**2**	**1**
Gender					
Male	43	41	13	2	1
Female	58	33	6	2	1
Marital Status					
Single	47	44	7	2	0
Married (1st marriage)	50	38	10	2	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	57	35	6	2	0
Separated or divorced	57	30	12	1	0
Age					
18-29	49	41	7	2	1
30-44	51	36	11	1	0
45-59	52	36	9	2	0
60 +	50	37	9	3	2
Region					
East	51	40	6	2	0
Midwest	49	39	10	1	1
South	52	34	11	2	2
West	51	38	9	2	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	48	38	10	2	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	53	35	8	2	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	44	42	11	2	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	54	35	9	1	1
Large City (250,000+)	53	37	8	1	1
Education					
Less than High School	55	32	9	2	2
High School Graduate	53	37	7	2	1
Some College	50	39	10	1	0
College Graduate	44	42	13	2	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	54	35	8	2	1
Mainline Protestant	48	37	11	2	2
Orthodox Catholic	60	34	4	1	0
Progressive Catholic	46	44	9	0	1
Secularist	43	39	16	3	0
Political Party					
Republican	45	41	11	2	0
Democrat	55	35	7	2	1
Independent	52	36	9	2	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	50	38	9	2	1
No	55	34	8	2	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	53	38	8	1	1
Moderately pro-life	48	43	8	2	0
Neutral	48	35	12	4	2
Moderately pro-choice	51	37	10	2	0
Strongly pro-choice	52	36	9	2	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	48	43	8	1	0
No change	52	36	10	2	1
Closer to pro-choice	52	38	8	2	0

Table 53

Public Concern Over Illegal Immigration

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of illegal immigration."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**28**	**36**	**26**	**9**	**2**
Gender					
Male	29	37	24	8	2
Female	26	35	27	10	1
Marital Status					
Single	30	29	30	10	1
Married (1st marriage)	26	38	25	9	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	38	23	9	1
Separated or divorced	27	34	29	11	0
Age					
18-29	26	32	30	11	1
30-44	22	36	30	11	1
45-59	31	41	22	6	1
60 +	34	35	20	8	3
Region					
East	24	38	29	8	1
Midwest	20	38	28	13	1
South	33	35	21	9	2
West	32	32	28	6	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	26	33	26	12	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	27	41	23	8	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	25	37	29	9	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	29	34	28	7	3
Large City (250,000+)	30	33	25	11	1
Education					
Less than High School	30	32	22	12	4
High School Graduate	30	35	24	10	1
Some College	29	37	28	5	0
College Graduate	19	39	31	10	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	29	36	28	6	1
Mainline Protestant	27	38	23	10	1
Orthodox Catholic	32	32	26	8	2
Progressive Catholic	25	37	28	7	2
Secularist	22	31	30	16	0
Political Party					
Republican	27	39	26	8	1
Democrat	28	38	25	8	2
Independent	28	32	28	11	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	28	37	25	9	1
No	25	33	28	12	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	27	33	28	10	1
Moderately pro-life	28	37	28	6	1
Neutral	29	35	21	11	3
Moderately pro-choice	22	42	28	8	0
Strongly pro-choice	27	37	26	10	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	22	38	30	10	1
No change	29	36	25	8	1
Closer to pro-choice	27	37	28	8	0

Table 54

Public Concern Over Nuclear War

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the possibility of nuclear war."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**35**	**28**	**24**	**11**	**2**
Gender					
Male	32	26	29	12	1
Female	38	30	20	11	2
Marital Status					
Single	40	25	21	11	3
Married (1st marriage)	33	30	26	11	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	41	32	17	10	0
Separated or divorced	35	22	30	13	1
Age					
18-29	39	26	22	11	2
30-44	34	30	25	10	2
45-59	35	31	24	10	0
60 +	34	24	26	13	2
Region					
East	35	32	23	9	1
Midwest	31	32	24	12	1
South	39	25	23	10	3
West	34	22	29	14	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	31	29	25	13	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	38	29	23	8	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	30	31	25	13	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	39	24	23	12	2
Large City (250,000+)	36	27	25	11	1
Education					
Less than High School	40	23	21	13	4
High School Graduate	38	29	20	11	1
Some College	35	26	28	10	1
College Graduate	24	34	30	12	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	38	26	25	10	1
Mainline Protestant	30	26	29	13	2
Orthodox Catholic	41	31	19	8	2
Progressive Catholic	38	30	23	8	0
Secularist	30	30	27	13	1
Political Party					
Republican	32	27	29	12	0
Democrat	37	29	22	9	2
Independent	35	28	22	13	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	34	29	26	10	1
No	39	26	20	14	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	35	27	23	13	1
Moderately pro-life	36	28	26	8	1
Neutral	37	25	24	11	4
Moderately pro-choice	28	32	28	12	0
Strongly pro-choice	34	30	24	11	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	33	30	25	11	0
No change	35	28	26	10	1
Closer to pro-choice	34	30	24	12	0

Table 55

Public Concern Over Population Growth

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of population growth."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**26**	**37**	**27**	**9**	**2**
Gender					
Male	26	37	28	8	1
Female	25	37	26	10	2
Marital Status					
Single	22	39	28	10	1
Married (1st marriage)	26	38	26	9	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	27	36	28	8	2
Separated or divorced	29	36	24	9	2
Age					
18-29	20	39	29	10	1
30-44	23	40	27	8	1
45-59	33	35	23	8	1
60 +	29	33	27	8	3
Region					
East	25	45	24	5	1
Midwest	18	36	35	10	1
South	30	34	22	11	3
West	29	34	28	7	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	23	33	28	13	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	28	39	25	8	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	18	44	29	8	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	27	34	30	8	1
Large City (250,000+)	30	37	25	7	1
Education					
Less than High School	21	32	32	10	4
High School Graduate	26	38	24	11	1
Some College	27	40	26	6	1
College Graduate	27	39	27	7	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	26	34	28	9	2
Mainline Protestant	27	38	24	9	2
Orthodox Catholic	25	38	30	6	1
Progressive Catholic	22	41	29	6	0
Secularist	32	32	26	8	2
Political Party					
Republican	26	36	30	7	1
Democrat	26	40	26	7	1
Independent	26	37	25	10	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	28	38	26	7	2
No	19	36	30	14	1
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	22	34	32	11	1
Moderately pro-life	23	39	30	7	1
Neutral	25	36	27	9	3
Moderately pro-choice	28	42	23	7	0
Strongly pro-choice	32	39	22	7	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	23	39	30	7	0
No change	25	36	28	10	1
Closer to pro-choice	31	43	21	4	0

Table 56

Public Concern Over Pornography

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of pornography."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**42**	**27**	**20**	**10**	**2**
Gender					
Male	34	27	25	12	1
Female	48	27	14	9	2
Marital Status					
Single	29	31	24	15	1
Married (1st marriage)	46	27	17	8	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	41	32	17	8	1
Separated or divorced	34	17	30	17	2
Age					
18-29	32	30	22	14	2
30-44	38	27	23	10	1
45-59	48	28	17	7	1
60 +	51	23	14	10	3
Region					
East	36	30	22	12	0
Midwest	41	28	21	9	2
South	45	24	18	10	3
West	45	26	17	10	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	42	30	17	8	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	46	22	19	10	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	37	28	23	11	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	43	24	20	11	2
Large City (250,000+)	36	31	21	10	1
Education					
Less than High School	42	23	16	14	5
High School Graduate	46	26	18	8	1
Some College	42	30	19	8	1
College Graduate	33	29	26	12	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	56	26	10	6	2
Mainline Protestant	35	27	24	13	2
Orthodox Catholic	58	26	9	6	1
Progressive Catholic	35	30	26	9	0
Secularist	16	27	36	18	2
Political Party					
Republican	45	28	18	8	1
Democrat	42	26	20	11	2
Independent	39	26	22	11	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	44	27	18	9	1
No	35	26	22	13	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	58	25	10	5	1
Moderately pro-life	44	30	18	8	0
Neutral	33	24	23	16	5
Moderately pro-choice	36	33	21	9	0
Strongly pro-choice	32	24	30	14	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	50	30	13	7	0
No change	42	26	20	11	2
Closer to pro-choice	36	30	24	10	0

Table 57

Public Concern Over Religious Fundamentalism

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of religious fundamentalism."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**21**	**29**	**28**	**14**	**8**
Gender					
Male	19	28	31	15	7
Female	23	30	25	14	9
Marital Status					
Single	16	27	28	22	7
Married (1st marriage)	23	28	30	11	8
Married (2nd+ marriage)	17	35	28	13	7
Separated or divorced	19	27	29	21	5
Age					
18-29	15	31	31	14	9
30-44	22	27	32	14	6
45-59	23	32	26	12	6
60 +	24	28	22	15	11
Region					
East	20	27	31	13	10
Midwest	20	33	30	12	5
South	23	29	25	14	10
West	21	26	27	19	7
Place of Residence					
Open Country	22	30	25	14	9
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	22	34	25	13	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	16	27	35	14	9
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	21	24	30	15	10
Large City (250,000+)	22	26	28	16	8
Education					
Less than High School	20	29	20	16	14
High School Graduate	23	30	27	11	8
Some College	19	30	32	13	6
College Graduate	20	27	33	19	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	29	34	20	8	9
Mainline Protestant	15	29	33	17	6
Orthodox Catholic	31	29	23	8	9
Progressive Catholic	15	27	36	14	8
Secularist	11	21	27	33	8
Political Party					
Republican	20	32	31	12	5
Democrat	22	29	28	12	9
Independent	21	27	27	17	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	22	31	28	13	7
No	17	24	29	19	11
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	33	28	22	9	8
Moderately pro-life	19	31	28	15	7
Neutral	16	28	30	15	11
Moderately pro-choice	11	32	36	16	5
Strongly pro-choice	20	29	26	19	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	27	32	24	9	8
No change	22	28	29	15	7
Closer to pro-choice	14	34	32	17	4

Table 58

Public Concern Over Secular Humanism

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of secular humanism."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**12**	**24**	**24**	**14**	**26**
Gender					
Male	11	23	28	14	24
Female	14	25	20	14	28
Marital Status					
Single	8	27	22	16	26
Married (1st marriage)	13	24	25	14	25
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	25	24	13	28
Separated or divorced	12	17	27	20	24
Age					
18-29	8	21	26	16	30
30-44	12	21	28	15	24
45-59	14	27	22	11	26
60 +	14	27	20	14	26
Region					
East	11	21	26	15	26
Midwest	11	24	28	11	27
South	14	22	22	16	26
West	12	28	21	14	24
Place of Residence					
Open Country	11	23	19	17	29
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	14	26	24	12	24
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	19	31	13	24
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	11	24	22	15	29
Large City (250,000+)	11	24	27	15	22
Education					
Less than High School	12	24	15	14	35
High School Graduate	12	25	24	11	28
Some College	13	24	26	13	24
College Graduate	12	20	33	22	13
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	19	27	17	11	26
Mainline Protestant	9	19	30	15	27
Orthodox Catholic	16	30	21	9	24
Progressive Catholic	8	25	30	14	23
Secularist	6	17	25	26	26
Political Party					
Republican	13	26	28	12	21
Democrat	13	23	23	14	27
Independent	11	23	23	15	28
Registered Voter					
Yes	13	25	24	13	25
No	9	20	24	18	29
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	22	25	17	10	27
Moderately pro-life	8	27	28	14	22
Neutral	8	22	27	14	29
Moderately pro-choice	8	25	30	15	22
Strongly pro-choice	10	21	26	19	24
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	20	30	19	10	21
No change	11	22	27	14	25
Closer to pro-choice	8	25	26	18	23

Table 59

Public Concern Over Minority Rights

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of minority rights."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**27**	**43**	**23**	**5**	**2**
Gender					
Male	27	42	23	7	1
Female	27	44	22	4	2
Marital Status					
Single	38	35	18	7	1
Married (1st marriage)	27	43	23	5	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	16	54	24	4	1
Separated or divorced	24	43	27	5	0
Age					
18-29	32	38	22	7	1
30-44	25	47	23	4	1
45-59	27	44	25	3	2
60 +	26	42	20	8	4
Region					
East	28	46	21	4	1
Midwest	22	45	26	5	1
South	29	39	22	6	4
West	29	43	22	6	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	21	43	25	6	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	25	46	23	6	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	18	44	30	6	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	37	42	17	3	1
Large City (250,000+)	35	40	19	5	1
Education					
Less than High School	28	40	18	8	5
High School Graduate	28	42	22	5	2
Some College	26	44	26	3	0
College Graduate	25	47	23	5	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	26	45	22	4	2
Mainline Protestant	26	41	25	6	1
Orthodox Catholic	34	43	17	4	2
Progressive Catholic	24	48	23	5	0
Secularist	25	34	26	14	2
Political Party					
Republican	21	46	27	5	2
Democrat	34	41	19	4	2
Independent	25	45	22	7	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	27	44	22	5	2
No	27	41	24	6	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	30	42	20	4	3
Moderately pro-life	25	48	25	2	0
Neutral	24	41	25	8	2
Moderately pro-choice	23	48	24	4	0
Strongly pro-choice	30	40	22	6	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	29	46	20	3	2
No change	26	42	25	6	1
Closer to pro-choice	28	48	20	3	1

Table 60

Public Concern Over Women's Rights

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of women's rights."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**33**	**41**	**20**	**5**	**1**
Gender					
Male	27	42	24	6	1
Female	40	40	15	4	0
Marital Status					
Single	41	34	19	6	0
Married (1st marriage)	31	42	21	5	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	36	45	15	4	0
Separated or divorced	32	39	23	6	0
Age					
18-29	35	39	20	5	0
30-44	33	40	22	5	0
45-59	33	45	19	3	1
60 +	34	40	17	7	1
Region					
East	37	41	17	4	0
Midwest	28	45	22	5	1
South	34	36	23	7	1
West	36	44	16	4	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	28	43	20	8	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	33	43	18	6	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	30	40	25	5	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	40	35	20	5	0
Large City (250,000+)	37	42	17	3	1
Education					
Less than High School	34	38	18	9	2
High School Graduate	33	42	20	5	1
Some College	37	43	18	2	0
College Graduate	30	40	25	6	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	32	39	21	7	1
Mainline Protestant	31	43	20	5	1
Orthodox Catholic	40	40	16	4	0
Progressive Catholic	32	45	20	3	0
Secularist	32	37	19	10	1
Political Party					
Republican	27	44	24	5	0
Democrat	39	41	17	3	0
Independent	35	38	19	7	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	34	42	19	4	1
No	31	38	22	8	1
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	31	39	22	6	1
Moderately pro-life	28	49	20	3	0
Neutral	31	42	19	7	1
Moderately pro-choice	29	45	23	3	0
Strongly pro-choice	47	33	16	4	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	32	41	22	5	0
No change	33	41	20	6	0
Closer to pro-choice	37	43	18	2	0

Table 61

Public Concern Over Racial Discrimination

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of racial discrimination."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**39**	**37**	**18**	**4**	**1**
Gender					
Male	37	36	21	5	1
Female	42	38	16	4	1
Marital Status					
Single	52	31	14	3	0
Married (1st marriage)	37	40	18	4	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	38	36	20	5	1
Separated or divorced	37	36	21	6	0
Age					
18-29	47	32	17	4	0
30-44	39	39	19	2	1
45-59	38	39	17	5	1
60 +	35	37	21	6	1
Region					
East	44	36	18	1	1
Midwest	32	38	22	6	1
South	40	36	18	5	1
West	42	38	15	4	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	30	35	25	6	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	38	42	16	4	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	35	37	23	4	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	50	33	13	4	0
Large City (250,000+)	46	35	15	3	0
Education					
Less than High School	41	32	17	8	2
High School Graduate	38	37	18	5	1
Some College	42	35	21	3	0
College Graduate	36	45	17	1	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	40	37	18	4	1
Mainline Protestant	36	37	20	5	1
Orthodox Catholic	43	38	16	3	0
Progressive Catholic	39	38	18	4	1
Secularist	33	37	20	9	1
Political Party					
Republican	33	39	24	4	1
Democrat	46	35	15	4	0
Independent	37	40	17	6	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	40	38	18	4	1
No	38	34	21	5	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	41	35	19	4	1
Moderately pro-life	40	40	17	3	0
Neutral	37	34	21	6	2
Moderately pro-choice	33	44	19	3	1
Strongly pro-choice	44	38	16	3	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	43	37	16	2	1
No change	38	37	20	5	1
Closer to pro-choice	39	44	16	2	0

Table 62

Public Concern Over Poverty

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the issue of poverty."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**50**	**39**	**8**	**2**	**1**
Gender					
Male	43	44	11	2	1
Female	56	35	6	2	0
Marital Status					
Single	53	37	9	1	0
Married (1st marriage)	48	40	9	2	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	51	40	8	1	0
Separated or divorced	46	42	8	4	1
Age					
18-29	50	37	12	1	0
30-44	46	42	9	1	1
45-59	51	41	6	3	0
60 +	52	35	7	4	2
Region					
East	55	38	5	1	0
Midwest	43	42	12	3	1
South	51	36	10	1	2
West	48	40	7	4	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	42	44	10	2	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	48	42	6	3	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	45	41	13	1	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	55	33	8	4	1
Large City (250,000+)	59	33	7	1	1
Education					
Less than High School	54	32	8	3	2
High School Graduate	52	38	6	3	1
Some College	49	40	10	1	0
College Graduate	40	48	10	1	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	54	36	9	1	1
Mainline Protestant	42	46	8	2	1
Orthodox Catholic	59	32	5	3	1
Progressive Catholic	52	36	9	2	0
Secularist	39	43	12	5	0
Political Party					
Republican	42	44	11	3	0
Democrat	58	35	6	1	1
Independent	48	40	9	3	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	50	39	8	2	1
No	48	39	9	2	1
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	55	35	8	2	0
Moderately pro-life	50	39	8	2	1
Neutral	46	39	10	3	2
Moderately pro-choice	43	48	6	2	1
Strongly pro-choice	50	39	10	2	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	50	42	6	1	0
No change	50	38	10	2	1
Closer to pro-choice	49	43	7	1	0

Table 63

Public Concern Over Homosexual Rights

Question: "Please tell me how concerned you are personally about the rights of homosexuals."

	Very Concerned %	Fairly Concerned %	Not too Concerned %	Not at all Concerned %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**13**	**19**	**30**	**35**	**4**
Gender					
Male	12	15	30	38	4
Female	14	22	29	32	4
Marital Status					
Single	16	21	27	31	5
Married (1st marriage)	12	17	32	36	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	18	20	26	32	3
Separated or divorced	14	19	33	31	3
Age					
18-29	13	17	31	36	3
30-44	13	20	32	31	4
45-59	14	21	32	31	2
60 +	13	17	23	41	5
Region					
East	12	24	34	27	3
Midwest	11	18	32	35	4
South	13	15	24	42	5
West	18	19	30	31	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	11	13	28	40	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	12	19	29	36	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	17	36	34	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	15	22	30	29	4
Large City (250,000+)	17	22	26	32	3
Education					
Less than High School	14	14	28	36	8
High School Graduate	13	18	30	36	4
Some College	14	19	30	35	2
College Graduate	13	25	30	31	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	13	16	26	43	3
Mainline Protestant	11	18	30	36	5
Orthodox Catholic	14	21	32	30	3
Progressive Catholic	14	21	36	26	3
Secularist	22	20	27	30	1
Political Party					
Republican	10	20	30	37	2
Democrat	15	20	29	32	5
Independent	16	17	30	34	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	14	20	30	34	3
No	9	16	28	39	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	14	16	24	44	3
Moderately pro-life	11	16	36	34	2
Neutral	12	14	30	38	6
Moderately pro-choice	10	22	36	30	3
Strongly pro-choice	19	28	29	21	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	14	19	26	39	2
No change	13	18	30	36	3
Closer to pro-choice	14	22	36	25	3

Table 64

Familiarity With Roe vs. Wade

Question: "How familiar are you with the 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion known as Roe vs. Wade?"

	Very Familiar %	Fairly Familiar %	Not too Familiar %	Not at all Familiar %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**14**	**34**	**17**	**33**	**2**
Gender					
Male	13	34	18	33	2
Female	15	35	16	32	2
Marital Status					
Single	16	31	15	36	2
Married (1st marriage)	15	37	18	28	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	42	16	30	2
Separated or divorced	12	31	15	40	2
Age					
18-29	16	30	18	35	2
30-44	15	39	17	27	2
45-59	13	38	18	29	2
60 +	11	31	13	43	2
Region					
East	15	34	15	34	2
Midwest	14	41	17	27	1
South	13	26	17	42	2
West	15	39	17	27	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	10	36	16	36	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	17	37	19	25	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	14	37	18	31	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	32	15	38	2
Large City (250,000+)	16	29	14	39	2
Education					
Less than High School	7	18	15	58	2
High School Graduate	9	30	21	38	2
Some College	15	43	16	23	2
College Graduate	29	48	12	10	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	13	30	21	35	1
Mainline Protestant	13	34	17	33	2
Orthodox Catholic	15	33	13	36	2
Progressive Catholic	12	40	12	34	1
Secularist	16	40	16	22	5
Political Party					
Republican	16	39	16	27	1
Democrat	14	32	14	39	2
Independent	13	34	21	30	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	16	37	16	29	2
No	7	26	18	47	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	17	33	16	34	1
Moderately pro-life	12	42	17	27	2
Neutral	6	22	15	52	4
Moderately pro-choice	15	41	18	24	2
Strongly pro-choice	22	44	18	14	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	20	34	16	30	0
No change	13	37	17	31	2
Closer to pro-choice	16	41	19	24	1

Table 65

Knowledge About Roe vs. Wade

Question: "Which of these statements would you say best describes the legal outcome of the Roe vs. Wade decision?"

	All abortions are *illegal* in the United States %	Abortions are legal only during the first 3 months, and only when a mother's life or health is threatened %	Abortions are legal during the first 3 months regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one %	Abortions are legal for the duration of the pregnancy regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**4**	**16**	**26**	**11**	**43**
Gender					
Male	4	16	25	12	42
Female	4	15	26	11	44
Marital Status					
Single	5	13	26	11	44
Married (1st marriage)	4	17	28	12	39
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	17	28	13	38
Separated or divorced	1	16	22	10	51
Age					
18-29	5	15	26	9	45
30-44	3	15	32	14	36
45-59	5	19	24	11	41
60 +	4	15	18	10	53
Region					
East	4	15	27	11	42
Midwest	6	17	26	14	27
South	4	17	22	7	51
West	2	12	30	15	40
Place of Residence					
Open Country	6	17	24	8	44
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	6	16	29	12	38
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	18	28	15	37
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2	13	24	13	48
Large City (250,000+)	3	13	23	11	50
Education					
Less than High School	6	12	8	7	67
High School Graduate	5	18	20	8	50
Some College	3	18	33	14	33
College Graduate	3	13	46	20	18
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	5	17	20	14	44
Mainline Protestant	3	15	28	9	45
Orthodox Catholic	5	12	24	10	50
Progressive Catholic	4	18	26	11	41
Secularist	3	14	32	17	34
Political Party					
Republican	4	16	31	13	36
Democrat	3	14	23	10	49
Independent	6	17	24	12	40
Registered Voter					
Yes	4	16	28	13	39
No	3	15	16	8	58
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	6	14	22	13	44
Moderately pro-life	4	22	24	13	37
Neutral	3	12	13	7	65
Moderately pro-choice	2	18	37	10	32
Strongly pro-choice	4	15	43	16	22
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	6	19	22	13	39
No change	4	16	26	13	42
Closer to pro-choice	2	19	38	11	30

Table 66

Familiarity With The Webster Case

Question: "How familiar are you with the 1989 Supreme Court decision on abortion in the Webster case?"

	Very Familiar %	Fairly Familiar %	Not at all Familiar %
TOTAL	**3**	**15**	**82**
Gender			
Male	3	14	83
Female	3	16	81
Marital Status			
Single	4	17	79
Married (1st marriage)	3	17	80
Married (2nd+ marriage)	1	12	87
Separated or divorced	4	12	84
Age			
18-29	4	17	79
30-44	2	16	82
45-59	4	14	82
60 +	2	12	86
Region			
East	2	15	83
Midwest	3	17	80
South	4	13	83
West	1	15	84
Place of Residence			
Open Country	4	10	85
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	3	16	80
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	17	81
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2	14	84
Large City (250,000+)	3	17	80
Education			
Less than High School	2	5	93
High School Graduate	2	12	86
Some College	2	16	82
College Graduate	8	29	64
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	1	14	84
Mainline Protestant	3	13	84
Orthodox Catholic	2	16	82
Progressive Catholic	3	14	84
Secularist	5	25	70
Political Party			
Republican	3	18	79
Democrat	2	12	85
Independent	3	16	81
Registered Voter			
Yes	3	17	80
No	3	8	88
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	2	18	80
Moderately pro-life	2	15	83
Neutral	2	8	90
Moderately pro-choice	3	14	83
Strongly pro-choice	5	22	73
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	4	17	79
No change	3	15	82
Closer to pro-choice	3	17	80

Table 67

Knowledge About Webster

Question: "Which of these statements would you say best describes the legal outcome of the Webster decision?"

	All abortions are *illegal* in the United States %	Abortions are permitted only during the first 3 months and only when the mother's life or health is threatened %	Abortions are now legal during the first 3 months regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one %	Abortions are legal for the duration of the pregnancy regardless of a woman's reason for wanting one %	Abortions that are legal in one state may be illegal in another %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**0**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**9**	**83**
Gender						
Male	0	4	1	2	9	84
Female	1	4	2	1	10	83
Marital Status						
Single	1	4	2	2	10	81
Married (1st marriage)	0	5	2	1	11	81
Married (2nd+ marriage)	0	2	1	1	7	88
Separated or divorced	0	4	1	1	10	86
Age						
18-29	1	4	2	2	11	80
30-44	0	4	1	2	10	83
45-59	0	5	2	1	9	83
60 +	1	2	1	1	7	88
Region						
East	0	4	2	0	10	84
Midwest	1	3	3	1	10	81
South	0	5	1	2	8	84
West	0	3	0	2	10	84
Place of Residence						
Open Country	1	4	1	1	7	86
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	0	4	2	0	12	82
Small City (25,000-49,999)	0	5	3	1	10	82
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	0	2	2	3	8	86
Large City (250,000+)	1	4	2	1	10	82
Education						
Less than High School	1	2	1	1	2	94
High School Graduate	1	3	2	2	5	88
Some College	0	5	2	0	10	83
College Graduate	0	6	2	2	25	65
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	1	4	1	2	7	86
Mainline Protestant	0	3	1	1	9	85
Orthodox Catholic	0	3	2	0	11	83
Progressive Catholic	0	6	2	2	5	85
Secularist	0	3	2	2	24	70
Political Party						
Republican	1	5	1	2	11	81
Democrat	0	3	2	1	8	86
Independent	0	4	2	1	10	82
Registered Voter						
Yes	0	4	2	1	11	82
No	1	3	1	2	4	89
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	1	4	1	2	10	81
Moderately pro-life	0	3	2	3	9	84
Neutral	0	3	1	1	4	91
Moderately pro-choice	0	4	3	0	9	84
Strongly pro-choice	0	6	2	1	17	74
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	2	4	2	3	9	81
No change	0	3	2	1	11	83
Closer to pro-choice	0	7	2	1	10	80

Table 68

Abortion Contexts: When The Woman's Life Is Threatened

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the woman's life is endangered by the pregnancy?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable %	Unacceptable %	Uncertain %	Acceptable %	Unacceptable %	Uncertain %
TOTAL	**80**	**15**	**5**	**56**	**9**	**35**
Gender						
Male	82	13	5	60	32	8
Female	79	16	5	52	39	9
Marital Status						
Single	84	12	4	61	32	8
Married (1st marriage)	79	16	4	53	37	10
Married (2nd+ marriage)	86	10	4	65	28	8
Separated or divorced	82	12	6	65	31	4
Age						
18-29	84	12	4	58	34	9
30-44	81	14	5	58	33	8
45-59	82	14	4	58	34	8
60 +	76	17	6	51	40	9
Region						
East	82	13	5	62	33	6
Midwest	81	14	5	56	34	10
South	75	20	6	48	42	10
West	86	10	4	62	30	8
Place of Residence						
Open Country	78	17	5	52	38	11
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	82	14	4	56	36	8
Small City (25,000-49,999)	83	14	3	59	33	8
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	82	11	7	64	29	7
Large City (250,000+)	78	16	6	53	39	8
Education						
Less than High School	69	22	8	43	44	13
High School Graduate	80	15	5	55	39	6
Some College	84	12	5	60	32	8
College Graduate	89	9	2	68	23	9
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	77	17	6	48	43	9
Mainline Protestant	88	8	3	64	27	9
Orthodox Catholic	64	30	7	38	53	9
Progressive Catholic	80	14	6	60	33	8
Secularist	94	3	3	77	18	5
Political Party						
Republican	82	15	3	56	34	10
Democrat	80	14	6	52	39	9
Independent	82	13	4	64	30	6
Registered Voter						
Yes	81	14	5	57	35	8
No	77	17	6	55	36	9
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	64	30	6	32	57	10
Moderately pro-life	85	10	4	51	36	13
Neutral	77	16	7	56	34	9
Moderately pro-choice	94	4	2	74	21	5
Strongly pro-choice	94	4	1	80	16	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	71	25	3	37	52	11
No change	82	14	4	57	34	9
Closer to pro-choice	94	4	2	74	21	5

Table 69

Abortion Contexts: Mental And Emotional Damage

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the woman's mental or emotional health might be damaged by the pregnancy?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**55**	**37**	**8**	**37**	**57**	**6**
Gender						
Male	58	35	7	40	53	7
Female	52	39	9	33	62	5
Marital Status						
Single	59	32	9	39	54	7
Married (1st marriage)	52	40	7	34	60	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	60	34	6	38	57	4
Separated or divorced	61	31	9	46	52	3
Age						
18-29	56	35	8	33	58	8
30-44	54	39	7	37	58	5
45-59	54	39	7	38	59	4
60 +	56	33	11	39	54	7
Region						
East	58	35	7	39	55	6
Midwest	55	36	8	35	60	5
South	50	41	9	33	60	6
West	58	32	9	43	51	6
Place of Residence						
Open Country	53	38	9	33	61	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	52	42	6	32	63	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	61	34	4	40	54	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	56	32	12	43	50	7
Large City (250,000+)	56	34	10	40	53	7
Education						
Less than High School	49	40	11	30	63	7
High School Graduate	52	40	8	33	62	4
Some College	56	36	7	39	56	6
College Graduate	64	29	7	48	45	7
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	43	46	11	27	69	4
Mainline Protestant	67	27	6	46	47	6
Orthodox Catholic	36	53	10	19	78	3
Progressive Catholic	55	37	8	37	56	7
Secularist	76	15	10	60	32	7
Political Party						
Republican	52	41	7	34	60	6
Democrat	58	33	10	36	56	7
Independent	58	35	7	43	53	4
Registered Voter						
Yes	56	36	8	38	56	6
No	52	39	10	34	60	7
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	26	64	10	13	83	4
Moderately pro-life	48	43	8	27	68	4
Neutral	56	34	11	39	54	6
Moderately pro-choice	77	18	4	52	41	7
Strongly pro-choice	85	12	3	63	29	8
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	29	61	10	16	81	3
No change	57	36	6	37	57	6
Closer to pro-choice	76	19	5	55	39	6

Table 70

Abortion Contexts: Pregnancies Resulting From Rape

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the pregnancy was the result of rape?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**70**	**24**	**6**	**48**	**46**	**6**
Gender						
Male	71	23	6	53	42	6
Female	69	25	7	44	50	5
Marital Status						
Single	72	23	5	54	43	3
Married (1st marriage)	69	24	7	45	48	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	80	16	4	58	40	2
Separated or divorced	72	23	5	53	43	4
Age						
18-29	74	21	5	49	45	6
30-44	71	24	6	51	45	4
45-59	68	25	7	47	47	6
60 +	66	26	8	45	48	7
Region						
East	76	20	4	54	40	6
Midwest	69	24	6	47	49	4
South	63	28	9	43	49	7
West	74	21	4	52	44	4
Place of Residence						
Open Country	66	24	10	43	49	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	70	25	5	48	47	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	73	23	4	50	44	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	70	25	5	52	44	4
Large City (250,000+)	73	21	6	49	44	6
Education						
Less than High School	54	36	10	35	59	6
High School Graduate	69	25	6	47	48	5
Some College	77	17	5	55	39	6
College Graduate	80	16	4	57	37	6
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	57	34	9	37	58	5
Mainline Protestant	81	14	5	58	36	6
Orthodox Catholic	56	36	8	26	68	5
Progressive Catholic	73	21	6	53	41	6
Secularist	88	10	2	71	26	4
Political Party						
Republican	66	28	6	48	47	6
Democrat	72	22	6	48	46	6
Independent	75	20	4	52	44	4
Registered Voter						
Yes	72	22	6	51	44	5
No	64	29	6	40	53	6
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	39	52	10	19	76	5
Moderately pro-life	73	20	7	41	53	6
Neutral	71	22	8	53	40	7
Moderately pro-choice	92	6	2	66	28	6
Strongly pro-choice	96	3	1	76	21	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	47	44	8	26	70	4
No change	73	21	6	50	44	6
Closer to pro-choice	91	7	2	67	29	4

Table 71

Abortion Contexts: Pregnancies Resulting From Incest

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the pregnancy was the result of incest?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**70**	**23**	**7**	**54**	**41**	**6**
Gender						
Male	71	22	7	58	37	5
Female	69	24	7	49	45	6
Marital Status						
Single	75	20	5	60	36	4
Married (1st marriage)	67	24	8	51	43	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	79	15	6	59	36	4
Separated or divorced	76	20	4	60	36	4
Age						
18-29	75	20	6	56	38	6
30-44	73	21	6	57	38	5
45-59	68	24	9	52	42	6
60 +	63	28	9	49	46	6
Region						
East	76	20	5	60	34	5
Midwest	70	23	7	51	43	6
South	61	28	10	47	47	6
West	75	19	6	60	36	4
Place of Residence						
Open Country	65	25	10	46	48	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	71	24	5	53	40	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	74	22	4	57	37	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	68	24	7	59	38	3
Large City (250,000+)	72	19	9	56	40	4
Education						
Less than High School	52	35	13	41	53	6
High School Graduate	70	24	6	51	44	5
Some College	76	18	6	59	36	5
College Graduate	82	15	4	64	30	6
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	58	32	10	44	51	5
Mainline Protestant	78	16	6	62	32	6
Orthodox Catholic	58	32	10	34	62	4
Progressive Catholic	74	20	6	60	35	6
Secularist	89	8	3	75	23	2
Political Party						
Republican	68	25	7	53	41	6
Democrat	70	23	8	53	41	6
Independent	75	20	5	57	39	4
Registered Voter						
Yes	71	22	7	56	39	5
No	65	27	8	46	47	7
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	39	51	10	24	70	6
Moderately pro-life	75	17	7	51	45	5
Neutral	69	21	10	57	36	7
Moderately pro-choice	92	6	2	72	21	7
Strongly pro-choice	95	4	1	77	19	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	41	44	8	30	66	4
No change	73	21	6	55	39	5
Closer to pro-choice	90	7	2	73	22	5

Table 72

Abortion Contexts: Infant Deformity

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if there is a strong chance of serious deformity in the baby?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**58**	**34**	**8**	**45**	**50**	**5**
Gender						
Male	59	33	7	47	48	6
Female	57	34	9	43	52	5
Marital Status						
Single	57	34	9	45	50	5
Married (1st marriage)	58	34	8	43	51	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	65	23	8	43	41	6
Separated or divorced	66	31	4	53	44	4
Age						
18-29	58	34	8	42	52	6
30-44	60	33	7	46	49	5
45-59	60	32	9	47	48	5
60 +	57	34	9	45	50	5
Region						
East	61	32	8	49	47	4
Midwest	58	34	8	45	50	5
South	52	39	9	37	56	7
West	66	28	7	51	43	5
Place of Residence						
Open Country	54	37	9	39	52	9
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	60	34	6	47	50	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	61	33	7	47	48	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	61	30	9	50	44	5
Large City (250,000+)	58	33	9	42	50	6
Education						
Less than High School	46	44	9	35	60	5
High School Graduate	56	34	9	42	53	5
Some College	64	29	7	50	45	5
College Graduate	69	26	5	55	39	7
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	43	48	9	33	62	5
Mainline Protestant	70	23	7	54	40	7
Orthodox Catholic	39	51	10	26	69	5
Progressive Catholic	64	26	10	52	43	6
Secularist	83	13	4	62	32	6
Political Party						
Republican	56	38	6	41	52	7
Democrat	59	32	10	46	48	6
Independent	63	30	7	51	46	3
Registered Voter						
Yes	60	33	8	46	49	5
No	55	37	8	42	52	6
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	25	66	10	17	79	4
Moderately pro-life	56	35	9	37	57	6
Neutral	62	26	11	50	44	6
Moderately pro-choice	82	15	3	62	31	7
Strongly pro-choice	87	10	3	71	24	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	34	57	9	20	74	5
No change	60	34	7	46	49	6
Closer to pro-choice	83	15	2	64	31	5

Table 73

Abortion Contexts: Teenage Drop-outs

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the pregnancy would require a teenager to drop out of school?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**28**	**66**	**6**	**16**	**83**	**2**
Gender						
Male	30	65	5	17	82	2
Female	27	68	6	14	84	2
Marital Status						
Single	34	60	6	19	78	2
Married (1st marriage)	26	69	5	13	85	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	65	4	16	82	2
Separated or divorced	32	64	4	20	79	1
Age						
18-29	30	66	4	17	81	2
30-44	28	67	4	16	83	1
45-59	28	66	6	14	82	3
60 +	26	65	9	14	83	2
Region						
East	31	64	5	16	82	2
Midwest	26	67	8	16	84	0
South	24	70	6	12	84	3
West	35	62	3	19	79	2
Place of Residence						
Open Country	22	72	6	11	86	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	25	70	5	16	82	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	32	63	4	13	84	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	33	61	6	17	81	2
Large City (250,000+)	32	61	6	20	79	1
Education						
Less than High School	19	74	7	11	88	1
High School Graduate	23	72	5	11	87	2
Some College	32	62	6	19	79	2
College Graduate	42	53	4	23	73	3
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	12	82	6	5	93	1
Mainline Protestant	40	56	5	20	76	4
Orthodox Catholic	15	81	4	6	93	1
Progressive Catholic	29	63	8	16	83	1
Secularist	56	39	5	36	61	3
Political Party						
Republican	26	71	4	12	86	2
Democrat	31	63	6	19	79	2
Independent	29	65	7	16	83	1
Registered Voter						
Yes	30	65	5	16	82	2
No	22	70	3	12	86	2
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	6	90	4	2	97	1
Moderately pro-life	17	79	4	6	93	1
Neutral	22	69	9	12	87	2
Moderately pro-choice	48	49	3	23	76	1
Strongly pro-choice	65	30	5	44	50	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	8	89	3	2	98	1
No change	28	67	5	14	83	2
Closer to pro-choice	52	44	4	31	66	3

Table 74

Abortion Contexts: A Financial Burden

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the family has a very low income and another child would create a heavy financial burden?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**29**	**66**	**4**	**15**	**82**	**2**
Gender						
Male	30	65	5	18	80	2
Female	28	68	4	13	85	3
Marital Status						
Single	35	62	3	20	78	2
Married (1st marriage)	26	70	5	12	86	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	35	63	3	18	79	3
Separated or divorced	37	57	5	21	76	3
Age						
18-29	30	66	4	14	83	3
30-44	33	64	3	18	80	2
45-59	26	69	5	13	83	3
60 +	26	68	6	13	84	2
Region						
East	28	68	4	15	83	2
Midwest	29	65	5	15	83	2
South	26	71	4	13	84	3
West	36	59	5	18	79	3
Place of Residence						
Open Country	24	70	6	11	85	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	26	71	3	15	84	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	32	65	3	15	83	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	32	64	4	16	80	4
Large City (250,000+)	36	58	6	19	78	3
Education						
Less than High School	17	76	7	10	89	2
High School Graduate	23	73	4	11	88	1
Some College	37	59	4	18	78	3
College Graduate	42	55	3	23	72	4
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	13	83	3	7	92	1
Mainline Protestant	39	55	6	18	77	5
Orthodox Catholic	15	82	3	4	95	1
Progressive Catholic	30	65	5	18	81	1
Secularist	63	30	7	39	57	4
Political Party						
Republican	26	70	3	13	86	1
Democrat	31	64	5	16	81	3
Independent	31	64	5	17	80	3
Registered Voter						
Yes	31	65	4	16	82	2
No	22	72	6	11	86	3
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	5	93	1	2	97	1
Moderately pro-life	14	82	4	5	94	1
Neutral	24	66	9	13	85	2
Moderately pro-choice	47	49	4	19	77	4
Strongly pro-choice	73	26	2	44	50	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	5	93	2	2	98	0
No change	30	66	3	15	82	3
Closer to pro-choice	54	43	3	28	68	4

Table 75

Abortion Contexts: A Career Interruption

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the pregnancy is unplanned and would interrupt a professional woman's career?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**19**	**77**	**4**	**10**	**89**	**2**
Gender						
Male	20	75	5	11	88	2
Female	18	78	4	8	90	1
Marital Status						
Single	23	72	5	12	87	1
Married (1st marriage)	17	79	4	8	91	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	21	75	4	12	86	2
Separated or divorced	24	71	5	14	85	1
Age						
18-29	19	75	6	9	90	2
30-44	22	75	4	12	86	2
45-59	18	79	3	8	90	2
60 +	15	79	6	8	91	1
Region						
East	18	76	5	10	89	1
Midwest	19	77	5	10	88	2
South	15	81	4	7	92	1
West	76	69	4	12	85	3
Place of Residence						
Open Country	14	82	4	5	93	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	18	80	3	10	89	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	21	76	3	9	89	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	19	75	6	9	90	1
Large City (250,000+)	26	67	8	16	83	1
Education						
Less than High School	11	85	4	6	93	2
High School Graduate	11	84	5	5	94	1
Some College	24	72	4	13	86	2
College Graduate	34	62	4	17	80	3
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	6	90	4	2	98	0
Mainline Protestant	26	69	5	11	86	2
Orthodox Catholic	6	91	3	3	96	1
Progressive Catholic	19	76	5	12	88	1
Secularist	53	42	5	30	66	4
Political Party						
Republican	17	80	3	7	92	1
Democrat	20	75	5	11	87	1
Independent	22	74	4	11	87	2
Registered Voter						
Yes	21	75	4	11	88	2
No	12	81	7	6	92	2
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	3	96	1	2	98	0
Moderately pro-life	6	90	4	3	97	0
Neutral	13	80	6	7	92	1
Moderately pro-choice	29	67	4	10	89	2
Strongly pro-choice	56	39	6	33	61	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	3	96	1	1	98	0
No change	19	77	4	10	89	1
Closer to pro-choice	36	61	3	18	78	4

Table 76

Abortion Contexts: Abandoned By The Father

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the woman has been abandoned by her partner, the father of the unborn child?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**27**	**68**	**5**	**14**	**84**	**2**
Gender						
Male	29	66	5	15	82	2
Female	26	70	5	12	86	2
Marital Status						
Single	34	61	5	20	79	2
Married (1st marriage)	24	71	5	11	87	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	68	2	14	84	3
Separated or divorced	36	58	6	18	79	2
Age						
18-29	29	67	4	15	83	2
30-44	29	65	5	16	82	2
45-59	26	71	3	11	86	3
60 +	24	70	6	11	87	2
Region						
East	28	68	5	14	84	2
Midwest	27	68	5	13	85	2
South	23	72	5	13	85	2
West	34	61	5	14	82	4
Place of Residence						
Open Country	23	70	7	8	88	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	24	72	4	13	85	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	29	69	2	12	86	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	30	64	6	16	86	2
Large City (250,000+)	34	60	6	18	79	3
Education						
Less than High School	15	79	6	8	90	2
High School Graduate	22	74	4	9	89	2
Some College	33	62	4	16	82	2
College Graduate	42	53	5	24	72	4
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	12	83	5	5	94	1
Mainline Protestant	37	58	5	16	80	4
Orthodox Catholic	11	86	4	4	95	1
Progressive Catholic	28	67	5	16	82	2
Secularist	62	32	6	38	57	4
Political Party						
Republican	26	71	3	11	87	2
Democrat	28	66	6	15	82	3
Independent	29	66	6	14	83	3
Registered Voter						
Yes	29	66	4	14	83	2
No	21	72	7	11	87	2
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	5	92	3	2	97	1
Moderately pro-life	11	85	4	4	95	1
Neutral	20	72	8	11	88	1
Moderately pro-choice	48	48	3	19	77	4
Strongly pro-choice	68	27	4	39	53	8
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	5	90	4	2	98	0
No change	28	68	4	13	84	2
Closer to pro-choice	49	47	4	26	70	4

Table 77

Abortion Contexts: A Means Of Birth Control

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the couple is using abortion as a repeated means of birth control?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**9**	**88**	**3**	**6**	**94**	**1**
Gender						
Male	11	86	3	7	92	1
Female	7	90	3	4	95	1
Marital Status						
Single	10	84	6	7	92	1
Married (1st marriage)	8	88	3	5	94	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	12	86	2	8	91	1
Separated or divorced	13	86	1	8	92	0
Age						
18-29	6	90	4	4	96	1
30-44	12	86	2	8	92	0
45-59	10	87	3	6	93	1
60 +	8	88	4	4	95	1
Region						
East	8	89	3	6	94	1
Midwest	9	88	3	6	94	0
South	8	89	3	5	94	1
West	13	84	4	7	92	1
Place of Residence						
Open Country	6	91	3	3	96	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	90	2	6	94	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	8	90	2	4	95	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	12	83	5	7	92	1
Large City (250,000+)	14	82	5	9	90	1
Education						
Less than High School	4	92	4	2	97	1
High School Graduate	6	91	3	3	96	0
Some College	12	86	2	8	92	1
College Graduate	18	79	3	12	87	2
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	2	94	3	2	98	0
Mainline Protestant	13	84	3	6	92	1
Orthodox Catholic	2	96	2	0	99	0
Progressive Catholic	8	87	4	7	93	0
Secularist	25	70	4	16	82	2
Political Party						
Republican	7	91	1	4	95	1
Democrat	10	85	5	6	93	0
Independent	10	88	2	7	92	1
Registered Voter						
Yes	10	87	3	6	93	1
No	6	90	4	4	95	1
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	2	97	1	1	98	0
Moderately pro-life	1	97	2	0	100	0
Neutral	5	91	4	3	97	0
Moderately pro-choice	13	82	5	7	92	1
Strongly pro-choice	31	67	3	20	77	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	1	98	1	0	99	0
No change	9	89	2	6	94	0
Closer to pro-choice	19	78	2	12	86	2

Table 78

Abortion Contexts: The Wrong Sex

Question: "Do you, personally, feel an abortion would be acceptable or unacceptable if the couple wants a boy and a test has revealed that the baby will be a girl?"

	DURING THE FIRST 3 MONTHS			AFTER THE FIRST 3 MONTHS		
	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain	Acceptable	Unacceptable	Uncertain
	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOTAL	**6**	**91**	**2**	**4**	**95**	**1**
Gender						
Male	8	90	2	5	94	1
Female	5	93	2	3	96	0
Marital Status						
Single	8	88	4	6	94	1
Married (1st marriage)	6	91	2	4	96	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	94	0	4	96	0
Separated or divorced	7	91	2	6	94	0
Age						
18-29	5	93	2	3	96	0
30-44	8	90	2	5	94	1
45-59	6	92	2	4	95	1
60 +	5	92	4	3	97	1
Region						
East	6	92	3	4	95	0
Midwest	6	92	2	4	96	0
South	6	93	2	4	96	1
West	9	88	3	5	94	1
Place of Residence						
Open Country	3	95	3	1	98	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	6	93	1	4	96	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	5	94	0	3	97	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	7	89	4	5	94	0
Large City (250,000+)	11	85	4	8	91	1
Education						
Less than High School	2	94	4	1	98	1
High School Graduate	4	94	3	2	98	0
Some College	8	90	2	5	94	1
College Graduate	13	86	1	8	91	1
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	2	95	3	1	99	0
Mainline Protestant	8	91	1	5	95	1
Orthodox Catholic	3	95	2	1	98	1
Progressive Catholic	6	91	4	4	96	0
Secularist	18	80	2	12	86	2
Political Party						
Republican	5	94	1	3	97	0
Democrat	8	88	4	6	93	1
Independent	6	93	2	4	95	1
Registered Voter						
Yes	7	91	2	5	95	1
No	3	94	3	2	98	1
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	2	98	1	1	99	0
Moderately pro-life	2	96	2	1	99	0
Neutral	3	94	3	3	97	0
Moderately pro-choice	8	90	2	4	95	1
Strongly pro-choice	21	77	2	15	84	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	2	98	1	1	99	0
No change	6	92	2	4	95	1
Closer to pro-choice	12	86	2	8	91	0

Table 79

Right To Choose / Right To Life

Question: "At what point in a pregnancy do you feel that the unborn child's right to be born outweighs the woman's right to choose whether she wants to have a child...?"

	Moment of conception %	When the mother first feels movement %	When the baby could survive on its own %	Moment of birth %	Can't say %
TOTAL	**50**	**16**	**16**	**8**	**10**
Gender					
Male	48	17	16	10	10
Female	52	15	16	6	11
Marital Status					
Single	42	18	18	13	9
Married (1st marriage)	53	15	16	6	10
Married (2nd+ marriage)	49	19	16	7	9
Separated or divorced	41	18	19	10	12
Age					
18-29	49	17	16	9	10
30-44	49	15	18	8	10
45-59	51	15	17	8	10
60 +	52	17	12	6	12
Region					
East	46	19	18	10	7
Midwest	48	15	17	8	12
South	59	14	10	6	11
West	45	16	21	6	12
Place of Residence					
Open Country	53	14	14	7	12
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	53	15	15	8	9
Small City (25,000-49,999)	47	18	18	6	11
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	48	18	16	8	11
Large City (250,000+)	46	16	19	9	10
Education					
Less than High School	58	18	6	8	10
High School Graduate	54	17	12	6	11
Some College	49	16	18	6	11
College Graduate	35	14	32	11	9
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	67	11	8	4	10
Mainline Protestant	36	19	22	9	14
Orthodox Catholic	73	12	6	2	7
Progressive Catholic	46	21	19	9	6
Secularist	22	13	30	17	17
Political Party					
Republican	55	14	16	6	9
Democrat	51	18	16	7	9
Independent	43	16	18	10	13
Registered Voter					
Yes	50	16	17	7	10
No	51	16	11	8	13
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	85	6	3	2	4
Moderately pro-life	62	18	10	3	7
Neutral	42	20	14	6	18
Moderately pro-choice	28	25	28	10	10
Strongly pro-choice	16	15	37	20	12
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	82	9	2	2	5
No change	50	13	18	8	11
Closer to pro-choice	24	28	27	11	10

Table 80

Life Decisions - Is Abortion Murder?

Question: "Which of these statements best describes your feelings about abortion?"

	Abortion is just as bad as killing a person who has already been born; it is murder. %	Abortion is murder but it is not as bad as killing some-one who has already been born. %	Abortion is not murder, but it does involve the taking of human life. %	Abortion is not murder; it is a surgical procedure for removing human tissue. %	Can't Say %
TOTAL	**37**	**12**	**28**	**16**	**7**
Gender					
Male	32	12	32	16	8
Female	42	12	24	16	7
Marital Status					
Single	30	13	36	14	6
Married (1st marriage)	39	10	29	15	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	13	33	17	7
Separated or divorced	30	13	26	24	8
Age					
18-29	35	11	36	11	7
30-44	33	11	33	17	6
45-59	38	12	24	19	8
60 +	42	12	19	18	9
Region					
East	29	14	34	15	8
Midwest	38	10	30	17	6
South	47	12	19	14	9
West	30	9	34	21	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	43	9	25	15	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	41	10	26	17	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	33	17	32	14	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	34	8	33	15	9
Large City (250,000+)	28	16	28	19	8
Education					
Less than High School	49	15	19	10	8
High School Graduate	40	11	29	13	7
Some College	33	9	31	20	7
College Graduate	22	12	35	24	7
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	58	11	18	8	5
Mainline Protestant	24	10	34	22	10
Orthodox Catholic	58	16	19	4	4
Progressive Catholic	22	16	42	14	7
Secularist	13	7	33	40	8
Political Party					
Republican	40	11	30	14	6
Democrat	37	12	26	18	7
Independent	31	11	32	18	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	36	11	28	18	6
No	39	12	30	10	10
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	77	10	10	1	2
Moderately pro-life	37	18	35	5	4
Neutral	28	17	30	11	13
Moderately pro-choice	10	8	48	24	10
Strongly pro-choice	9	4	32	49	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	69	12	15	1	3
No change	37	11	27	17	7
Closer to pro-choice	10	11	44	31	5

Table 81

Abortion Decisions - The Pregnant Woman's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the pregnant woman should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**82**	**7**	**3**	**5**	**2**
Gender					
Male	82	7	3	6	3
Female	83	7	3	5	2
Marital Status					
Single	89	5	2	2	1
Married (1st marriage)	80	8	2	6	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	87	4	4	4	1
Separated or divorced	85	7	3	4	1
Age					
18-29	85	8	2	3	2
30-44	84	7	3	5	2
45-59	83	6	4	5	2
60 +	78	8	2	8	4
Region					
East	86	7	3	4	1
Midwest	82	7	2	6	2
South	78	9	3	7	3
West	85	5	3	4	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	80	6	3	7	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	82	9	2	4	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	84	8	2	4	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	84	6	2	6	2
Large City (250,000+)	82	7	5	4	2
Education					
Less than High School	72	11	3	9	5
High School Graduate	84	6	3	5	2
Some College	85	7	3	4	1
College Graduate	89	5	2	3	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	75	10	3	9	3
Mainline Protestant	88	6	2	3	2
Orthodox Catholic	77	7	5	9	2
Progressive Catholic	85	8	3	2	2
Secularist	91	4	2	1	1
Political Party					
Republican	80	8	3	7	1
Democrat	84	6	3	4	2
Independent	82	8	2	5	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	84	6	3	6	2
No	78	12	4	4	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	67	10	6	14	2
Moderately pro-life	82	11	4	2	1
Neutral	82	8	2	3	4
Moderately pro-choice	95	4	1	0	0
Strongly pro-choice	96	2	0	1	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	75	8	5	10	2
No change	82	8	3	6	2
Closer to pro-choice	92	6	1	0	1

Table 82

Abortion Decisions - The Baby's Father's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the unborn baby's father should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**49**	**29**	**10**	**8**	**3**
Gender					
Male	51	28	10	8	3
Female	47	30	11	9	2
Marital Status					
Single	54	30	9	5	2
Married (1st marriage)	48	30	10	9	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	53	25	12	10	1
Separated or divorced	53	28	11	6	2
Age					
18-29	57	28	9	4	2
30-44	52	29	11	7	2
45-59	48	30	10	10	2
60 +	41	30	12	13	4
Region					
East	48	30	13	8	2
Midwest	54	28	9	7	3
South	47	29	10	10	3
West	48	31	10	8	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	52	27	9	8	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	49	30	10	8	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	54	25	12	7	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	47	33	8	9	3
Large City (250,000+)	44	31	14	9	2
Education					
Less than High School	47	24	10	13	5
High School Graduate	54	27	10	7	2
Some College	49	30	11	8	2
College Graduate	44	38	10	6	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	52	24	8	12	3
Mainline Protestant	48	33	11	6	2
Orthodox Catholic	52	25	10	11	2
Progressive Catholic	48	32	13	4	2
Secularist	50	29	12	8	2
Political Party					
Republican	49	30	9	10	2
Democrat	47	29	12	8	3
Independent	51	30	10	7	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	48	30	10	9	2
No	52	26	12	7	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	48	24	9	16	2
Moderately pro-life	57	28	10	3	2
Neutral	52	29	10	5	4
Moderately pro-choice	50	36	9	5	1
Strongly pro-choice	39	35	16	7	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	50	26	10	12	2
No change	52	28	10	8	2
Closer to pro-choice	40	39	13	6	2

Table 83

Abortion Decisions - The Personal Physician's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the pregnant woman's personal or family physician should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**32**	**34**	**17**	**14**	**2**
Gender					
Male	32	35	17	13	3
Female	32	33	17	16	2
Marital Status					
Single	34	39	16	11	1
Married (1st marriage)	30	33	19	15	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	38	30	17	14	1
Separated or divorced	36	37	13	14	1
Age					
18-29	32	38	18	11	1
30-44	33	34	20	13	1
45-59	31	38	13	16	2
60 +	34	28	16	18	5
Region					
East	33	35	17	14	1
Midwest	35	33	15	14	4
South	31	31	19	16	3
West	32	37	16	13	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	30	34	17	14	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	37	31	18	12	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	29	41	16	12	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	28	38	15	16	3
Large City (250,000+)	35	28	18	18	2
Education					
Less than High School	32	27	16	20	5
High School Graduate	36	34	16	13	2
Some College	32	37	18	12	2
College Graduate	28	39	19	13	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	34	31	16	15	4
Mainline Protestant	32	34	19	13	2
Orthodox Catholic	37	29	14	18	2
Progressive Catholic	32	39	18	10	2
Secularist	29	40	16	15	0
Political Party					
Republican	28	37	17	16	2
Democrat	32	33	19	14	3
Independent	38	32	15	12	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	32	33	18	15	2
No	33	37	15	12	3
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	28	30	16	22	3
Moderately pro-life	40	35	14	11	0
Neutral	37	33	17	10	3
Moderately pro-choice	33	37	20	10	0
Strongly pro-choice	25	40	18	15	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	32	34	16	16	2
No change	34	32	16	15	2
Closer to pro-choice	29	39	19	11	2

Table 84

Abortion Decisions - The Abortion Clinic M.D.'s Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think a doctor at an abortion clinic should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**10**	**20**	**22**	**43**	**4**
Gender					
Male	11	21	24	40	4
Female	9	20	21	47	4
Marital Status					
Single	14	25	25	34	2
Married (1st marriage)	8	19	22	47	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	12	25	20	39	3
Separated or divorced	14	23	23	34	2
Age					
18-29	12	23	25	37	3
30-44	10	23	24	41	3
45-59	10	20	22	46	3
60 +	10	14	18	51	6
Region					
East	13	24	22	38	2
Midwest	10	19	21	46	4
South	10	17	20	49	4
West	8	22	27	38	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	8	15	20	52	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	12	16	23	46	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	9	28	23	37	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	10	22	21	42	5
Large City (250,000+)	12	24	26	36	2
Education					
Less than High School	10	14	18	51	7
High School Graduate	13	23	21	39	4
Some College	10	21	25	42	2
College Graduate	7	22	26	44	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	11	12	19	52	6
Mainline Protestant	11	23	22	42	2
Orthodox Catholic	7	19	22	48	4
Progressive Catholic	13	27	25	32	3
Secularist	12	25	27	35	1
Political Party					
Republican	9	20	21	47	2
Democrat	11	22	23	40	4
Independent	12	20	23	43	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	11	20	22	44	3
No	9	20	23	42	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	6	11	15	64	4
Moderately pro-life	8	21	29	40	2
Neutral	14	22	24	35	4
Moderately pro-choice	11	27	26	34	2
Strongly pro-choice	14	28	21	36	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	7	13	22	55	3
No change	10	22	21	45	2
Closer to pro-choice	15	24	26	32	2

Table 85

Abortion Decisions - The Abortion Clinic Counselor's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think a counselor at an abortion clinic should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**9**	**22**	**26**	**40**	**4**
Gender					
Male	9	23	27	38	3
Female	8	20	26	42	4
Marital Status					
Single	11	23	31	33	2
Married (1st marriage)	8	20	28	41	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	13	21	23	40	3
Separated or divorced	10	31	20	36	2
Age					
18-29	10	24	30	34	2
30-44	10	23	27	37	2
45-59	7	21	28	40	3
60 +	7	17	21	47	7
Region					
East	9	26	27	35	2
Midwest	8	19	29	41	3
South	9	17	25	44	4
West	8	26	26	36	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	7	17	26	44	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	11	19	27	40	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	7	25	29	36	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	10	22	22	42	4
Large City (250,000+)	8	27	28	35	2
Education					
Less than High School	8	17	21	47	8
High School Graduate	10	22	28	36	3
Some College	9	24	28	38	2
College Graduate	6	24	29	39	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	9	14	26	46	5
Mainline Protestant	9	23	27	38	2
Orthodox Catholic	7	19	23	47	4
Progressive Catholic	11	30	27	28	3
Secularist	7	25	35	32	1
Political Party					
Republican	9	19	26	43	2
Democrat	9	21	28	37	5
Independent	8	25	26	38	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	9	21	27	40	3
No	8	23	26	38	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	6	11	20	59	4
Moderately pro-life	8	24	30	35	2
Neutral	11	25	26	33	5
Moderately pro-choice	11	25	33	29	2
Strongly pro-choice	8	30	30	30	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	8	15	28	47	2
No change	8	23	25	41	2
Closer to pro-choice	1	26	32	29	3

Table 86

Abortion Decisions - The Adoption Agency's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think a counselor at an adoption agency should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**13**	**22**	**26**	**36**	**3**
Gender					
Male	10	23	27	37	3
Female	15	21	25	36	4
Marital Status					
Single	10	29	26	33	3
Married (1st marriage)	14	21	26	36	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	15	21	26	35	3
Separated or divorced	12	25	23	38	1
Age					
18-29	11	27	25	34	2
30-44	14	22	29	34	2
45-59	13	18	24	41	4
60 +	13	20	23	38	6
Region					
East	11	26	26	36	1
Midwest	13	19	30	35	4
South	14	20	23	38	5
West	12	25	24	35	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	17	17	25	36	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	16	20	24	37	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	10	24	32	32	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	10	25	23	39	4
Large City (250,000+)	6	27	28	36	2
Education					
Less than High School	14	19	18	43	7
High School Graduate	15	21	26	34	4
Some College	10	26	29	33	2
College Graduate	9	24	29	36	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	19	20	23	33	5
Mainline Protestant	10	22	28	39	3
Orthodox Catholic	13	22	25	35	5
Progressive Catholic	12	27	26	33	3
Secularist	7	22	30	40	1
Political Party					
Republican	14	20	27	37	2
Democrat	10	24	27	35	4
Independent	15	22	24	35	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	12	22	27	36	3
No	14	23	23	36	5
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	17	22	19	38	4
Moderately pro-life	15	24	28	32	1
Neutral	13	20	27	35	4
Moderately pro-choice	9	24	32	34	2
Strongly pro-choice	7	24	28	38	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	19	24	24	30	3
No change	13	21	26	38	2
Closer to pro-choice	9	27	30	32	2

Table 87

Abortion Decisions - The Church's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the woman's church or religious community should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**15**	**21**	**22**	**39**	**3**
Gender					
Male	14	21	22	39	3
Female	15	21	22	40	3
Marital Status					
Single	15	23	24	36	2
Married (1st marriage)	16	22	21	38	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	12	17	18	50	2
Separated or divorced	14	16	26	42	1
Age					
18-29	13	23	26	36	2
30-44	14	23	23	39	1
45-59	16	18	21	41	3
60 +	16	20	18	41	5
Region					
East	16	20	26	37	1
Midwest	13	22	21	39	4
South	17	22	19	39	4
West	12	21	23	42	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	18	18	20	40	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	17	22	21	38	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	22	30	34	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	24	15	45	3
Large City (250,000+)	13	21	26	38	2
Education					
Less than High School	20	20	15	40	5
High School Graduate	16	23	22	36	2
Some College	13	19	25	40	2
College Graduate	10	22	26	40	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	23	24	18	30	5
Mainline Protestant	9	18	25	46	2
Orthodox Catholic	28	25	16	30	2
Progressive Catholic	12	24	26	36	3
Secularist	5	12	24	56	3
Political Party					
Republican	14	22	24	38	2
Democrat	16	22	21	37	4
Independent	15	18	22	42	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	15	21	22	40	3
No	16	22	23	36	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	29	22	15	30	4
Moderately pro-life	15	30	25	29	1
Neutral	12	20	26	38	4
Moderately pro-choice	6	22	28	43	1
Strongly pro-choice	5	14	20	58	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	28	29	16	24	2
No change	14	20	22	41	2
Closer to pro-choice	7	21	26	44	1

Table 88

Abortion Decisions - The Pastor's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the pregnant woman's pastor, priest, or rabbi should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**17**	**23**	**23**	**34**	**3**
Gender					
Male	17	23	25	32	4
Female	18	23	21	35	3
Marital Status					
Single	16	26	22	33	3
Married (1st marriage)	18	24	23	31	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	14	21	24	40	2
Separated or divorced	17	22	26	35	1
Age					
18-29	15	25	25	32	3
30-44	18	23	26	32	2
45-59	18	23	22	35	3
60 +	18	22	18	36	6
Region					
East	16	25	25	32	2
Midwest	16	24	24	32	4
South	20	23	21	32	4
West	16	21	21	39	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	20	18	23	33	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	20	24	22	31	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	13	26	30	30	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	15	25	17	39	4
Large City (250,000+)	14	26	24	35	2
Education					
Less than High School	20	22	15	37	6
High School Graduate	19	24	24	31	2
Some College	16	22	26	34	2
College Graduate	12	26	26	34	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	28	27	18	24	4
Mainline Protestant	11	20	26	39	3
Orthodox Catholic	27	28	17	26	2
Progressive Catholic	13	27	26	31	3
Secularist	6	11	25	54	3
Political Party					
Republican	17	25	23	32	2
Democrat	19	23	21	33	4
Independent	15	21	26	35	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	17	23	23	34	3
No	17	23	22	32	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	32	25	13	26	4
Moderately pro-life	20	32	26	21	0
Neutral	14	22	28	32	5
Moderately pro-choice	7	25	31	35	2
Strongly pro-choice	6	16	20	55	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	32	31	13	22	3
No change	16	23	24	34	2
Closer to pro-choice	9	22	26	40	2

Table 89

Abortion Decisions - The Voice Of The Law

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the law, the courts and the judge should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**10**	**17**	**21**	**48**	**4**
Gender					
Male	12	18	21	45	4
Female	8	16	20	52	4
Marital Status					
Single	12	16	20	49	2
Married (1st marriage)	11	18	22	45	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	6	16	19	56	2
Separated or divorced	10	19	21	48	2
Age					
18-29	10	17	21	50	3
30-44	10	17	22	46	4
45-59	11	19	22	47	2
60 +	9	16	17	51	6
Region					
East	9	17	21	50	3
Midwest	11	18	21	46	4
South	11	15	22	48	4
West	8	18	19	50	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	9	16	17	52	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	13	16	22	46	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	9	21	30	39	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	6	16	20	53	6
Large City (250,000+)	10	18	18	51	3
Education					
Less than High School	10	15	15	52	8
High School Graduate	11	18	23	44	4
Some College	9	15	23	51	2
College Graduate	10	20	22	46	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	11	20	20	44	5
Mainline Protestant	8	15	23	52	2
Orthodox Catholic	12	16	20	47	5
Progressive Catholic	11	21	23	40	4
Secularist	9	12	16	61	1
Political Party					
Republican	10	19	22	46	4
Democrat	9	17	19	50	5
Independent	12	14	22	49	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	10	17	20	49	3
No	11	16	22	46	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	13	18	17	46	6
Moderately pro-life	15	24	23	35	2
Neutral	9	17	22	47	4
Moderately pro-choice	4	16	29	51	0
Strongly pro-choice	7	10	17	63	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	14	20	19	43	5
No change	10	17	22	49	3
Closer to pro-choice	6	16	23	52	3

Table 90

Abortion Decisions - The Voice Of State Government

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the state government should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**6**	**12**	**17**	**62**	**4**
Gender					
Male	7	13	18	58	4
Female	5	10	16	65	4
Marital Status					
Single	5	12	20	60	3
Married (1st marriage)	7	12	16	61	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	5	13	13	67	2
Separated or divorced	6	14	17	60	2
Age					
18-29	6	11	19	61	2
30-44	6	12	18	60	4
45-59	5	13	15	64	3
60 +	5	12	15	63	6
Region					
East	6	10	20	62	3
Midwest	6	13	16	60	4
South	6	12	16	62	4
West	5	12	14	64	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	4	14	12	64	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	11	15	63	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	4	13	25	56	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	4	11	17	63	5
Large City (250,000+)	7	12	17	62	2
Education					
Less than High School	5	13	12	63	7
High School Graduate	8	12	16	60	4
Some College	5	11	19	64	2
College Graduate	5	12	19	62	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	14	16	59	5
Mainline Protestant	5	10	17	66	2
Orthodox Catholic	7	13	15	60	5
Progressive Catholic	7	16	18	56	4
Secularist	4	8	16	68	4
Political Party					
Republican	6	14	18	60	3
Democrat	6	12	16	62	4
Independent	6	10	17	63	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	5	12	17	63	3
No	8	12	17	57	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	9	13	13	59	5
Moderately pro-life	8	18	20	50	3
Neutral	5	13	18	60	4
Moderately pro-choice	3	9	21	66	1
Strongly pro-choice	3	7	13	74	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	8	13	18	56	4
No change	6	12	17	63	2
Closer to pro-choice	4	12	18	64	2

Table 91

Abortion Decisions - The Federal Government's Input

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the federal government should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**6**	**11**	**17**	**63**	**4**
Gender					
Male	7	13	17	60	3
Female	4	9	17	66	4
Marital Status					
Single	7	10	19	60	4
Married (1st marriage)	6	10	16	63	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	4	13	15	67	1
Separated or divorced	3	14	20	63	1
Age					
18-29	6	10	19	63	2
30-44	6	13	18	60	4
45-59	7	12	16	64	2
60 +	4	9	14	66	6
Region					
East	6	9	18	64	3
Midwest	6	12	16	62	4
South	4	12	18	63	4
West	6	11	16	63	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	4	11	14	66	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	7	12	16	62	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	6	12	21	59	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	5	9	18	64	6
Large City (250,000+)	6	10	17	64	3
Education					
Less than High School	5	10	11	66	8
High School Graduate	6	12	17	61	4
Some College	5	10	20	64	2
College Graduate	5	12	19	62	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	11	17	62	5
Mainline Protestant	4	11	16	66	2
Orthodox Catholic	8	9	16	62	6
Progressive Catholic	7	13	18	58	4
Secularist	5	9	12	70	4
Political Party					
Republican	7	12	18	61	2
Democrat	6	10	16	63	5
Independent	5	11	16	65	3
Registered Voter					
Yes	6	10	17	65	3
No	5	14	17	58	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	9	10	14	61	6
Moderately pro-life	9	17	20	51	3
Neutral	4	12	17	62	4
Moderately pro-choice	2	10	21	66	1
Strongly pro-choice	3	6	13	76	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	9	13	16	56	5
No change	6	10	17	65	3
Closer to pro-choice	3	13	17	66	2

Table 92

Abortion Decisions - The Parents Of A Teenager

Question: "... I want you to tell me how much of a voice, if any, you think the parents of a pregnant girl who is under 18 years of age should have in the abortion decision."

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Little %	None At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**40**	**29**	**13**	**14**	**3**
Gender					
Male	40	29	13	15	3
Female	40	30	14	13	3
Marital Status					
Single	39	26	17	16	2
Married (1st marriage)	41	31	12	13	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	38	31	13	14	4
Separated or divorced	38	30	18	13	1
Age					
18-29	32	32	16	17	2
30-44	42	30	15	12	2
45-59	41	32	12	12	3
60 +	44	24	9	16	6
Region					
East	41	29	15	12	3
Midwest	45	27	13	13	2
South	39	30	11	16	3
West	34	32	16	14	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	43	30	11	13	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	42	29	12	15	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	41	35	14	8	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	41	31	9	16	4
Large City (250,000+)	32	24	23	18	4
Education					
Less than High School	43	26	8	18	4
High School Graduate	44	28	12	13	2
Some College	36	31	18	12	3
College Graduate	35	33	15	15	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	49	27	7	13	4
Mainline Protestant	39	32	15	11	3
Orthodox Catholic	48	22	9	16	3
Progressive Catholic	37	34	16	11	2
Secularist	21	31	26	20	2
Political Party					
Republican	42	29	13	13	3
Democrat	41	27	14	14	4
Independent	39	32	13	14	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	40	30	14	14	3
No	41	29	13	13	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	48	20	9	19	3
Moderately pro-life	46	34	10	9	1
Neutral	44	28	11	13	3
Moderately pro-choice	31	38	20	10	1
Strongly pro-choice	25	32	21	18	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	49	26	8	15	2
No change	41	29	13	14	2
Closer to pro-choice	29	37	20	12	2

Table 93

Abortion vs. Adoption

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Abortion is usually a better option than giving a child up for adoption."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**4**	**8**	**40**	**42**	**7**
Gender					
Male	4	8	44	38	6
Female	3	8	36	46	7
Marital Status					
Single	5	7	41	37	10
Married (1st marriage)	3	7	40	45	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	4	8	43	41	3
Separated or divorced	3	15	42	30	11
Age					
18-29	3	9	37	43	8
30-44	5	7	41	41	6
45-59	3	9	41	42	4
60 +	3	8	40	41	8
Region					
East	3	9	41	39	8
Midwest	4	6	45	41	3
South	3	8	37	45	7
West	5	10	36	41	9
Place of Residence					
Open Country	2	10	40	41	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	3	9	41	44	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	7	51	34	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2	8	34	47	10
Large City (250,000+)	9	7	36	39	9
Education					
Less than High School	2	8	38	44	8
High School Graduate	3	7	40	45	5
Some College	5	10	39	39	7
College Graduate	4	7	44	38	7
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	3	4	37	52	4
Mainline Protestant	4	12	44	32	8
Orthodox Catholic	2	4	33	58	4
Progressive Catholic	5	9	40	38	8
Secularist	7	11	46	22	13
Political Party					
Republican	3	6	41	45	4
Democrat	4	10	39	39	8
Independent	4	7	42	40	7
Registered Voter					
Yes	4	8	40	42	6
No	4	9	38	41	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	2	1	26	71	1
Moderately pro-life	4	4	43	46	2
Neutral	2	11	41	34	12
Moderately pro-choice	4	10	59	23	4
Strongly pro-choice	8	17	41	22	12
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	3	2	29	64	2
No change	3	7	41	43	5
Closer to pro-choice	6	14	49	23	7

Table 94

The Unwanted Child

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Abortion is usually a better option than bringing a child into a home where it is not wanted."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**10**	**25**	**34**	**25**	**6**
Gender					
Male	9	26	36	24	6
Female	11	24	32	26	6
Marital Status					
Single	13	27	32	22	6
Married (1st marriage)	7	24	36	27	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	16	26	35	20	4
Separated or divorced	11	36	27	19	7
Age					
18-29	12	26	27	27	8
30-44	8	27	36	23	6
45-59	12	23	36	24	5
60 +	8	22	36	26	7
Region					
East	8	29	35	22	6
Midwest	9	27	37	22	5
South	9	19	34	31	7
West	14	26	28	22	8
Place of Residence					
Open Country	8	22	36	28	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	24	38	26	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	10	32	34	19	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	8	26	30	27	8
Large City (250,000+)	16	24	29	23	8
Education					
Less than High School	6	19	35	31	10
High School Graduate	7	25	36	27	5
Some College	14	26	33	20	6
College Graduate	14	30	31	21	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	5	14	40	35	5
Mainline Protestant	13	34	31	15	7
Orthodox Catholic	3	15	40	38	4
Progressive Catholic	11	27	38	19	7
Secularist	20	46	15	11	9
Political Party					
Republican	9	23	35	27	6
Democrat	10	26	34	23	7
Independent	11	27	33	22	6
Registered Voter					
Yes	10	26	34	24	6
No	8	23	33	27	9
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	2	6	36	54	2
Moderately pro-life	5	19	49	23	4
Neutral	8	28	33	18	13
Moderately pro-choice	12	39	36	8	6
Strongly pro-choice	29	45	15	8	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	2	8	42	44	3
No change	10	26	33	26	5
Closer to pro-choice	19	38	30	8	5

Table 95

Should A Woman Give Birth To A Handicapped Child?

Agree/Disagree Statement: "A woman who gives birth to a handicapped child rather than having an abortion is doing the right thing."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**17**	**43**	**21**	**6**	**13**
Gender					
Male	16	43	22	7	12
Female	17	43	20	6	13
Marital Status					
Single	22	44	20	4	10
Married (1st marriage)	18	42	21	6	14
Married (2nd+ marriage)	8	45	23	13	10
Separated or divorced	11	49	22	6	12
Age					
18-29	22	45	19	5	10
30-44	16	46	20	4	13
45-59	14	41	26	6	13
60 +	15	39	20	10	16
Region					
East	19	41	23	4	13
Midwest	14	45	24	6	10
South	19	44	16	8	14
West	15	40	21	8	16
Place of Residence					
Open Country	18	44	21	5	13
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	18	45	21	6	10
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	42	25	5	17
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	17	43	19	7	13
Large City (250,000+)	19	39	20	8	14
Education					
Less than High School	22	36	21	7	14
High School Graduate	16	45	20	7	11
Some College	16	48	18	5	12
College Graduate	12	40	25	6	17
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	23	39	18	8	13
Mainline Protestant	12	44	26	5	13
Orthodox Catholic	22	50	12	6	10
Progressive Catholic	15	47	22	3	12
Secularist	9	34	27	8	22
Political Party					
Republican	19	40	23	6	13
Democrat	17	42	20	6	15
Independent	14	47	22	7	11
Registered Voter					
Yes	17	42	22	6	13
No	16	47	18	6	12
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	32	43	12	8	6
Moderately pro-life	18	49	22	3	9
Neutral	10	47	20	6	17
Moderately pro-choice	8	45	28	2	18
Strongly pro-choice	11	33	31	10	15
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	28	46	13	4	8
No change	17	44	21	7	12
Closer to pro-choice	10	42	28	5	16

Table 96

Abortion For "Quality Of Life" Reasons

Agree/Disagree Statement: "The quality of life a child will have after it is born is an important thing to consider when deciding on an abortion."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**16**	**34**	**27**	**18**	**5**
Gender					
Male	14	36	29	17	4
Female	18	32	25	20	5
Marital Status					
Single	21	36	24	16	3
Married (1st marriage)	13	36	27	20	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	18	33	30	13	6
Separated or divorced	22	35	27	14	3
Age					
18-29	21	35	24	16	4
30-44	16	34	29	18	3
45-59	15	38	23	19	6
60 +	12	32	31	20	6
Region					
East	14	38	26	18	4
Midwest	13	35	30	16	6
South	15	34	27	20	4
West	24	30	24	18	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	16	32	29	19	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	15	33	29	19	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	14	42	25	15	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	35	25	21	6
Large City (250,000+)	21	32	26	16	5
Education					
Less than High School	11	32	29	23	6
High School Graduate	13	36	28	18	6
Some College	20	34	27	16	2
College Graduate	21	34	23	17	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	9	30	32	24	5
Mainline Protestant	21	37	26	10	6
Orthodox Catholic	8	27	30	32	3
Progressive Catholic	16	36	29	15	4
Secularist	30	47	12	8	3
Political Party					
Republican	14	34	28	21	4
Democrat	17	32	28	18	4
Independent	17	38	25	15	6
Registered Voter					
Yes	16	34	28	18	4
No	16	35	23	19	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	6	18	32	43	2
Moderately pro-life	12	30	39	16	3
Neutral	14	38	28	11	10
Moderately pro-choice	17	51	23	6	3
Strongly pro-choice	37	41	14	4	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	6	23	36	33	2
No change	15	36	27	18	4
Closer to pro-choice	28	42	21	7	2

Table 97

A Change Of Plans

Agree/Disagree Statement: "Abortion is alright, if having a baby will change your life plans in a way you will find hard to live with."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**5**	**16**	**40**	**34**	**5**
Gender					
Male	5	17	43	31	5
Female	6	16	36	37	5
Marital Status					
Single	5	22	40	28	4
Married (1st marriage)	5	13	41	36	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	9	18	36	34	3
Separated or divorced	7	22	38	28	4
Age					
18-29	6	19	38	32	5
30-44	5	17	39	35	4
45-59	6	14	43	32	4
60 +	4	15	40	35	6
Region					
East	4	19	43	30	4
Midwest	4	16	45	30	4
South	5	12	35	41	6
West	9	19	35	34	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	3	14	39	38	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	6	14	42	36	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	5	22	43	26	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	4	14	40	36	6
Large City (250,000+)	10	22	34	31	4
Education					
Less than High School	3	12	39	39	6
High School Graduate	4	12	43	36	5
Some College	6	22	39	31	2
College Graduate	8	24	35	29	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	2	7	41	45	5
Mainline Protestant	7	19	44	24	6
Orthodox Catholic	0	11	36	50	3
Progressive Catholic	6	19	43	28	4
Secularist	12	36	27	20	4
Political Party					
Republican	4	18	38	37	4
Democrat	6	17	40	33	4
Independent	8	15	42	30	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	5	18	39	33	4
No	6	11	40	36	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	0	3	28	67	2
Moderately pro-life	2	10	52	33	2
Neutral	6	13	45	27	9
Moderately pro-choice	4	27	50	16	3
Strongly pro-choice	17	41	26	11	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	0	5	38	56	1
No change	6	16	39	35	4
Closer to pro-choice	8	32	40	16	4

Table 98

Right To Choose vs. Right To Life

Agree/Disagree Statement: "A woman's right to choose whether to have an abortion is more important than the human fetus' right to life."

	Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**14**	**24**	**29**	**26**	**8**
Gender					
Male	12	26	29	25	9
Female	15	21	29	28	7
Marital Status					
Single	14	26	26	25	10
Married (1st marriage)	13	23	30	28	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	14	24	33	22	7
Separated or divorced	17	26	27	21	8
Age					
18-29	13	27	25	26	10
30-44	11	26	28	26	8
45-59	20	19	31	25	5
60 +	13	21	31	27	8
Region					
East	13	31	29	21	6
Midwest	14	22	31	25	8
South	10	18	31	32	10
West	19	25	23	26	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	11	21	32	28	9
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	13	20	35	27	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	10	32	29	21	8
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	15	22	22	28	12
Large City (250,000+)	20	28	22	24	7
Education					
Less than High School	9	20	32	31	9
High School Graduate	10	21	32	28	9
Some College	16	26	28	24	6
College Graduate	20	29	22	20	9
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	8	14	34	38	6
Mainline Protestant	15	30	28	16	11
Orthodox Catholic	4	17	34	41	5
Progressive Catholic	14	29	33	16	8
Secularist	34	31	13	13	10
Political Party					
Republican	10	25	28	30	7
Democrat	14	24	29	25	8
Independent	18	22	30	22	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	14	24	28	26	7
No	11	21	32	26	10
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	4	4	29	61	2
Moderately pro-life	5	18	46	26	4
Neutral	11	25	32	16	16
Moderately pro-choice	14	45	26	6	10
Strongly pro-choice	41	39	9	5	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	3	6	40	48	3
No change	14	24	28	27	7
Closer to pro-choice	25	39	20	8	7

Table 99

Testing For Genetic Defects

Question: "If (you/your partner) were pregnant, would you want (her) to have a test to find out if the baby has any serious genetic defects?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**59**	**34**	**7**
Gender			
Male	61	32	6
Female	57	36	7
Marital Status			
Single	71	22	7
Married (1st marriage)	56	38	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	62	36	2
Separated or divorced	63	31	6
Age			
18-29	63	29	8
30-44	58	37	5
45-59	58	36	6
60 +	58	34	8
Region			
East	62	30	8
Midwest	56	39	6
South	57	36	7
West	64	30	6
Place of Residence			
Open Country	60	33	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	55	40	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	54	36	10
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	65	30	5
Large City (250,000+)	62	30	9
Education			
Less than High School	49	42	9
High School Graduate	62	32	6
Some College	58	34	7
College Graduate	67	28	5
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	55	40	5
Mainline Protestant	63	28	8
Orthodox Catholic	49	45	6
Progressive Catholic	59	32	9
Secularist	72	24	3
Political Party			
Republican	60	35	5
Democrat	59	33	8
Independent	57	36	7
Registered Voter			
Yes	60	34	6
No	56	34	10
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	41	55	4
Moderately pro-life	62	32	6
Neutral	54	31	14
Moderately pro-choice	71	24	5
Strongly pro-choice	78	19	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	51	43	6
No change	59	37	5
Closer to pro-choice	73	23	4

Table 100

Suppose A Test Reveals A Serious Deformity...

Question: "Would you (yourself want to/want your partner to) have an abortion if a test shows the baby has a serious deformity?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**37**	**44**	**20**
Gender			
Male	37	42	21
Female	36	45	18
Marital Status			
Single	35	45	20
Married (1st marriage)	35	46	20
Married (2nd+ marriage)	46	37	16
Separated or divorced	44	36	20
Age			
18-29	32	48	20
30-44	35	41	23
45-59	39	45	16
60 +	42	41	17
Region			
East	42	36	22
Midwest	34	48	18
South	30	49	21
West	44	38	18
Place of Residence			
Open Country	35	45	20
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	33	47	20
Small City (25,000-49,999)	37	41	22
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	41	42	17
Large City (250,000+)	40	40	20
Education			
Less than High School	28	52	21
High School Graduate	36	46	18
Some College	40	40	20
College Graduate	45	34	21
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	27	57	16
Mainline Protestant	45	32	23
Orthodox Catholic	26	59	15
Progressive Catholic	35	39	25
Secularist	50	29	22
Political Party			
Republican	35	46	19
Democrat	38	42	19
Independent	39	42	20
Registered Voter			
Yes	38	43	19
No	32	45	23
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	12	78	10
Moderately pro-life	34	45	21
Neutral	32	39	29
Moderately pro-choice	57	21	22
Strongly pro-choice	66	18	17
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	19	68	14
No change	36	46	19
Closer to pro-choice	60	19	21

Table 101

The Baby Will Be The Wrong Sex

Question: "A test reveals the baby will be the opposite sex of what the parents had wanted. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**2**	**3**	**3**	**88**	**4**
Gender					
Male	2	3	3	89	4
Female	2	3	3	88	4
Marital Status					
Single	3	3	6	87	1
Married (1st marriage)	2	2	2	89	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	0	3	6	87	4
Separated or divorced	1	5	2	90	2
Age					
18-29	2	3	4	89	3
30-44	1	4	3	88	4
45-59	1	2	4	90	2
60 +	3	2	3	87	5
Region					
East	2	3	3	90	2
Midwest	1	2	3	90	4
South	2	4	4	86	4
West	2	2	4	89	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	2	1	2	88	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2	5	3	88	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	1	3	92	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	1	2	4	90	3
Large City (250,000+)	2	6	5	84	4
Education					
Less than High School	3	2	4	85	6
High School Graduate	2	3	3	88	4
Some College	1	3	3	90	3
College Graduate	1	4	3	91	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	2	1	2	92	4
Mainline Protestant	2	4	4	87	4
Orthodox Catholic	4	2	3	88	3
Progressive Catholic	1	6	4	86	3
Secularist	2	3	6	85	4
Political Party					
Republican	2	3	2	91	2
Democrat	2	3	4	86	4
Independent	2	2	3	88	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	2	2	3	90	3
No	3	5	3	85	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	2	1	1	94	2
Moderately pro-life	1	4	2	90	2
Neutral	3	4	2	85	6
Moderately pro-choice	1	2	4	91	2
Strongly pro-choice	2	4	8	82	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	2	1	2	94	1
No change	2	2	3	91	2
Closer to pro-choice	2	4	6	84	4

Table 102

A Genetic Tendency Toward Obesity

Question: "A test reveals the baby will have a genetic tendency toward obesity. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**2**	**3**	**4**	**87**	**5**
Gender					
Male	2	3	4	88	4
Female	1	2	4	87	6
Marital Status					
Single	2	3	6	84	5
Married (1st marriage)	1	3	4	88	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	1	3	3	90	4
Separated or divorced	1	3	4	91	1
Age					
18-29	1	2	5	87	5
30-44	1	2	4	90	4
45-59	1	3	3	89	4
60 +	3	4	4	84	6
Region					
East	2	3	5	86	4
Midwest	1	2	2	90	5
South	2	3	5	85	6
West	2	2	3	89	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	1	2	3	86	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2	1	5	88	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	3	2	90	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2	2	5	88	3
Large City (250,000+)	1	6	4	84	5
Education					
Less than High School	3	3	2	85	8
High School Graduate	1	3	4	88	5
Some College	1	3	5	88	3
College Graduate	1	2	5	89	3
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	1	2	2	91	4
Mainline Protestant	2	3	5	85	5
Orthodox Catholic	3	1	3	88	5
Progressive Catholic	2	4	5	86	3
Secularist	1	2	4	85	8
Political Party					
Republican	1	2	5	89	4
Democrat	2	3	4	87	4
Independent	2	4	3	87	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	1	2	4	88	4
No	3	4	3	84	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	1	1	1	95	1
Moderately pro-life	0	3	2	92	2
Neutral	3	5	4	82	7
Moderately pro-choice	1	1	6	87	4
Strongly pro-choice	1	4	8	82	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	0	2	3	94	2
No change	1	2	4	90	3
Closer to pro-choice	2	4	7	81	6

Table 103

The Baby Will Be Mentally Retarded

Question: "A test reveals the baby will be mentally retarded. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**12**	**17**	**25**	**40**	**7**
Gender					
Male	12	18	24	39	6
Female	10	15	26	41	8
Marital Status					
Single	12	14	25	44	6
Married (1st marriage)	11	17	24	42	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	15	18	26	35	6
Separated or divorced	13	22	26	33	6
Age					
18-29	9	14	27	45	5
30-44	11	17	26	40	7
45-59	13	22	23	37	6
60 +	14	16	23	38	9
Region					
East	14	18	27	33	7
Midwest	12	15	24	41	8
South	7	16	24	46	8
West	13	19	25	38	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	11	11	27	40	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	10	16	26	43	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	11	23	27	35	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	10	20	22	43	6
Large City (250,000+)	17	17	22	36	9
Education					
Less than High School	10	12	20	48	10
High School Graduate	10	15	28	41	7
Some College	11	18	25	40	5
College Graduate	16	24	26	29	6
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	8	10	18	56	8
Mainline Protestant	14	21	30	28	7
Orthodox Catholic	5	11	24	53	8
Progressive Catholic	12	19	30	33	5
Secularist	17	23	30	24	6
Political Party					
Republican	10	18	26	40	5
Democrat	12	17	23	41	7
Independent	12	18	27	36	7
Registered Voter					
Yes	12	17	25	40	6
No	10	15	26	40	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	2	6	13	74	4
Moderately pro-life	9	16	27	44	4
Neutral	8	15	31	32	14
Moderately pro-choice	15	30	28	23	5
Strongly pro-choice	29	26	30	12	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	4	10	17	66	3
No change	12	16	27	40	5
Closer to pro-choice	17	28	28	22	5

Table 104

Born With A Terminal Illness

Question: "A test reveals the baby will be born with a terminal illness that will end its life within six years. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**23**	**19**	**15**	**36**	**7**
Gender					
Male	25	21	13	35	6
Female	20	17	17	37	8
Marital Status					
Single	24	18	16	37	5
Married (1st marriage)	20	19	16	38	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	28	18	19	27	8
Separated or divorced	33	18	12	32	5
Age					
18-29	21	18	19	36	5
30-44	22	21	16	34	6
45-59	26	17	15	37	6
60 +	23	18	11	38	10
Region					
East	28	20	15	30	7
Midwest	21	17	16	39	7
South	17	17	15	42	9
West	26	22	14	32	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	21	15	16	40	9
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	20	19	16	39	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	26	26	13	28	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	23	21	14	36	6
Large City (250,000+)	26	15	15	36	7
Education					
Less than High School	16	16	11	48	9
High School Graduate	20	19	17	36	7
Some College	24	19	18	32	6
College Graduate	32	23	12	28	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	13	12	15	52	8
Mainline Protestant	32	20	16	25	6
Orthodox Catholic	8	14	17	51	10
Progressive Catholic	23	23	18	30	6
Secularist	35	34	9	18	4
Political Party					
Republican	24	18	17	34	6
Democrat	23	18	13	40	7
Independent	23	23	15	32	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	24	18	15	36	7
No	20	21	14	38	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	8	7	11	70	4
Moderately pro-life	18	19	22	33	8
Neutral	19	20	19	32	11
Moderately pro-choice	32	28	15	20	5
Strongly pro-choice	48	28	10	9	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	11	10	13	62	4
No change	23	20	16	36	5
Closer to pro-choice	36	28	15	16	6

Table 105

Born Blind

Question: "A test reveals the baby will be born blind. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**8**	**13**	**17**	**56**	**6**
Gender					
Male	10	16	16	54	5
Female	6	10	18	59	7
Marital Status					
Single	10	12	15	58	6
Married (1st marriage)	7	12	18	57	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	7	11	16	59	7
Separated or divorced	10	18	19	48	5
Age					
18-29	6	11	18	59	6
30-44	6	13	16	58	6
45-59	7	14	20	55	4
60 +	12	15	13	51	9
Region					
East	11	16	17	50	6
Midwest	8	12	13	60	7
South	4	11	16	61	8
West	9	13	22	52	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	5	10	15	62	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	7	12	17	59	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	7	19	22	46	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	9	13	16	56	6
Large City (250,000+)	13	12	14	53	8
Education					
Less than High School	9	12	10	61	8
High School Graduate	7	12	18	56	7
Some College	7	12	17	59	6
College Graduate	10	17	21	48	4
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	8	10	69	6
Mainline Protestant	9	14	22	50	5
Orthodox Catholic	3	8	15	66	8
Progressive Catholic	9	16	21	47	7
Secularist	11	17	19	45	7
Political Party					
Republican	7	14	18	55	5
Democrat	8	11	17	57	7
Independent	9	14	16	54	7
Registered Voter					
Yes	8	13	17	56	6
No	8	13	15	55	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	2	5	8	82	3
Moderately pro-life	6	11	16	60	6
Neutral	8	13	17	52	10
Moderately pro-choice	10	19	24	42	5
Strongly pro-choice	16	21	24	33	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	3	6	9	79	3
No change	7	12	18	58	5
Closer to pro-choice	13	20	22	39	6

Table 106

Physically Handicapped

Question: "A test reveals the baby will be missing an arm or a leg. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**9**	**13**	**17**	**53**	**7**
Gender					
Male	11	15	17	50	7
Female	8	11	17	56	8
Marital Status					
Single	11	13	18	52	6
Married (1st marriage)	8	13	16	56	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	8	19	53	9
Separated or divorced	11	16	16	50	6
Age					
18-29	9	12	19	55	5
30-44	8	12	17	55	8
45-59	8	14	18	56	5
60 +	13	15	14	47	10
Region					
East	13	16	19	45	7
Midwest	10	11	16	55	8
South	5	12	15	59	9
West	10	13	18	52	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	8	10	15	57	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	12	19	56	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	10	18	18	47	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	9	12	18	53	7
Large City (250,000+)	13	14	14	50	9
Education					
Less than High School	10	10	13	59	9
High School Graduate	8	13	17	53	8
Some College	9	13	19	53	6
College Graduate	12	16	18	48	6
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	8	10	68	8
Mainline Protestant	12	15	20	46	7
Orthodox Catholic	3	7	17	65	10
Progressive Catholic	10	17	21	45	8
Secularist	12	20	20	39	9
Political Party					
Republican	9	15	17	52	6
Democrat	9	12	17	54	8
Independent	10	13	18	51	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	9	13	17	54	7
No	11	13	15	52	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	3	3	11	79	4
Moderately pro-life	8	12	16	58	7
Neutral	10	13	16	48	12
Moderately pro-choice	12	21	21	40	6
Strongly pro-choice	18	21	24	29	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	3	6	14	74	3
No change	10	13	17	55	5
Closer to pro-choice	14	21	21	35	8

Table 107

A Serious Heart Defect

Question: "A test reveals the baby will have a serious heart defect. Please tell me which statement best describes your feelings. Would you say these test results are..."

	Serious enough to have an abortion %	Serious enough to strongly consider an abortion %	Serious enough to give a little consideration %	Not a consider-ation, would definitely not consider abortion %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**11**	**16**	**18**	**47**	**7**
Gender					
Male	13	18	16	46	6
Female	9	14	21	48	8
Marital Status					
Single	14	16	16	48	7
Married (1st marriage)	10	16	19	48	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	16	21	43	10
Separated or divorced	13	19	21	41	5
Age					
18-29	11	13	22	47	6
30-44	11	17	18	47	7
45-59	10	17	21	49	4
60 +	14	17	14	44	12
Region					
East	12	18	22	41	7
Midwest	11	15	17	51	6
South	8	15	16	52	9
West	17	16	19	42	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	9	12	20	49	9
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	10	16	18	50	6
Small City (25,000-49,999)	11	25	22	36	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	14	16	17	46	7
Large City (250,000+)	15	12	15	49	8
Education					
Less than High School	11	12	12	55	10
High School Graduate	10	15	20	47	8
Some College	11	18	21	45	6
College Graduate	15	21	20	39	6
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	6	10	14	63	7
Mainline Protestant	15	19	21	36	6
Orthodox Catholic	5	9	15	63	9
Progressive Catholic	11	21	21	39	7
Secularist	18	23	24	27	8
Political Party					
Republican	11	17	18	48	7
Democrat	11	16	18	48	7
Independent	13	17	20	42	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	12	16	18	47	7
No	11	16	19	46	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	4	5	9	78	4
Moderately pro-life	8	15	20	50	7
Neutral	8	17	19	44	12
Moderately pro-choice	15	23	25	31	6
Strongly pro-choice	28	26	24	16	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	5	8	12	70	5
No change	11	16	20	47	5
Closer to pro-choice	18	24	22	28	6

Table 108

Legislative Options: Parental Consent

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose requiring that girls under 18 years of age get parental consent before they are allowed to have an abortion?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**69**	**24**	**6**
Gender			
Male	70	24	5
Female	69	24	7
Marital Status			
Single	61	34	5
Married (1st marriage)	74	21	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	60	32	8
Separated or divorced	67	24	9
Age			
18-29	61	32	7
30-44	69	26	5
45-59	75	20	5
60 +	73	19	8
Region			
East	69	28	4
Midwest	72	22	6
South	75	19	7
West	59	31	10
Place of Residence			
Open Country	73	19	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	73	22	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	67	27	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	68	24	8
Large City (250,000+)	62	31	7
Education			
Less than High School	74	18	8
High School Graduate	73	20	7
Some College	67	26	6
College Graduate	61	35	4
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	82	13	5
Mainline Protestant	67	25	8
Orthodox Catholic	83	12	5
Progressive Catholic	61	31	8
Secularist	40	56	3
Political Party			
Republican	74	20	6
Democrat	68	25	7
Independent	65	29	6
Registered Voter			
Yes	70	24	6
No	69	24	7
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	86	9	5
Moderately pro-life	80	16	3
Neutral	76	17	8
Moderately pro-choice	59	35	6
Strongly pro-choice	37	56	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	85	11	4
No change	70	25	5
Closer to pro-choice	55	38	7

Table 109

Legislative Options: A Test For Fetal Viability

Question: "In cases where the woman is more than 5 months pregnant, do you mostly favor or mostly oppose requiring a test to see if the fetus might survive outside of the womb before allowing the abortion?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**65**	**24**	**12**
Gender			
Male	66	25	10
Female	64	23	13
Marital Status			
Single	66	22	12
Married (1st marriage)	67	22	11
Married (2nd+ marriage)	65	24	11
Separated or divorced	59	31	10
Age			
18-29	68	19	12
30-44	68	22	10
45-59	66	25	9
60 +	56	28	15
Region			
East	64	22	13
Midwest	68	10	23
South	63	25	12
West	65	24	10
Place of Residence			
Open Country	64	23	13
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	66	24	10
Small City (25,000-49,999)	70	21	9
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	63	23	14
Large City (250,000+)	61	27	12
Education			
Less than High School	65	21	14
High School Graduate	65	24	11
Some College	65	23	12
College Graduate	64	27	9
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	68	20	13
Mainline Protestant	63	26	11
Orthodox Catholic	73	18	9
Progressive Catholic	66	24	10
Secularist	58	30	13
Political Party			
Republican	66	23	10
Democrat	65	24	11
Independent	63	24	12
Registered Voter			
Yes	64	25	11
No	68	20	12
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	73	18	9
Moderately pro-life	69	19	12
Neutral	62	24	13
Moderately pro-choice	66	26	9
Strongly pro-choice	53	34	13
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	69	22	10
No change	66	23	11
Closer to pro-choice	64	27	9

Table 110

Legislative Options: Abortion As A Means Of Birth Control

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose not allowing abortions in cases where they are being used as a method of birth control?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**69**	**26**	**5**
Gender			
Male	70	26	4
Female	69	26	6
Marital Status			
Single	68	28	4
Married (1st marriage)	72	25	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	67	27	6
Separated or divorced	66	29	5
Age			
18-29	72	25	4
30-44	71	25	4
45-59	72	24	4
60 +	63	30	8
Region			
East	73	22	5
Midwest	70	28	3
South	68	26	6
West	66	29	6
Place of Residence			
Open Country	69	25	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	70	26	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	72	24	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	69	26	5
Large City (250,000+)	65	28	7
Education			
Less than High School	71	24	6
High School Graduate	70	25	5
Some College	70	25	5
College Graduate	65	31	4
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	74	21	5
Mainline Protestant	64	31	5
Orthodox Catholic	83	13	4
Progressive Catholic	71	24	5
Secularist	49	45	6
Political Party			
Republican	72	25	4
Democrat	68	26	6
Independent	67	28	5
Registered Voter			
Yes	69	27	5
No	72	23	5
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	84	13	2
Moderately pro-life	81	17	2
Neutral	63	30	7
Moderately pro-choice	68	29	3
Strongly pro-choice	48	44	8
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	84	13	3
No change	71	26	3
Closer to pro-choice	58	36	6

Table 111

Legislative Options: The Father's Consent

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose requiring women to get the consent of the baby's biological father before having an abortion?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**55**	**36**	**10**
Gender			
Male	60	31	9
Female	51	39	10
Marital Status			
Single	52	39	9
Married (1st marriage)	57	34	9
Married (2nd+ marriage)	56	36	8
Separated or divorced	46	44	10
Age			
18-29	60	32	8
30-44	51	40	9
45-59	54	35	11
60 +	56	34	10
Region			
East	49	42	9
Midwest	56	35	8
South	61	28	11
West	50	40	10
Place of Residence			
Open Country	61	27	12
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	58	34	8
Small City (25,000-49,999)	53	38	10
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	52	38	10
Large City (250,000+)	47	45	8
Education			
Less than High School	65	24	10
High School Graduate	59	31	10
Some College	51	40	9
College Graduate	42	50	9
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	65	25	10
Mainline Protestant	49	40	11
Orthodox Catholic	68	24	8
Progressive Catholic	52	41	8
Secularist	36	57	7
Political Party			
Republican	62	30	8
Democrat	50	38	11
Independent	52	39	8
Registered Voter			
Yes	53	38	10
No	62	28	10
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	77	15	8
Moderately pro-life	63	28	8
Neutral	54	32	14
Moderately pro-choice	43	49	8
Strongly pro-choice	25	69	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	71	20	9
No change	58	34	8
Closer to pro-choice	36	56	8

Table 112

Legislative Options: Informed Consent

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose requiring women to receive information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion before going ahead with the procedure?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**86**	**9**	**5**
Gender			
Male	86	9	5
Female	86	9	5
Marital Status			
Single	86	11	3
Married (1st marriage)	87	8	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	88	9	3
Separated or divorced	84	12	4
Age			
18-29	86	9	5
30-44	88	9	3
45-59	86	9	4
60 +	83	9	3
Region			
East	87	10	3
Midwest	88	9	3
South	83	10	6
West	87	7	6
Place of Residence			
Open Country	86	7	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	88	10	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	89	8	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	86	8	6
Large City (250,000+)	80	14	7
Education			
Less than High School	82	11	7
High School Graduate	88	7	5
Some College	88	8	4
College Graduate	86	12	2
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	88	7	5
Mainline Protestant	84	10	6
Orthodox Catholic	91	6	3
Progressive Catholic	86	11	4
Secularist	74	19	7
Political Party			
Republican	89	8	3
Democrat	84	10	6
Independent	86	10	4
Registered Voter			
Yes	86	10	4
No	86	8	6
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	90	6	4
Moderately pro-life	92	7	2
Neutral	83	10	7
Moderately pro-choice	90	7	3
Strongly pro-choice	78	18	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	92	5	2
No change	87	9	4
Closer to pro-choice	86	11	3

Table 113

Legislative Options: Monitoring Abortion Clinics

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose the passage of a law requiring health and safety standards for private abortion clinics?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**84**	**10**	**5**
Gender			
Male	86	10	4
Female	83	10	7
Marital Status			
Single	85	10	4
Married (1st marriage)	85	10	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	86	9	5
Separated or divorced	86	9	5
Age			
18-29	84	11	5
30-44	87	8	5
45-59	87	10	3
60 +	80	13	7
Region			
East	86	9	4
Midwest	83	11	6
South	82	12	6
West	88	8	4
Place of Residence			
Open Country	81	11	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	83	13	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	90	8	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	86	8	6
Large City (250,000+)	85	8	6
Education			
Less than High School	75	16	9
High School Graduate	83	12	5
Some College	89	7	4
College Graduate	91	6	3
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	81	12	6
Mainline Protestant	87	5	9
Orthodox Catholic	80	13	7
Progressive Catholic	87	9	4
Secularist	84	11	5
Political Party			
Republican	87	9	4
Democrat	83	11	6
Independent	84	11	5
Registered Voter			
Yes	86	10	5
No	81	12	7
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	80	14	7
Moderately pro-life	90	8	2
Neutral	79	13	8
Moderately pro-choice	92	6	2
Strongly pro-choice	89	8	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	83	13	4
No change	86	10	4
Closer to pro-choice	92	5	4

Table 114

Legislative Options: Fetal Tissue Research

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose the passage of a law prohibiting the use of fetal tissue and organs for medical research?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**41**	**47**	**2**
Gender			
Male	41	48	11
Female	42	45	13
Marital Status			
Single	45	48	7
Married (1st marriage)	41	46	13
Married (2nd+ marriage)	36	46	18
Separated or divorced	44	48	8
Age			
18-29	39	51	10
30-44	48	42	10
45-59	39	48	13
60 +	36	48	16
Region			
East	47	41	12
Midwest	37	52	11
South	43	44	13
West	35	52	13
Place of Residence			
Open Country	35	48	16
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	38	52	10
Small City (25,000-49,999)	41	46	13
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	38	48	13
Large City (250,000+)	54	36	10
Education			
Less than High School	45	40	15
High School Graduate	42	45	13
Some College	41	48	11
College Graduate	34	57	10
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	43	43	14
Mainline Protestant	35	51	14
Orthodox Catholic	54	36	10
Progressive Catholic	44	43	13
Secularist	31	61	8
Political Party			
Republican	38	52	10
Democrat	45	43	13
Independent	36	51	13
Registered Voter			
Yes	40	48	12
No	44	41	15
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	49	41	10
Moderately pro-life	47	40	14
Neutral	44	43	14
Moderately pro-choice	33	55	12
Strongly pro-choice	32	59	9
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	55	36	10
No change	40	49	11
Closer to pro-choice	34	57	9

Table 115

Legislative Options: Requiring Doctors To Pay A Fine

Question: "In states that restrict abortions, do you mostly favor or mostly oppose requiring doctors who perform an illegal abortion to pay a large fine?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**70**	**22**	**7**
Gender			
Male	72	23	6
Female	70	22	8
Marital Status			
Single	64	26	8
Married (1st marriage)	74	20	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	70	22	8
Separated or divorced	67	26	7
Age			
18-29	72	21	7
30-44	70	23	7
45-59	73	22	4
60 +	67	23	10
Region			
East	70	24	5
Midwest	72	22	7
South	74	19	8
West	63	27	9
Place of Residence			
Open Country	70	20	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	77	17	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	67	25	8
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	72	22	7
Large City (250,000+)	61	32	6
Education			
Less than High School	72	20	9
High School Graduate	75	19	6
Some College	68	24	8
College Graduate	64	30	7
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	82	12	6
Mainline Protestant	62	30	8
Orthodox Catholic	85	8	7
Progressive Catholic	68	26	6
Secularist	53	40	7
Political Party			
Republican	75	19	6
Democrat	65	26	9
Independent	71	22	7
Registered Voter			
Yes	69	24	7
No	75	18	7
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	90	7	3
Moderately pro-life	82	12	7
Neutral	66	23	12
Moderately pro-choice	62	32	6
Strongly pro-choice	45	49	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	87	9	4
No change	74	21	5
Closer to pro-choice	53	39	8

Table 116

Legislative Options: Restricting Abortions To First Trimester

Question: "Do you mostly favor or mostly oppose not allowing abortions after the third month of pregnancy, unless it is required to save a woman's life?"

	Mostly Favor %	Mostly Oppose %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**73**	**20**	**7**
Gender			
Male	71	21	8
Female	74	19	7
Marital Status			
Single	70	23	7
Married (1st marriage)	74	19	7
Married (2nd+ marriage)	72	22	6
Separated or divorced	71	24	5
Age			
18-29	76	16	8
30-44	71	22	6
45-59	75	20	6
60 +	70	20	10
Region			
East	74	20	6
Midwest	75	18	7
South	74	16	9
West	66	27	7
Place of Residence			
Open Country	75	15	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	77	19	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	74	19	7
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	67	23	10
Large City (250,000+)	68	25	6
Education			
Less than High School	75	15	10
High School Graduate	77	17	6
Some College	73	20	7
College Graduate	62	32	7
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	81	13	6
Mainline Protestant	67	23	10
Orthodox Catholic	84	10	6
Progressive Catholic	72	21	6
Secularist	50	42	8
Political Party			
Republican	75	19	6
Democrat	70	22	8
Independent	74	20	6
Registered Voter			
Yes	72	22	7
No	77	13	9
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	87	10	3
Moderately pro-life	86	10	4
Neutral	70	15	15
Moderately pro-choice	67	26	7
Strongly pro-choice	47	47	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	88	9	3
No change	74	20	6
Closer to pro-choice	62	30	8

Table 117

Legal Abortion For A Likely Fetal Deformity

Question: "Please tell me whether you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby."

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**61**	**29**	**10**
Gender			
Male	61	29	10
Female	61	30	9
Marital Status			
Single	61	27	12
Married (1st marriage)	58	31	10
Married (2nd+ marriage)	72	23	5
Separated or divorced	72	20	8
Age			
18-29	62	29	9
30-44	63	27	10
45-59	60	32	8
60 +	58	29	12
Region			
East	66	23	12
Midwest	62	30	8
South	52	37	11
West	68	24	8
Place of Residence			
Open Country	55	32	13
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	62	32	7
Small City (25,000-49,999)	69	25	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	62	28	11
Large City (250,000+)	60	26	14
Education			
Less than High School	48	40	12
High School Graduate	62	29	9
Some College	64	26	11
College Graduate	71	21	8
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	46	44	10
Mainline Protestant	74	18	9
Orthodox Catholic	44	44	12
Progressive Catholic	66	22	12
Secularist	82	13	6
Political Party			
Republican	58	32	10
Democrat	61	28	11
Independent	66	25	8
Registered Voter			
Yes	62	28	9
No	57	31	11
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	27	64	8
Moderately pro-life	61	30	9
Neutral	61	20	19
Moderately pro-choice	87	7	6
Strongly pro-choice	89	7	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	37	55	9
No change	63	29	8
Closer to pro-choice	86	8	6

Table 118

Legal Abortion For Pregnancy Resulting From Rape

Question: "Please tell me whether you think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if the woman became pregnant as a result of rape."

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**72**	**20**	**8**
Gender			
Male	75	18	7
Female	70	22	8
Marital Status			
Single	77	18	5
Married (1st marriage)	70	21	8
Married (2nd+ marriage)	79	16	5
Separated or divorced	79	15	6
Age			
18-29	79	16	5
30-44	75	19	6
45-59	69	22	9
60 +	65	23	12
Region			
East	78	17	6
Midwest	71	21	8
South	66	24	11
West	76	18	6
Place of Residence			
Open Country	66	24	11
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	71	21	8
Small City (25,000-49,999)	74	21	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	73	18	9
Large City (250,000+)	80	14	6
Education			
Less than High School	58	33	10
High School Graduate	72	20	8
Some College	78	14	8
College Graduate	83	12	5
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	58	32	9
Mainline Protestant	82	12	6
Orthodox Catholic	58	28	14
Progressive Catholic	80	15	5
Secularist	89	6	5
Political Party			
Republican	70	21	8
Democrat	73	20	7
Independent	74	18	8
Registered Voter			
Yes	74	19	8
No	67	24	9
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	41	49	10
Moderately pro-life	78	13	9
Neutral	74	15	12
Moderately pro-choice	94	3	3
Strongly pro-choice	95	3	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	54	38	9
No change	74	19	7
Closer to pro-choice	92	6	2

Table 119

Sources Of Authority In Matters Of Truth

Question: "What in your opinion is the most believable authority in matters of truth?"

	Your own personal experience %	What you learn from TV, newspapers, and books %	The teachings of scripture %	What science teaches us %	What has been handed down from parents or other authorities %	What religious leaders say %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**41**	**4**	**30**	**6**	**14**	**2**	**1**
Gender							
Male	43	4	26	9	14	2	1
Female	39	4	34	4	14	2	2
Marital Status							
Single	51	3	20	8	15	2	2
Married (1st marriage)	38	5	34	6	13	2	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	48	3	28	3	16	1	1
Separated or divorced	46	5	22	8	16	2	1
Age							
18-29	46	5	22	8	16	3	1
30-44	47	4	26	6	14	1	2
45-59	42	3	33	5	13	2	1
60 +	29	5	40	6	14	4	2
Region							
East	45	5	22	7	16	3	1
Midwest	38	4	28	7	19	2	3
South	34	5	43	3	12	2	1
West	52	3	24	8	9	2	1
Place of Residence							
Open Country	38	4	34	5	16	2	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	37	6	31	8	14	3	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	45	4	28	4	17	1	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	44	3	29	7	12	2	3
Large City (250,000+)	46	5	26	6	12	4	1
Education							
Less than High School	33	4	36	3	17	5	1
High School Graduate	41	4	31	4	17	2	1
Some College	45	4	30	7	11	1	1
College Graduate	46	6	22	11	10	1	3
Religion							
Evangelical Protestant	20	2	62	3	10	0	1
Mainline Protestant	49	5	20	7	16	2	2
Orthodox Catholic	34	3	32	5	18	7	0
Progressive Catholic	49	6	12	9	18	4	2
Secularist	68	8	2	8	11	0	2
Political Party							
Republican	40	5	36	6	12	1	1
Democrat	42	4	28	5	16	4	1
Independent	44	5	25	8	15	1	2
Registered Voter							
Yes	41	4	31	6	14	2	2
No	41	5	29	7	15	3	0
Self-Identification							
Strongly pro-life	24	2	54	2	12	4	1
Moderately pro-life	38	4	31	6	18	2	1
Neutral	42	6	24	5	18	2	1
Moderately pro-choice	48	5	18	10	15	1	2
Strongly pro-choice	63	4	10	11	8	1	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?							
Closer to pro-life	23	3	51	3	16	3	0
No change	43	4	29	6	14	3	2
Closer to pro-choice	51	5	16	11	14	1	2

Table 120

Expressivist Moral Orientation

*Question: "If you were personally unsure what was right or wrong in a particular situation, how important would **doing what would make you happy** be in deciding what to do?"*

	Absolutely Essential %	Very Important %	Only somewhat Important %	Not important At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**15**	**46**	**31**	**6**	**1**
Gender					
Male	15	46	32	6	1
Female	16	46	32	6	2
Marital Status					
Single	21	51	23	4	1
Married (1st marriage)	13	43	36	6	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	15	48	32	5	0
Separated or divorced	20	49	24	6	1
Age					
18-29	22	51	24	2	1
30-44	15	44	33	6	1
45-59	13	43	36	8	1
60 +	12	46	31	7	3
Region					
East	17	49	28	4	1
Midwest	13	45	35	5	2
South	16	42	32	8	2
West	15	48	30	5	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	15	43	32	8	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	14	46	33	6	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	18	43	32	7	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	13	51	32	4	1
Large City (250,000+)	19	47	28	5	1
Education					
Less than High School	16	48	26	7	3
High School Graduate	17	46	30	6	1
Some College	16	46	33	4	1
College Graduate	11	43	38	7	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	14	35	40	9	2
Mainline Protestant	16	49	29	4	1
Orthodox Catholic	11	51	31	6	1
Progressive Catholic	14	52	29	3	1
Secularist	21	44	26	7	2
Political Party					
Republican	14	43	36	6	1
Democrat	19	46	28	5	2
Independent	12	50	30	7	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	15	44	33	6	2
No	15	52	28	5	0
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	13	40	34	10	2
Moderately pro-life	15	44	36	4	0
Neutral	18	50	26	4	2
Moderately pro-choice	12	52	32	5	0
Strongly pro-choice	21	44	30	5	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	13	37	39	9	1
No change	15	48	30	6	1
Closer to pro-choice	17	47	31	4	1

Table 121

Utilitarian Moral Orientation

*Question: "If you were personally unsure what was right or wrong in a particular situation, how important would **doing what would improve your situation or get you ahead** be in deciding what to do?"*

	Absolutely Essential %	Very Important %	Only somewhat Important %	Not important At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**13**	**49**	**28**	**8**	**2**
Gender					
Male	14	51	27	7	2
Female	12	48	29	9	2
Marital Status					
Single	19	51	24	5	1
Married (1st marriage)	11	46	33	8	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	15	52	24	8	0
Separated or divorced	15	60	15	8	2
Age					
18-29	20	50	25	4	1
30-44	13	50	28	8	1
45-59	12	52	26	9	1
60 +	8	45	32	10	4
Region					
East	12	54	27	6	1
Midwest	11	51	29	7	2
South	14	44	29	10	2
West	16	49	26	8	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	13	46	27	10	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	13	50	29	7	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	13	52	26	8	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	12	51	28	7	1
Large City (250,000+)	15	47	29	8	1
Education					
Less than High School	15	51	22	8	4
High School Graduate	14	50	27	8	1
Some College	13	48	31	6	2
College Graduate	10	47	34	8	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	12	41	32	12	2
Mainline Protestant	13	53	27	5	2
Orthodox Catholic	11	54	25	9	1
Progressive Catholic	14	54	28	4	1
Secularist	14	50	26	7	3
Political Party					
Republican	11	47	32	9	1
Democrat	16	50	25	8	2
Independent	12	51	29	7	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	12	48	30	8	2
No	16	53	24	6	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	12	39	32	14	2
Moderately pro-life	11	52	31	5	0
Neutral	17	52	24	4	3
Moderately pro-choice	9	50	32	8	0
Strongly pro-choice	17	53	23	7	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	11	42	32	14	1
No change	14	49	29	7	1
Closer to pro-choice	14	53	27	5	1

Table 122

Conventionalist Moral Orientation

*Question: "If you were personally unsure what was right or wrong in a particular situation, how important would **following the advice of an expert or authority figure** be in deciding what to do?"*

	Absolutely Essential %	Very Important %	Only somewhat Important %	Not important At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**8**	**46**	**36**	**8**	**1**
Gender					
Male	10	49	34	7	1
Female	6	43	40	9	2
Marital Status					
Single	10	44	38	7	1
Married (1st marriage)	8	47	36	8	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	9	48	38	6	0
Separated or divorced	7	42	38	12	1
Age					
18-29	9	48	37	6	0
30-44	8	45	38	9	1
45-59	8	46	37	8	2
60 +	9	45	33	10	3
Region					
East	8	46	39	5	1
Midwest	5	48	36	9	2
South	9	43	37	10	2
West	13	46	32	9	0
Place of Residence					
Open Country	11	44	34	8	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	8	50	35	6	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	7	44	38	11	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	8	44	36	10	1
Large City (250,000+)	7	43	41	6	2
Education					
Less than High School	10	46	30	11	3
High School Graduate	10	44	37	8	1
Some College	8	46	40	6	1
College Graduate	5	49	37	8	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	10	44	36	9	2
Mainline Protestant	8	46	37	8	2
Orthodox Catholic	11	48	32	8	1
Progressive Catholic	8	51	36	4	1
Secularist	10	38	3	16	2
Political Party					
Republican	7	50	36	7	1
Democrat	9	43	38	8	1
Independent	10	44	35	9	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	8	46	37	8	1
No	10	46	34	9	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	10	43	36	9	2
Moderately pro-life	10	44	37	8	0
Neutral	8	46	36	7	3
Moderately pro-choice	5	50	38	7	0
Strongly pro-choice	7	46	36	10	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	12	45	36	7	1
No change	9	45	37	8	1
Closer to pro-choice	6	49	38	7	0

Table 123

Civic Humanist Moral Orientation

*Question: "If you were personally unsure what was right or wrong in a particular situation, how important would **doing what would be best for everyone involved** be in deciding what to do?"*

	Absolutely Essential %	Very Important %	Only somewhat Important %	Not important At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**27**	**58**	**12**	**2**	**1**
Gender					
Male	28	58	12	2	1
Female	26	59	11	2	1
Marital Status					
Single	23	62	12	2	1
Married (1st marriage)	28	56	12	3	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	31	57	11	1	0
Separated or divorced	24	64	11	1	0
Age					
18-29	25	59	12	3	0
30-44	26	59	12	2	1
45-59	29	56	12	1	2
60 +	28	57	11	2	2
Region					
East	25	59	13	2	1
Midwest	24	60	14	1	2
South	27	60	10	3	1
West	35	52	10	3	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	29	54	12	2	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	29	57	12	2	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	23	60	11	4	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	30	58	10	2	1
Large City (250,000+)	22	63	12	2	1
Education					
Less than High School	24	61	11	2	2
High School Graduate	26	58	11	4	1
Some College	28	58	13	1	1
College Graduate	31	55	12	1	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	23	62	10	3	2
Mainline Protestant	30	57	11	1	1
Orthodox Catholic	27	60	10	2	1
Progressive Catholic	26	58	13	2	1
Secularist	25	59	12	3	0
Political Party					
Republican	27	56	13	3	1
Democrat	28	59	10	1	2
Independent	26	59	13	2	0
Registered Voter					
Yes	28	58	12	2	1
No	24	60	11	3	1
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	24	57	13	4	2
Moderately pro-life	30	60	8	2	0
Neutral	26	59	12	1	2
Moderately pro-choice	30	60	8	11	
Strongly pro-choice	29	55	15	1	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	26	58	11	5	1
No change	28	57	13	2	1
Closer to pro-choice	29	60	9	1	1

Table 124

Theistic Moral Orientation

*Question: "If you were personally unsure what was right or wrong in a particular situation, how important would **doing what God or scripture tells you is right** be in deciding what to do?"*

	Absolutely Essential %	Very Important %	Only somewhat Important %	Not important At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**32**	**38**	**18**	**10**	**2**
Gender					
Male	31	37	20	11	2
Female	34	38	18	9	2
Marital Status					
Single	31	31	22	14	1
Married (1st marriage)	32	40	17	8	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	36	21	12	1
Separated or divorced	24	43	20	12	1
Age					
18-29	33	33	21	12	2
30-44	26	41	21	10	2
45-59	35	36	19	9	1
60 +	39	39	12	9	1
Region					
East	22	41	24	12	2
Midwest	26	42	22	9	1
South	49	36	10	4	1
West	28	31	21	18	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	36	39	14	9	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	34	40	18	7	0
Small City (25,000-49,999)	28	42	20	10	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	30	36	23	9	2
Large City (250,000+)	29	32	19	16	3
Education					
Less than High School	42	38	13	6	2
High School Graduate	32	41	18	7	1
Some College	32	36	20	10	3
College Graduate	21	35	23	19	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	58	35	5	0	1
Mainline Protestant	22	41	26	9	2
Orthodox Catholic	40	48	10	1	0
Progressive Catholic	16	44	29	9	2
Secularist	9	14	18	54	6
Political Party					
Republican	34	41	16	8	1
Democrat	35	38	16	9	2
Independent	25	35	25	14	1
Registered Voter					
Yes	32	38	19	10	1
No	33	39	17	9	2
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	57	31	7	4	1
Moderately pro-life	30	50	15	4	0
Neutral	30	41	18	8	3
Moderately pro-choice	18	39	31	10	2
Strongly pro-choice	11	29	30	28	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	52	38	8	1	1
No change	31	36	19	12	1
Closer to pro-choice	18	40	28	12	2

Table 125

Moral Orientation

*Question: "If you were unsure of what was right or wrong, which would be the **most** important in deciding what you would do?"*

	Doing what would make you happy %	Doing what would get you ahead %	Following the advice of an authority %	Dowing what would be best for everyone %	Doing what God or scripture tells you %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**11**	**7**	**8**	**39**	**32**	**3**
Gender						
Male	11	9	9	40	28	3
Female	11	6	6	38	34	4
Marital Status						
Single	18	7	7	36	30	3
Married (1st marriage)	11	6	8	41	32	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	8	8	6	43	30	4
Separated or divorced	13	10	8	41	24	4
Age						
18-29	19	9	7	34	28	4
30-44	10	8	7	44	27	4
45-59	10	6	9	41	31	2
60 +	7	5	8	36	40	3
Region						
East	12	9	6	46	23	4
Midwest	10	6	9	43	28	4
South	12	7	7	27	44	3
West	10	7	9	45	27	2
Place of Residence						
Open Country	11	6	7	37	35	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	10	7	10	38	33	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	14	9	4	42	28	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	9	7	6	44	31	4
Large City (250,000+)	14	8	10	35	27	5
Education						
Less than High School	12	7	5	30	43	3
High School Graduate	14	7	7	36	31	5
Some College	10	7	9	41	29	3
College Graduate	8	8	9	52	21	2
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	8	2	5	23	60	3
Mainline Protestant	14	8	10	47	20	2
Orthodox Catholic	4	5	11	37	40	3
Progressive Catholic	14	13	8	46	14	5
Secularist	23	8	5	59	4	1
Political Party						
Republican	9	7	8	40	33	3
Democrat	13	7	7	36	33	3
Independent	12	8	8	44	24	4
Registered Voter						
Yes	10	6	7	40	32	4
No	16	9	8	35	30	2
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	8	4	4	23	60	3
Moderately pro-life	7	8	6	45	32	2
Neutral	16	10	10	31	26	7
Moderately pro-choice	10	7	12	56	14	1
Strongly pro-choice	16	9	8	55	10	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	6	4	5	29	53	2
No change	12	6	8	40	32	2
Closer to pro-choice	14	11	8	51	15	2

Table 126

Personal Obligation

Question: "Each of us feels that we are responsible to something or someone. If you had to choose one thing to which you are more responsible than to anything else, which of these would it be?"

	Myself %	My family %	Those who make up my own social world %	All of humanity %	God %	Something else
TOTAL	**18**	**40**	**2**	**8**	**31**	**2**
Gender						
Male	17	43	3	8	29	1
Female	18	38	2	7	33	2
Marital Status						
Single	28	31	4	11	26	1
Married (1st marriage)	14	43	2	6	33	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	16	48	1	6	26	3
Separated or divorced	23	43	4	7	22	0
Age						
18-29	20	42	2	9	24	2
30-44	16	45	2	7	28	2
45-59	18	40	2	5	33	2
60 +	18	34	1	8	38	2
Region						
East	18	48	2	7	22	2
Midwest	16	42	2	8	28	2
South	14	35	2	4	44	2
West	26	35	1	13	24	0
Place of Residence						
Open Country	13	43	1	6	35	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	17	40	1	8	33	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	18	42	3	5	29	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	21	32	3	10	34	1
Large City (250,000+)	22	44	3	8	21	2
Education						
Less than High School	12	38	2	7	38	2
High School Graduate	16	44	2	7	30	2
Some College	20	39	2	8	29	2
College Graduate	24	38	2	8	27	1
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	8	25	1	6	59	1
Mainline Protestant	22	47	2	8	19	2
Orthodox Catholic	11	41	2	6	41	0
Progressive Catholic	21	53	5	8	12	2
Secularist	38	39	1	13	7	2
Political Party						
Republican	17	40	3	7	34	1
Democrat	17	40	1	9	31	2
Independent	21	42	2	7	25	2
Registered Voter						
Yes	18	34	2	8	32	2
No	17	47	3	6	25	2
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	8	30	1	6	53	1
Moderately pro-life	12	42	3	6	37	1
Neutral	18	48	2	5	24	3
Moderately pro-choice	27	41	3	11	17	1
Strongly pro-choice	30	44	3	10	12	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	9	32	1	5	52	0
No change	19	40	2	8	30	1
Closer to pro-choice	24	43	4	9	19	1

Table 127

Importance Of Religion

Question: "How important to you are your religious beliefs?"

	Very Important %	Fairly Important %	Not too Important %	Not at all Important %	Not Sure %
TOTAL 54	**32**	**9**	**6**	**1**	
Gender					
Male	48	33	11	7	1
Female	58	30	7	4	1
Marital Status					
Single	44	36	10	11	0
Married (1st marriage)	55	32	7	4	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	52	32	8	6	2
Separated or divorced	49	29	14	7	1
Age					
18-29	41	42	7	8	1
30-44	49	34	10	6	1
45-59	58	27	9	5	1
60 + ...	66	22	7	3	1
Region					
East	43	41	8	7	1
Midwest	51	32	10	6	1
South	65	26	6	2	1
West	51	28	12	8	1
Place of Residence					
Open Country	60	29	7	3	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	55	32	8	5	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	50	34	11	5	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999) ..	55	30	10	4	1
Large City (250,000+)	44	33	9	12	2
Education					
Less than High School	66	23	7	4	1
High School Graduate	55	32	8	4	1
Some College	45	38	9	5	2
College Graduate	47	32	10	10	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	85	15	0	0	0
Mainline Protestant	37	44	15	4	1
Orthodox Catholic	79	18	2	0	1
Progressive Catholic	32	52	11	5	1
Secularist	15	20	20	42	4
Political Party					
Republican	54	33	8	5	0
Democrat	56	31	7	5	1
Independent	48	32	11	8	2
Registered Voter					
Yes	54	31	8	6	1
No	50	33	10	6	1
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	82	14	3	1	0
Moderately pro-life	57	36	4	3	0
Neutral	47	36	11	5	2
Moderately pro-choice	31	50	13	6	1
Strongly pro-choice	31	34	17	17	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	74	25	1	1	0
No change	54	29	10	6	1
Closer to pro-choice	34	44	12	8	0

Table 128

Beliefs About God

Question: "Which <u>one</u> of these statements comes closest to your beliefs about God?"

	There is a God %	There is a spirit or life force %	I don't believe there is any spirit, God or life force %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**82**	**12**	**2**	**3**
Gender				
Male	79	14	4	4
Female	86	10	1	2
Marital Status				
Single	76	15	4	4
Married (1st marriage)	85	11	2	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	82	11	2	5
Separated or divorced	76	17	4	4
Age				
18-29	85	13	2	3
30-44	78	16	2	4
45-59	85	10	3	2
60 + ...	88	7	3	2
Region				
East	81	12	2	5
Midwest	83	11	3	2
South	88	9	1	2
West	76	18	3	3
Place of Residence				
Open Country	87	9	2	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	85	11	1	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	84	11	2	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999) ..	86	10	2	2
Large City (250,000+)	70	19	5	6
Education				
Less than High School	88	6	4	3
High School Graduate	87	9	1	3
Some College	82	14	2	3
College Graduate	70	21	5	4
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	100	0	0	0
Mainline Protestant	74	19	2	4
Orthodox Catholic	100	0	0	0
Progressive Catholic	80	15	1	4
Secularist	36	38	16	10
Political Party				
Republican	85	9	2	3
Democrat	83	13	2	2
Independent	78	15	4	4
Registered Voter				
Yes	83	12	2	3
No	82	11	2	4
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	96	3	1	0
Moderately pro-life	90	8	0	2
Neutral	83	10	3	4
Moderately pro-choice	74	20	3	3
Strongly pro-choice	60	27	6	7
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	95	4	0	1
No change	81	13	3	3
Closer to pro-choice	73	21	3	3

Table 129

A Personal Relationship With God

Question: "Do you feel that you have a personal relationship with God?" (only asked of those who answered "there is a God" in Table 129)

	Yes %	No %	Not Sure %
TOTAL			
Gender			
Male			
Female			
Marital Status			
Single			
Married (1st marriage)			
Married (2nd+ marriage)			
Separated or divorced			
Age			
18-29			
30-44			
45-59			
60 +			
Region			
East			
Midwest			
South			
West			
Place of Residence			
Open Country			
Small/Large Town (<25,000)			
Small City (25,000-49,999)			
Medium City (50,000-249,999)			
Large City (250,000+)			
Education			
Less than High School			
High School Graduate			
Some College			
College Graduate			
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant			
Mainline Protestant			
Orthodox Catholic			
Progressive Catholic			
Secularist			
Political Party			
Republican			
Democrat			
Independent			
Registered Voter			
Yes			
No			
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life			
Moderately pro-life			
Neutral			
Moderately pro-choice			
Strongly pro-choice			
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life			
No change			
Closer to pro-choice			

Table 130

Attendance At Church Or Synagogue

Question: "How often do you go to church or Synagogue?"

	Daily %	Several times a week %	Once a week %	2 or 3 times a month %	Once a month or less %	Never %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**1**	**12**	**25**	**10**	**32**	**17**	**2**
Gender							
Male	1	9	22	10	38	18	2
Female	2	15	28	10	27	16	1
Marital Status							
Single	1	8	19	10	36	25	1
Married (1st marriage)	1	15	29	11	30	13	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	3	9	21	9	37	20	2
Separated or divorced	0	10	17	9	34	28	2
Age							
18-29	1	6	20	12	41	18	2
30-44	0	13	22	10	32	20	2
45-59	2	12	26	10	32	18	1
60 +	2	17	34	8	24	13	1
Region							
East	2	8	27	9	38	16	2
Midwest	1	11	26	13	32	16	1
South	2	18	26	11	24	18	2
West	0	10	21	8	38	21	1
Place of Residence							
Open Country	0	15	27	12	28	17	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2	14	27	10	33	14	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	3	11	24	8	36	18	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	1	11	25	10	34	19	1
Large City (250,000+)	1	10	24	12	31	21	2
Education							
Less than High School	4	12	27	8	31	17	2
High School Graduate	1	13	26	9	32	16	2
Some College	1	12	23	11	33	19	1
College Graduate	1	11	25	14	32	17	0
Religion							
Evangelical Protestant	2	27	32	11	22	6	1
Mainline Protestant	1	6	13	12	45	22	2
Orthodox Catholic	3	10	59	11	14	3	0
Progressive Catholic	1	3	24	11	43	16	1
Secularist	0	1	2	2	20	72	3
Political Party							
Republican	1	16	28	10	32	14	1
Democrat	2	12	26	12	30	16	2
Independent	1	7	23	9	36	22	2
Registered Voter							
Yes	1	13	27	10	32	15	1
No	1	9	19	11	33	26	2
Self-Identification							
Strongly pro-life	2	28	36	7	19	8	1
Moderately pro-life	1	11	33	13	28	14	1
Neutral	2	9	21	12	37	17	2
Moderately pro-choice	0	2	18	13	43	22	2
Strongly pro-choice	1	3	14	9	41	30	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?							
Closer to pro-life	2	22	37	11	21	6	1
No change	1	13	23	10	32	20	1
Closer to pro-choice	1	4	21	10	41	21	1

Table 131

Prayer

Question: "How often do you pray?"

	Daily %	Several times a week %	Once a week %	2 or 3 times a month %	Once a month or less %	Never %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**49**	**12**	**7**	**7**	**12**	**9**	**3**
Gender							
Male	39	12	8	9	17	12	4
Female	59	12	7	6	8	7	2
Marital Status							
Single	38	11	8	8	18	14	2
Married (1st marriage)	52	13	7	8	10	7	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	52	13	6	6	10	11	3
Separated or divorced	38	11	9	7	19	13	4
Age							
18-29	36	15	8	10	17	10	4
30-44	47	12	8	7	12	11	4
45-59	52	12	6	7	12	8	2
60 +	62	9	7	5	9	6	2
Region							
East	47	10	10	7	17	8	2
Midwest	47	14	6	10	12	10	2
South	57	12	6	5	9	8	4
West	43	12	7	9	13	12	4
Place of Residence							
Open Country	50	13	7	8	9	9	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	49	13	7	10	11	9	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	47	14	9	8	15	4	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	54	9	7	5	13	10	2
Large City (250,000+)	47	10	8	5	14	13	4
Education							
Less than High School	54	11	8	7	10	8	2
High School Graduate	48	12	8	8	14	7	3
Some College	51	14	6	8	10	10	3
College Graduate	44	10	8	8	15	13	2
Religion							
Evangelical Protestant	90	10	0	0	0	0	0
Mainline Protestant	22	14	11	15	22	11	5
Orthodox Catholic	94	7	0	0	0	0	0
Progressive Catholic	20	16	19	13	20	8	3
Secularist	8	9	0	4	19	54	5
Political Party							
Republican	50	15	6	6	12	7	4
Democrat	53	10	9	6	10	9	2
Independent	44	10	7	10	16	11	2
Registered Voter							
Yes	52	12	7	7	11	8	3
No	38	13	10	9	16	11	3
Self-Identification							
Strongly pro-life	74	8	5	2	5	4	2
Moderately pro-life	51	15	8	8	12	4	2
Neutral	42	12	8	10	14	10	3
Moderately pro-choice	35	14	11	11	15	11	2
Strongly pro-choice	31	11	7	9	19	19	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?							
Closer to pro-life	70	12	6	3	5	2	1
No change	48	12	6	8	13	10	2
Closer to pro-choice	35	14	11	10	15	12	4

Table 132

A Religious Turning Point

Question: "Have you ever had a religious experience that has changed the direction of your life?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**38**	**57**	**5**
Gender			
Male	35	60	5
Female	40	55	5
Marital Status			
Single	34	61	5
Married (1st marriage)	39	56	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	38	59	3
Separated or divorced	35	58	7
Age			
18-29	36	59	5
30-44	39	57	4
45-59	36	59	5
60 +	38	56	6
Region			
East	26	68	6
Midwest	38	59	3
South	48	46	6
West	35	60	5
Place of Residence			
Open Country	41	52	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	40	55	5
Small City (25,000-49,999)	33	66	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	38	57	5
Large City (250,000+)	32	61	6
Education			
Less than High School	43	52	6
High School Graduate	36	58	6
Some College	37	58	5
College Graduate	35	61	4
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	68	28	4
Mainline Protestant	27	66	6
Orthodox Catholic	43	53	4
Progressive Catholic	14	82	4
Secularist	18	78	5
Political Party			
Republican	41	53	6
Democrat	37	59	4
Independent	33	62	5
Registered Voter			
Yes	38	56	5
No	34	61	5
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	57	39	3
Moderately pro-life	37	58	5
Neutral	34	58	7
Moderately pro-choice	24	71	4
Strongly pro-choice	22	74	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	57	39	4
No change	36	60	4
Closer to pro-choice	26	68	6

Table 133

Beliefs About The Bible

Question: "Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?"

	The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally %	The Bible is the inspired Word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally %	The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history and moral precepts recorded by men %	None of these %
TOTAL	**42**	**40**	**14**	**4**
Gender				
Male	37	43	16	4
Female	47	38	12	3
Marital Status				
Single	37	37	21	5
Married (1st marriage)	42	43	12	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	40	42	16	3
Separated or divorced	38	42	15	5
Age				
18-29	46	36	14	4
30-44	36	44	17	3
45-59	41	40	13	6
60 +	48	38	11	3
Region				
East	33	45	17	4
Midwest	42	41	14	3
South	57	32	7	4
West	30	46	22	3
Place of Residence				
Open Country	52	36	8	3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	47	37	14	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	38	45	12	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	38	46	13	3
Large City (250,000+)	30	40	23	6
Education				
Less than High School	61	28	8	4
High School Graduate	47	40	10	3
Some College	36	43	17	4
College Graduate	20	52	24	4
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	75	25	0	0
Mainline Protestant	34	44	16	6
Orthodox Catholic	52	48	0	0
Progressive Catholic	18	58	19	5
Secularist	13	19	59	8
Political Party				
Republican	43	41	12	4
Democrat	44	38	14	4
Independent	37	43	17	3
Registered Voter				
Yes	41	40	15	4
No	46	40	11	3
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	61	33	4	1
Moderately pro-life	44	46	8	2
Neutral	47	32	13	8
Moderately pro-choice	25	55	18	1
Strongly pro-choice	16	44	35	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	56	38	3	3
No change	41	41	15	3
Closer to pro-choice	27	46	24	3

Table 134

General Religious Outlook

Question: "On a scale from one to six where 1 is very liberal and 6 is very conservative, where would you place yourself to describe your general religious outlook?"

	Very liberal 1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	Very conservative 6 %
TOTAL	**10**	**12**	**24**	**25**	**15**	**15**
Gender						
Male	10	12	24	26	14	14
Female	9	11	24	24	17	15
Marital Status						
Single	10	18	27	20	12	12
Married (1st marriage)	8	10	25	26	16	15
Married (2nd+ marriage)	8	12	27	27	15	12
Separated or divorced	13	13	22	30	9	12
Age						
18-29	9	16	25	25	14	12
30-44	11	12	25	25	15	12
45-59	10	11	27	26	12	14
60 +	8	7	20	23	20	22
Region						
East	9	12	28	23	13	15
Midwest	9	12	29	24	15	12
South	10	10	19	28	16	18
West	10	14	22	22	17	13
Place of Residence						
Open Country	8	8	23	30	14	17
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	9	11	27	23	14	16
Small City (25,000-49,999)	9	13	18	26	18	16
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	11	11	27	22	15	13
Large City (250,000+)	12	15	24	21	16	11
Education						
Less than High School	8	6	19	24	20	24
High School Graduate	7	9	29	29	13	14
Some College	8	17	24	25	16	10
College Graduate	18	16	24	19	13	12
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	0	0	20	26	27	28
Mainline Protestant	15	20	22	25	11	7
Orthodox Catholic	0	0	30	32	20	18
Progressive Catholic	10	19	31	24	9	8
Secularist	29	23	18	12	4	15
Political Party						
Republican	7	10	22	25	20	16
Democrat	10	14	23	24	14	16
Independent	13	10	28	26	12	11
Registered Voter						
Yes	10	12	24	24	15	15
No	7	11	24	27	16	15
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	6	5	18	22	22	26
Moderately pro-life	6	10	29	28	19	9
Neutral	5	9	27	32	14	14
Moderately pro-choice	9	19	30	26	12	4
Strongly pro-choice	26	21	22	15	8	9
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	6	6	19	23	22	23
No change	10	11	25	26	15	14
Closer to pro-choice	13	18	27	23	12	7

Table 136

Pro-life Awareness

Question: "In recent years pro-life and pro-choice groups have formed on opposite sides of the abortion issue. How much would you say you have heard about groups that are pro-life?"

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Small Amount %	Nothing At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**30**	**32**	**17**	**16**	**5**
Gender					
Male	28	32	17	17	5
Female	32	32	16	14	5
Marital Status					
Single	27	28	18	19	8
Married (1st marriage)	33	34	16	13	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	30	36	18	14	3
Separated or divorced	28	31	19	16	5
Age					
18-29	27	31	17	18	6
30-44	35	32	17	13	4
45-59	30	36	17	12	5
60 +	26	29	16	22	7
Region					
East	29	34	17	15	5
Midwest	30	37	17	12	4
South	26	25	20	22	7
West	38	33	11	13	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	26	34	18	16	7
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	38	28	18	13	4
Small City (25,000-49,999)	32	33	16	14	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	27	32	15	22	4
Large City (250,000+)	24	34	16	17	9
Education					
Less than High School	15	22	19	33	10
High School Graduate	26	34	20	15	5
Some College	34	36	16	10	4
College Graduate	50	33	10	6	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	29	29	17	20	6
Mainline Protestant	27	34	19	15	5
Orthodox Catholic	32	34	14	16	3
Progressive Catholic	28	36	16	15	6
Secularist	35	29	17	11	8
Political Party					
Republican	33	36	14	13	4
Democrat	27	30	19	18	6
Independent	33	30	18	14	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	31	34	16	14	5
No	26	25	18	24	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	38	33	13	13	4
Moderately pro-life	27	41	18	11	3
Neutral	12	23	22	32	10
Moderately pro-choice	36	37	17	10	1
Strongly pro-choice	44	34	15	4	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	38	36	14	9	3
No change	31	32	18	14	1
Closer to pro-choice	34	39	16	7	3

Table 137

The Pro-life Public Image

Question: "Have the things you have heard about pro-life groups been very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?"

	Very Positive %	Somewhat Positive %	Somewhat Negative %	Very Negative %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**14**	**37**	**26**	**14**	**9**
Gender					
Male	12	38	27	14	9
Female	15	36	25	15	9
Marital Status					
Single	11	34	28	18	8
Married (1st marriage)	14	40	26	12	8
Married (2nd+ marriage)	10	32	30	18	10
Separated or divorced	12	33	31	15	10
Age					
18-29	12	38	28	13	9
30-44	11	38	31	13	7
45-59	15	38	24	15	8
60 +	17	34	21	16	13
Region					
East	13	37	26	15	9
Midwest	14	40	26	11	8
South	14	36	26	13	10
West	13	34	27	18	8
Place of Residence					
Open Country	14	34	31	9	12
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	16	39	24	14	8
Small City (25,000-49,999)	9	39	29	17	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	12	38	30	9	10
Large City (250,000+)	16	34	18	23	9
Education					
Less than High School	18	32	21	11	18
High School Graduate	14	43	22	10	11
Some College	13	37	29	16	4
College Graduate	10	32	33	20	4
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	21	41	22	7	9
Mainline Protestant	6	32	34	17	11
Orthodox Catholic	28	46	15	5	6
Progressive Catholic	10	45	25	12	8
Secularist	6	17	32	32	13
Political Party					
Republican	17	36	28	12	7
Democrat	15	35	25	16	9
Independent	8	40	27	15	10
Registered Voter					
Yes	14	36	27	15	8
No	13	39	24	11	13
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	37	40	11	4	8
Moderately pro-life	9	57	21	9	5
Neutral	5	45	25	6	19
Moderately pro-choice	4	30	45	14	8
Strongly pro-choice	3	17	36	40	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	32	46	14	2	5
No change	12	39	25	15	9
Closer to pro-choice	4	27	41	21	6

Table 138

The Pro-life Image

Question: "For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-life."

	Percent who responded "very well" or "well" to each phrase				
	Concerned about the family %	Concerned about Women %	Concerned about poverty %	Concerned about the quality of life %	Concerned about values and morality %
TOTAL	**72**	**51**	**33**	**58**	**70**
Gender					
Male	72	50	32	58	70
Female	72	52	34	57	70
Marital Status					
Single	65	44	32	50	69
Married (1st marriage)	76	52	35	60	72
Married (2nd+ marriage)	68	53	26	59	61
Separated or divorced	74	48	33	56	68
Age					
18-29	74	50	36	63	74
30-44	75	49	30	57	68
45-59	72	51	34	55	72
60 +	67	54	34	55	65
Region					
East	69	51	33	57	69
Midwest	76	55	38	65	73
South	72	54	33	56	68
West	71	41	28	51	68
Place of Residence					
Open Country	61	50	30	53	64
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	77	54	35	66	71
Small City (25,000-49,999)	72	51	34	56	75
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	71	50	31	53	71
Large City (250,000+)	69	48	36	55	69
Education					
Less than High School	71	55	39	63	65
High School Graduate	74	59	39	64	67
Some College	73	47	31	55	73
College Graduate	70	41	23	48	73
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	78	65	43	68	73
Mainline Protestant	74	38	22	45	62
Orthodox Catholic	87	72	50	76	82
Progressive Catholic	76	53	31	61	74
Secularist	58	22	20	37	62
Political Party					
Republican	76	54	34	61	76
Democrat	69	50	36	56	70
Independent	74	49	29	56	63
Registered Voter					
Yes	72	52	34	57	71
No	72	48	30	59	63
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	90	76	49	80	82
Moderately pro-life	82	66	39	67	82
Neutral	69	51	34	62	59
Moderately pro-choice	63	30	22	42	67
Strongly pro-choice	53	22	16	31	55
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	90	79	54	81	90
No change	73	50	32	57	68
Closer to pro-choice	60	31	22	42	63

Table 138b

The Pro-life Image

Question: "For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-life."

	Percent who responded "very well" or "well" to each phrase				
	Mainstream %	Silent Majority %	Extremist %	Intolerant of others' views %	Pose a threat to American society %
TOTAL	**39**	**25**	**54**	**54**	**23**
Gender					
Male	39	26	53	54	22
Female	39	24	54	53	24
Marital Status					
Single	36	24	59	57	33
Married (1st marriage)	39	26	53	54	20
Married (2nd+ marriage)	37	20	52	54	22
Separated or divorced	44	23	57	52	29
Age					
18-29	40	24	56	55	28
30-44	39	24	56	56	22
45-59	36	26	49	49	20
60 +	40	27	51	54	23
Region					
East	42	27	51	55	24
Midwest	39	23	53	53	20
South	38	25	52	52	23
West	38	25	60	55	25
Place of Residence					
Open Country	38	23	52	51	21
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	42	3	50	51	22
Small City (25,000-49,999)	39	20	61	59	21
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	33	24	53	51	22
Large City (250,000+)	41	25	56	59	32
Education					
Less than High School	40	30	40	43	21
High School Graduate	42	25	47	46	18
Some College	40	26	59	56	26
College Graduate	32	21	66	69	28
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	47	34	43	40	17
Mainline Protestant	30	18	59	60	24
Orthodox Catholic	47	33	36	41	12
Progressive Catholic	42	23	58	57	22
Secularist	22	19	72	75	40
Political Party					
Republican	41	30	53	55	19
Democrat	41	24	54	53	27
Independent	34	23	55	54	22
Registered Voter					
Yes	40	26	54	55	24
No	35	22	53	50	22
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	48	38	32	36	12
Moderately pro-life	46	30	46	50	15
Neutral	31	20	50	44	22
Moderately pro-choice	35	17	70	66	21
Strongly pro-choice	31	16	79	80	48
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	53	43	35	38	4
No change	38	22	54	53	22
Closer to pro-choice	33	18	73	73	36

Table 138c

The Pro-life Image

Question: "For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-life."

Percent who responded "very well" or "well" to each phrase

	Religious %	Violent %	Hypercritical %
TOTAL	**76**	**34**	**46**
Gender			
Male	77	34	45
Female	75	34	47
Marital Status			
Single	77	40	49
Married (1st marriage)	78	30	45
Married (2nd+ marriage)	74	37	46
Separated or divorced	74	42	53
Age			
18-29	80	33	46
30-44	75	35	48
45-59	76	35	47
60 +	73	31	40
Region			
East	78	30	41
Midwest	77	31	46
South	72	32	44
West	79	44	54
Place of Residence			
Open Country	74	29	48
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	78	35	45
Small City (25,000-49,999)	81	40	50
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	72	30	39
Large City (250,000+)	76	36	49
Education			
Less than High School	71	27	34
High School Graduate	72	29	41
Some College	79	39	48
College Graduate	82	38	59
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	76	27	37
Mainline Protestant	70	36	52
Orthodox Catholic	82	23	32
Progressive Catholic	80	34	47
Secularist	73	52	66
Political Party			
Republican	79	32	43
Democrat	75	34	57
Independent	75	37	48
Registered Voter			
Yes	77	34	46
No	71	32	45
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	82	19	28
Moderately pro-life	80	25	41
Neutral	61	31	40
Moderately pro-choice	77	40	58
Strongly pro-choice	76	59	68
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	90	19	30
No change	74	33	47
Closer to pro-choice	75	49	59

Table 139

Pro-choice Awareness

Question: "How much would you say you have heard about groups that are pro-choice?"

	A Great Deal %	A Moderate Amount %	A Small Amount %	Nothing At All %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**28**	**32**	**18**	**19**	**3**
Gender					
Male	27	32	18	20	4
Female	30	33	18	18	2
Marital Status					
Single	25	31	19	22	3
Married (1st marriage)	31	33	19	15	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	28	36	19	16	1
Separated or divorced	27	37	14	18	4
Age					
18-29	25	31	20	20	4
30-44	31	35	18	14	2
45-59	28	36	17	17	2
60 +	27	25	18	26	4
Region					
East	29	33	22	14	2
Midwest	26	35	22	14	2
South	24	27	19	27	4
West	37	35	9	17	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	23	32	20	21	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	32	32	19	14	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	31	32	17	17	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	27	30	17	24	2
Large City (250,000+)	25	35	17	18	4
Education					
Less than High School	14	19	22	40	5
High School Graduate	23	33	21	20	3
Some College	31	40	16	10	2
College Graduate	48	35	12	5	0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	26	31	20	21	2
Mainline Protestant	27	32	20	18	3
Orthodox Catholic	30	37	12	20	2
Progressive Catholic	25	34	20	18	3
Secularist	35	33	14	12	6
Political Party					
Republican	34	34	16	14	2
Democrat	25	31	20	22	3
Independent	28	31	20	17	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	31	34	17	16	2
No	17	26	24	29	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	32	33	16	18	2
Moderately pro-life	29	37	20	12	2
Neutral	12	21	26	37	5
Moderately pro-choice	30	40	18	10	2
Strongly pro-choice	45	39	12	3	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	33	35	18	12	2
No change	28	33	19	17	2
Closer to pro-choice	33	40	19	6	2

Table 140

The Pro-choice Public Image

Question: "Have the things you have heard about pro-choice groups been very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?"

	Very Positive %	Somewhat Positive %	Somewhat Negative %	Very Negative %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**12**	**44**	**21**	**13**	**10**
Gender					
Male	12	46	21	12	9
Female	13	42	22	13	10
Marital Status					
Single	18	48	17	9	9
Married (1st marriage)	11	44	22	13	9
Married (2nd+ marriage)	16	37	28	12	7
Separated or divorced	13	49	19	9	10
Age					
18-29	11	47	19	13	10
30-44	14	46	22	10	9
45-59	10	45	23	13	9
60 +	13	37	22	17	12
Region					
East	12	44	21	12	10
Midwest	12	46	22	13	8
South	10	42	24	12	11
West	16	43	18	14	9
Place of Residence					
Open Country	7	45	22	12	13
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	12	42	22	14	10
Small City (25,000-49,999)	12	47	23	12	7
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	11	47	21	14	7
Large City (250,000+)	21	41	19	10	10
Education					
Less than High School	8	34	19	21	19
High School Graduate	10	42	24	15	9
Some College	13	47	22	10	8
College Graduate	18	49	19	8	7
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	8	35	27	19	11
Mainline Protestant	13	49	21	7	11
Orthodox Catholic	8	42	23	20	6
Progressive Catholic	12	50	20	10	8
Secularist	30	49	7	0	13
Political Party					
Republican	10	40	27	16	7
Democrat	17	44	18	11	10
Independent	11	48	20	10	11
Registered Voter					
Yes	13	45	21	12	9
No	10	40	24	13	13
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	6	21	33	29	11
Moderately pro-life	6	45	31	11	7
Neutral	3	49	22	8	18
Moderately pro-choice	10	67	14	3	6
Strongly pro-choice	36	50	4	4	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	6	29	34	25	6
No change	10	45	23	12	10
Closer to pro-choice	26	56	10	2	7

Table 141

The Pro-choice Image

Question: "For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-choice."

	Percent who responded "very well" or "well" to each phrase				
	Concerned about the family %	Concerned about Women %	Concerned about poverty %	Concerned about the quality of life %	Concerned about values and morality %
TOTAL	**60**	**74**	**56**	**63**	**46**
Gender					
Male	60	75	55	63	45
Female	59	74	56	63	47
Marital Status					
Single	70	77	65	68	57
Married (1st marriage)	56	73	54	61	42
Married (2nd+ marriage)	64	78	56	68	45
Separated or divorced	67	77	56	68	54
Age					
18-29	64	77	58	64	51
30-44	60	76	58	65	45
45-59	58	73	55	64	49
60 +	58	71	52	59	42
Region					
East	60	78	57	63	48
Midwest	58	75	50	63	46
South	58	67	53	58	41
West	64	79	64	71	50
Place of Residence					
Open Country	56	72	51	59	42
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	56	74	53	60	44
Small City (25,000-49,999)	66	80	65	68	51
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	57	73	57	66	47
Large City (250,000+)	66	74	56	66	50
Education					
Less than High School	51	61	45	50	40
High School Graduate	59	71	54	61	45
Some College	61	77	55	65	45
College Graduate	65	85	65	73	54
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	46	66	48	50	33
Mainline Protestant	69	78	56	69	53
Orthodox Catholic	49	72	52	56	42
Progressive Catholic	60	76	57	65	45
Secularist	76	84	69	84	66
Political Party					
Republican	52	76	50	59	41
Democrat	65	74	59	65	50
Independent	61	74	58	66	48
Registered Voter					
Yes	60	75	56	64	46
No	56	71	55	58	48
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	30	56	43	39	22
Moderately pro-life	52	75	51	57	39
Neutral	61	68	48	59	38
Moderately pro-choice	78	90	65	80	60
Strongly pro-choice	89	90	76	90	78
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	36	63	47	44	28
No change	59	74	55	64	48
Closer to pro-choice	81	83	68	81	59

Table 141b

The Pro-choice Image

Question: "For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-choice."

	Percent who responded "very well" or "well" to each phrase				
	Mainstream %	Silent Majority %	Extremist %	Intolerant of others' views %	Pose a threat to American society %
TOTAL	**47**	**28**	**39**	**43**	**23**
Gender					
Male	47	29	38	45	23
Female	47	28	40	41	24
Marital Status					
Single	54	29	36	41	19
Married (1st marriage)	48	28	40	44	25
Married (2nd+ marriage)	42	26	42	44	20
Separated or divorced	46	30	33	36	20
Age					
18-29	48	27	37	44	24
30-44	49	28	38	40	22
45-59	47	31	39	44	24
60 +	43	28	41	46	23
Region					
East	45	26	34	42	24
Midwest	47	27	38	45	26
South	43	25	42	41	25
West	54	36	42	44	16
Place of Residence					
Open Country	49	29	36	42	28
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	45	27	40	45	23
Small City (25,000-49,999)	46	31	40	43	22
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	47	26	39	39	21
Large City (250,000+)	49	29	39	44	21
Education					
Less than High School	38	29	38	47	29
High School Graduate	43	24	42	44	25
Some College	50	26	40	42	22
College Graduate	56	35	33	39	19
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	40	23	46	53	32
Mainline Protestant	48	32	33	38	16
Orthodox Catholic	41	20	48	47	32
Progressive Catholic	48	27	41	42	22
Secularist	57	41	23	26	7
Political Party					
Republican	49	28	46	50	30
Democrat	47	29	34	38	21
Independent	45	29	38	42	19
Registered Voter					
Yes	49	30	39	43	24
No	40	21	40	43	23
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	37	18	58	61	46
Moderately pro-life	42	21	45	51	25
Neutral	33	26	35	39	20
Moderately pro-choice	57	38	32	37	12
Strongly pro-choice	67	42	19	23	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	38	21	60	66	42
No change	47	28	37	42	22
Closer to pro-choice	59	36	31	32	14

Table 141c

The Pro-choice Image

Question: "For each of the following phrases, tell me how well you think it describes people who are pro-choice."

	Percent who responded "very well" or "well" to each phrase		
	Religious %	Violent %	Hypercritical %
TOTAL	**30**	**24**	**33**
Gender			
Male	30	22	34
Female	29	26	32
Marital Status			
Single	34	16	28
Married (1st marriage)	28	26	32
Married (2nd+ marriage)	27	19	35
Separated or divorced	33	28	35
Age			
18-29	32	23	30
30-44	26	24	34
45-59	31	24	32
60 +	32	26	34
Region			
East	27	23	31
Midwest	32	26	36
South	29	28	36
West	30	16	25
Place of Residence			
Open Country	27	26	33
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	31	28	37
Small City (25,000-49,999)	31	22	36
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	25	20	25
Large City (250,000+)	32	21	30
Education			
Less than High School	30	30	41
High School Graduate	32	28	33
Some College	29	22	34
College Graduate	26	17	25
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	27	29	40
Mainline Protestant	34	21	27
Orthodox Catholic	31	29	38
Progressive Catholic	28	24	32
Secularist	22	6	22
Political Party			
Republican	28	27	34
Democrat	30	21	32
Independent	32	23	35
Registered Voter			
Yes	30	24	33
No	26	26	34
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	16	37	50
Moderately pro-life	20	32	35
Neutral	35	25	33
Moderately pro-choice	34	13	26
Strongly pro-choice	47	10	16
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	17	43	50
No change	30	22	32
Closer to pro-choice	39	15	24

Table 142

Do Americans Identify Themselves As Pro-life Or Pro-choice?

Question: "Which of the following would you say best describes your general outlook on the abortion issue -- pro-life or pro-choice?"

	Strongly Pro-life %	Moderately Pro-life %	Neutral %	Moderately Pro-choice %	Strongly Pro-choice %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**26**	**16**	**23**	**16**	**17**	**3**
Gender						
Male	23	18	24	17	15	3
Female	28	14	21	14	19	3
Marital Status						
Single	22	14	18	19	22	4
Married (1st marriage)	28	18	21	16	15	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	24	12	24	13	24	2
Separated or divorced	17	14	31	16	21	2
Age						
18-29	22	16	26	18	17	1
30-44	24	18	20	17	19	2
45-59	28	16	22	13	18	2
60 +	30	14	24	15	13	5
Region						
East	22	17	23	18	19	2
Midwest	27	16	24	16	15	2
South	30	15	24	13	12	6
West	24	15	17	18	24	2
Place of Residence						
Open Country	30	14	22	16	12	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	26	18	21	17	16	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	22	15	26	16	19	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	27	15	22	16	16	4
Large City (250,000+)	23	18	23	13	23	1
Education						
Less than High School	31	14	31	9	9	7
High School Graduate	27	18	25	14	13	3
Some College	25	16	19	19	21	1
College Graduate	19	16	14	23	27	1
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	41	15	22	10	8	5
Mainline Protestant	13	14	24	24	21	2
Orthodox Catholic	43	22	16	9	7	3
Progressive Catholic	19	21	29	15	14	2
Secularist	8	6	21	16	46	3
Political Party						
Republican	30	17	18	18	14	2
Democrat	25	15	23	15	19	3
Independent	21	16	26	15	19	3
Registered Voter						
Yes	27	16	21	16	19	2
No	24	15	28	16	11	6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	64	28	4	1	0	2
No change	26	16	25	15	16	1
Closer to pro-choice	2	10	13	35	40	0

Table 143

The Drift Of Public Opinion

Question: "Over the past two years, would you say you have drifted closer to the pro-life viewpoint, closer to the pro-choice viewpoint, or have your views remained about the same?"

	Closer to pro-life %	Views have remained the same %	Closer to pro-choice %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**16**	**54**	**20**	**10**
Gender				
Male	16	56	18	10
Female	16	52	21	11
Marital Status				
Single	20	45	25	11
Married (1st marriage)	17	56	18	8
Married (2nd+ marriage)	11	58	21	9
Separated or divorced	9	60	22	9
Age				
18-29	18	50	21	11
30-44	17	54	20	9
45-59	14	59	20	7
60 +	15	55	17	13
Region				
East	19	48	23	11
Midwest	16	58	18	8
South	16	53	18	13
West	13	59	21	7
Place of Residence				
Open Country	17	57	17	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	16	57	19	7
Small City (25,000-49,999)	15	57	19	9
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	15	51	22	12
Large City (250,000+)	18	49	21	13
Education				
Less than High School	15	52	12	21
High School Graduate	18	56	17	10
Some College	18	51	26	6
College Graduate	14	58	24	5
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	22	55	13	11
Mainline Protestant	9	58	25	9
Orthodox Catholic	30	49	10	10
Progressive Catholic	16	46	25	13
Secularist	5	61	25	9
Political Party				
Republican	19	54	20	6
Democrat	16	50	22	12
Independent	14	59	16	11
Registered Voter				
Yes	16	54	21	8
No	15	54	15	16
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	40	54	2	4
Moderately pro-life	29	55	12	4
Neutral	3	61	11	25
Moderately pro-choice	1	53	43	3
Strongly pro-choice	0	52	46	2

Table 144

Abortion Activism

Question: "Have you ever participated in a rally or demonstration concerned with abortion?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**3**	**95**	**2**
Gender			
Male	2	96	2
Female	4	95	2
Marital Status			
Single	3	93	3
Married (1st marriage)	3	95	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	2	95	3
Separated or divorced	2	97	1
Age			
18-29	3	94	2
30-44	4	95	2
45-59	3	96	1
60 +	1	97	2
Region			
East	3	95	2
Midwest	3	96	2
South	3	95	2
West	3	96	2
Place of Residence			
Open Country	2	93	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2	97	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2	98	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	4	94	2
Large City (250,000+)	4	94	2
Education			
Less than High School	1	98	1
High School Graduate	2	95	3
Some College	4	94	3
College Graduate	6	94	0
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	3	96	1
Mainline Protestant	2	96	2
Orthodox Catholic	4	94	2
Progressive Catholic	3	95	2
Secularist	2	96	1
Political Party			
Republican	3	96	1
Democrat	3	94	2
Independent	2	96	1
Registered Voter			
Yes	3	95	2
No	2	96	2
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	5	94	1
Moderately pro-life	3	97	1
Neutral	0	96	3
Moderately pro-choice	2	97	1
Strongly pro-choice	4	95	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	5	94	0
No change	3	96	2
Closer to pro-choice	2	96	2

Table 145

Abortion's Electoral Impact

Question: "If you agreed with a candidate for political office on most other issues, but disagreed with their stand on abortion, would you still vote for that candidate?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**40**	**42**	**18**
Gender			
Male	47	37	16
Female	34	46	20
Marital Status			
Single	34	45	21
Married (1st marriage)	41	41	17
Married (2nd+ marriage)	44	38	18
Separated or divorced	41	38	21
Age			
18-29	33	47	20
30-44	42	39	18
45-59	44	37	19
60 +	41	43	15
Region			
East	39	42	19
Midwest	44	39	17
South	34	48	19
West	46	35	18
Place of Residence			
Open Country	43	40	18
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	36	47	16
Small City (25,000-49,999)	41	40	19
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	47	33	20
Large City (250,000+)	35	45	20
Education			
Less than High School	33	50	17
High School Graduate	42	39	20
Some College	40	42	19
College Graduate	48	36	16
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	36	49	15
Mainline Protestant	48	34	19
Orthodox Catholic	38	44	19
Progressive Catholic	43	38	19
Secularist	36	45	20
Political Party			
Republican	44	41	16
Democrat	39	42	20
Independent	41	41	18
Registered Voter			
Yes	42	41	17
No	35	44	21
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	27	60	13
Moderately pro-life	48	34	17
Neutral	45	31	24
Moderately pro-choice	56	27	17
Strongly pro-choice	34	49	17
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	32	53	15
No change	44	39	17
Closer to pro-choice	46	40	15

Table 146

Pro-life Rationales: All Human Life Should Be Protected

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: All human life, including that of the unborn, should be protected."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**49**	**26**	**15**	**6**	**4**
Gender					
Male	46	28	16	6	4
Female	52	24	14	7	4
Marital Status					
Single	46	24	18	7	5
Married (1st marriage)	51	26	14	6	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	44	25	19	8	4
Separated or divorced	42	30	14	8	6
Age					
18-29	49	27	15	5	4
30-44	46	28	16	6	4
45-59	50	23	16	8	4
60 +	52	25	13	6	4
Region					
East	45	28	16	8	3
Midwest	47	26	16	8	3
South	59	24	10	3	4
West	41	26	23	7	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	50	27	14	5	4
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	53	27	13	6	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	42	35	17	4	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	49	21	18	6	7
Large City (250,000+)	49	20	16	10	4
Education					
Less than High School	62	22	8	4	4
High School Graduate	54	26	13	5	3
Some College	44	27	18	6	4
College Graduate	33	29	24	12	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	67	21	6	3	3
Mainline Protestant	37	32	22	6	3
Orthodox Catholic	69	18	8	1	5
Progressive Catholic	45	31	14	6	4
Secularist	19	20	41	16	4
Political Party					
Republican	50	26	16	5	2
Democrat	51	25	14	6	4
Independent	46	25	17	7	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	48	26	16	7	3
No	54	26	13	3	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	86	10	2	1	2
Moderately pro-life	58	34	6	1	1
Neutral	43	35	13	3	6
Moderately pro-choice	23	36	31	7	2
Strongly pro-choice	16	22	35	23	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	82	15	2	1	1
No change	48	26	17	7	3
Closer to pro-choice	24	34	26	11	4

Table 147

Pro-life Rationales: Abortion Is Murder

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Human life begins at conception; therefore, abortion is murder."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**42**	**16**	**19**	**18**	**5**
Gender					
Male	38	16	23	19	4
Female	46	16	16	18	5
Marital Status					
Single	40	15	21	19	4
Married (1st marriage)	43	17	19	17	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	36	18	19	23	4
Separated or divorced	32	18	20	25	5
Age					
18-29	44	16	19	17	4
30-44	36	19	20	20	4
45-59	44	14	19	20	4
60 +	47	13	18	17	6
Region					
East	35	17	23	20	5
Midwest	42	16	20	18	4
South	54	16	15	11	5
West	33	14	21	28	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	42	16	18	18	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	45	16	19	17	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	37	16	26	17	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	42	14	22	18	5
Large City (250,000+)	41	16	13	24	6
Education					
Less than High School	56	16	13	10	4
High School Graduate	46	17	19	14	5
Some College	38	15	21	20	6
College Graduate	25	16	24	34	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	60	16	10	9	4
Mainline Protestant	29	16	28	24	4
Orthodox Catholic	64	16	11	4	6
Progressive Catholic	33	20	24	18	5
Secularist	13	11	21	50	5
Political Party					
Republican	43	16	22	16	3
Democrat	44	16	16	19	5
Independent	36	15	21	23	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	41	16	19	20	4
No	46	15	21	13	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	82	10	3	2	2
Moderately pro-life	44	27	20	4	4
Neutral	33	24	21	12	10
Moderately pro-choice	17	13	39	29	2
Strongly pro-choice	11	6	23	59	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	72	18	7	2	1
No change	42	14	20	20	4
Closer to pro-choice	16	17	30	34	3

Table 150

Pro-life Rationales: Abortion Promotes A Disregard For Human Life

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Abortion promotes a general disregard for the value of human life."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**38**	**25**	**20**	**14**	**4**
Gender					
Male	35	27	22	13	3
Female	40	23	18	14	4
Marital Status					
Single	33	26	18	18	4
Married (1st marriage)	40	25	21	12	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	39	16	21	19	4
Separated or divorced	30	26	24	16	5
Age					
18-29	36	29	19	13	3
30-44	34	23	22	16	4
45-59	41	24	19	12	4
60 +	44	22	19	11	4
Region					
East	37	25	18	17	3
Midwest	33	26	26	11	4
South	45	27	13	10	5
West	35	18	24	19	3
Place of Residence					
Open Country	40	23	18	11	6
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	42	25	19	13	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	27	29	27	16	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	37	24	22	10	6
Large City (250,000+)	38	23	15	20	4
Education					
Less than High School	47	29	12	6	6
High School Graduate	43	23	18	12	4
Some College	33	24	22	17	4
College Graduate	25	24	30	20	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	52	26	12	6	4
Mainline Protestant	26	27	27	16	4
Orthodox Catholic	58	20	13	4	5
Progressive Catholic	32	28	20	16	4
Secularist	16	12	35	34	3
Political Party					
Republican	39	26	20	13	3
Democrat	41	24	18	13	4
Independent	32	23	24	16	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	38	25	20	15	3
No	40	25	20	10	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	74	18	3	2	2
Moderately pro-life	43	35	17	3	2
Neutral	31	31	20	9	8
Moderately pro-choice	13	29	36	19	2
Strongly pro-choice	12	9	34	44	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	66	23	6	2	2
No change	37	24	22	14	3
Closer to pro-choice	17	25	31	26	2

Table 149

Pro-life Rationales: Abortion Encourages Men To Exploit Women

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Abortion hurts women by enabling men to take advantage of them, knowing that abortion is an easy way out of their responsibility to care for the mother and child."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**27**	**21**	**25**	**23**	**5**
Gender					
Male	25	22	27	22	4
Female	29	19	24	23	5
Marital Status					
Single	23	21	24	27	4
Married (1st marriage)	28	20	27	21	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	25	24	22	26	3
Separated or divorced	25	17	26	24	7
Age					
18-29	28	23	21	24	5
30-44	24	19	28	25	4
45-59	27	23	24	21	4
60 +	30	19	25	20	6
Region					
East	28	19	25	25	3
Midwest	21	22	27	25	5
South	33	23	24	15	6
West	22	18	24	29	6
Place of Residence					
Open Country	28	20	22	23	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	29	20	29	20	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	20	20	31	26	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	27	24	21	20	8
Large City (250,000+)	26	20	21	28	4
Education					
Less than High School	36	22	20	14	8
High School Graduate	32	22	22	19	5
Some College	20	22	28	26	5
College Graduate	14	16	32	36	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	35	22	22	16	4
Mainline Protestant	19	21	29	26	6
Orthodox Catholic	39	23	24	9	6
Progressive Catholic	24	23	26	23	4
Secularist	13	8	24	49	5
Political Party					
Republican	23	23	28	22	3
Democrat	32	21	22	20	5
Independent	22	17	26	28	6
Registered Voter					
Yes	25	21	26	24	4
No	32	21	20	20	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	47	23	17	10	4
Moderately pro-life	28	26	32	12	2
Neutral	26	24	25	15	10
Moderately pro-choice	11	17	36	34	3
Strongly pro-choice	10	11	22	55	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	42	23	22	12	2
No change	25	20	27	24	4
Closer to pro-choice	15	20	28	35	2

Table 148

Pro-life Rationales: Every Unborn Child Has A Right To Life

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Every unborn child has a basic right to life."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**50**	**24**	**14**	**8**	**4**
Gender					
Male	46	26	16	8	4
Female	53	23	12	8	4
Marital Status					
Single	46	26	16	8	4
Married (1st marriage)	52	24	13	8	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	47	22	14	12	6
Separated or divorced	42	24	17	9	7
Age					
18-29	50	26	16	6	3
30-44	47	27	14	7	5
45-59	49	20	16	11	4
60 +	53	23	11	10	3
Region					
East	46	26	14	9	5
Midwest	47	26	14	9	3
South	59	22	11	5	4
West	43	22	19	12	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	52	22	14	7	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	54	26	10	8	2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	41	31	20	6	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	47	23	18	7	6
Large City (250,000+)	50	20	12	14	4
Education					
Less than High School	64	20	7	4	4
High School Graduate	55	25	10	7	4
Some College	44	25	18	9	5
College Graduate	31	26	25	15	3
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	66	22	5	4	3
Mainline Protestant	36	28	23	10	3
Orthodox Catholic	71	16	6	1	6
Progressive Catholic	46	30	13	8	3
Secularist	24	15	30	26	6
Political Party					
Republican	50	24	15	8	3
Democrat	51	24	12	9	4
Independent	46	24	16	9	5
Registered Voter					
Yes	48	25	15	10	3
No	56	23	11	4	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	87	7	2	2	2
Moderately pro-life	58	30	8	1	4
Neutral	46	33	12	4	6
Moderately pro-choice	21	38	28	11	2
Strongly pro-choice	14	22	29	30	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	81	14	2	2	1
No change	49	24	16	8	3
Closer to pro-choice	22	34	25	16	3

Table 151

Pro-life Rationales: Abortion Leaves Women With Emotional Scars

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Abortion leaves women with a burden of guilt and emotional scars that are very difficult to heal."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**39**	**31**	**16**	**9**	**6**
Gender					
Male	36	32	17	8	6
Female	42	29	14	10	5
Marital Status					
Single	34	27	18	14	7
Married (1st marriage)	40	32	16	7	4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	35	35	13	12	5
Separated or divorced	37	30	17	9	8
Age					
18-29	38	31	16	9	6
30-44	34	33	18	10	5
45-59	42	29	14	8	6
60 +	44	28	14	8	6
Region					
East	40	32	15	8	4
Midwest	33	33	21	7	6
South	48	29	11	5	6
West	31	28	16	17	7
Place of Residence					
Open Country	39	32	16	6	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	42	32	16	7	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	36	32	16	12	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	41	26	17	7	9
Large City (250,000+)	36	30	14	15	5
Education					
Less than High School	53	25	9	5	7
High School Graduate	43	31	14	7	5
Some College	34	32	18	10	6
College Graduate	23	36	24	14	4
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	56	29	8	4	4
Mainline Protestant	28	34	21	11	7
Orthodox Catholic	53	30	8	2	6
Progressive Catholic	35	35	16	9	5
Secularist	16	20	32	27	4
Political Party					
Republican	40	33	17	6	4
Democrat	43	27	14	10	6
Independent	32	33	17	11	7
Registered Voter					
Yes	38	31	16	10	5
No	44	30	14	6	6
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	70	20	4	2	3
Moderately pro-life	43	36	12	3	5
Neutral	36	36	15	5	8
Moderately pro-choice	17	40	30	8	5
Strongly pro-choice	12	25	26	31	5
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	62	26	6	2	4
No change	39	30	18	9	4
Closer to pro-choice	20	36	22	16	5

Table 152

Pro-life Rationales: Adoption Is Less Painful

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Adoption would be a less emotionally painful option for most women than abortion."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**32**	**30**	**21**	**12**	**6**
Gender					
Male	28	35	22	8	6
Female	35	25	20	15	5
Marital Status					
Single	29	27	22	16	5
Married (1st marriage)	32	30	23	10	5
Married (2nd+ marriage)	36	30	17	13	4
Separated or divorced	28	28	24	16	5
Age					
18-29	31	30	21	14	5
30-44	30	30	22	13	5
45-59	32	28	23	10	6
60 +	35	30	18	10	6
Region					
East	27	31	22	14	5
Midwest	29	31	23	11	6
South	39	29	16	9	7
West	30	26	24	16	4
Place of Residence					
Open Country	33	29	20	10	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	34	30	21	12	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	26	34	23	10	6
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	32	29	22	11	6
Large City (250,000+)	30	28	20	15	6
Education					
Less than High School	44	27	12	9	8
High School Graduate	36	31	20	9	5
Some College	25	32	23	15	5
College Graduate	22	26	31	16	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	42	29	14	9	6
Mainline Protestant	25	32	25	12	6
Orthodox Catholic	41	33	17	5	4
Progressive Catholic	27	34	19	14	6
Secularist	15	16	42	24	4
Political Party					
Republican	31	32	23	10	4
Democrat	35	28	18	13	6
Independent	27	30	24	13	6
Registered Voter					
Yes	31	29	22	12	5
No	35	31	16	10	8
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	54	25	9	8	4
Moderately pro-life	35	37	19	6	3
Neutral	29	40	14	8	9
Moderately pro-choice	20	29	38	9	4
Strongly pro-choice	10	17	38	32	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	49	30	11	6	4
No change	32	30	22	12	4
Closer to pro-choice	20	26	34	17	4

Table 153

Pro-life Rationales: Abortion Devalues The Significance Of Pregnancy

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: A pregnancy's significance is devalued by society's casual, permissive outlook on abortion."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**20**	**33**	**26**	**13**	**9**
Gender					
Male	18	35	29	10	8
Female	21	31	24	15	10
Marital Status					
Single	14	33	31	14	8
Married (1st marriage)	21	34	26	11	8
Married (2nd+ marriage)	25	24	28	14	8
Separated or divorced	17	32	25	17	9
Age					
18-29	17	36	29	10	8
30-44	21	30	28	14	7
45-59	20	33	23	13	10
60 +	22	32	23	12	11
Region					
East	20	34	26	14	7
Midwest	17	29	33	12	10
South	22	35	22	9	11
West	20	31	24	18	7
Place of Residence					
Open Country	18	30	29	11	12
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	22	35	25	11	7
Small City (25,000-49,999)	16	38	28	14	5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	22	27	28	12	11
Large City (250,000+)	21	33	20	16	9
Education					
Less than High School	25	32	20	9	15
High School Graduate	21	36	24	10	9
Some College	17	32	29	15	7
College Graduate	17	30	32	16	5
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	28	35	17	7	12
Mainline Protestant	14	31	34	14	7
Orthodox Catholic	25	36	22	7	9
Progressive Catholic	16	38	23	14	8
Secularist	8	16	45	27	5
Political Party					
Republican	22	36	26	10	8
Democrat	22	29	26	14	9
Independent	16	32	28	15	8
Registered Voter					
Yes	20	32	27	13	8
No	21	34	24	10	11
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	40	32	12	8	9
Moderately pro-life	24	41	23	5	8
Neutral	14	38	27	8	13
Moderately pro-choice	6	36	40	13	5
Strongly pro-choice	6	16	40	34	4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	37	36	14	5	8
No change	20	32	27	14	7
Closer to pro-choice	8	33	38	17	4

Table 154

Pro-life Rationales: Abortion Is An Easy Way Out

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: While abortion is sometimes necessary, it is used too frequently as an easy way out."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**42**	**31**	**15**	**8**	**4**
Gender					
Male	40	31	17	9	3
Female	44	31	12	8	4
Marital Status					
Single	36	33	16	12	3
Married (1st marriage)	42	34	14	7	3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	43	26	15	12	3
Separated or divorced	43	28	16	8	5
Age					
18-29	43	32	14	8	4
30-44	40	32	15	9	4
45-59	47	28	16	8	2
60 +	41	32	14	8	4
Region					
East	40	35	12	10	2
Midwest	39	31	17	7	6
South	48	27	14	7	4
West	39	33	15	10	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	40	30	17	8	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	44	33	13	8	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	34	41	14	9	3
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	43	29	15	8	5
Large City (250,000+)	46	25	14	10	4
Education					
Less than High School	48	29	12	6	5
High School Graduate	48	28	12	8	4
Some College	38	36	15	9	3
College Graduate	31	33	22	11	2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	54	29	8	5	4
Mainline Protestant	35	33	20	9	3
Orthodox Catholic	52	29	9	6	4
Progressive Catholic	38	35	14	9	4
Secularist	18	29	36	14	3
Political Party					
Republican	43	33	14	7	3
Democrat	42	31	14	9	4
Independent	40	31	16	9	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	41	32	15	8	3
No	46	29	13	8	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	64	22	5	7	3
Moderately pro-life	54	32	9	2	3
Neutral	40	33	14	6	7
Moderately pro-choice	26	46	22	5	1
Strongly pro-choice	14	32	30	23	1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	61	25	6	6	2
No change	44	30	14	9	3
Closer to pro-choice	25	41	23	9	2

Table 155

Pro-life Rationales: It Is Wrong To Use Abortion As Birth Control

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: It is wrong to use abortion as a form of birth control or sex selection."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**64**	**18**	**9**	**6**	**3**
Gender					
Male	62	21	8	7	2
Female	66	16	9	6	4
Marital Status					
Single	61	17	10	9	3
Married (1st marriage)	66	19	8	6	2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	63	17	10	6	4
Separated or divorced	60	19	8	9	3
Age					
18-29	67	18	8	4	3
30-44	64	19	8	6	2
45-59	65	17	8	7	3
60 +	61	17	10	8	3
Region					
East	65	18	8	8	2
Midwest	60	21	10	6	4
South	66	17	8	6	3
West	65	17	8	7	2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	65	15	10	5	5
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	66	18	10	6	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	62	24	8	5	1
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	64	20	7	7	2
Large City (250,000+)	62	16	8	9	5
Education					
Less than High School	66	14	9	6	4
High School Graduate	68	15	9	6	2
Some College	64	18	9	6	3
College Graduate	54	28	8	9	1
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	75	12	6	4	2
Mainline Protestant	56	23	11	7	3
Orthodox Catholic	76	9	7	6	2
Progressive Catholic	64	21	8	4	2
Secularist	40	25	16	14	6
Political Party					
Republican	66	19	8	5	2
Democrat	63	18	9	7	3
Independent	63	18	8	7	4
Registered Voter					
Yes	64	19	8	7	2
No	64	17	10	5	4
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	82	7	3	6	2
Moderately pro-life	74	15	8	2	1
Neutral	60	20	10	6	5
Moderately pro-choice	57	24	13	6	1
Strongly pro-choice	41	30	13	14	2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	78	10	5	5	2
No change	65	17	9	6	2
Closer to pro-choice	54	27	9	8	2

Table 156

Pro-life Rationales: A Compromise Is Needed

Question: "Please tell me how convincing this is as a reason for limiting legal access to abortion: Some limitations on abortion are justified because there has to be a compromise between a woman's right to choose and the rights of her unborn child."

	Very Convincing %	Fairly Concincing %	Not very Convincing %	Not at all Convincing %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**25**	**36**	**19**	**13**	**6**
Gender					
Male	24	39	19	13	6
Female	26	34	19	14	6
Marital Status					
Single	21	38	21	14	6
Married (1st marriage)	26	36	18	13	6
Married (2nd+ marriage)	26	33	21	13	7
Separated or divorced	25	36	21	13	5
Age					
18-29	25	39	22	10	5
30-44	23	41	18	13	6
45-59	30	32	18	14	7
60 +	25	32	20	16	8
Region					
East	25	36	19	14	6
Midwest	23	38	19	13	7
South	30	33	18	12	7
West	20	41	21	14	5
Place of Residence					
Open Country	23	35	19	13	10
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	27	39	19	12	3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	26	43	19	8	4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	21	37	20	14	7
Large City (250,000+)	27	29	18	19	7
Education					
Less than High School	26	32	18	14	10
High School Graduate	27	38	17	12	6
Some College	24	40	20	11	6
College Graduate	22	36	22	17	3
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	30	30	19	14	7
Mainline Protestant	23	41	19	11	6
Orthodox Catholic	32	29	18	16	5
Progressive Catholic	24	45	18	8	6
Secularist	14	32	31	18	6
Political Party					
Republican	27	36	21	11	5
Democrat	25	35	19	14	7
Independent	24	39	16	15	7
Registered Voter					
Yes	24	37	19	14	6
No	28	34	19	11	7
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	28	22	20	23	7
Moderately pro-life	30	43	17	5	5
Neutral	26	42	16	7	9
Moderately pro-choice	24	51	19	4	2
Strongly pro-choice	17	34	24	22	3
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	33	26	20	16	5
No change	25	36	19	14	6
Closer to pro-choice	22	46	18	10	3

Table 157

The Impact Of Images

Question: "Different words and images generate different feelings in people. On a scale where +5 indicates a very positive feeling, 0 a neutral feeling, and -5 a very negative feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases."

	Numeric means for each phrase			
	Family	Motherhood	The American Flag	Government
TOTAL	**4.4**	**4.0**	**3.8**	**1.2**
Gender				
Male	4.3	3.8	3.8	1.3
Female	4.4	4.2	3.8	1.1
Marital Status				
Single	4.0	3.6	3.3	1.2
Married (1st marriage)	4.5	4.1	3.9	1.3
Married (2nd+ marriage)	4.5	4.2	3.9	.7
Separated or divorced	4.2	3.6	3.6	1.0
Age				
18-29	4.2	3.8	3.5	1.1
30-44	4.4	4.0	3.6	1.0
45-59	4.5	4.0	4.0	1.1
60 +	4.4	4.1	4.2	1.6
Region				
East	4.4	4.0	3.8	1.4
Midwest	4.4	4.0	3.7	1.0
South	4.3	3.9	3.9	1.3
West	4.4	4.0	3.6	1.1
Place of Residence				
Open Country	4.4	3.9	3.8	1.1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	4.4	4.0	3.8	1.2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	4.4	4.0	3.9	1.2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	4.5	3.9	3.8	1.1
Large City (250,000+)	4.3	3.8	3.6	1.4
Education				
Less than High School	4.3	3.9	4.0	1.4
High School Graduate	4.5	4.1	4.0	1.2
Some College	4.4	4.0	3.8	1.1
College Graduate	4.3	3.9	3.3	1.0
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	4.6	4.2	4.1	1.4
Mainline Protestant	4.2	3.7	3.7	.8
Orthodox Catholic	4.8	4.4	4.3	1.9
Progressive Catholic	4.4	4.0	3.9	1.4
Secularist	3.9	3.4	2.8	.3
Political Party				
Republican	4.5	4.0	4.0	1.2
Democrat	4.4	4.0	3.7	1.4
Independent	4.3	3.9	3.7	1.0
Registered Voter				
Yes	4.4	4.0	3.8	1.2
No	4.4	4.0	3.7	1.2
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	4.6	4.4	4.1	1.5
Moderately pro-life	4.5	3.9	3.8	1.3
Neutral	4.2	3.6	3.7	1.1
Moderately pro-choice	4.3	3.8	3.7	1.0
Strongly pro-choice	4.1	3.8	3.4	.8
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	4.7	4.4	4.1	1.6
No change	4.4	3.9	3.8	1.1
Closer to pro-choice	4.4	4.0	3.6	1.0

Table 157b

The Impact Of Images

Question: "Different words and images generate different feelings in people. On a scale where +5 indicates a very positive feeling, 0 a neutral feeling, and -5 a very negative feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases."

	Numeric means for each phrase			
	Progressive	Tolerant	Judgment	Tradition
TOTAL	**2.5**	**2.4**	**2.0**	**2.4**
Gender				
Male	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.3
Female	2.5	2.6	1.8	2.4
Marital Status				
Single	2.5	2.2	2.1	2.1
Married (1st marriage)	2.5	2.5	1.9	2.4
Married (2nd+ marriage)	2.6	2.6	2.1	2.6
Separated or divorced	2.7	2.6	1.8	2.1
Age				
18-29	2.4	2.0	1.8	2.2
30-44	2.5	2.5	1.9	2.3
45-59	2.4	2.6	2.0	2.5
60 +	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.4
Region				
East	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.6
Midwest	2.6	2.4	2.0	2.3
South	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.3
West	2.5	2.6	1.8	2.3
Place of Residence				
Open Country	2.3	2.2	1.8	2.3
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2.5	2.4	1.9	2.3
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2.6	2.6	2.1	2.4
Large City (250,000+)	2.6	2.7	2.0	2.4
Education				
Less than High School	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.4
High School Graduate	2.5	2.5	2.1	2.4
Some College	2.6	2.5	1.9	2.3
College Graduate	2.6	2.9	1.8	2.3
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.5
Mainline Protestant	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.1
Orthodox Catholic	2.7	2.6	2.4	3.0
Progressive Catholic	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.5
Secularist	2.6	2.6	1.9	1.8
Political Party				
Republican	2.3	2.4	2.1	2.6
Democrat	2.7	2.5	2.0	2.3
Independent	2.5	2.4	2.0	2.3
Registered Voter				
Yes	2.5	2.5	2.0	2.4
No	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.3
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	2.3	2.5	2.0	2.5
Moderately pro-life	2.6	2.5	2.1	2.4
Neutral	2.3	2.1	1.9	2.3
Moderately pro-choice	2.5	2.7	2.0	2.5
Strongly pro-choice	2.7	2.7	1.8	2.2
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.8
No change	2.5	2.4	2.0	2.3
Closer to pro-choice	2.7	2.8	1.9	2.3

Table 157c

The Impact Of Images

Question: "Different words and images generate different feelings in people. On a scale where +5 indicates a very positive feeling, 0 a neutral feeling, and -5 a very negative feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases."

	Numeric means for each phrase			
	Individual Rights	Self-fulfillment	Therapy	Community
TOTAL	**3.3**	**3.1**	**2.0**	**2.7**
Gender				
Male	3.3	3.1	1.9	2.7
Female	3.2	3.1	2.1	2.8
Marital Status				
Single	3.5	3.2	2.0	2.7
Married (1st marriage)	3.2	3.1	2.0	2.8
Married (2nd+ marriage)	3.3	3.2	2.0	2.7
Separated or divorced	3.5	3.2	2.0	2.6
Age				
18-29	3.4	3.0	1.8	2.6
30-44	3.2	3.0	1.9	2.7
45-59	3.3	3.2	2.1	2.8
60 +	3.3	3.2	2.1	2.9
Region				
East	3.4	3.2	2.0	2.7
Midwest	3.3	3.3	2.0	2.8
South	3.1	3.8	2.0	2.7
West	3.4	3.2	2.0	2.8
Place of Residence				
Open Country	3.1	3.0	1.8	2.8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	3.3	3.1	2.1	2.7
Small City (25,000-49,999)	3.4	3.0	1.4	2.5
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	3.4	3.1	2.2	2.9
Large City (250,000+)	3.3	3.2	2.2	2.8
Education				
Less than High School	3.4	3.0	2.0	2.6
High School Graduate	3.4	3.2	2.0	2.7
Some College	3.2	3.1	2.1	2.8
College Graduate	3.1	3.0	1.8	3.0
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	3.0	2.8	2.0	2.8
Mainline Protestant	3.2	3.0	1.9	2.7
Orthodox Catholic	3.6	3.5	2.2	3.2
Progressive Catholic	3.5	3.2	2.0	2.7
Secularist	3.7	3.5	1.9	2.6
Political Party				
Republican	3.0	3.0	1.7	2.6
Democrat	3.5	3.2	2.3	3.0
Independent	3.3	3.1	1.9	2.6
Registered Voter				
Yes	3.3	3.2	2.1	2.9
No	3.3	2.8	1.7	2.4
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	2.9	2.8	2.1	3.0
Moderately pro-life	3.3	3.1	1.9	2.7
Neutral	3.0	3.0	1.7	2.3
Moderately pro-choice	3.5	3.3	1.9	2.8
Strongly pro-choice	3.9	3.3	2.3	2.9
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	3.1	3.0	2.1	2.8
No change	3.2	3.1	1.8	2.7
Closer to pro-choice	3.6	3.3	2.4	3.0

Table 157d

The Impact Of Images

Question: "Different words and images generate different feelings in people. On a scale where +5 indicates a very positive feeling, 0 a neutral feeling, and -5 a very negative feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases."

	Numeric means for each phrase				
	Worldly	Fashionable	Career	Intellectual	Physical Fitness
TOTAL	**1.3**	**1.0**	**2.6**	**2.5**	**3.1**
Gender					
Male	1.4	.9	2.8	2.3	3.2
Female	1.2	1.1	2.5	2.6	3.0
Marital Status					
Single	1.6	1.4	3.0	2.6	3.2
Married (1st marriage)	1.2	.9	2.6	2.5	3.1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	1.4	.9	2.4	2.5	3.1
Separated or divorced	1.5	1.2	2.8	2.4	3.0
Age					
18-29	1.4	1.3	3.0	2.3	3.0
30-44	1.3	1.0	2.7	2.6	3.1
45-59	1.2	.9	2.6	2.3	3.1
60 +	1.4	.9	2.3	2.5	3.1
Region					
East	1.8	1.2	2.6	2.7	3.2
Midwest	1.3	1.1	2.7	2.4	3.0
South	.9	.9	2.7	2.3	2.9
West	1.4	.9	2.6	2.6	3.2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	1.1	.7	2.5	2.1	3.0
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	1.2	1.0	2.8	2.4	3.2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	1.4	1.0	2.4	2.4	2.9
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	1.5	1.1	2.7	2.7	3.3
Large City (250,000+)	1.6	1.4	2.7	2.8	3.1
Education					
Less than High School	1.2	1.0	2.5	2.0	3.0
High School Graduate	1.2	1.1	2.5	2.3	3.1
Some College	1.5	1.4	2.8	2.7	3.1
College Graduate	1.5	.7	2.8	2.9	3.2
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	.5	.8	2.4	2.3	3.1
Mainline Protestant	1.3	.9	2.8	2.2	2.9
Orthodox Catholic	1.7	1.3	2.9	2.9	3.4
Progressive Catholic	2.0	1.4	2.9	2.7	3.3
Secularist	2.0	.6	2.6	2.5	2.9
Political Party					
Republican	1.2	1.0	2.5	2.4	3.1
Democrat	1.5	1.2	2.8	2.6	3.1
Independent	1.3	.8	2.7	2.4	3.1
Registered Voter					
Yes	1.3	1.0	2.7	2.6	3.1
No	1.4	1.0	2.6	2.2	2.9
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	.7	.9	2.3	2.5	3.1
Moderately pro-life	1.2	1.2	2.9	2.5	3.2
Neutral	1.3	1.2	2.5	2.1	2.8
Moderately pro-choice	1.7	1.0	2.8	2.8	3.2
Strongly pro-choice	2.1	.8	2.9	2.7	3.1
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	1.1	1.2	2.6	2.6	3.3
No change	1.3	.9	2.7	2.4	3.1
Closer to pro-choice	1.7	1.1	2.9	2.8	3.2

Table 157e

The Impact Of Images

Question: "Different words and images generate different feelings in people. On a scale where +5 indicates a very positive feeling, 0 a neutral feeling, and -5 a very negative feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases."

	Numeric means for each phrase				
	Reproductive Rights	Abortion on Demand	Feminism	Right to Die	Holocaust
TOTAL	**2.2**	**-1.5**	**1.2**	**1.7**	**-2.1**
Gender					
Male	2.0	-1.7	.8	1.6	-2.0
Female	2.3	-1.4	1.5	1.8	-2.2
Marital Status					
Single	2.3	-1.2	1.4	1.3	-2.4
Married (1st marriage)	2.2	-1.7	1.0	1.8	-2.2
Married (2nd+ marriage)	2.2	-1.3	1.5	1.9	-1.7
Separated or divorced	2.2	-1.3	1.3	2.0	-1.7
Age					
18-29	2.2	-1.2	1.1	1.5	-2.1
30-44	2.2	-1.5	1.1	1.6	-2.2
45-59	2.3	-1.7	1.2	2.1	-2.1
60 +	2.0	-1.8	1.2	1.9	-1.9
Region					
East	2.4	-1.2	1.3	2.0	-2.1
Midwest	2.0	-1.7	1.0	1.7	-2.3
South	2.2	-1.9	1.0	1.5	-1.8
West	2.1	-1.1	1.4	1.8	-2.2
Place of Residence					
Open Country	2.0	-1.8	1.1	2.1	-1.9
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	2.2	-1.8	1.1	1.8	-2.2
Small City (25,000-49,999)	2.3	-1.3	.8	1.7	-2.4
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	2.0	-1.8	1.1	1.4	-2.3
Large City (250,000+)	2.3	-.7	1.6	1.6	-1.6
Education					
Less than High School	2.2	-1.7	1.2	1.5	-1.8
High School Graduate	2.1	-1.8	1.1	1.6	-1.8
Some College	2.4	-1.3	1.4	2.0	-2.1
College Graduate	1.9	-1.2	1.0	1.9	-3.0
Religion					
Evangelical Protestant	2.0	-2.7	.6	1.1	-2.3
Mainline Protestant	2.2	-.9	1.3	2.0	-2.0
Orthodox Catholic	2.5	-2.8	1.4	1.5	-2.1
Progressive Catholic	2.4	-1.1	1.5	1.8	-1.9
Secularist	2.1	.2	1.4	2.5	-2.7
Political Party					
Republican	2.0	-1.9	.7	1.6	-2.2
Democrat	2.4	-1.4	1.6	1.8	-2.1
Independent	2.2	-1.2	1.2	1.8	-2.0
Registered Voter					
Yes	2.2	-1.6	1.1	1.8	-2.3
No	2.1	-1.3	1.4	1.6	-1.5
Self-Identification					
Strongly pro-life	2.0	-3.5	.5	.8	-2.5
Moderately pro-life	1.9	-2.4	.9	1.3	-2.0
Neutral	1.8	-1.0	1.2	1.7	-1.3
Moderately pro-choice	2.2	-1.0	1.3	2.2	-2.6
Strongly pro-choice	3.1	1.0	2.1	3.1	-2.4
Drifted on Abortion Issue?					
Closer to pro-life	2.2	-3.4	.7	.9	-2.2
No change	2.1	-1.6	1.1	1.8	-2.2
Closer to pro-choice	2.7	-.2	1.8	2.5	-2.4

Table 157f

The Impact Of Images

Question: "Different words and images generate different feelings in people. On a scale where +5 indicates a very positive feeling, 0 a neutral feeling, and -5 a very negative feeling, please rate your initial response to each of the following phrases."

	Numeric means for each phrase			
	Jimmy Carter	Ronald Reagan	Jesse Jackson	Robert Bork
TOTAL	**.7**	**.6**	**-.2**	**-.1**
Gender				
Male	.6	.7	-.4	0
Female	.7	.4	.1	-.2
Marital Status				
Single	.7	.1	.4	-.2
Married (1st marriage)	.7	.8	-.3	0
Married (2nd+ marriage)	.2	.2	-.3	-.2
Separated or divorced	.6	.3	0	-.3
Age				
18-29	.4	.6	.2	-.3
30-44	.6	.6	.1	-.2
45-59	.8	.6	-.4	0
60 +	1.0	.5	-.7	0
Region				
East	.8	.7	-.4	-.1
Midwest	.4	.2	-.2	-.3
South	.8	.9	-.1	0
West	.5	.3	0	-.2
Place of Residence				
Open Country	.4	.7	-.5	-.1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	.4	.8	-.5	-.1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	.4	.8	-.4	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	.8	.4	.4	-.1
Large City (250,000+)	1.3	.2	.4	-.3
Education				
Less than High School	1.1	.6	.1	-.2
High School Graduate	.5	.8	-.2	-.2
Some College	.5	.5	-.2	-.1
College Graduate	.6	.3	-.2	0
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant	.6	.9	-.3	0
Mainline Protestant	.7	.4	-.1	-.1
Orthodox Catholic	1.1	.9	.2	-.2
Progressive Catholic	.6	.6	-.2	0
Secularist	.6	-.4	-.3	-.7
Political Party				
Republican	-.1	1.8	-.9	.6
Democrat	1.5	-.4	.4	-.6
Independent	.5	.4	-.2	-.2
Registered Voter				
Yes	.7	.5	-.1	-.1
No	.4	1.0	-.3	-.1
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life	.7	1.1	-.3	.2
Moderately pro-life	.6	.8	-.5	-.1
Neutral	.4	.4	-.1	-.2
Moderately pro-choice	.7	.4	0	0
Strongly pro-choice	.8	-.2	0	-.6
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life	.7	1.4	-.3	.2
No change	.5	.5	-.3	-.2
Closer to pro-choice	.9	.1	.2	-.2

Table 158

Political Orientation

Question: "Which one of the following best describes your overall political beliefs? Just call off the answer..."

	Far Left %	Very Liberal %	Somewhat Liberal %	Mod-erate %	Somewhat Conser-vative %	Very Conser-vative %	Far Right %	Don't Know %
TOTAL	**1**	**6**	**17**	**41**	**23**	**10**	**1**	**2**
Gender								
Male	1	7	16	38	24	11	2	1
Female	0	6	17	43	22	9	1	2
Marital Status								
Single	2	8	23	40	15	10	1	0
Married (1st marriage)	0	6	15	39	27	10	1	1
Married (2nd+ marriage)	0	7	19	43	19	9	1	2
Separated or divorced	1	8	21	46	16	5	1	2
Age								
18-29	1	8	19	40	20	9	1	1
30-44	1	7	19	41	22	7	1	2
45-59	0	4	18	41	23	12	1	1
60 +	0	6	10	41	26	14	1	1
Region								
East	0	7	20	41	22	9	0	1
Midwest	1	5	17	41	25	10	1	1
South	1	7	14	42	23	9	2	2
West	1	7	18	37	21	13	1	1
Place of Residence								
Open Country	0	5	14	32	26	10	1	2
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	0	6	17	41	22	11	2	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	0	6	19	38	23	11	1	2
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	1	5	17	44	21	10	1	2
Large City (250,000+)	2	10	20	39	22	6	0	1
Education								
Less than High School	1	6	11	46	20	11	2	3
High School Graduate	1	5	15	48	20	9	1	2
Some College	0	4	22	36	24	10	1	1
College Graduate	1	12	19	29	29	9	1	0
Religion								
Evangelical Protestant	0	4	9	38	28	18	2	2
Mainline Protestant	1	6	21	42	22	6	1	1
Orthodox Catholic	1	4	11	46	27	10	0	2
Progressive Catholic	1	7	22	44	19	6	1	1
Secularist	2	15	26	34	13	6	1	1
Political Party								
Republican	0	2	14	32	33	17	1	1
Democrat	0	9	21	43	18	7	1	1
Independent	1	9	16	47	19	6	1	1
Registered Voter								
Yes	0	7	16	40	24	11	1	1
No	1	5	19	44	19	7	1	3
Self-Identification								
Strongly pro-life	0	3	10	37	28	19	2	1
Moderately pro-life	0	4	14	33	28	9	0	1
Neutral	1	6	12	52	17	7	2	3
Moderately pro-choice	0	6	26	40	23	5	0	0
Strongly pro-choice	1	17	29	30	17	6	0	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?								
Closer to pro-life	0	4	10	36	34	15	1	0
No change	1	7	17	42	21	11	1	1
Closer to pro-choice	0	10	27	36	20	5	0	1

Table 159

Personal Exposure To Abortion

Question: "Do you know anyone who has had an abortion?"

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**51**	**48**	**0**
Gender			
Male	46	53	0
Female	56	43	1
Marital Status			
Single	59	41	0
Married (1st marriage)	49	51	0
Married (2nd+ marriage)	66	33	1
Separated or divorced	59	41	0
Age			
18-29	64	35	0
30-44	63	36	1
45-59	43	57	0
60 +	29	71	1
Region			
East	52	48	0
Midwest	51	49	1
South	46	54	0
West	61	39	0
Place of Residence			
Open Country	42	57	1
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	52	47	1
Small City (25,000-49,999)	52	48	0
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	56	44	0
Large City (250,000+)	57	43	0
Education			
Less than High School	30	70	0
High School Graduate	52	48	1
Some College	60	40	0
College Graduate	65	35	0
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	49	51	0
Mainline Protestant	51	49	0
Orthodox Catholic	42	56	2
Progressive Catholic	52	47	1
Secularist	74	26	0
Political Party			
Republican	53	46	1
Democrat	46	53	0
Independent	58	42	0
Registered Voter			
Yes	54	46	0
No	45	54	0
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	47	53	0
Moderately pro-life	51	49	1
Neutral	38	61	0
Moderately pro-choice	59	41	0
Strongly pro-choice	75	25	0
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	52	48	0
No change	51	49	0
Closer to pro-choice	64	36	0

Table 160

Was It Right?

Question: "In that particular case, do you think that it was the right or the wrong thing to do?" (asked only of those who know someone who has had an abortion)

	Right thing to do %	Wrong thing to do %	Don't know %
TOTAL	**46**	**43**	**10**
Gender			
Male	46	41	12
Female	46	45	9
Marital Status			
Single	52	39	9
Married (1st marriage)	41	50	9
Married (2nd+ marriage)	52	36	12
Separated or divorced	58	28	13
Age			
18-29	46	46	8
30-44	49	42	9
45-59	50	38	13
60 +	40	47	14
Region			
East	48	39	12
Midwest	41	50	9
South	42	49	9
West	56	34	10
Place of Residence			
Open Country	43	48	8
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	46	45	10
Small City (25,000-49,999)	46	38	16
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	47	46	6
Large City (250,000+)	51	38	12
Education			
Less than High School	27	65	8
High School Graduate	42	47	10
Some College	52	37	11
College Graduate	56	35	9
Religion			
Evangelical Protestant	28	62	10
Mainline Protestant	56	32	12
Orthodox Catholic	29	62	9
Progressive Catholic	49	40	11
Secularist	73	18	10
Political Party			
Republican	42	48	10
Democrat	49	42	9
Independent	49	39	12
Registered Voter			
Yes	48	42	10
No	42	50	9
Self-Identification			
Strongly pro-life	14	83	3
Moderately pro-life	23	62	14
Neutral	42	41	17
Moderately pro-choice	67	23	10
Strongly pro-choice	81	9	10
Drifted on Abortion Issue?			
Closer to pro-life	14	77	8
No change	48	43	9
Closer to pro-choice	70	21	9

Table 161

Have You Ever Personally Considered Abortion?

Question: "Have you, yourself, ever seriously considered having an abortion?" (asked only of female respondents)

	Yes %	No %
TOTAL	**16**	**84**
Gender		
Male		
Female	16	84
Marital Status		
Single	22	78
Married (1st marriage)	12	88
Married (2nd+ marriage)	24	76
Separated or divorced	34	66
Age		
18-29	19	81
30-44	24	76
45-59	13	87
60 +	5	95
Region		
East	15	85
Midwest	12	88
South	17	83
West	20	80
Place of Residence		
Open Country	12	88
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	16	84
Small City (25,000-49,999)	15	85
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	18	82
Large City (250,000+)	19	81
Education		
Less than High School	8	92
High School Graduate	15	85
Some College	22	78
College Graduate	19	81
Religion		
Evangelical Protestant	14	86
Mainline Protestant	21	79
Orthodox Catholic	4	96
Progressive Catholic	15	85
Secularist	33	67
Political Party		
Republican	15	85
Democrat	18	82
Independent	14	86
Registered Voter		
Yes	16	84
No	15	85
Self-Identification		
Strongly pro-life	8	92
Moderately pro-life	9	91
Neutral	16	84
Moderately pro-choice	22	78
Strongly pro-choice	31	69
Drifted on Abortion Issue?		
Closer to pro-life	8	92
No change	15	85
Closer to pro-choice	25	75

Table 162

The Forces Of Evil

Question: "Which of these statements best reflects your understanding of evil?"

	Evil is... Whatever limits self-expression & personal growth %	Whatever limits human progress & the advance of knowledge %	Whatever keeps people from living their own lives %	Whatever hurts someone or causes them to suffer %	Whatever goes against God's will and purpose %	DK %
TOTAL	**17**	**20**	**7**	**20**	**23**	**12**
Gender						
Male	16	22	8	21	22	11
Female	19	18	6	20	24	14
Marital Status						
Single	17	20	10	19	22	13
Married (1st marriage)	19	21	5	19	24	11
Married (2nd+ marriage)	18	22	6	22	13	20
Separated or divorced	10	21	10	22	23	13
Age						
18-29	14	23	8	20	22	12
30-44	19	23	7	21	20	11
45-59	16	18	8	22	22	15
60 +	19	15	6	20	28	12
Region						
East	10	24	7	24	19	16
Midwest	16	22	7	24	21	9
South	25	15	8	13	29	11
West	16	19	6	24	20	15
Place of Residence						
Open Country	17	16	5	21	27	13
Small/Large Town (<25,000)	21	19	7	18	25	11
Small City (25,000-49,999)	13	23	7	21	20	15
Medium City (50,000-249,999)	17	18	8	24	21	11
Large City (250,000+)	16	26	8	19	20	12
Education						
Less than High School	19	12	7	17	31	14
High School Graduate	18	19	8	20	24	11
Some College	18	22	7	19	21	13
College Graduate	14	27	6	26	15	12
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant	28	9	5	10	36	12
Mainline Protestant	12	28	5	24	18	13
Orthodox Catholic	22	8	6	21	27	15
Progressive Catholic	10	27	12	25	15	11
Secularist	10	25	11	34	9	11
Political Party						
Republican	18	19	6	19	23	14
Democrat	17	20	8	20	26	10
Independent	16	21	7	24	17	14
Registered Voter						
Yes	18	20	7	21	23	12
No	17	20	7	20	21	14
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life	28	13	3	13	34	9
Moderately pro-life	19	17	8	18	25	14
Neutral	13	20	13	20	21	14
Moderately pro-choice	12	27	5	30	15	11
Strongly pro-choice	8	29	8	27	14	14
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life	27	15	4	13	32	10
No change	17	21	6	21	21	14
Closer to pro-choice	13	25	9	28	16	9

Table 163

Abclus

Question: "Which of the following would you say best describes your general outlook on the abortion issue -- pro-life or pro-choice?"

	Strongly Pro-life %	Moderately Pro-life %	Neutral %	Moderately Pro-choice %	Strongly Pro-choice %	Don't Know %
TOTAL						
Gender						
Male						
Female						
Marital Status						
Single						
Married (1st marriage)						
Married (2nd+ marriage)						
Separated or divorced						
Age						
18-29						
30-44						
45-59						
60 +						
Region						
East						
Midwest						
South						
West						
Place of Residence						
Open Country						
Small/Large Town (<25,000)						
Small City (25,000-49,999)						
Medium City (50,000-249,999)						
Large City (250,000+)						
Education						
Less than High School						
High School Graduate						
Some College						
College Graduate						
Religion						
Evangelical Protestant						
Mainline Protestant						
Orthodox Catholic						
Progressive Catholic						
Secularist						
Political Party						
Republican						
Democrat						
Independent						
Registered Voter						
Yes						
No						
Self-Identification						
Strongly pro-life						
Moderately pro-life						
Neutral						
Moderately pro-choice						
Strongly pro-choice						
Drifted on Abortion Issue?						
Closer to pro-life						
No change						
Closer to pro-choice						

Table 164

The Drift Of Public Opinion

Question: "Over the past two years, would you say you have drifted closer to the pro-life viewpoint, closer to the pro-choice viewpoint, or have your views remained about the same?"

	Closer to pro-life %	Views have remained the same %	Closer to pro-choice %	Don't know %
TOTAL				
Gender				
Male				
Female				
Marital Status				
Single				
Married (1st marriage)				
Married (2nd+ marriage)				
Separated or divorced				
Age				
18-29				
30-44				
45-59				
60 +				
Region				
East				
Midwest				
South				
West				
Place of Residence				
Open Country				
Small/Large Town (<25,000)				
Small City (25,000-49,999)				
Medium City (50,000-249,999)				
Large City (250,000+)				
Education				
Less than High School				
High School Graduate				
Some College				
College Graduate				
Religion				
Evangelical Protestant				
Mainline Protestant				
Orthodox Catholic				
Progressive Catholic				
Secularist				
Political Party				
Republican				
Democrat				
Independent				
Registered Voter				
Yes				
No				
Self-Identification				
Strongly pro-life				
Moderately pro-life				
Neutral				
Moderately pro-choice				
Strongly pro-choice				
Drifted on Abortion Issue?				
Closer to pro-life				
No change				
Closer to pro-choice				