

ABORTION: OVERVIEW OF A COMPLEX OPINION

"SHOULD A PREGNANT WOMAN BE ABLE TO GET A LEGAL ABORTION IF..."

"her health is seriously endangered by a pregnancy?"



"a woman became pregnant as a result of a rape or incest...?"



"... there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby?"



"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD PROHIBIT ABORTIONS, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THAT?"



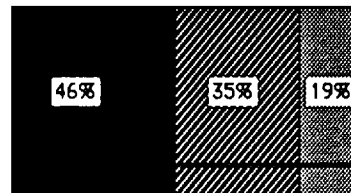
"DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THIS STATEMENT 'I AM IN FAVOR OF ABORTION BECAUSE EVERY WOMAN HAS THE RIGHT TO CONTROL HER OWN BODY?'"



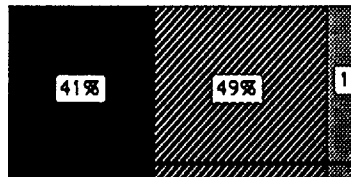
"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF WIPING OUT NATION-WIDE STANDARDS ABOUT ABORTION AND PERMITTING EACH STATE TO DECIDE WHETHER ABORTIONS ARE LEGAL WITHIN ITS OWN BOUNDARIES, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THAT?"



"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF THE SUPREME COURT DECISION WHICH PERMITS A WOMAN TO GET AN ABORTION FROM A DOCTOR AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF PREGNANCY, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THAT OR ARE YOU INDIFFERENT ON THE SUBJECT--OR HAVEN'T YOU HEARD ENOUGH ABOUT THAT YET TO SAY?"



"SHOULD A PREGNANT WOMAN BE ABLE TO OBTAIN A LEGAL ABORTION IF THE FAMILY HAS A VERY LOW INCOME AND CANNOT AFFORD ANY MORE CHILDREN, OR NOT?"



ABORTION: OVERVIEW OF A COMPLEX OPINION

"IF AN UNMARRIED WOMAN WHO IS PREGNANT DOES NOT WANT TO MARRY THE MAN, SHOULD SHE BE ABLE TO GET A LEGAL ABORTION, OR NOT?"



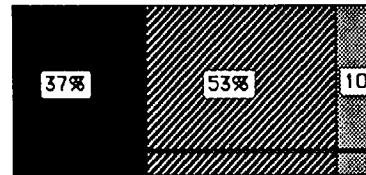
■ Yes
 ▨ No
 ▩ NS

"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF USING PUBLIC FUNDS FOR ABORTIONS WHEN THE MOTHER CANNOT AFFORD IT, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THAT?"



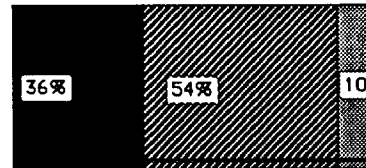
■ Favor
 ▨ Oppose
 ▩ Indiff./NS

"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF REQUIRING A WOMAN TO GET THE CONSENT OF THE NATURAL FATHER BEFORE SHE HAS AN ABORTION, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THAT?"



■ Oppose
 ▨ Favor
 ▩ Indiff./NS

"SHOULD A PREGNANT WOMAN BE ABLE TO GET A LEGAL ABORTION, OR NOT, IF SHE IS MARRIED AND DOES NOT WANT ANY MORE CHILDREN?"



■ Yes
 ▨ No
 ▩ NS

"DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THIS STATEMENT: 'ABORTION IS MURDER?'"



■ Disagree
 ▨ Agree
 ▩ NS

"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF ABORTION, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO IT, OR ARE YOU INDIFFERENT ON THE SUBJECT--OR HAVEN'T YOU HEARD ENOUGH ABOUT IT YET TO SAY?"



■ Favor
 ▨ Oppose
 ▩ Indiff./NS

"DO YOU THINK A PREGNANT WOMAN SHOULD, OR SHOULD NOT, BE ABLE TO GET A LEGAL ABORTION NO MATTER WHAT THE REASON?"



■ Yes
 ▨ No
 ▩ NS

"DO YOU BELIEVE ABORTION IS MORALLY RIGHT OR MORALLY WRONG?"



■ Morally Right
 ▨ Morally Wrong
 ▩ NS

"MINORS SHOULD HAVE TO GET THEIR PARENTS' PERMISSION BEFORE THEY GET AN ABORTION?"



■ Disagree
 ▨ Agree
 ▩ NS

"ARE YOU IN FAVOR OF ABORTION WHEN IT IS USED AS A FORM OF BIRTH CONTROL, OR ARE YOU OPPOSED TO THAT?"



■ Favor
 ▨ Oppose
 ▩ Indiff./NS

NOTE: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, March 3-10, 1989. Except where indicated by the question wording, "indifferent" is a volunteered response.

ABORTION: OVERVIEW OF A COMPLEX OPINION

"SHOULD IT BE LEGAL OR SHOULD IT BE AGAINST THE LAW FOR A PREGNANT WOMAN TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION IF...?"

"THE WOMAN'S HEALTH IS SERIOUSLY ENDANGERED BY THE PREGNANCY?"

"THE PREGNANCY IS THE RESULT OF RAPE?"

"THERE IS A CHANCE OF A SERIOUS DEFECT IN THE BABY?"

"DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT: EVEN IN CASES WHERE I MIGHT THINK ABORTION IS THE WRONG THING TO DO, I DON'T THINK THE GOVERNMENT HAS ANY BUSINESS PREVENTING A WOMAN FROM HAVING AN ABORTION."

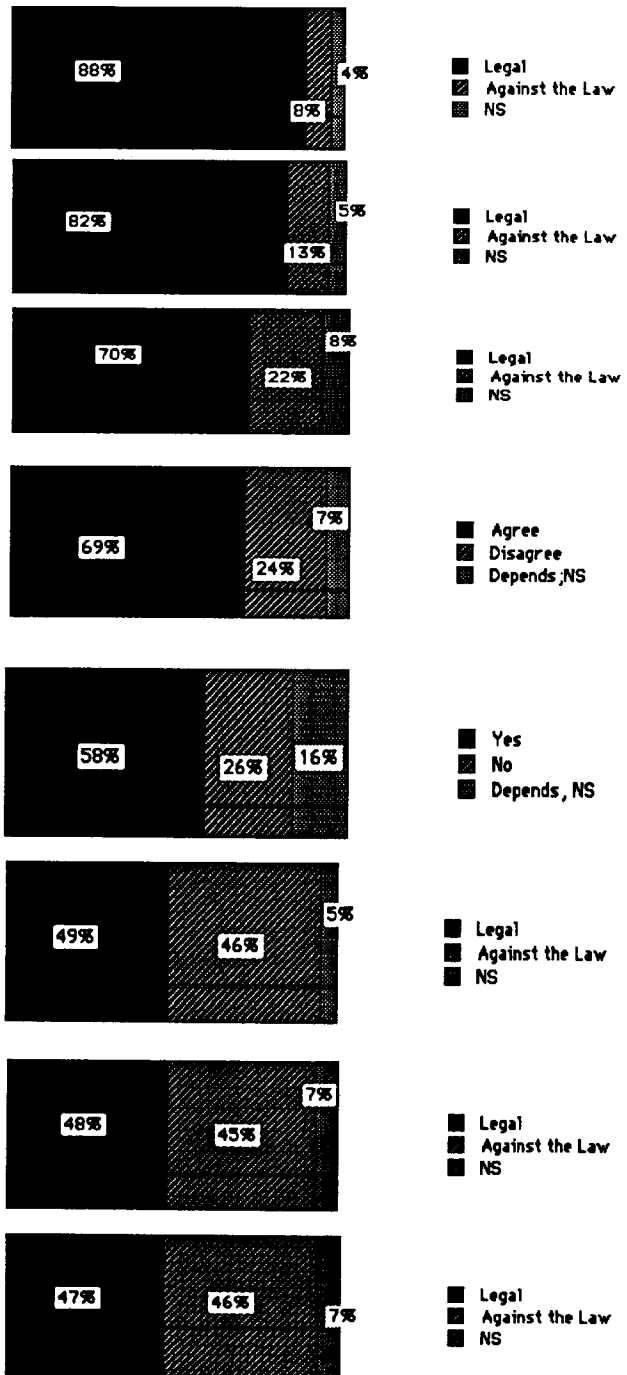
"IF A WOMAN WANTS TO HAVE AN ABORTION, AND HER DOCTOR AGREES TO IT, SHOULD SHE BE ALLOWED TO HAVE AN ABORTION OR NOT?"

"SHOULD IT BE LEGAL OR SHOULD IT BE AGAINST THE LAW FOR A PREGNANT WOMAN TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION IF..."

"THE FAMILY HAS A VERY LOW INCOME AND CANNOT AFFORD ANY MORE CHILDREN?"

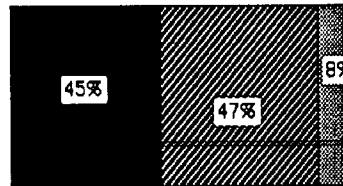
"SHE IS NOT MARRIED AND DOES NOT WANT TO MARRY THE FATHER?"

"THE PREGNANCY WOULD FORCE A TEENAGER TO DROP OUT OF SCHOOL?"



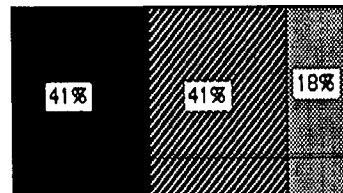
ABORTION: OVERVIEW OF A COMPLEX OPINION

WHICH OF THESE STATEMENTS COMES CLOSER TO YOUR OPINION—ABORTION IS THE SAME THING AS MURDERING A CHILD, OR ABORTION IS NOT MURDER BECAUSE THE FETUS REALLY ISN'T A CHILD YET?



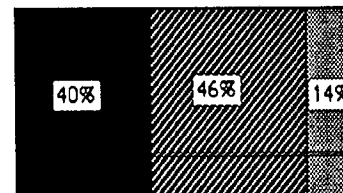
- Not Murder
- ▨ Same as Murder
- ▩ NS

WHICH OF THESE COMES CLOSEST TO YOUR VIEW? (1) ABORTION SHOULD BE GENERALLY AVAILABLE TO THOSE WHO WANT IT; (2) ABORTION SHOULD BE AVAILABLE BUT MORE DIFFICULT TO GET THAN IT IS NOW; OR (3) ABORTION SHOULD NOT BE AVAILABLE?



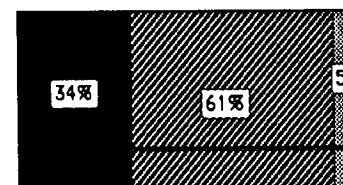
- Avail. to All
- ▨ Avail. but Diff
- ▩ Not Avail.

SHOULD YOUR STATE USE PUBLIC FUNDS TO HELP PAY THE COSTS OF ABORTIONS FOR WOMEN WHO CANNOT AFFORD THEM?



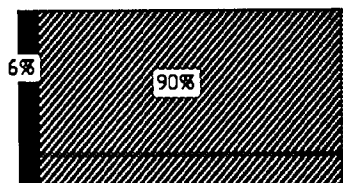
- Should use...
- ▨ Shouldn't
- ▩ Depends/NS

SHOULD IT BE LEGAL OR SHOULD IT BE AGAINST THE LAW FOR A PREGNANT WOMAN TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION IF THE PREGNANCY WOULD FORCE A PROFESSIONAL WOMAN TO INTERRUPT HER CAREER?



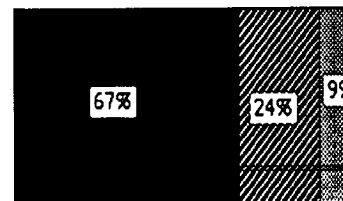
- Legal
- ▨ Against the Law
- ▩ NS

DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF ABORTION WHEN IT IS USED AS A WOMAN'S PRIMARY MEANS OF BIRTH CONTROL?



- Approve
- ▨ Disapprove
- ▩ NS

SHOULD YOUR STATE USE PUBLIC FUNDS TO HELP PAY THE COST OF CHILD SUPPORT TO HELP RAISE UNWANTED CHILDREN?



- Should use...
- ▨ Shouldn't
- ▩ Depends/NS

NOTE: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, September 17-20, 1989.

ABORTION: DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS

QUESTION: Please tell me whether or not you think it should be possible to obtain a legal abortion...

% saying "yes, should be legal"

	<u>If there is a chance of serious defect in the baby</u>	<u>If she does not want any more children</u>	<u>If the woman wants it for any reason</u>
NATIONAL	81%	45%	40%
<u>By religion/ denomination:</u>			
Protestant	82	43	39
Baptist	78	37	32
Methodist	90	53	48
Lutheran	87	45	47
Catholic	75	39	36
<u>By church attendance*:</u>			
Never	92	64	55
Rarely	91	55	51
Frequently	85	43	42
Regularly	63	25	22
<u>By religion/ attendance:</u>			
Protestant/attend regularly	68	27	24
Catholic/attend regularly	55	19	16
Protestant/attend rarely or never	89	54	48
Catholic/attend rarely or never	92	59	55

ABORTION: DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS

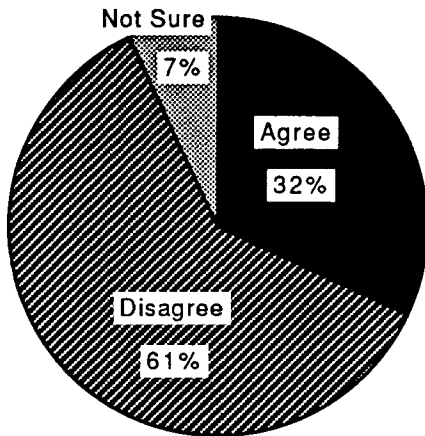
	If there is a chance of serious defect <u>in the baby</u>	If she does not want any more <u>children</u>	If the woman wants it for any <u>reason</u>
<u>By Sex:</u>			
Male	83	49	43
Female	80	41	38
<u>By Race:</u>			
White	81	45	40
Black	80	47	43
<u>By Age:</u>			
18-24	78	41	40
25-29	84	51	45
30-34	85	52	51
35-39	85	51	47
40-49	78	46	45
50-59	84	47	43
60-69	81	35	27
70 +	78	37	29
<u>By Education:</u>			
College Grad	88	62	56
Some College	82	51	56
HS Grad	84	42	37
Less than HS	81	28	23

***Note:** In Church Attendance, Never = never; rarely = less than once a year, once a year, or several times a year; frequently = once a month, 2 or 3 times a month, or nearly every week; regularly = every week or more than once a week.

SOURCE: Survey by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Survey, February - April 1989.

ABORTION: WEBSTER, YEA OR NAY?

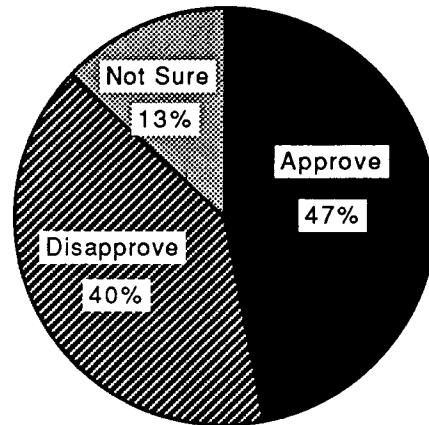
Opposition



"As you might have heard, the Supreme Court recently ruled that states can pass laws restricting women's ability to have abortions. Do you personally agree or disagree with this ruling?"

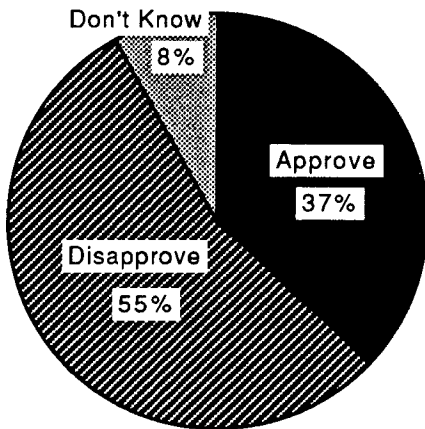
Note: Survey by *Time*/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, July 6, 1989.

...Or Support?



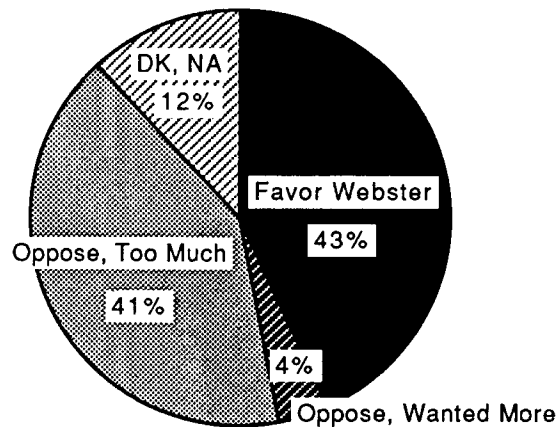
"Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the Supreme Court's (Webster) decision today (concerning abortion)?"

Note: Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1989.



"Do you approve or disapprove of this week's Supreme Court decision allowing states to pass laws that restrict abortion?"

Note: Survey by the Gallup Organization, July 6-9, 1989

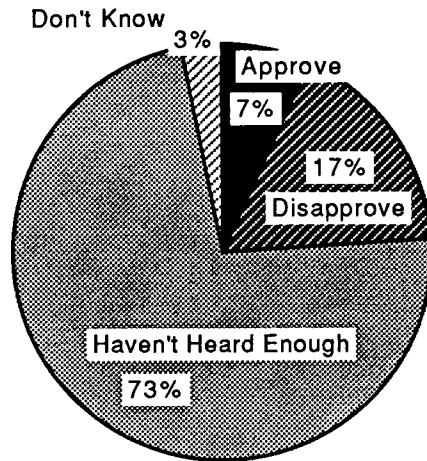


"The U.S. Supreme Court this month gave the states more power to restrict abortions. Do you favor or oppose that ruling? (If "Oppose,"...)Is that because you wanted the court to do more to restrict abortions, or because you think the court did too much to restrict abortions?"

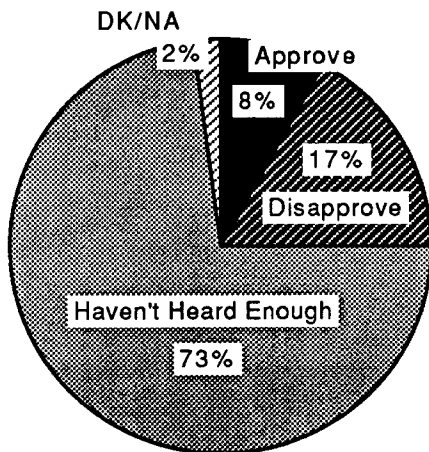
Note: Survey by Associated Press/Media, July 7-16, 1989.

ABORTION: OR NEITHER?

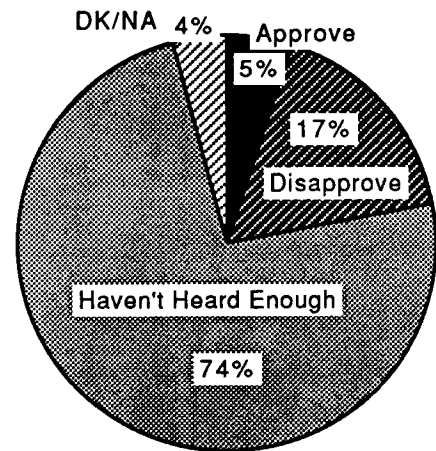
...or not enough information?



ALL



MEN



WOMEN

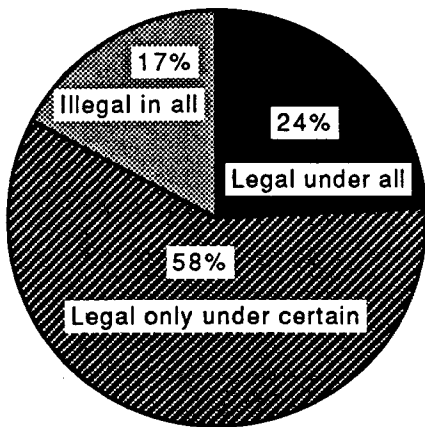
QUESTION: "In July, the Supreme Court decided *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services*, a major case about abortion. Do you approve or disapprove of the Supreme Court's decision in this case, or haven't you heard enough about it to have an opinion?"

Note: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, September 17-20, 1989.

ABORTION: NO CHANGE SINCE WEBSTER

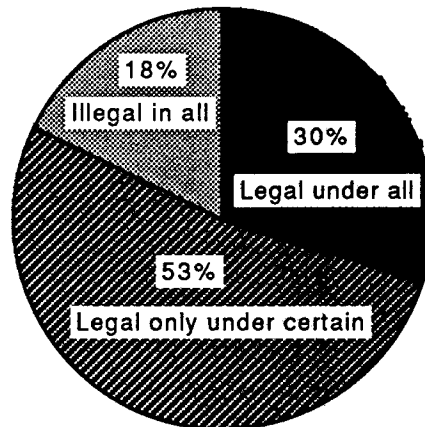
QUESTION: Do you think abortion should be legal under any circumstances, legal only under certain circumstances, or illegal in all circumstances?

PRE-WEBSTER

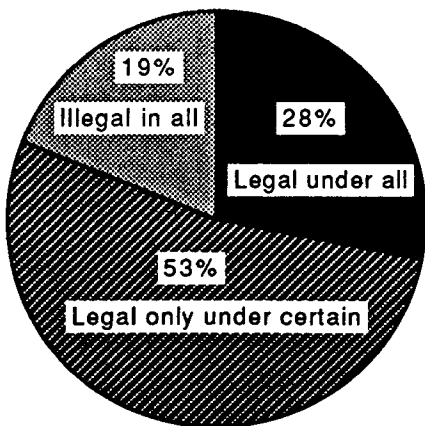


Sept. 25-Oct. 1, 1988

POST-WEBSTER



July 6-7, 1989



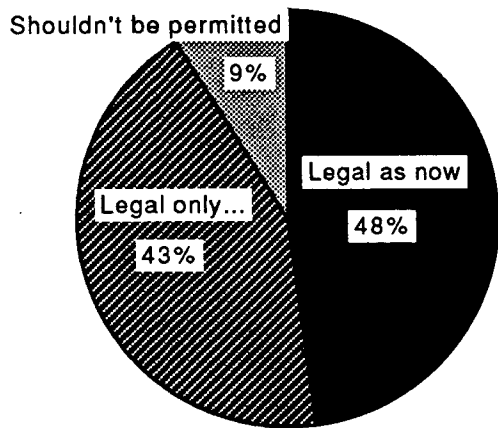
April 12-13, 1989

NOTE: Surveys by the Gallup Organization and by the Gallup Organization for *Newsweek*, latest that of July 6-7, 1989.

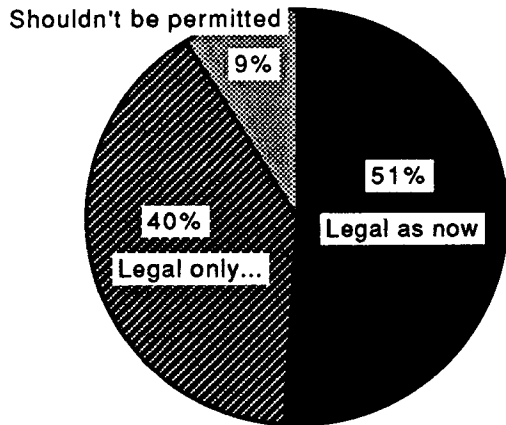
ABORTION: NO CHANGE SINCE WEBSTER

Question: Should abortion be legal as it is now, or legal only in such cases as rape, incest, or to save the life of the mother, or should it not be permitted at all?

PRE-WEBSTER

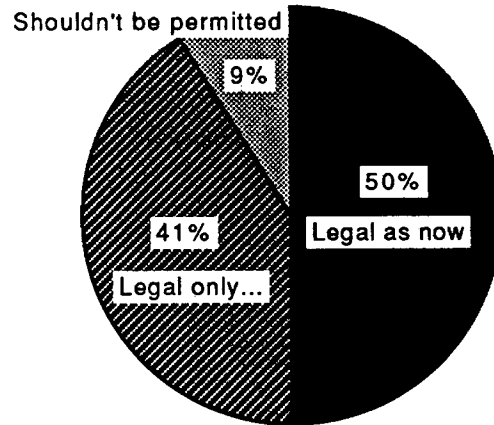


January 12-15, 1989

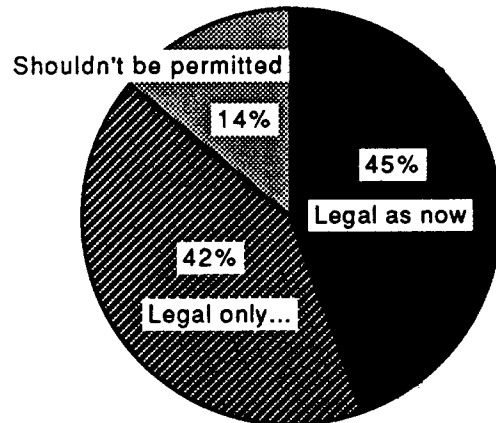


April 13-16, 1989

POST-WEBSTER



July 25-30, 1989

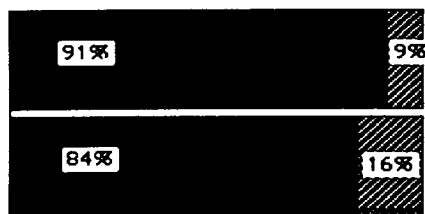


September 17-20, 1989

NOTE: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times* of the dates shown. In addition to the four surveys shown above, CBS News and the *New York Times* asked the question in a survey of June 20-25-- when 45% favored "legal as now," 41% legal only in restricted circumstances, and 13% thought abortion should not be permitted at all.

ABORTION: A BALLOT ON STATE REGULATION

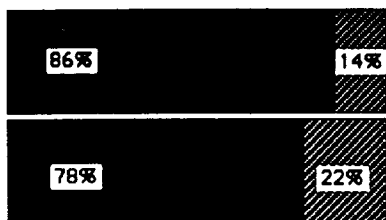
Require counseling about alternatives to abortion



Gallup/Newsweek, July 6-7, 1989

Time/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman
July 6, 1989

Require parental notification before woman under 18 can have an abortion

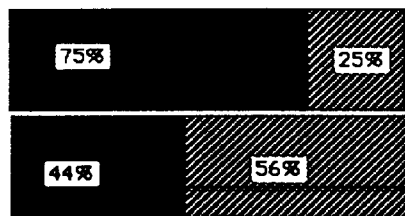


CBS News/New York Times, Sept. 17-20, 1989

Gordon Black/USA Today, July 5, 1989

NOTE THAT SOLID COLOR = FAVORING REGULATION/SHADED AREA = OPPOSING IT.

Pass laws that would make it difficult for private clinics to perform abortions.



CBS News/New York Times, Sept. 17-20, 1989

CBS News/New York Times, July 25-30, 1989

Require parental consent before woman under 18 can have an abortion

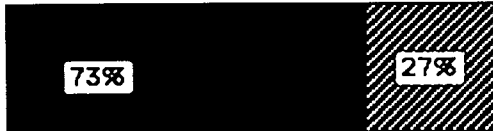


CBS News/New York Times, Sept. 17-20, 1989

Gallup, July 6-9, 1989

ABORTION: A BALLOT ON STATE REGULATION

Require viability test in pregnancies of 20 weeks or more, before allowing an abortion.



CBS News/*New York Times*, Sept. 17-20, 1989



Gallup, July 6-9, 1989

Prohibit abortions in public hospitals except to save the mother's life.



Los Angeles Times, July 3, 1989



Gallup, July 6-9, 1989

Prohibit public employees from performing abortions



Gallup/*Newsweek*, July 6-7, 1989



Time/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman, July 6, 1989

ABORTION: A BALLOT ON STATE REGULATION

A number of different polling organizations have asked respondents their views on various proposed state regulations of abortion. In many cases, the responses to these regulation questions have been consistent from one survey organization to another, but in a few instances, they have not—where presumably, differences in question wording contributed to the varying results. Two such instances are shown in the boxes on pp. 28 and 29.

Question text to all of the items shown on these two pages follow:

"Would you support or oppose the following restrictions on abortion that may come before state legislatures?...Women seeking abortions must be counseled on the dangers and on alternatives to abortion." (Gallup/*Newsweek*) "Which of these...would you favor in your state?...Requiring doctors to inform abortion patients about alternatives to having an abortion." (*Time*/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman).

"Would you favor or oppose requiring that at least one parent be told before a girl under 18 years of age could have an abortion?" (CBS News/*New York Times*) "Would you support or oppose a state law that would require that parents be notified before a female under 18 years of age can have an abortion?" (Gordon Black/*USA Today*).

"Would you favor or oppose passing laws to make it difficult for private clinics to perform abortions, such as requiring them to have special equipment and staff like hospital operating rooms in order to be licensed?" (CBS News/*New York Times*, Sept. 1989). "Would you favor or oppose passing laws that would make it difficult for private clinics to perform abortions?" (CBS News/*New York Times*, July 1989).

"Would you favor or oppose requiring the consent of her parents before a girl under 18 years of age could have an abortion?" (CBS News/*New York Times*) "...favor or oppose such a restriction in your state...requiring that women under 18 years of age get parental consent before they are allowed to have an abortion?" (Gallup)

"Would you favor or oppose in a pregnancy of 20 weeks or more, requiring a test to make sure that the fetus is not developed enough to live outside the womb before a woman could have an abortion?" (CBS News/*New York Times*) "...favor or oppose such a restriction in your state...In cases where the mother is five months pregnant, requiring a test to see if the fetus might survive outside of the womb before allowing the abortion?" (Gallup)

"The Court...gave any state the right to prohibit public employees or public hospitals from performing abortions, except to save the mother's life (favor/oppose)?" (*Los Angeles Times*) "...favor or oppose such a restriction in your state...Not allowing abortions to be performed in public hospitals unless the abortion is required to save a woman's life?" (Gallup)

"Would you support or oppose the following restrictions on abortion that may come before state legislatures?...Public employees may not perform, assist in or advise abortion." (Gallup/*Newsweek*) "Which of these...would you favor in your state?...Prohibiting public employees from performing abortions." (*Time*/Yankelovich Clancy Shulman).