Original Article:

ABORTION ATTITUDES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY: THE ROLE OF SEXISM, WORKING MOTHERS, AND STATE POLICIES

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Abstract

Over the past decades, abortion has been among the most controversial topics discussed in American politics. Despite the long-running debates, existing studies have focused heavily on individual demographic characteristics affecting people's attitudes toward abortion; thus, there is still much to understand about ideational and contextual factors. Therefore, this study utilized the 2018 General Social Survey to examine how American individuals' attitudes toward abortion are statistically associated with their sexism, whether their mothers were employed in paid work, and their (perceived) strictness of state policies on abortion, together with their demographic characteristics. The results of multivariate regression analysis indicated that individuals' sexism was negatively associated with the idea that abortion should be allowed for any reason, whereas people whose mothers had paid jobs tended to support the idea of abortion. However, the strictness of state policies on abortion was not a significant factor in terms of abortion attitudes across all regression models. Among demographic characteristics, level of education, liberal political ideology, and household income were positively associated with abortion support, whereas the level of religiousness and the number of children showed the opposite effects. Individuals' age, sex, race, and marital status did not show statistically significant relationships with abortion attitudes in this study.

Keywords: abortion, sexism, working mothers, American society, General Social Survey

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INTRODUCTION

Abortion has been among the most controversial topics discussed in American politics since the landmark Supreme Court decision made in the *Roe v. Wade* case on January 22, 1973 (Fried, 2008). State legislatures have found various ways to restrict abortions, such as bans on abortions before 13 weeks, bans on abortions between 13 and 24 weeks, bans or restrictions on specific reasonings for abortions (such as a fetus having a genetic anomaly), clinic restrictions, restrictions on women seeking abortions (waiting periods), and insurance restrictions (Thomson-DeVeaux, 2019). Along with state legislatures' attempts to further restrict abortion access, the increasing polarity in American politics plays a key role in abortion attitudes. The pro-life movement seeks to ban abortion for any reason, while some pro-choice activists favor abortion with little to no restriction, even in the third trimester (Linker, 2019). Ordinary citizens are divided, as the 2021 Gallup polls showed that 49% of Americans identify as pro-choice, while 47% identified as pro-life (Brenan, 2021).

Abortion has become an increasingly significant topic to the current political climate, as whether one is pro-life or pro-choice can determine who a person votes for, their political values, and their perspective on American politics. Unfortunately, there is still much to know about the factors related to individuals' attitudes toward abortion. Existing studies and public opinion polls have focused heavily on people's demographic backgrounds and often lacked a systematic analysis. Public opinion polls often report that demographic characteristics, such as party identification, gender, age, education, and political ideology, are critical factors in abortion attitudes (e.g., Brenan, 2021); however, such analyses, based on counting the frequency of a single survey response, often raise more questions than they answer (see Hans & Kimberly, 2014). For example, Figure 1 shows the relationship between Americans' political ideology and abortion attitudes based on the 2018 General Social Survey. It shows that liberals were more supportive of the idea that abortion should be allowed for any reason than conservatives (left chart) and that conservatives were more inclined to be morally opposed to abortion than liberals (right chart). However, in both charts, the responses with the highest frequencies were those who identified as neither liberal nor conservative. This result begs the question as to whether political ideology is a reliable factor in determining abortion attitudes, especially when other factors are considered together. Therefore, it is necessary to build a statistical model allowing for the consideration of multiple factors at the same time.

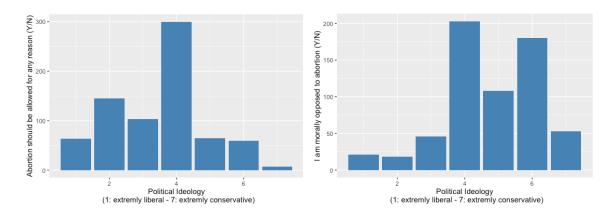


Figure 1. Relationship between Americans' Political Ideology and Abortion Attitude. *Note:* The left chart demonstrates the political ideology of the respondents who agreed with the statement, "Abortion should be allowed for any reason." The right chart demonstrates the political ideology of those who agreed with the statement, "I am morally opposed to abortion."

In addition, social science literature on abortion attitudes has focused heavily on individuals' demographic backgrounds and has largely ignored individuals' ideational and contextual characteristics regarding their families and states. Recent feminist studies have suggested that individuals' sexist views on gender roles may affect their attitudes toward abortion (e.g., Hudson & MacInnes, 2017). Moreover, as most women in the United States still must choose between paid work and mothering (Dillaway & Pare, 2008), the influence of having a working mother in a family also needs to be examined. Other studies have emphasized the social and political contexts in which individuals live (see Hans & Kimberly, 2014). Building on these previous studies, this paper goes beyond individuals' demographic characteristics and explores how individuals' sexism, the presence of working mothers, and perceived state policies on abortion are associated with abortion support.

Attitudes toward Abortion

Existing studies have examined various factors associated with individuals' attitudes toward abortion. Most of these studies have tested individuals' demographic backgrounds, including gender, race, religion, education, social class, and marital status, as well as their political ideology and partisanship. First, gender has been a significant variable when researching abortion attitudes. Women tend to approve of a woman's choice to have an abortion (Loll & Hall, 2018; Patel & Johns, 2009), whereas many men do not feel that women should have an abortion if their male partner disagrees (Marsiglio & Shehan, 1993). Despite such conflicting views and interests, the fact that there are still many women who do not support the complete legalization of abortion is not well

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understood. Regarding this, Barkan's study (2014) suggested that it is women's religiosity that suppresses their greater support for abortion.

Race has also been a heavily researched factor in the study of abortion. Wilcox (1990) used the 1982, 1984, and 1988 General Social Surveys to research declining racial differences in abortion attitudes over time; however, they consistently found that black men were less supportive of abortion than white men and that black women were more supportive than white women. Lynxwiler and Gay (1994) also found that racial differences in abortion attitudes were declining; they found that black and white childbearing women did not differ in their abortion attitudes. More recently, Carter et al. (2009) found that white men and women tended to be more pro-choice, with black women becoming more pro-choice in the 1990s; they also found that black males have been consistently conservative toward abortion. More recent studies on race and abortion emphasize reproductive justice that recognizes intersections of various systemic oppressions, such as racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism, that have affected women's reproductive health (e.g., Eaton & Stephens, 2020).

Religion plays a key role in a person's moral and ethical values, which can notably affect whether a person is pro-choice or pro-life. One of the earliest studies done on religion's effect on abortion attitudes was completed by Petersen and Armand (1976), who found religious conservatism to be positively correlated with opposition to abortion. Hoffman and Johnson (2005) found that opposition to abortion has increased among Evangelical Christian compared to other traditional religions. More recently, Adamczyk and Valdimarsdottir (2018) discovered that higher levels of religious engagement in US counties tended to make the residents, religious and secular alike, develop more conservative attitudes toward abortion although a disproportionate rise of the Catholic rate made Protestant residents become more pro-choice. Over time, however, religion has been shown to remain a consistent factor in an individual's abortion attitudes (Barkan, 2014).

Education and income have also been seen as significant factors in individuals' attitudes toward abortion. Ebaugh and Haney (1980) found that the college-educated individuals remained relatively constant in their support for abortion, but respondents whose highest level of education was high school were shown to gradually view abortion more favorably over time. Other studies found a positive relationship between education, income, and higher social class and the high approval of abortion (Adamczyk et al., 2020; Granberg & Granberg, 1980).

Marital status and family size have also been shown to be important predictors of abortion attitudes. Hess and Rueb (2005) found that a married person was more likely to be pro-life because the need for an abortion was considered to be less between a married couple. Miller (1994) found that married couples with smaller family ideals had more accepting attitudes toward abortions, while couples who wanted larger families (i.e., a larger number of children) were more conservative toward abortions. Thomas et al.'s recent

study of abortion (2017) also confirmed the fact that married women tend to have higher odds of anti-abortion attitude compared to unmarried women. Overall, individuals who considered themselves to be in a secure environment as a married couple desiring a large family were more likely to be more pro-life, as seen in this research.

An individual's political ideology and partisanship are strong indicators of their attitudes toward abortion. Hout (1999) found that both Republicans and Democrats were divided on the issue of abortion after the Roe v. Wade; and by the late 1990s, Republicans had developed an anti-abortion stance while Democrats had developed a pro-choice stance. In addition, Killian and Wilcox (2008) found that between 1982 and 1997, pro-life Democrats and pro-choice Republicans were more likely to switch political parties. More recently, Medoff and Dennis (2011) completed research that found that when Republicans were in control of the government (state legislative and executive branches in this study), there was an increase in the targeted regulation of abortion providers. Furthermore, Democratic control was shown to lead to less targeted regulation of abortion providers. Such research into the connections between political parties and abortion attitudes has proven that Republicans have developed a strong pro-life stance, while Democrats have developed a strong pro-choice stance.

Beyond demographic factors, more recent studies have explored some contextual variables shaping individuals' attitudes toward abortion. Hans and Kimberly (2014) have argued that the full context of one's lived experience and life context should be weighed in the abortion decision-making process, such as relationship status, balance of work and family, health issues, and male-partner involvement. Adamczyk et al. (2020) also conducted a study of the connection between attitudes, laws, policies, and geographical locations. They found that county population, persistent poverty, and percentage of votes for George W. Bush in 2004 were significant indicators of abortion attitudes (Adamczyk et al., 2020). Wetstein and Albritton (1995) found that public opinion influenced abortion policies and that public opinion and public policy both influenced rates of abortion utilization by citizens. Based on these findings, one can hypothesize that people living in a state where abortion is strictly prohibited may generally share conservative views on abortion, and thus that those living in a state where abortion is legal may generally share liberal views on abortion.

Other scholars have suggested that individuals' ideational factors and familial context are significant factors in abortion attitudes. Feminist scholars have noted that sexism can be a strong factor in individuals' abortion attitudes (Begun & Walls, 2015; Huang et al., 2016). Sexist ideals, such as the view that women are best suited to roles that limit their access to power and resources, are significantly associated with abortion because from a feminist perspective, anti-abortion positions and laws seek to control women, limit their options, and maintain the power imbalance between men and women, legitimizing the status quo (Begun & Walls, 2015; Huang et al., 2016; MacInnis & Hodson, 2015).

Understanding sexism as the legitimizing myth that justifies sex-based inequality may fully explain the relationship between ideological predictors and policy support (Hodson & MacInnis, 2017). Despite the plethora of theoretical discussions, not many studies have empirically tested the relationship between sexism and abortion attitudes using a large dataset such as national surveys.

A woman's choice in pursuing paid careers rather than supporting her husband's career have a large impact on children (Kaufman & White, 2014), which can be an important familial context for children's views on women's decisions. Studies have shown that men whose wives were employed were likely to have more egalitarian attitudes than men whose wives were not employed because they would benefit, directly or indirectly, if their wives were treated more equally in the labor force through equal pay and equitable environments and interactions (Kaufman & White, 2016). Based on previous studies, the present study hypothesizes that people whose mothers engaged in paid work were more likely to support the legalization of abortion. Moreover, abortion access, states' different policies on abortion, is strongly associated with people's attitudes toward abortion (Hussey, 2010).

This study builds upon and contributes to the literature by analyzing the most recent General Social Survey data available. We hypothesized that individuals' sexism, the presence of working mothers in their families, as well as state abortion policies could explain individuals' attitudes toward abortion.

METHOD

This study used a public dataset provided by the 2018 General Social Survey (GSS). This national survey, which was the most recent at the time of the present research, was obtained from the GSS website (gss.norc.org). The GSS gains respondent knowledge mostly through face-to-face interviews and also utilizes telephone to conduct interviews if it is difficult to complete a face-to-face interview with a respondent. The GSS collects three samples (ballots) for its biennial surveys, each with a target sample size of 1,500. The GSS also targets the population that is 18 years or older living in a household in the United States (US) and who can complete the survey in English or Spanish. For the 2018 survey, a total of 2,349 respondents participated in the three ballots with overlapping questions.

Table 1 provides detailed information about each variable. The dependent variable of this research was the survey respondents' attitudes toward abortion. The GSS asked the respondents whether an abortion should be allowed if a woman wants one for any reason. For this variable, the answer "yes" was coded 1 and "no" was coded 0. Other responses were removed.

<u>Table 1.</u> Descriptive Statistics of Dependent, Independent, and Control Variables.

	N	Mean	Standard Deviation	Maximum	Minimum
Dependent variable					
Abortion support	1524	0.50	0.50	1	0
Independent variable					
Sexism	1559	2.06	0.64	4	1
R's mother had a paid work	2246	0.75	0.44	1	0
Strictness of state abortion policy	1856	2.45	1.07	5	1
Control variables					
Political ideology	2247	4.05	1.50	7	1
Age	2348	49.12	18.24	99	18
Sex	2348	1.55	0.50	2	1
Education	2348	1.68	1.21	4	0
Household income	2340	1.91	0.64	3	1
Race					
White	2348	0.72	0.45	1	0
Black	2348	0.16	0.37	1	0
Others	2348	0.11	0.32	1	0
Religiousness	2328	2.48	1.00	4	1
Marital Status	2346	0.43	0.49	1	0
Number of children	2344	1.86	1.67	8	0

There were three independent variables. First, the respondents' sexism was coded based on three related questions as follows: (1) "Can a working mother establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work?"; (2) "Is a preschool child likely to suffer if his or her mother works?"; and (3) "Is it much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family?" For these questions, four possible responses could be given—"strongly agree," "agree," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The answers were ordered from 1 to 4, and the average values of the three questions were coded for the variable (Cronbach's alpha: 0.665).

As another independent variable for familial context, whether respondents' mothers had paid jobs was obtained. The GSS asked, "Did your mother ever work for pay for as long as a year while you were growing up?" The answer "yes" was coded 1, and "no" was coded 0.

An independent variable regarding the state's abortion policies—the perceived strictness of the state's abortion policies—was included. The GSS asked the respondents, "How easy or hard do you think it is for a woman to get an abortion?" In response, "very easy" was coded as 1, "easy" was coded as 2, "neither easy nor hard" was coded as 3, "hard" was coded as 4, and "very hard" was coded as 5.

The first control variable used for this research was the respondent's political ideology. The following possible responses were coded from 1 to 7: "extremely liberal," "liberal," "slightly liberal," "moderate, middle of the road," "slightly conservative," "conservative," and "extremely conservative." The second control variable was the age of the respondents, and the third was their sex, with 1 indicating male and 2 indicating female. The GSS also asked the respondents' sexual orientations and gender identities; however, all 2348 respondents, regardless of their different sexual orientations and gender identities, marked their sex either male or female. The fourth variable was education, and the GSS asked for the respondent's highest education degree earned. Zero indicated less than high school, 1 indicated high school, 2 indicated associate/junior college, 3 indicated a bachelor's degree, and 4 indicated a graduate degree. The fifth variable was the respondents' household income. The following question was asked: "Compared with American families in general, would you say your family income is?" The possible responses were "far below average," "below average," "average," "above average," and "far above average." The answers were coded on a 5-point scale. The sixth control variable was race. "White," "black," and "other" were coded. The seventh variable was religiousness. The GSS asked, "To what extent do you consider yourself a religious person?" Four indicated "very religious"; 3 indicated "moderately religious"; 2 indicated "slightly religious"; and 1 indicated "not religious at all." The eighth variable was whether the respondent was married. This variable included information regarding whether the respondents were currently married. One indicated married and 0 indicated not married. The final control variable coded was the number of respondents' children. The following question was asked: "How many children have you ever had? Please count all that were born alive at any time (including any you had from a previous marriage)."

<u>Table 2.</u> Correlation Matrix (Pearson's Correlations) for Dependent, Independent, and Control Variables (n=564).

	Abortion	Sexism	R's mother had a paid work	Strictness of state abortion	Political ideology	Age	Sex	Education	Economic Status	White	Black	Others	Religiousne	Marital Status	Number of Children
Abortion support	1														
Sexism	-0.25***	1													
R's mother had a paid work	0.08**	-0.15***	1												
Strictness of state abortion policy	0.13***	-0.06	-0.02	1											
Political ideology	-0.30***	0.15***	-0.01	-0.16***	1										
Age	-0.11***	0.17***	-0.21***	0.02	0.10**	1									
Sex	-0.01	-0.13***	0.05	-0.16**	0.01	-0.01	1								
Education	0.13***	-0.26***	0.06	0.10**	-0.05	0.06	-0.01	1							
Economic status	0.19***	-0.15**	-0.01***	0.09	-0.04	0.18***	0.00	0.38***	1						
White	0.09**	-0.10**	-0.01	-0.01	0.11***	0.19***	0.01	0.13***	0.21***	1					
Black	-0.08*	0.03	0.06	-0.04	-0.12***	-0.08*	0.04	-0.09**	-0.19**	-0.72***	1				
Others	-0.04	0.10**	-0.05	0.06	-0.03	-0.18***	-0.06	-0.08*	-0.09*	-0.58***	-0.16***	1			
Religiousness	-0.31***	0.17***	-0.01	-0.11***	0.21***	0.27***	0.15***	0.03	-0.01	-0.05	0.07	0.00	1		
Marital Status	-0.06	-0.05	-0.02	0.05	0.08*	0.05	0.02	0.14***	0.25**	0.16***	-0.18***	-0.02	0.10**	1	
Number of Children	-0.19***	0.18***	-0.11***	-0.03	0.08*	0.33***	0.05	-0.10**	-0.08	-0.06	0.09**	-0.02	0.25***	0.18***	1

Note: * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01

<u>Table 3.</u> OLS Regression of American's Abortion Support on Sexism, Working Mothers, and State Policies

		Abortion support							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)					
Sexism				-0.104*** (0.033)					
R's mother had a paid work			0.097*** (0.033)	0.064 (0.047)					
Strictness of state abortion policy		0.012 (0.013)	0.018 (0.013)	0.022 (0.019)					
Political ideology (conservative)	-0.084***	-0.081***	-0.083***	-0.072***					
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.013)					
Age	-0.0003	0.0001	0.001	-0.001					
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)					
Sex	0.033	0.036	0.032	0.011					
	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.039)					
Education	0.050***	0.042***	0.038***	0.010					
	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.018)					
Economic status	0.060***	0.074***	0.079***	0.122***					
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.034)					
Race (reference: Others)									
White	0.045	0.075*	0.050	0.056					
	(0.040)	(0.044)	(0.045)	(0.063)					
Black	0.009	0.016	-0.017	-0.042					
	(0.048)	(0.052)	(0.053)	(0.075)					
Religiousness	-0.111***	-0.108***	-0.109***	-0.098***					
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.021)					
Marital Status	-0.046*	-0.042	-0.047	-0.070*					
	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.041)					
Number of children	-0.018**	-0.019**	-0.019**	-0.015					
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.012)					
Constant	0.897***	0.795***	0.694***	0.960***					
	(0.072)	(0.089)	(0.095)	(0.154)					
Observations R-squared Adjusted R-squared Residual Std. Error (Degree of freedom) F Statistic (Degree of freedom)	1,442	1,166	1,117	565					
	0.202	0.200	0.213	0.225					
	0.196	0.192	0.205	0.207					
	0.448	0.449	0.446	0.445					
	(df = 1431)	(df = 1154)	(df = 1104)	(df = 551)					
	36.186***	26.224***	24.966***	12.316***					
	(df=10; 1431)	(df=11; 1154)	(df=12; 1104)	(df=13; 551)					

Note: Coefficients are unstandardized and represent the amount of change in abortion support per unit change in an independent variable. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. * p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.01.

RESULTS

Table 3 illustrates the results of the regression analysis. In the table, coefficients are unstandardized and represent the amount of change in abortion support per unit change in an independent variable. Numbers in parentheses are standard errors. Four OLS regression models were structured hierarchically to determine whether the independent variables contributed to explaining the overall variance of individuals' abortion support by increasing adjusted r-squared values (Models 1–4).

The adjusted r-squared values showed that two independent variables—sexism and R's mother had paid work—contributed to the explanatory power of the models; however, the strictness of the state's abortion policies did not improve the explanatory power of the models. The adjusted r-squared value decreased when the strictness of state abortion policies was added. This result was also supported by the statistical significance of the coefficients. The coefficients for the variable strictness of state abortion policy were not statistically significant across all models. This disproved one of the hypotheses that people who live in a state where abortion policy is strict will be more likely to disapprove of the legalization of abortion.

However, *R's mother had paid work* showed a statistically significant and negative relationship with abortion support in Model 3 (b = 0.097, p < .01). However, in Model 4, the coefficients became insignificant when *sexism* was added to the model. One possible reason for this change is the number of observations in Model 4. The number of observations reduced dramatically in Model 4 due to the addition of the variable *sexism*. The GSS asked questions about sexism only to the respondents of Ballot 1. Ballots 2 and 3 did not have questions regarding sexism, which dramatically reduced the sample size for Model 4. Further studies could delve deeper into this problem, but *sexism* itself showed a strong significant effect on abortion support (b = -0.104, p < .01), which is consistent with previous studies (Begun & Walls, 2015; Huang et al., 2016) and supports the hypothesis.

The control variables revealed significant results. First, people's political ideologies were strong and significant indicators of abortion attitudes across all models, which was consistent with previous studies. More conservative respondents tended to disapprove of abortion (Model 4, b = -0.072, p < .01). However, age and sex did not show any statistical significance. Education showed a strong positive relationship with abortion support. In Model 3, education increased abortion support by 0.038 (b = 0.038, p < .01). Economic status was also a very significant indicator of abortion support across all models (Model 4, b = 0.079, p < .01).

Unlike previous studies, race did not show statistical significance, which meant that being *white* and *black* (as opposed to being *others*) were not associated with abortion support. This dataset did not include additional race categories than the three groups. Moreover, individuals' religiousness was negatively associated with abortion support

(Model 4, b = -0.098, p < .01). Marital status showed a negative association with abortion support in Models 1 and 4, but the effects were very weak. Finally, individuals' number of children showed a strong negative relationship with abortion support in Models 1–3, which was consistent with previous studies.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to better understand how individuals' abortion attitudes are related to their ideas regarding sexism and gender roles, whether they had working mothers in their familial context, and whether the state in which they live has strict abortion policies. Two of the independent variables showed statistical significance. Sexism, as measured by individuals' views on motherhood, childbearing, and gender roles, showed a strong negative relationship with their abortion support. Although this singleyear data did not reveal a causal link between sexism and abortion attitudes, the significant and negative relationship showed that people's attitudes toward abortion were closely related to traditional gender-role beliefs. Moreover, having a working mother showed a significant relationship with individuals' abortion attitudes. Having a working mother was an important factor in the familial context, as studies have shown that men whose wives were employed were more likely to be pro-choice (Kaufman & White, 2016). A wife's current work status has also been shown to have a particularly strong effect on men's attitudes toward family responsibilities (see Kaufman & White, 2016). This familial context may have influenced the respondents' perceptions of choice and their attitudes toward abortion. However, living in a state where abortion policy was strict was not shown to be an important factor in abortion attitudes. This may be due to the survey question that asked about individuals' perceptions of policies rather than the actual policies. This variable was included in the assumption that people whose state abortion policy was strict tended to be conservative on abortion issues. However, this study found that people's perceived strictness did not affect their abortion attitudes. Further studies can be conducted to see if this result is due to individuals' perceptions of state policies rather than actual policies or if state policies simply did not affect individuals' abortion attitudes.

The factors of age, gender, and race require further study. This study used the most recent national survey data; therefore, the insignificant effect of those demographic factors may mean that those factors no longer influence abortion attitudes. Further comparative studies with different national surveys or longitudinal studies with the General Social Survey may clarify this question.

Implications of this research go beyond the field of gender studies. Sexism is not just a personal characteristic. It is a culture and about the structure of American society that individuals are exposed to. Abortion controversies have been at the center of US politics

for decades, and state governments' different policies on abortion have been affecting the lives of millions of Americans. Therefore, more interdisciplinary studies on sexism and abortion can provide useful insights into Americans' attitudes toward abortion.

Conclusion

This study was designed to examine how individuals' abortion attitudes are associated with their sexist ideas on gender roles, whether they had or have working mothers in their familial context, and whether they live in a state where abortion policy is strict. The results indicated that individuals' sexism was negatively associated with the idea that abortion should be allowed for any reason, whereas people whose mothers had paid jobs tended to support abortion. However, the strictness of state policies on abortion was not a significant factor in abortion attitudes across all models. The findings of this research will help establish better predictors of the reasoning behind whether an individual is prolife or pro-choice. A single-year dataset does not fully approve these relationships, which is a limitation of this study; therefore, further studies with a multiple-year dataset are required for deeper analysis. A comparative study with other countries would also provide a deeper understanding of this relationship.

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