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Pro-life and Pro-choice: What Shapes the Debate over Abortion in America?

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Abstract

The topic of abortion in the United States of America is one that is surrounded by immense political controversy, particularly surrounding the legality of the practice. While some individuals believe in varying levels of freedom of choice, many others believe that the overall practice is unjust and wrong in most, or all circumstances. What are some of the underlying factors that may shape an individual's stance on abortion? This research paper examines various significant factors such as religiosity, level of education, and age with regards to their potential correlation with an individual's stance on abortion. By examining this data, this paper intends to answer the question: under what conditions do individuals support abortion rights? Using data from the 2016 National Election Study, this paper analyzes carefully collected polling data, and features relevant figures and tables. In my research, I found support for a significant correlation between religiosity and level of education, and overall support for abortion rights. While I was able to successfully observe some correlation between the factors, I failed to find a significant correlation between an individual's age and their support for abortion rights. This paper also includes prior research done on these various factors and their correlations with support for abortion rights. Future research should further elaborate on age as well as correlations with other factors such as gender, which I did not account for in my research.

Keywords

Pro-choice, Pro-life, Religiosity, Education, Age

Disciplines

Health Policy | Political Science | Women's Studies

Comments

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Pro-life and Pro-choice: What Shapes the Debate over Abortion in America?

On January 22nd, 1973, the United States Supreme Court reached one of its most significant, yet highly controversial and widely debated decisions in our nation's history. The decision, now famously known as *Roe v. Wade* effectively legalized abortion in the United States after nearly a century of anti-abortion laws and legislation throughout much of the country. The court ruled that "a woman's right to an abortion was implicit in the right to privacy protected by the 14th amendment to the constitution," (History.com, 2018). Unlike other monumental decisions such as the desegregation of public schools in *Brown v. Board of Education*, a clear consensus on abortion laws among the general public has never been reached in the nearly 50 years since the court's decision. The strong resistance from the pro-life movement has kept the issue of abortion at the forefront, fueled by religion, morals, and politics. The basis for the law; founded in the constitutional right to privacy, has been criticized as far too broad to be meaningfully included in constitutional text (Wills, 2003). Because of the ongoing legal and moral differences regarding the topic of abortion, the issue itself is still widely debated and challenged today.

Under what conditions do individuals support abortion rights? The question about whether abortion should be legal and protected by the constitution or not is something that nearly everybody has an opinion about. When you break down people's opinions on abortion and why they believe what they do however, things begin to become far more complex. What are some of the factors that help shape and rationalize people's opinions on both sides of the abortion debate?

One of the most obvious factors to consider is someone's religiosity, religious affiliation, and interpretation of religious scripture. In America where Christianity is by far the most dominant religion, the bible teaches that "all human life is created in gods image," (The Christian Institute, 2020). Among those who are more religious and interpret the bible as the direct word of god, life is often seen as something that begins at conception, classifying abortion as murder in their eyes. Regarding religiosity, it is important to break down the topic as well as the provided data by factors such as age group and generation. By doing this, we can easily observe and analyze any significant trends or differences in beliefs broken down across generational lines. Does religion still hold the same level of influence over the beliefs and morals of younger generations as it did with older generations throughout previous decades? In the age of the internet and social media, information is much more readily accessible, and communication is far easier than it was in the past, allowing people to gather information and form opinions much more freely. Looking at other possible significant factors such as someone's level of education may also indicate a sizable difference in abortion stance among those possessing different levels of education. Someone who has received a college education for example will likely be far more supportive of legal abortion than someone with just a high school diploma (Saad, 2019). Considering factors such as level of education may initially seem beneficial to this study; however, potential limitations could arise when interpreting the results. While some may interpret this data as showing education level being a driving cause of someone's pro-choice stance, others may argue that it shows more about the characteristics of people who choose to pursue a higher education. This paper will explore various topics and factors related to religiosity, age, and education and their relationships to abortion stance. The goal of my research is to answer the question: under what circumstances will an individual be more likely to support abortion rights? By answering

this question, I intend to obtain a better understanding of the pro-life vs pro-choice debate as well as the psychology and arguments behind both sides.

Shaping the Debate

When discussing the topic of religiosity and its correlation with someone's stances on abortion, it is not hard to find plenty of pre-existing studies and polls displaying valuable data. As one may suspect, there are many studies that have shown a strong correlation between someone's religiosity and their stance on the legality of abortion. When breaking down the different religions, respondents who identify as some type of Christian are more likely to be split on the issue or significantly favor the pro-life side. According to one study by the Pew Research Center for example, 63% of Evangelical Protestants, 75% of Jehovah's Witnesses, and 70% of Mormons believed that abortion should be illegal in nearly all cases (Masci, 2018). These three factions of Christianity are notorious for their stricter interpretations of the teachings of the bible, which further supports a correlation between religiosity and abortion stance regarding Christianity. On the contrary, 82% of Buddhists, 68% of Hindu's, 83% of Jews, and around 87% of those who are religiously unaffiliated believed that abortion should be legal in all or most cases. When considering religiosity, it is important to consider the types of religions to include in this statistic. These majorly contrasting views on abortion stance between religious groups prove that it isn't just about the level of religiosity, its about the religious teachings itself. For my own research, I will primarily be referring to Christianity when discussing religiosity, since it is by far the most dominant religion in America as well as the most popular among the pro-life movement.

While the evidence between religiosity and abortion stance may seem substantial, it is critical to consider some of the other potential factors involved behind someone's religiosity and abortion stance. Someone's age, or generation for example can help bring some of these trends to the forefront and help explain why there is such a strong division on the issue of the legality of abortion. It is generally a well-known stereotype that younger generations, particularly millennials and younger are becoming less and less religious, and this generally indicates a shift towards pro-choice views. Is this stereotype supported by evidence, and if so, why exactly are levels of religiosity in younger generations decreasing? A research paper written by two Georgetown University professors conducted a generational study on abortion views and addressed counter arguments that younger generations held more pro-life views than previous generations. Respondents were separated into eight different cohorts and four time periods, and each respondent was presented with seven different circumstances in which they had to agree or disagree that abortion should be permitted. The results of the study varied based on the dataset that was used, one dataset appeared to support the argument that millennials and younger generations held more pro-life views while another dataset provided unclear results (Ladd and Wilcox, 2010). For the authors to better understand the results, they realized that their focus should be on smaller cohorts within these generations. Ladd and Wilcox further elaborated on other factors such as the respondents' gender and partisan affiliation and determined that there were more details and reasonings behind the results than what may meet the eye. The framing of the question asked, the respondents backgrounds, and the respondents age were all factors that were deemed as relevant by the authors in their research as to why their results were undecisive. Each generation has a different experience with abortion, and in our polarized world today,

certain factors may have a greater influence on someone's stance on abortion than it may have in the past.

When examining the psychology behind the changing levels of religiosity among generations, it is critical that the concept of religiosity is clearly understood and isn't being associated with another term. Considering spirituality as something that is separate from religiosity for example will show surprisingly different results for different generations due to different interpretations and spiritual practices. According to chapter eleven of the "Handbook of the Sociology of Religion," spirituality is now less contained by traditional religious structures and Americans are now turning to spiritual wellbeing practices as an alternative to organized religion. Just because younger generations have allegedly turned away from organized religion doesn't mean they do not consider themselves spiritual people. For many older generations, someone's spirituality would often be directly associated with traditional organized religions such as the belief in scripture, god, and an afterlife. In the passage, the author discussed how religion has undergone a major transformation over the past half century and spirituality is now more centered around a sense of connection with the universe and its wonders rather than "inhabiting sacred places" (Roof, 2003). Considering my elaboration on how Christianity is by far the dominant religion of the pro-life movement, the religiosity versus spirituality debate can tell us plenty about trends towards pro-life views among younger generations. As more people continue to abandon organized religions such as Christianity for individualized spiritual practices, the pro-life arguments of religious scripture don't carry nearly as much weight among younger generations as it did in the past. Because of this turn away from Christianity along with an increased sense of independence and wonder regarding spiritual beliefs and the universe, younger generations aren't effectively being convinced by pro-life arguments related to scripture.

While it may make sense, is there any evidence available that supports the idea that spirituality and religiosity carry two different meanings among various generational cohorts and age groups? Further examining the psychology as well as previously conducted studies can potentially provide me with plenty of relevant information that I can use to help interpret my research. A book by the Oxford University Press titled “Families and Faith: How Religion Is Passed down across Generations” touches on previous knowledge and studies that have been conducted relevant to this topic. After interpreting some of the surveys that were conducted, notable discoveries and findings were expressed by the author. In one study for example, even among millennials who did consider themselves religious, much of the same cohort also rarely attended religious ceremonies (Bengtson, 2017). While 22% of millennials (more than any other cohort) described themselves as not at all religious and 33% described themselves as not very religious, nearly all of whom described themselves as spiritual. The passage highlights the fact that while many millennials are spiritual people, they seem to reject organized, institutionalized religion. In another study conducted, many of the millennials who rejected the existence of a god remained uncertain about their beliefs. This study is evidence that millennials aren’t as eager to take part in an organization pushing or expressing beliefs regarding a topic that they believe hasn’t and can’t be scientifically proven. Even among older generations, the passage included accounts of people who were just simply turned off by the ritualistic nature of church and religion. In some of the interviews with individuals from the World War I generation, the excerpts clearly show fundamental differences in world views when compared to today’s younger generations. When questioned about religion, one person from the World War I generation was quoted saying, “well I do not know any other way” and “everything didn’t just get here by appearing.” Upon interpreting this statement, I observed that members of this

generation seemed to value traditional beliefs about god far more and didn't question their faith nearly as often as people do today. Today's younger generations have had a remarkably unique upbringing when compared to older generations. Today we are exposed to far more diverse viewpoints, technology is significantly more advanced, communication is easier, science has far more credibility, and accessing information via the internet can be done from nearly any place at any time.

While age and religiosity are two examples of relevant variables when discussing what shapes people's opinions on abortion, I am also interested in other variables that may less obviously contribute to someone's views on abortion. One factor that came to my mind as something I would like to analyze was education and its correlation with abortion stances. Among people with varying levels of education, will we see any clear relationships and trends with these individuals' stances on abortion? I believe that by observing the type and level of education an individual has received, I can potentially draw more obvious connections to the pro-life versus pro-choice debate. A journal article titled "Secularization, Higher Education, and Religiosity" by two Brigham Young University professors further explored the correlations between different levels of education and religiosity. The passage addresses the fact that according to previously conducted studies, national data suggests that among those who have received greater levels of secular education, levels of religiosity are also some of the lowest. The passage further emphasizes the rise of science and how many modern day "widely accepted" scientific world views are fundamentally incompatible with religious teachings. With more exposure to science that is seen as "at odds" with religious teachings, these religious teachings are likely to be questioned and met with skepticism among those who have received a higher level of education, especially one centered around science (Albrecht and Heaton, 1984). The

passage also further argued that higher education has a secularizing effect and as someone's intellectualism increases, they begin to question the world along with religious scriptures that do not support what they have learned. While considering education as a topic to use when dissecting the pro-life versus pro-choice debate, there are potential limitations that can prevent me from reaching a definitive conclusion. Despite potentially observing a definitive correlation between religiosity, level of education, and abortion stance, how should this information be interpreted? Reaching a conclusion as to whether these results show us more about the effect that a higher education may have on an individual, or the types of individuals who pursue a higher education may be difficult and inconclusive. Despite this potential limitation, I believe that by further examining education's impacts on these other factors, I can still draw relevant conclusions regarding the impact of science and other factors that may contribute to someone supporting abortion rights.

Explanations and Hypotheses for Research

The topic of abortion is complex and the data surrounding it helps to display just how polarizing the issue itself can be among the general public today. I believe that there are many different circumstances in which someone will be more likely to support abortion rights. I also believe that most of these factors are in some way connected to each other and play different individual roles in the rationale behind someone's beliefs. Religion and religiosity is one of, if not the most significant factor dividing Americans on abortion. Among more dedicated Christians whom are affiliated with branches of Christianity that follow a stricter interpretation of the bible, all life is believed to begin at conception. Because of this, abortion is viewed as the practice of killing the unborn which goes against their interpretations of the bible, causing pro-life favorability. Since younger generations are turning away from traditional organized religions

such as Christianity, it is seen as likely that these groups are more likely to support the pro-choice arguments. Younger generations such as millennials have been exposed to science and technology that older generations never experienced, likely further contributing to the abandonment of organized religion. Younger generations today are much less religious while equally as spiritual, likely resulting in a more openminded and objective view of the world and previously established norms and traditions.

Variables such as the level of education that someone may receive can also be indicative of the psychology behind the pro-life vs pro-choice debate. Sometimes while a correlation may seem clearly observable, the reasoning behind the observed relationship may be more complicated. Those who have received an education that is beyond a high school diploma for example may have a far more diverse, well-rounded, and detailed view of the world and some of its issues. I believe that the more someone is exposed to the world as well as credible information from many different perspectives, they are more likely to turn away from traditional religious values and organized religion. If something cannot be proven with complete scientific certainty such as an organized religion, younger people are much less likely to have faith than older people. The impact of education on abortion stance may not be as clear as it may seem, however. The observed correlations between a higher education and a shift in favorability towards the pro-choice arguments may tell us more about the types of people who pursue a higher education rather than the effects of a higher education. It is also likely that those who pursue a higher education are the types of people who like to think objectively and challenge their previous views of the world.

For this research, stances on abortion will serve as my dependent variable and I will be comparing all other variables alongside it to observe any sort of relationship or correlation. I will

be controlling for the respondent's religiosity and religious affiliation since this can affect how an individual morally perceives abortion. I will be controlling for the respondents age, because observing where respondents of different age groups place their support can help us better understand what shapes the pro-choice vs pro-life debate. Finally, I will be controlling for the respondent's level of education since observing trends between someone's education and abortion stance can show more about why someone may be more likely to be more supportive of abortion laws than others. In order to understand under what circumstances someone will be more likely to support abortion rights, I will be testing three different hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: In comparison of individuals, among religious people, Christians showing higher levels of religiosity will be less likely to support abortion rights.

Hypothesis 2: In comparison of individuals, among various generations of Americans, younger generations will be more likely to support abortion rights.

Hypothesis 3: In comparison of individuals, individuals who have received higher levels of education are more likely to support abortion rights.

Research Design

Introduction

In order to test these hypotheses, I examined data primarily from the 2016 American National Election Study (NES). This dataset contained information gathered from the previous 2016 election cycle. Most variables consisted of relevant, politically debated issues which were likely representative of the differences between members of two different parties running for office. The National Election Study data contained information from 4,271 randomly surveyed respondents of all genders, races, and political affiliations. The information from this dataset was

collected through direct engagement with eligible United States voters to ensure the most accurate and representative results. I selected this dataset because abortion itself is an issue that is very politically polarizing and widely debated during election cycles, and I believe other datasets available will allow me to observe its correlation with other relevant factors. The 2016 National Election Study provided me with plenty of data regarding public opinion on issues that may determine how someone votes, including abortion, religious beliefs, age, and even level of education. All these factors should sufficiently provide me with the appropriate information to answer my research question. Limitations that I may face during the execution of my research will most likely involve the datasets that are available for me to use. The lack of information that is available for me to use may prevent me from considering certain factors that may account for the results that I had or had not anticipated.

Variable Measurements

In order to operationalize stances on legal abortion, I will use the tabulate command to observe the various stances of the respondents in order to better understand the results. In the dataset, the “abortion” variable represented opinions on abortion, and under what conditions abortion should be legal. The dataset divided the responses to the question into four categories involving the circumstances as to which the respondent would favor legal abortion (never, some conditions, more conditions, always). As indicated in the NES dataset (Table 1), the mode of the data was “always” with 45.91% of respondents indicating they would support legal abortion under all circumstances. When compared to other datasets such as the General Social Survey (GSS 2016) dataset (Table 2), I believe that the NES dataset is the appropriate one for me to use. The GSS dataset divides respondents into seven numerical categories rather than four, and the survey size is significantly smaller with only 1,651 respondents. I believe the division into four

categories will be far more simple to interpret, and the larger sample size will be more representative of the overall population.

Table 1: Respondents' opinions on abortion legality (NES 2016)

Abortion opinion	Frequency	Percent	Total
Never	544	12.93	12.93
Some Conditions	1,116	26.52	39.45
More Conditions	616	14.64	54.09
Always	1,932	45.91	100.00
Total	4,208	100.00	100.00

Table 2: Number of Conditions Abortion Should be Legal (GSS 2016)

Legal under how many conditions?	Frequency	Percent	Total
0	144	8.72	8.72
1	130	7.87	16.60
2	149	9.02	25.62
3	307	18.59	44.22
4	116	7.03	51.24
5	75	4.54	55.78
6	100	6.06	61.84
7	630	38.16	100.00
Total	1,651	100.00	100.00

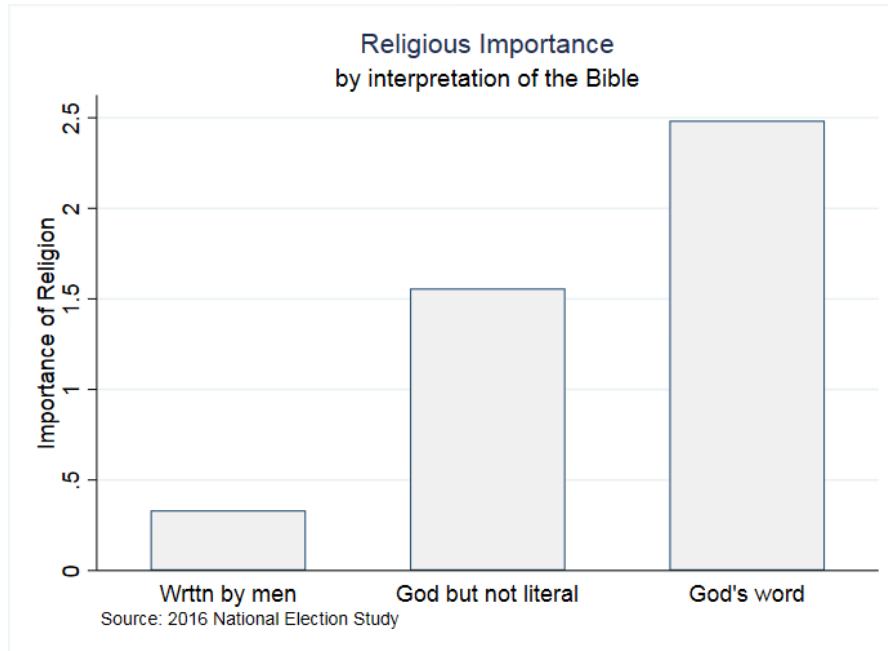
When factoring in my independent variables such as the respondent's religious beliefs and religiosity, age group, and level of education with the dependent variable (support for legal abortion), I will use all provided NES variables. The dataset contains variables such as "Relig_imp" which displays the importance of religion to each respondent in four categories (not important, somewhat important, quite a bit important, and a great deal important). The dataset also contains variables such as "Bible" that I can potentially factor into my research to provide

me with more information. The “Bible” variable concerns the respondent’s interpretation of the Christian bible by breaking it into three categories asking the respondent if they believe the bible was the literal word of god, the “non-literal” word of god, or written by men. According to table 3, the mode for biblical interpretation among respondents was that the bible was the word of god but didn’t believe literal interpretation was necessary. Nearly an equal number of respondents said that religion was not important to them, as well as those who said religion was a great deal important to them. Despite their similarity, the mode of the dataset was that religion was not important to the greatest bloc of respondents, with 1,442 answering this. When comparing importance of religion with interpretation of the bible as displayed in Figure 1, some pretty clear and relevant correlations do appear to surface between these factors, supporting my intentions to further evaluate these results.

Table 3. Respondents religiosity and interpretation of Bible (NES 2016)

Is religion important to the respondent?	Is the Bible the word of God or Men?			Total
	Written by Men	God (Not Literal)	God's Word (Literal)	
Not important	852	530	60	1,442
Somewhat	77	362	103	542
Quite a bit	59	477	237	773
Great deal	50	566	808	1,424
Total	1,038	1,935	1,208	4,181

Figure 1. Bar graph of the relationship between importance of religion and interpretation of the bible.



In the dataset, age is represented by several different variables, but I plan to use the variable “Age6” for my research since it adequately summarizes the results of the data. This dataset divides each age bracket into 6 categories: 18-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70+ (Table 4). Using this variable when comparing to the respondent’s stances on abortion should help me answer my hypothesis regarding any potential correlation between age group and stances on abortion.

Table 4. Respondents broken down by age group

Age group	Frequency	Percent	Total
18-29	652	15.71	15.71
30-39	761	18.34	34.05
40-49	620	14.94	48.99
50-59	781	18.82	67.81
60-69	769	18.53	86.34
70+	567	13.66	100.00
Total	4,150	100.00	100.00

Level of education broken down into four classes is represented by the “educ4” variable in the dataset, and I believe by comparing this variable to public opinion on abortion, I can successfully analyze any potential trends. I selected this dataset because I believe that in order to answer my hypothesis of if those who have received a higher level of education are more likely to support legal abortion, it would be best to divide the respondents into the least amount of categories to show the most drastic differences between education level and abortion stance. Table 5 shows the four categories that the data is divided in to for interpretation (HS or less, some college/an associate degree, BA, and Graduate School).

Table 5. Education level broken down by respondents

Education Level	Frequency	Percent	Total
HS or less	1,092	25.83	25.83
Some Coll./Associate	1,500	35.49	61.32
BA	955	22.59	83.91
Graduate school	680	16.09	100.00
Total	4,227	100.00	100.00

Model Estimation

In my study, my dependent variable, which was stances on abortion was divided into four different categories. Upon observation, I determined that I would be using an Ordinal Logistic Regression (OLS) as my statistical model. I chose to use this model because both my dependent variable as well as all my independent variables are non-binary since there are more than just two factors for each variable. I conducted one logistic regression table for my research in order to compare the relationships between my dependent variable and my four different independent variables. When controlling for each different independent variable, the table displayed how changes in each variable accurately impacted the respondent’s stance on abortion. Importance of

religion, interpretation of the bible, and level of education were all ordinal measurements; therefore, I held these three variables at their median. For importance of religion the median was 2, for interpretation of the bible the median was 1, and for level of education the median was 2. Age group was an interval measurement; therefore, I held this variable to its mean which was 3.47.

Results

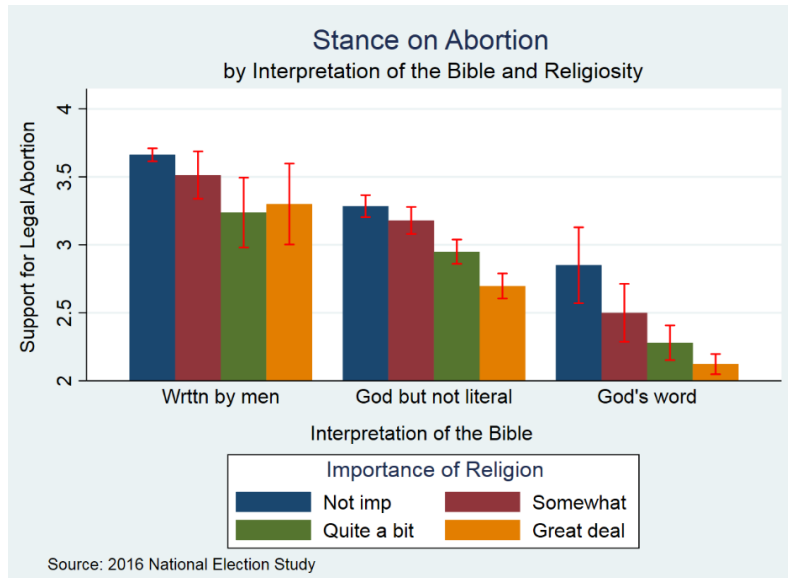
Table 6. Effects on pro-choice opinions

VARIABLES	abortion
Relig_imp	-0.208*** (0.0153)
Bible	-0.448*** (0.0271)
Age6	0.0378*** (0.00931)
educ4	0.110*** (0.0155)
Constant	3.332*** (0.0554)
Observations	4,022
R-squared	0.253

Standard errors in parentheses, Abortion Stance: 1 = never, 2 = some conditions, 3 = more conditions, 4 = always. Religious Importance: 1 = not important, 2 = somewhat important, 3 = quite a bit important, 4 = great deal important. Bible Interpretation: 1 = written by men, 2 = word of god but not literal, 3 = god's word. Age Group: 1 = 18-29, 2 = 30-39, 3 = 40-49, 4 = 50-59, 5 = 60-69, 6 = 70+. Education: 1 = HS or less, 2 = Some College/Associate, 3 = BA, 4 = Graduate School

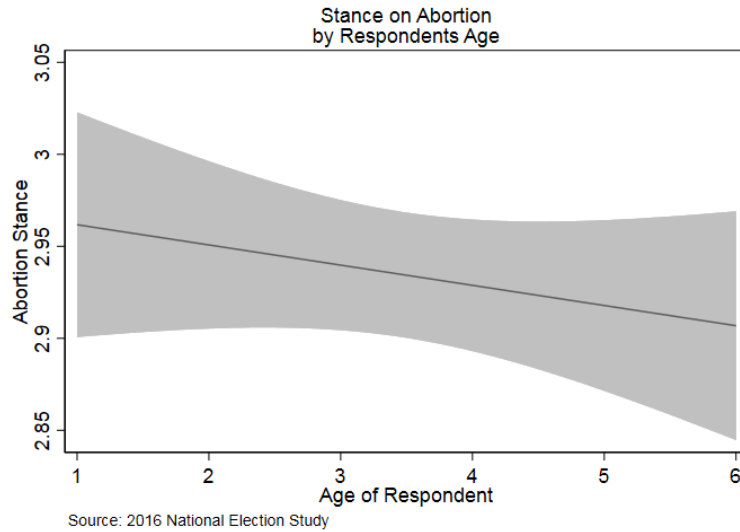
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 2. A detailed bar graph that includes all relevant variables related to religiosity along with 95% confidence intervals.



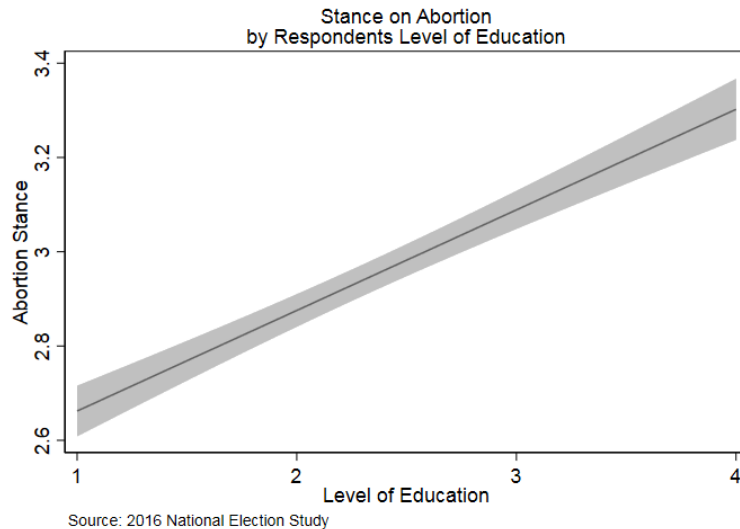
The results of my regression table and bar graph supports my hypothesis that among those respondents who are more religious and practice stricter interpretations of Christianity, we will see far less support for abortion. For both importance of religion and interpretation of the bible, the p value was less than .01, meaning that I can reject the null hypothesis and accept my own hypothesis. The results of this graph didn't surprise me, as prior research suggested that I was likely to observe some sort of significant correlation between these variables. On average, each increase in the level of importance regarding religion caused support for legal abortion to fall by -0.208. Upon those holding stricter interpretations of the bible, support for legal abortion on average fell -0.448 which was the most significant result observed.

Figure 3. Linear graph of the correlation between the respondents age group and their support for legal abortion including 95% confidence intervals.



The results of Table 6 and Figure 3 both show that the support that is necessary for me to reject the null hypothesis wasn't there, rejecting my hypothesis that as respondents got older they would likely become more pro-life. According to the table, as a respondent is placed in an older age group, they on average lose support for legal abortion by .0378. Because this number is so miniscule and the confidence intervals overlap significantly, not enough support is provided for me to accept my hypothesis. This result surprised me, due to prior research and stereotypes I expected to see a far more significant correlation, particularly much greater support for abortion among the younger generations than among the older generations.

Figure 4. Linear graph displaying the relationship between abortion stance and the respondent's greatest level of education completed, including 95% confidence intervals.



The results of Table 6 and Figure 4 appeared to once again show a significant correlation between my dependent and independent variable. After observing the graph and the table of information, I am able to reject the null hypothesis in support of my own hypothesis that as education levels increased, the respondent was more likely to support legal abortion. According to the table, as someones level of education increased to a new class, their support for legal abortion increased by 0.110 on average. As displayed in the graph, a steady trend can be observed with no overlapping of confidence intervals. The results of this test were as expected based on my prior research of higher education and its secularizing effects.

Discussion and Conclusions

My findings were mostly successful as I was able to support two of my hypotheses. I was able to find the evidence to support my hypothesis that among christians with greater levels of religiosity, support for abortion rights would be lower. I was also able to support my hypothesis that as a respondents level of education increases, they will be far more likely to support abortion rights. These findings help reveal some of the most significant factors shaping the general

publics stances on abortion. The correlation between importance of religion, interpretation of the bible, and abortion stance was unmistakably evident and further emphasized the role played by religion in the abortion debate. Trends in level of education and its correlation with abortion stance also revealed some valuable information regarding the effects of higher education on a persons beliefs and morals as I observed a steady increase in support through all four levels of education. The only circumstance in which my hypothesis wasn't supported conclusively was my hypothesis that I would observe far less support for abortion rights among older generations. This surprised me as I had previously been under the impression that I would observe the greatest correlation between these variables based on previous research. These findings reveal that while there could be slight differences with regards to abortion stance across different age groups, it is not as obvious as I previously anticipated.

Prior research conducted on religiosity versus spirituality among different generational cohorts helped to explain why I observed such decisive evidence that more religious respondents would be more pro-life. As previously explored in chapter eleven of the "Handbook of the Sociology of Religion," millennials and younger generations have begun to engage in spiritual practices outside of organized religion (Roof, 2003). This has led to a more developed and critical world view as well as a loss of interest in the teachings of the bible. Prior to my research, I was somewhat surprised to find such inconsistent and inconclusive data on the relationship between age and abortion stance. The study that had been done by Ladd and Wilcox from Georgetown University showed inconsistent and inconclusive results on this relationship. Future research on this topic should further analyze the correlation between age and abortion stance. This includes analyzing information from more cohorts rather than the six that were included in the 'Age6' variable and controlling for other potentially significant variables such as gender.

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