Introduction: The Politics of Abortion 50 Years after *Roe*

Katrina Kimport
University of California, San Francisco

Rebecca Kreitzer
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Abstract

Abortion is central to the Amerian political landscape and a common pregnancy outcome, yet research on abortion has been siloed and marginalized in the social sciences: in an empirical analysis, we find only 22 articles published in this century in the top economics, political science, and sociology journals. This special issue aims to bring abortion research into a more generalist space, challenging what we term the "abortion research paradox" wherein abortion research is largely absent from prominent disciplinary social science journals but flourishes in interdisciplinary and specialized journals. After discussing the misconceptions that likely contribute to abortion research siloization and the implications of this siloization on abortion research as well as social science knowledge more generally, this essay introduces the articles in this special issue. Then, in a call for continued and expanded research on abortion, this essay closes by offering three guiding practices for abortion scholars—both those new to the topic and those already deeply familiar—in the hopes of building an ever-richer body of literature on abortion politics, policy, and law. The need for such a robust literature is especially acute following the United States Supreme Court's June 2022 overturning of the constitutional right to abortion.

Keywords Abortion, siloization, marginalization, social sciences, *Roe v. Wade*

Abortion has been both siloed and marginalized in social science research. But as a perennially politically and socially contested issue as well as vital health care that 1 in 4 women in the United States will experience in their lifetime (Jones and Jerman 2022), it is imperative that social scientists make a change. This special issue brings together insightful voices from across disciplines to do just that—and does so at a particularly imperative historical moment. Fifty years after the United States Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* (1973) decision set a national

Both authors contributed equally to this essay and are listed alphabetically

Forthcoming in an issue of *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*. *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* is published by Duke University Press. DOI: 10.1215/03616878-10451382.

standard amid disparate state policies on abortion, we find ourselves again in a country with a patchwork of laws about abortion. In June 2022, the Supreme Court overturned the constitutional right to abortion it had established in *Roe* in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* (2022), purportedly returning the question of legalization of abortion to the states. In the immediate aftermath of the *Dobbs* decision, state policies polarized and public opinion shifted. This moment demands scholarly evaluation of where we have been, how we arrived at this moment, and what we should be attentive to in coming years. This special issue came about, in part, in response to the on-the-ground conditions of abortion in the United States.

As we argue below, the siloization of abortion research means that the social science literature broadly is not (yet) equipped to make sense of this moment, our history, and what the future holds. First, though, we make a case for the importance of political scientists, economists, and sociologists studying abortion. Then, we describe the siloization of abortion research through what we call the "abortion research paradox" wherein abortion research, despite its social and political import, is curiously absent from top disciplinary journals, even as it thrives in other, often interdisciplinary, usually specialized publication venues. We theorize some sources for this siloization and discuss the consequences, both to generalist knowledge and to scientific understanding of abortion. We then introduce the articles in this special issue, noting the breadth of methodological, topical, and theoretical approaches to abortion research they demonstrate. Finally, we offer three suggestions for scholars—both those new to and those already deeply familiar with abortion research—embarking on research on abortion in the hopes of building an ever-richer body of literature on abortion politics, policy, and law.

Why Abortion?

Abortion has arguably shaped the American political landscape more than any other domestic policy issue in the last 50 years. Since a nationwide right to abortion was initially established in 1973 by the United States Supreme Court in *Roe v. Wade,* debate over this right has influenced elections at just about every level of office (Abramowitz 1995; Roh and Haider-Markel 2003; Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox 1994; Cook, Hartwig, and Wilcox 1993; Cook, Jelen, and Wilcox 1992; Paolino 1995), inspired political activism (Carmines and Woods 2002; Maxwell 2002; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Killian and Wilcox 2008) and social movements (Rohlinger 2006; Munson 2010; Munson 2010; Kretschmer 2014; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996; 2008; Staggenborg 1991), and fundamentally structured partisan politics (Adams 1997; Carsey and Layman 2006; Killian and Wilcox 2008). Position on abortion is frequently used as *the* litmus test for those seeking political office (Flaten 2010; Kreitzer and Osborn 2019). Opponents to legal abortion have transformed the federal judiciary (Hollis-Brusky and Wilson 2020; Hollis-Brusky and Parry 2021). Indeed, abortion is often called the quintessential "morality policy" issue (Mooney 2001; Kreitzer 2015; Kreitzer, Kane, and Mooney 2019; Mucciaroni, Ferraiolo, and Rubado 2019) and "ground zero" in the prominent culture wars that have polarized Americans (Mouw and Sobel 2001; Adams 1997; Lewis 2017; Wilson 2013). Just under fifty years after *Roe v. Wade*, in June 2022, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the constitutional right to abortion in its *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* decision, ushering in a new chapter of political engagement on abortion.

But abortion isn't simply an abstract political issue, it's an extremely common pregnancy outcome. Indeed, as noted above, about 1 in 4 US women will get an abortion in her lifetime (Jones and Jerman 2022), though the rates of unintended pregnancy and abortion vary substantially across racial and socioeconomic groups (Dehlendorf, Harris, and Weitz 2013; Jones

and Jerman 2022). Despite rampant misinformation claiming otherwise, abortion is a safe procedure (Raymond and Grimes 2012; Upadhyay et al. 2015), reduces physical health consequences and mortality (Gerdts et al. 2016), and does not cause mental health issues (Major et al. 2009; Charles et al. 2008) or regret (Rocca et al. 2013; 2020; 2015). Abortion has a significant impact on people's lives beyond health. Legal abortion is associated with educational attainment (Everett et al. 2019; Ralph et al. 2019; Mølland 2016) as well as higher female labor force participation, and it impacts men's and women's long-term earnings potential (Bernstein and Jones 2019; Bloom et al. 2009; Kalist 2004; Everett et al. 2019). Access to abortion also shapes relationship satisfaction and stability (Biggs et al. 2014; Mauldon, Foster, and Roberts 2015). The preponderance of evidence, in other words, demonstrates substantial benefits and no harms to allowing pregnant people to choose abortion.

Yet access to abortion in the United States has been rapidly declining for years. Most abortion care in the United States takes place in standalone, outpatient facilities that primarily provide reproductive healthcare (Jones, Witwer, and Jerman 2019). As antiabortion legislators in some states have advanced policies that target these facilities, the number of abortion clinics has shrunk (Gerdts et al. 2022; Venator and Fletcher 2021), leaving large geographical areas lacking an abortion facility (Cartwright et al. 2018; Cohen and Joffe 2020) and thus diminishing pregnant people's ability to obtain abortion care when and where they need. The effects of policies regulating abortion, including those that target facilities, have been unevenly experienced, with people of color (Jones and Jerman 2022), people in rural areas (Bearak, Burke, and Jones 2017) and those who are financially struggling (Cook et al. 1999; Roberts et al. 2019) disproportionately impacted. Even before the *Dobbs* decision overturned the constitutional right to abortion, the American landscape was characterized by ever-broadening contraception deserts

(Kreitzer et al. 2021; Smith et al. 2022; Barber et al. 2019; Axelson, Sealy, and McDonald-Mosley 2022), maternity care deserts (Wallace et al. 2021; Simpson 2020; Taporco et al. 2021), and abortion deserts (Cartwright et al. 2018; Pleasants, Cartwright, and Upadhyay 2022; Cohen and Joffe 2020; McNamara et al. 2022; Engle and Freeman 2022). After *Dobbs*, access to abortion around the country changed over the course of weeks. In the 100 days after *Roe* was overturned, at least 66 clinics closed in 15 states, with 14 of those states no longer having any abortion facilities (Kirstein et al. 2022). In this moment of heightened contention over an issue with a long history of social and political contestation, social scientists have a rich opportunity to contribute to scientific knowledge as well as policy and practice that affect millions of lives. This special issue steps into that opportunity.

The Abortion Research Paradox

This special issue is also motivated by a paradox we dub the "abortion research paradox." As established above, abortion fundamentally shapes politics in a myriad of ways and is a very common pregnancy outcome, with research consistently demonstrating that access to abortion is consequential and beneficial to people's lives—yet research on abortion in the social sciences is rarely published in top disciplinary journals. Abortion is a topic of clear social science interest and well-suited for social science inquiry, but relatively under-represented as a topic in generalist social science journals. To measure this empirically, we searched for original research articles about abortion in the United Sates in the top journals of political science, sociology, and economics. We identified the top journals for each discipline by considering journal reputation within their respective disciplines, as well as impact factors and google scholar rankings. (There is room for debate about what makes a journal a "top" general interest journal but this is beyond

our scope. Whether these journals are *exactly* the "top 3" is debatable; nonetheless, these are undoubtedly among the top general interest or "flagship" disciplinary journals and thus representative of what the respective disciplines value as top scholarship.) Then, we searched specified journal databases for the keyword "abortion" for articles published in this century (i.e., 2000-2021), excluding commentaries and book reviews. We found few articles about abortion: just 7 in economics journals; 8 in political science journals; and 7 in sociology journals. We read the articles and classified each into one of three categories: articles primarily about abortion; articles about more than one aspect of reproductive health, inclusive of abortion; or articles about several policy issues among which abortion is one (Table 1).

[Table 1 about here]

In the three top economics journals, articles about abortion focused on the relationships between abortion and crime or educational attainment, or the impact of abortion policies on trends in the timing of first births of women (Myers 2017; Bitler and Zavodny 2002; Donohue III and Levitt 2001). Articles that studied abortion as one among several topics also studied "morally controversial" issues (Elías et al. 2017), the electoral implications of abortion (Washington 2008; Glaeser, Ponzetto, and Shapiro 2005), or contraception (Bailey 2010). Articles published in the three top political science journals that focused primarily on abortion evaluated judicial decision-making and legitimacy (Caldarone, Canes-Wrone, and Clark 2009; Zink, Spriggs, and Scott 2009) or public opinion (Kalla, Levine, and Broockman 2022; Rosenfeld, Imai, and Shapiro 2016). More commonly, abortion was one of several (or many) different issues analyzed, including government spending and provision of services, and government help for African Americans, law enforcement, health care, and education, free speech, Hatch Act restrictions, and the Clinton impeachment. The degree to which these articles

are "about abortion" varies considerably. In the three top sociology journals, articles represented a slightly broader range of topics, including policy diffusion (Boyle, Kim, and Longhofer 2015), public opinion (Mouw and Sobel 2001), social movements (Ferree 2003), and crisis pregnancy centers (McVeigh, Crubaugh, and Estep 2017). Unlike in economics and political science, articles in sociology on abortion mostly focused directly on abortion.

The *Journal of Health Politics, Policy, and Law* (JHPPL) would seem well positioned to publish research on abortion. Yet, even in JHPPL, abortion research isn't very common. In the same time period (2000-2021), JHPPL published 5 articles on reproductive health: two articles on abortion (Daniels et al. 2016; Kimport, Johns, and Upadhyay 2018), one on contraception (Kreitzer et al. 2021), one on forced interventions on pregnant people (Paltrow and Flavin 2013), and one about how states could respond to the passage of the Affordable Care Act mandate regarding reproductive health (Stulberg 2013).

This is not to say that there is not extensive, rigorous published research on abortion in the social science literature. Interdisciplinary journals focused on reproductive health such as *Contraception* and *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health,* as well as health research journals such as the *American Journal of Public Health* and *Social Science & Medicine* regularly published high quality social science research on abortion. Research on abortion can also be found in disciplinary subfield journals. In the same time period addressed above, the *Journal of Women, Politics, and Public Policy* and *Politics & Gender*—two subfield journals focused on gender and politics—each published around 20 articles that mentioned abortion in the abstract. In practice, while this means excellent research on abortion is published, the net effect is that abortion research is siloed from other research areas in the disciplines of economics, political science, and sociology. This special issue aims to redress some of this siloization as well as

inspire future scholarship on abortion. Our motivation is not simply premised on quantitative counts, however. As we assert below, there are significant consequences to knowledge and, pointedly, to real people's lives of abortion research siloization. First, though, we consider some of the possible reasons for this siloization.

The Origins of Siloization

We do not know why abortion research is not more commonly published in top disciplinary journals given the topic's clear importance in key areas of focus for these disciplines, including public discourse, politics, law, family life, and health. The siloing and marginalization of abortion is likely related to several misconceptions. For one, because of social contention on the issue, peer reviewers may not have a deep understanding of abortion as a research topic, may express hostility to the topic, or may believe that abortion is exceptional in some way—a "niche" or "ungeneralizable" research topic better published in a sub-field journal. Scholars themselves may share this mischaracterization of abortion. As Borgman (2014) argues about the legal arena and Roberts, Schroeder and Joffe (2020) provide evidence of in medicine, abortion is regularly treated as exceptional, making it both definitional and reasonable that abortion be treated differently in the law and healthcare than other medical experiences. Scholars are not immune from social patterns that exceptionalize abortion. In their peer and editor reviews, they may inappropriately—and perhaps inadvertently—draw on their social, rather than academic, knowledge. For scholars of abortion, reviews premised in social knowledge may not be constructive to strengthening the research and, moreover, may require additional labor to educate reviewers and editors on the academic parameters of the topic, including what social assumptions about abortion are scientifically inaccurate. Comments from authors educating editors and peer

reviewers on abortion research may then, counterintuitively, reinforce the (mis)perception that abortion research is "niche" and not of general interest.

Secondly, negative experiences trying to publish about abortion or reproductive health in top disciplinary journals may compound as scholars share information about journals. This is the case for research on gender; evidence from political science suggests that certain journals are perceived as more or less likely to publish research on gender (Brown et al. 2020). Such reputations, especially as a venue that does not publish abortion research, may not even be rooted in negative experiences. The absence of published articles on abortion may itself dissuade scholars from submitting to a journal based on an "educated guess" that the journal is not welcoming of abortion research. Regardless of the veracity of these perceptions, certain journals may get a reputation for publishing on abortion (or not), which then may make future submissions of abortion research to those outlets more (or less) likely. Authors, after all, seek publication venues where they believe their research will get a robust review and is likely to be published. This pattern may be more common for some author groups than others: research from political science suggests women are more risk averse than men when it comes to publishing strategies and less likely to submit manuscripts to journals where the perceived likelihood of successful publication is lower (Key and Sumner 2019). Special issues like this one are an important way for journals without a substantial track record of publishing abortion research to establish their willingness to do so.

Third, there might be a methodological bias, which unevenly intersects with some author groups. Top disciplinary journals are more likely to publish quantitative rather than qualitative approaches—which, notably, can result in the exclusion of women and minority scholars who are more likely to utilize mixed or qualitative methods (Teele and Thelen 2017). To the extent

that investigations of abortion in the social sciences have utilized qualitative rather than quantitative methods, that might explain the underrepresentation of abortion-focused scholarship in top disciplinary journals.

Stepping back from the idiosyncrasies of peer review and methodologies, a fourth explanation for why abortion research is not more prominent in generalist social science journals may lie far earlier than the publishing process. There may be an under-supply of scholars at PhD-granting departments in social sciences with expertise in reproductive health to provide mentorship of junior scholars interested in studying abortion. (We firmly believe one need not be an expert in reproductive health to mentor junior scholars studying reproductive health, so this explanation only goes so far.) Anecdotally, we have experienced and heard many accounts of scholars who were discouraged from focusing on abortion in dissertation research because of advisors', mentors', and senior scholars' misconceptions about the topic and the viability of a career in abortion research. In data provided to us by Key and Sumner from their analysis of the "leaky pipeline" in the publication of gender at top disciplinary journals in political science (Key and Sumner 2019), there were only 9 dissertations written between 2000 and 2013 that mention abortion in the abstract, most of which are focused on judicial behavior or political party dynamics rather than focusing on abortion policy itself. If few junior scholars focus on abortion, it makes sense there may be an under-supply of cutting edge research on abortion in the social sciences submitted to top disciplinary journals.

The Implications of Siloization

The relative lack of scholarly attention to abortion as a social phenomenon in generalist journals has implications for general scholarship. Most concerningly, it limits our ability to understand

other social phenomena for which the *case* of abortion is a useful entry point. For example, the case of abortion, as a common, highly safe medical procedure, is useful for examining medical innovations and technologies, such as telemedicine. Similarly, given the disparities in who seeks and obtains abortion care in the United States, abortion is an excellent case study for scholars interested in race, class, and gender inequality. It also holds great potential as a case for exploration of public opinion and attitudes, particularly as a case of an issue whose ties to partisan politics have solidified over time and that is often—but not always—"moralized" in policy engagement (Kreitzer, Kane, and Mooney 2019). Additionally, there are missed opportunities for theory-generating from the specifics of abortion. For example, there is regular evidence of abortion stigma and stigmatization (Hanschmidt et al. 2016) and its effects on people who obtain abortions (Sorhaindo and Lavelanet 2022). This research is often unmoored from existing theorization on stigmatization, however, because the bulk of the stigma literature focuses on identities—and having had an abortion is not an identity the same way as, for example, being queer is. (For a notable exception to this trend, see Beynon-Jones 2017.)

There is, it must be noted, at least one benefit of abortion research being regularly siloed within social science disciplines. The small—but growing—number of researchers engaged in abortion research has often had to seek mentorship and collaborations outside of their disciplines. Indeed, several of the articles included in this special issue come from multidisciplinary author teams, building bridges between disciplinary literatures and pushing knowledge forward. Somewhat unique in the academy, social scientists studying abortion regularly engage with research by clinicians and clinician-researchers. The interdisciplinary journals noted above that regularly publish social science abortion research (i.e., *Contraception* and *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health*) also regularly publish clinical articles and are read by advocates and

policymakers. The audiences that social scientists studying abortion reach, in other words, frequently include clinicians, advocates, and policymakers, marking an opportunity for social science research to influence practice.

The siloization of abortion research in the social sciences not only impacts broad social science knowledge; it also dramatically shapes our understanding of abortion. When abortion researchers are largely relegated to their own spaces, they risk missing opportunities to learn from other areas of scholarship that are not abortion-related. Lacking context from other topics, abortion scholars may inaccurately understand an aspect of abortion as exceptional that is not or reinvent the proverbial theoretical "wheel" to describe a phenomenon for which abortion is not unique, but simply a case of. For example, scholars have studied criminalized behavior for decades, offering theoretical insights and methodological best practices for research on illegal activities. With abortion now illegal in many states, abortion researchers can benefit from drawing on that extant literature to examine the implications of illegality, identifying what is unique about abortion illegality and what is common to other illegal activities. Likewise, methodologically, abortion researchers can learn from other researchers on illegal activities about how to protect participants' confidentiality.

The ontological and epistemological implications for the siloization of abortion research extend beyond reproductive health. When abortion research is not part of the central discussions in economics, political science, and sociology, our understanding of health policy, politics, and law is impoverished. With both conceptual and practical consequences, we miss opportunities to identify and address chronic health disparities and health inequities. These oversights matter for people's lives. Following the June 2022 *Dobbs* decision, millions of people with the capacity of pregnancy are now barred from one key way to control fertility: abortion. The implications of

scholars' failure to comprehensively grapple with the place of abortion in health policy, politics, and law are playing out in their lives and the lives of their loved ones.

Articles in this Special Issue

Into this landscape, we offer this special issue on "The Politics of Abortion 50 Years After *Roe*." We seek in this special issue to illustrate to some of the many ways abortion can and should be studied, with benefits not only to scholarly knowledge about abortion and its role in policy, politics, and law but also to general knowledge about health policy, politics, and law itself.

The included articles represent multiple disciplines—including, as noted above, several articles by teams that are multidisciplinary themselves. Although public health has long been a welcoming home for abortion research, authors in this special issue point to opportunities in anthropology, sociology, and political science, among other disciplines, for the study of abortion. We do not see the differences and variations among disciplinary approaches as a competition. Rather, we believe that the more diverse the body of researchers grappling with questions about abortion, abortion provision, and abortion patients, the better our collective knowledge about abortion and its role in the social landscape.

The same goes for diversity of methodological approaches. Authors in this issue employ qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods, showcasing compelling methodological variation. There is no singular or best methodology for answering research questions about abortion. Instead, the impressive variation in methodological approaches in this special issue highlights the vast methodological opportunities for future research. Diverse methodologies enable diverse research questions. Indeed, different methods can identify, generate, and respond to different research questions, enriching the literature on abortion. The methodologies represented in this

issue are certainly not exhaustive, but we believe they are suggestive of future opportunities for scholarly exploration and investigation. We hope that these articles will provide a roadmap for rich expansions of the research literature on abortion.

By way of brief introduction, we offer short summaries of the included articles. Baker traces the history of medication abortion in the United States, cataloging the initial approval of the two-part regimen by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), subsequent policy debates over FDA-imposed restrictions to how medication abortion is dispensed, and the work of abortion access advocates to get medication abortion to people who need it. Weaving together accounts of healthcare policy, abortion advocacy, and on-the-ground activism, Baker illustrates not only the unique contentions specific to abortion policy but also how the history of medication abortion can be seen as a case of healthcare advocacy.

Articles by Roth and Lee and Carson and Carter focus on state-level legislative policy on abortion. Roth and Lee generate an original dataset cataloging the introduction and implementation of statutes on abortion and other aspects of reproductive health at the state level in the United States monthly, from 1994-2022. In their descriptive analysis, Roth and Lee highlight trends in abortion legislation and the emergent pattern of state polarization around abortion. A valuable resource for future scholarship, their examination adds rich longitudinal context to contemporary analyses of reproductive health legislation. Carson and Carter similarly attend to state-level legislation, zeroing in on the case of abortion policy in response to the COVID-19 pandemic to show how legislation unrelated to abortion has been opportunitistically used to restrict abortion access as well as how abortion is discursively constructed as a risk to public health. This latter move, the authors argue, builds on previous constructions of abortion as

a risk to individual health and points to a new horizon of antiabortion constructions of the meaning of abortion access.

Kim et al. and Kumar examine the implementation of US abortion policies. Kim et al. use an original dataset of 20 years of state supreme court decisions to investigate factors that affect state supreme court decision-making on abortion. Their regression analysis uncovers the complex relationship between state legislatures, state supreme courts, and the voting public for the case of abortion. Kumar charts some of the impacts of 50 years of US abortion policy on global access to abortion, offering a window into the under-attended to implications of U.S. abortion policy internationally as well as insights into social movement advocacy around the world that has expanded abortion access.

Karlin and Joffe and Heymann et al. draw on data collected when *Roe* was still the law of the land to investigate phenomena that are likely to become far more common now that *Roe* has been overturned. Karlin and Joffe utilize interviews with 40 physicians who provide abortions to examine their perspectives on people who terminate their pregnancies outside of the formal healthcare system—an abortion pathway whose popularity increases when abortion access constricts (Aiken et al. 2022). Contextualizing their findings on the contradictions physicians voiced—desiring to support reproductive autonomy but invested in physician authority—in a historical overview of how mainstream medicine has marginalized abortion provision since the early days after *Roe*, the authors add nuance to understandings of the "formal healthcare system," its members, and the stakes of people bypassing this system to obtain their desired health outcome. Heymann et al. investigate a process also likely to increase in the wake of the *Dobbs* decision: the implementation of restrictive state-level abortion policy by unelected bureaucrats. Using the case of variances for a written transfer agreement requirement in Ohio—a requirement

with no medical merit designed to add administrative burden to standalone abortion clinics—Heymann et al. demonstrate how bureaucratic discretion by political appointees can increase the administrative burden of restrictive abortion laws and thus further constrain abortion access. Together, these two articles demonstrate how pre-*Roe* data can point scholars to areas that merit investigation post-*Roe*.

Finally, using mixed methods, Buyuker et al. analyze attitudes about abortion acceptability and the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, teasing apart what people think about abortion from what they know about abortion policy. In addition to providing methodological insights about survey items related to abortion attitudes, the authors expose a disconnect between how people think about abortion acceptability and their support for the *Roe* decision. As polarized as abortion attitudes are claimed to be, in other words, there is unacknowledged and largely unmeasured complexity in how the general public thinks about abortion.

Future Research on Abortion

We hope that a desire to engage in abortion research prompts scholars to read the excellent articles in this special issue. We further hope that reading these pieces inspires at least some readers to engage in abortion research. Having researched abortion for nearly three decades between us, we are delighted by the emerging interest in studying abortion, whether as a focal topic or alongside a different focus. This research is essential to our collective understanding of abortion politics, policy, and law and the many millions of people whose lives are affected by (U.S.) abortion politics, policy, and law annually. Thinking about the limitations of the current field of abortion research, we have several suggestions for scholars of abortion, both those new to the topic and those already deeply familiar.

First, know and cite the existing literature on abortion. To address the siloization of abortion research and, particularly, the scarcity of abortion research published in generalist journals, scholars must be sure to build on the impressive work that has been published and conducted on the topic in specialized spaces. Becoming familiar with existing research can, moreover, help scholars avoid several common pitfalls in abortion research. For example, being immersed in existing literature can help scholars avoid outdated, imprecise, or inappropriate language and terminology. Smith et al. (2018), for instance, illuminate the production and implications of clinicians deploying seemingly everday language around "elective" abortion. They find that it muddies the distinction between the use of "elective" colloquially and in clinical settings, contributing to the stigmatization of abortion and abortion patients. Examinations like theirs not only further understanding of abortion stigmatization, they highlight for scholars the importance of being sensitive to and reflexive about language. Familiarity with existing research can help scholars avoid methodological pitfalls as well, such as incomplete understanding of the organization of abortion provision. Although Planned Parenthood has brand recognition for providing abortion care, the majority of abortions in the United States are performed at independent abortion clinics. Misunderstanding the provision landscape can have consequences for some study designs.

Second, we encourage scholars of abortion to think critically about the ideological underpinnings of how their research questions and findings are framed. Academic research of all kinds, including abortion, is better when it is critical of ideologically informed premises. Abortion scholars must be careful to avoid uncritically accepting antiabortion *and* abortion-supportive premises, especially as those premises unconsciously guide much of the public discourse on abortion. Scholars have the opportunity to use methodological tools not to find an

objective "truth," per se, but to challenge the uncontested "common sense" claims that frequently guide public thinking on abortion. One strategy for avoiding common framing pitfalls is to construct research and analysis to center the people most affected by abortion politics, policy, and law (Kimport and McLemore 2022). Another strategy is to critique what Baird and Millar (2019; 2020) have termed the performative nature of abortion scholarship. Abortion scholarship, they note, has predominantly focused on negative aspects and effects of abortion care. Research that finds and explores affirmatively positive aspects—for instance, the joy in abortion—can crucially thicken scholarly understanding.

Third, related to our discussion above, scholars of abortion face an interesting challenge regarding when abortion is and is not exceptional. Research on abortion must attend to how abortion has been exceptionalized—and marginalized—in policy and practices. But there are also numerous instances where abortion is only one example of many. In these cases, investigation of abortion under the assumption that it is exceptional is an unnecessary limitation on the work's contribution. Scholars of abortion benefit from mastery of the literature on abortion, yet knowing this literature is not sufficient. There are important bridges from scholarship on abortion to other areas, important conversations across and within literatures, that can yield insights both about abortion and about other topical foci.

As guest co-editors of this special issue, we are delighted by the rich and growing body of scholarship on abortion, to which the articles in this special issue represent an important addition. There is still much more work to be done. Going forward, we are eager to see future scholarship on abortion build on this work and tackle new questions.

■■■

Katrina Kimport is Professor in the Department of Obstetrics, Gynecology & Reproductive Sciences and a medical sociologist in the Advancing New Standards in Reproductive Health (ANSIRH) program at the University of California, San Francisco. Her research examines the

(re)production of inequality in health and reproduction, with a topical focus on abortion, contraception, and pregnancy. She is the author of *No Real Choice: How Culture and Politics Matter for Reproductive Autonomy* (2022, Rutgers) and *Queering Marriage: Challenging Family Formation in the United States* (2014, Rutgers), and co-author, with Jennifer Earl, of *Digitally Enabled Social Change* (2011, MIT). She has published over 75 articles in sociology, health research, and interdisciplinary journals.
katrina.kimport@ucsf.edu

Rebecca Kreitzer is an Associate Professor of Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her research focuses on gendered political representation and intersectional policy inequality in the US states. Much of her research focuses on the political dynamics of reproductive health care, especially surrounding contraception and abortion. She has published dozens of articles in political science, public policy and legal journals.
rkreit@email.unc.edu

Acknowledgements

The authors thank Krystale Littlejohn, Jon Oberlander, Ellen Key and Jane Sumner for their helpful feedback on earlier drafts of this essay.

References

Abramowitz, Alan I. 1995. "It's Abortion, Stupid: Policy Voting in the 1992 Presidential Election." *The Journal of Politics* 57 (1): 176–86.

Adams, Greg D. 1997. "Abortion: Evidence of an Issue Evolution." *American Journal of Political Science* 41 (3): 718–37. https://doi.org/10.2307/2111673.

Aiken, Abigail RA, Jennifer E. Starling, James G. Scott, and Rebecca Gomperts. 2022. "Association of Texas Senate Bill 8 With Requests for Self-Managed Medication Abortion." *JAMA Network Open* 5 (2): e221122–e221122.

Axelson, Sarah M, Gillian A Sealy, and Raegan E McDonald-Mosley. 2022. "Reproductive Well-Being: A Framework for Expanding Contraceptive Access." *American Journal of Public Health* 112 (S5): S504–7.

Bailey, Martha J. 2010. "' Momma's Got the Pill': How Anthony Comstock and Griswold v. Connecticut Shaped US Childbearing." *American Economic Review* 100 (1): 98–129.

Baird, Barbara, and Erica Millar. 2019. "More than Stigma: Interrogating Counter Narratives of Abortion." *Sexualities* 22 (7–8): 1110–26.

Baird, Barbara, and Erica Millar. 2020. "Abortion at the Edges: Politics, Practices, Performances." In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 80:102372. Elsevier.

Barber, Jennifer S, Elizabeth Ela, Heather Gatny, Yasamin Kusunoki, Souhiela Fakih, Peter Batra, and Karen Farris. 2019. "Contraceptive Desert? Black-White Differences in Characteristics of Nearby Pharmacies." *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities* 6 (4): 719–32.

Bearak, Jonathan M., Kristen Lagasse Burke, and Rachel K. Jones. 2017. "Disparities and Change over Time in Distance Women Would Need to Travel to Have an Abortion in the USA: A Spatial Analysis." *The Lancet Public Health* 2 (11): e493–500.

Bernstein, Anna, and Kelly M Jones. 2019. "The Economic Effects of Abortion Access: A Review of the Evidence." *Institute for Women's Policy Research. Washington DC*.

Beynon-Jones, Siân M. 2017. "Gestating Times: Women's Accounts of the Temporalities of Pregnancies That End in Abortion in England." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 39 (6): 832–46.

Biggs, MA, Ushma D Upadhyay, Julia R Steinberg, and Diana G Foster. 2014. "Does Abortion Reduce Self-Esteem and Life Satisfaction?" *Quality of Life Research* 23 (9): 2505–13.

Bitler, Marianne, and Madeline Zavodny. 2002. "Child Abuse and Abortion Availability." *American Economic Review* 92 (2): 363–67.

Bloom, David E, David Canning, Günther Fink, and Jocelyn E Finlay. 2009. "Fertility, Female Labor Force Participation, and the Demographic Dividend." *Journal of Economic Growth* 14 (2): 79–101.

Borgmann, Caitlin E. 2014. "Abortion Exceptionalism and Undue Burden Preemption." *Washington and Lee Law Review.* 71: 1047.

Boyle, Elizabeth H., Minzee Kim, and Wesley Longhofer. 2015. "Abortion Liberalization in World Society, 1960–2009." *American Journal of Sociology* 121 (3): 882–913.

Brown, Nadia E., Yusaku Horiuchi, Mala Htun, and David Samuels. 2020. "Gender Gaps in Perceptions of Political Science Journals." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 53 (1): 114–21.

Caldarone, Richard P., Brandice Canes-Wrone, and Tom S. Clark. 2009. "Partisan Labels and Democratic Accountability: An Analysis of State Supreme Court Abortion Decisions." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (2): 560–73.

Carmines, Edward G, and James Woods. 2002. "The Role of Party Activists in the Evolution of the Abortion Issue." *Political Behavior* 24 (4): 361–77.

Carsey, Thomas M, and Geoffrey C Layman. 2006. "Changing Sides or Changing Minds? Party Identification and Policy Preferences in the American Electorate." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 464–77.

Cartwright, Alice F, Mihiri Karunaratne, Jill Barr-Walker, Nicole E Johns, and Ushma D Upadhyay. 2018. "Identifying National Availability of Abortion Care and Distance from Major US Cities: Systematic Online Search." *Journal of Medical Internet Research* 20 (5): e9717.

Charles, Vignetta E, Chelsea B Polis, Srinivas K Sridhara, and Robert W Blum. 2008. "Abortion and Long-Term Mental Health Outcomes: A Systematic Review of the Evidence." *Contraception* 78 (6): 436–50.

Cohen, David S, and Carole Joffe. 2020. *Obstacle Course: The Everyday Struggle to Get an Abortion in America*. University of California Press.

Cook, Elizabeth Adell, Frederick Hartwig, and Clyde Wilcox. 1993. "The Abortion Issue down Ticket: The Virginia Lieutenant Governor's Race of 1989." *Women and Politics* 12 (4): 5–17.

Cook, Elizabeth Adell, Ted G. Jelen, and Clyde Wilcox. 1992. *Between Two Absolutes: Public Opinion and the Politics of Abortion*. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429042317.

Cook, Elizabeth Adell, Ted G Jelen, and Clyde Wilcox. 1994. "Issue Voting in US Senate Elections: The Abortion Issue in 1990." In , 21:99–111. Taylor and Francis.

Cook, Philip J., Allan M. Parnell, Michael J. Moore, and Deanna Pagnini. 1999. "The Effects of Short-Term Variation in Abortion Funding on Pregnancy Outcomes." *Journal of Health Economics* 18 (2): 241–57.

Daniels, Cynthia R., Janna Ferguson, Grace Howard, and Amanda Roberti. 2016. "Informed or Misinformed Consent? Abortion Policy in the United States." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 41 (2): 181–209.

Dehlendorf, Christine, Lisa H. Harris, and Tracy A. Weitz. 2013. "Disparities in Abortion Rates: A Public Health Approach." *American Journal of Public Health* 103 (10): 1772–79.

Donohue III, John J., and Steven D. Levitt. 2001. "The Impact of Legalized Abortion on Crime." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 116 (2): 379–420.

Elías, Julio J., Nicola Lacetera, Mario Macis, and Paola Salardi. 2017. "Economic Development and the Regulation of Morally Contentious Activities." *American Economic Review* 107 (5): 76–80.

Engle, Olivia, and Cordelia Freeman. 2022. "'All This Way, All This Money, for a Five-Minute Procedure': Barriers, Mobilities, and Representation on the US Abortion Road Trip." *Mobilities*, 1–15.

Everett, Bethany G, Kyl Myers, Jessica N Sanders, and David K Turok. 2019. "Male Abortion Beneficiaries: Exploring the Long-Term Educational and Economic Associations of Abortion among Men Who Report Teen Pregnancy." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 65 (4): 520–26.

Ferree, Myra Marx. 2003. "Resonance and Radicalism: Feminist Framing in the Abortion Debates of the United States and Germany." *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (2): 304–44.

Flaten, Are Tågvold. 2010. "Litmus Test Conformity in American Politics: Republican Party Platforms and the Presidential Politics of Abortion, 1976-2008." *Available at SSRN 1672004*.

Gerdts, Caitlin, Loren Dobkin, Diana Greene Foster, and Eleanor Bimla Schwarz. 2016. "Side Effects, Physical Health Consequences, and Mortality Associated with Abortion and Birth after an Unwanted Pregnancy." *Women's Health Issues* 26 (1): 55–59.

Gerdts, Caitlin, Liza Fuentes, Daniel Grossman, Kari White, Brianna Keefe-Oates, Sarah E Baum, Kristine Hopkins, Chandler W Stolp, and Joseph E Potter. 2022. "Impact of Clinic Closures on Women Obtaining Abortion Services after Implementation of a Restrictive Law in Texas." *American Journal of Public Health* 112 (9): 1297–1304.

Glaeser, Edward L., Giacomo AM Ponzetto, and Jesse M. Shapiro. 2005. "Strategic Extremism: Why Republicans and Democrats Divide on Religious Values." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120 (4): 1283–1330.

Hanschmidt, Franz, Katja Linde, Anja Hilbert, Steffi G. Riedel-Heller, and Anette Kersting. 2016. "Abortion Stigma: A Systematic Review." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 48 (4): 169–77.

Hollis-Brusky, Amanda, and Celia Parry. 2021. "'In the Mold of Justice Scalia': The Contours and Consequences of the Trump Judiciary." In , 19:117–42. De Gruyter.

Hollis-Brusky, Amanda, and Joshua C Wilson. 2020. *Separate but Faithful: The Christian Right's Radical Struggle to Transform Law and Legal Culture*. Oxford University Press.

Jones, R. K., and J. Jerman. 2022. "Population Group Abortion Rates and Lifetime Incidence of Abortion: United States, 2008–2014." *American Journal of Public Health* 112 (9): 1284–96. https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2017.304042.

Jones, Rachel K., Elizabeth Witwer, and Jenna Jerman. 2019. "Abortion Incidence and Service Availability in the United States, 2017." Guttmacher Institute. 2019. https://www.guttmacher.org/report/abortion-incidence-service-availability-us-2017

Kalist, David E. 2004. "Abortion and Female Labor Force Participation: Evidence Prior to Roe v. Wade." *Journal of Labor Research* 25 (3): 503–14.

Kalla, Joshua L., Adam Seth Levine, and David E. Broockman. 2022. "Personalizing Moral Reframing in Interpersonal Conversation: A Field Experiment." *The Journal of Politics* 84 (2): 1239–43.

Key, Ellen M., and Jane Lawrence Sumner. 2019. "You Research like a Girl: Gendered Research Agendas and Their Implications." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 52 (4): 663–68.

Killian, Mitchell, and Clyde Wilcox. 2008. "Do Abortion Attitudes Lead to Party Switching?" *Political Research Quarterly* 61 (4): 561–73.

Kimport, Katrina, Nicole E. Johns, and Ushma D. Upadhyay. 2018. "Coercing Women's Behavior: How a Mandatory Viewing Law Changes Patients' Preabortion Ultrasound Viewing Practices." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 43 (6): 941–60.

Kimport, Katrina, and Monica R. McLemore. 2022. "The Problem with 'Justifying' Abortion: Why Real Reproductive Justice Cannot Be Achieved by Theorizing the Legitimacy of Abortion." *Women's Reproductive Health* 9 (1): 27–31.

Kirstein, Marielle, Joerg Dreweke, Rachel K. Jones, and Jesse Philbin. 2022. "100 Days Post-Roe: At Least 66 Clinics Across 15 US States Have Stopped Offering Abortion Care." Guttmacher Institute. https://doi.org/10.1363/2022.300216.

Kreitzer, Rebecca J. 2015. "Politics and Morality in State Abortion Policy." *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 15 (1): 41–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532440014561868.

Kreitzer, Rebecca J, Kellen A Kane, and Christopher Z Mooney. 2019. "The Evolution of Morality Policy Debate: Moralization and Demoralization." *The Forum*, 17:3–24. De Gruyter.

Kreitzer, Rebecca J, and Tracy L Osborn. 2019. "The Emergence and Activities of Women's Recruiting Groups in the US." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 7 (4): 842–52.

Kreitzer, Rebecca J, Candis Watts Smith, Kellen A Kane, and Tracee M Saunders. 2021. "Affordable but Inaccessible? Contraception Deserts in the US States." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 46 (2): 277–304.

Kretschmer, Kelsy. 2014. "Shifting Boundaries and Splintering Movements: Abortion Rights in the Feminist and New Right Movements." *Social Forces*, 29(4):893–915.

Lewis, Andrew R. 2017. *The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics: How Abortion Transformed the Culture Wars*. Cambridge University Press.

Major, Brenda, Mark Appelbaum, Linda Beckman, Mary Ann Dutton, Nancy Felipe Russo, and Carolyn West. 2009. "Abortion and Mental Health: Evaluating the Evidence." *American Psychologist* 64 (9): 863.

Mauldon, Jane, Diana Greene Foster, and Sarah CM Roberts. 2015. "Effect of Abortion vs. Carrying to Term on a Woman's Relationship with the Man Involved in the Pregnancy." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 47 (1): 11–18.

Maxwell, Carol JC. 2002. *Pro-Life Activists in America: Meaning, Motivation, and Direct Action*. Cambridge University Press.

McNamara, Blair, Layla Joudeh, Chiara Corbetta-Rastelli, Megan Orlando, and Jennifer L Kerns. 2022. "Traveling to California from out of State to Receive Abortion Services at a

Hospital-Based Clinic: A Qualitative Study of People's Experiences." *Sexual and Reproductive Healthcare* 34: 100784.
McVeigh, Rory, Bryant Crubaugh, and Kevin Estep. 2017. "Plausibility Structures, Status Threats, and the Establishment of Anti-Abortion Pregnancy Centers." *American Journal of Sociology* 122 (5): 1533–71.
Meyer, David S., and Suzanne Staggenborg. 1996. "Movements, Countermovements, and the Structure of Political Opportunity." *American Journal of Sociology* 101 (6): 1628–60.
Meyer, David S, and Suzanne Staggenborg. 2008. "Opposing Movement Strategies in US Abortion Politics." In *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
Mølland, Eirin. 2016. "Benefits from Delay? The Effect of Abortion Availability on Young Women and Their Children." *Labour Economics* 43: 6–28.
Mooney, Christopher Z. 2001. *The Public Clash of Private Values: The Politics of Morality Policy*. CQ Press.
Mouw, Ted, and Michael E Sobel. 2001. "Culture Wars and Opinion Polarization: The Case of Abortion." *American Journal of Sociology* 106 (4): 913–43.
Mucciaroni, Gary, Kathleen Ferraiolo, and Meghan E Rubado. 2019. "Framing Morality Policy Issues: State Legislative Debates on Abortion Restrictions." *Policy Sciences* 52 (2): 171–89.
Munson, Ziad. 2010. "Mobilizing on Campus: Conservative Movements and Today's College Students 1." *Sociological Forum*, 25(4):769–86.
Munson, Ziad W. 2010. *The Making of Pro-Life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works*. University of Chicago Press.
Myers, Caitlin Knowles. 2017. "The Power of Abortion Policy: Reexamining the Effects of Young Women's Access to Reproductive Control." *Journal of Political Economy* 125 (6): 2178–2224.
Paltrow, Lynn M., and Jeanne Flavin. 2013. "Arrests of and Forced Interventions on Pregnant Women in the United States, 1973–2005: Implications for Women's Legal Status and Public Health." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 38 (2): 299–343.
Paolino, Phillip. 1995. "Group-Salient Issues and Group Representation: Support for Women Candidates in the 1992 Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science*, 294–313.
Pleasants, Elizabeth A, Alice F Cartwright, and Ushma D Upadhyay. 2022. "Association Between Distance to an Abortion Facility and Abortion or Pregnancy Outcome Among a Prospective Cohort of People Seeking Abortion Online." *JAMA Network Open* 5 (5): e2212065–e2212065.
Ralph, Lauren J, Jane Mauldon, M Antonia Biggs, and Diana Greene Foster. 2019. "A Prospective Cohort Study of the Effect of Receiving versus Being Denied an Abortion on Educational Attainment." *Women's Health Issues* 29 (6): 455–64.
Raymond, Elizabeth G., and David A. Grimes. 2012. "The Comparative Safety of Legal Induced Abortion and Childbirth in the United States." *Obstetrics and Gynecology* 119 (2 Part 1): 215–19.
Roberts, Sarah CM, Rosalyn Schroeder, and Carole Joffe. 2020. "COVID-19 and Independent Abortion Providers: Findings from a Rapid-Response Survey." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 52 (4): 217–25.

Roberts, Sarah, Nicole E. Johns, Valerie Williams, Erin Wingo, and Ushma D. Upadhyay. 2019. "Estimating the Proportion of Medicaid-Eligible Pregnant Women in Louisiana Who Do Not Get Abortions When Medicaid Does Not Cover Abortion." *BMC Women's Health* 19 (1): 1–8.

Rocca, Corinne H., Katrina Kimport, Heather Gould, and Diana G. Foster. 2013. "Women's Emotions One Week after Receiving or Being Denied an Abortion in the United States." *Perspectives on Sexual and Reproductive Health* 45 (3): 122–31.

Rocca, Corinne H., Katrina Kimport, Sarah CM Roberts, Heather Gould, John Neuhaus, and Diana G. Foster. 2015. "Decision Rightness and Emotional Responses to Abortion in the United States: A Longitudinal Study." *PloS One* 10 (7): e0128832.

Rocca, Corinne H., Goleen Samari, Diana G. Foster, Heather Gould, and Katrina Kimport. 2020. "Emotions and Decision Rightness over Five Years Following an Abortion: An Examination of Decision Difficulty and Abortion Stigma." *Social Science and Medicine* 248: 112704.

Roh, Jongho, and Donald P Haider-Markel. 2003. "All Politics Is Not Local: National Forces in State Abortion Initiatives." *Social Science Quarterly* 84 (1): 15–31.

Rohlinger, Deana A. 2006. "Friends and Foes: Media, Politics, and Tactics in the Abortion War." *Social Problems* 53 (4): 537–61.

Rosenfeld, Bryn, Kosuke Imai, and Jacob N. Shapiro. 2016. "An Empirical Validation Study of Popular Survey Methodologies for Sensitive Questions." *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (3): 783–802.

Simpson, Kathleen Rice. 2020. "Ongoing Crisis in Lack of Maternity Services in Rural America." *MCN: The American Journal of Maternal/Child Nursing* 45 (2): 132.

Smith, Benjamin Elliot Yelnosky, Deborah Bartz, Alisa B. Goldberg, and Elizabeth Janiak. 2018. "'Without Any Indication': Stigma and a Hidden Curriculum within Medical Students' Discussion of Elective Abortion." *Social Science and Medicine* 214: 26–34.

Smith, Candis Watts, Rebecca J Kreitzer, Kellen A Kane, and Tracee M Saunders. 2022. "Contraception Deserts: The Effects of Title X Rule Changes on Access to Reproductive Health Care Resources." *Politics and Gender*, 1–36.

Sorhaindo, Annik Mahalia, and Antonella Francheska Lavelanet. 2022. "Why Does Abortion Stigma Matter? A Scoping Review and Hybrid Analysis of Qualitative Evidence Illustrating the Role of Stigma in the Quality of Abortion Care." *Social Science and Medicine*, 115271.

Staggenborg, Suzanne. 1991. *The Pro-Choice Movement: Organization and Activism in the Abortion Conflict*. Oxford University Press.

Stulberg, Debra. 2013. "The Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act and Reproductive Health: Harnessing Data to Improve Care." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 38 (2): 441–56.

Taporco, Jason S, Elizabeth Wolfe, Gabriela Chavez, Zev Allen, Jasmine Estrada, Kelly Thomson, Jennifer Mettling, and Michael Kennedy. 2021. "Kansas Maternity Deserts: A Cross-Sectional Study of Rural Obstetric Providers." *Rural and Remote Health* 21 (1).

Teele, Dawn Langan, and Kathleen Thelen. 2017. "Gender in the Journals: Publication Patterns in Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 50 (2): 433–47.

Upadhyay, Ushma D, Sheila Desai, Vera Zlidar, Tracy A Weitz, Daniel Grossman, Patricia Anderson, and Diana Taylor. 2015. "Incidence of Emergency Department Visits and Complications after Abortion." *Obstetrics and Gynecology* 125 (1): 175–83.

Venator, Joanna, and Jason Fletcher. 2021. "Undue Burden beyond Texas: An Analysis of Abortion Clinic Closures, Births, and Abortions in Wisconsin." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 40 (3): 774–813.

Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Harvard University Press.

Wallace, Maeve, Lauren Dyer, Erica Felker-Kantor, Jia Benno, Dovile Vilda, Emily Harville, and Katherine Theall. 2021. "Maternity Care Deserts and Pregnancy-Associated Mortality in Louisiana." *Women's Health Issues* 31 (2): 122–29.

Washington, Ebonya L. 2008. "Female Socialization: How Daughters Affect Their Legislator Fathers." *American Economic Review* 98 (1): 311–32.

Wilson, Joshua C. 2013. *The Street Politics of Abortion: Speech, Violence, and America's Culture Wars*. Stanford University Press.

Zink, James R., James F. Spriggs, and John T. Scott. 2009. "Courting the Public: The Influence of Decision Attributes on Individuals' Views of Court Opinions." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (3): 909–25.

Table 1 Number of Articles about Abortion in Top Disciplinary Journals, 2000-2021

Discipline	Journal	Years	Abortion	Reproductive Health	Abortion Among Policies
Economics	*AER*	2002, 2008, 2010, 2017	1	2	1
	QJE	2001, 2005	1		1
	JPE	2017	1		
Political Science	*APSR*		0		
	AJPS	2006, 2012, 2016	1		2
	JOP	2005, 2006, 2009, 2009, 2022	3		2
Sociology	*ASR*	2004	1		
	AJS	2001, 2003, 2015, 2017	4		
	ASR	2014, 2015		2	

Note: AER = The American Economic Review, QJE = The Quarterly Journal of Economics, JPE = Journal of Political Economy, APSR = American Political Science Review, AJPS= American Journal of Political Science, JOP = Journal of Politics, ASR = American Sociological Review, AJS = American Journal of Sociology, ASR = American Sociological Review