Abortion and the "Right-to-Life": Facts, Fallacies, and Fraud II. Psychometric Studies

James W. Prescott and Douglas Wallace

n the first part of this article [The Humanist, July/August 1978] I it was shown that punitive attitudes toward abortion are significantly associated with a personality structure of violence and low nurturance. In the studies on primitive cultures it was found that punitive attitudes toward abortion were significantly associated with punitive attitudes toward sexual expression, that is, low sexual affection and nurturance. The studies to be reported herein will extend that observed relationship of punitive abortion and repressive sexuality in primitive cultures to modern contemporary cultures. It will be argued from this and other data that punitive and repressive attitudes toward sexual expression, particularly of women, is the primary motivating force in the anti-abortion movement and that the "reproductive" aspect of sexuality is a pseudo-issue in the "Right-to-Life" movement. The emphasis upon the "reproductive" aspect of sexuality by the anti-abortion movement serves to obscure the central and real issue in the abortion controversy, namely, that the primary function of human sexuality is for the experiencing and mutual sharing of sexual pleasure. It is this primacy of physical pleasure in human sexual relationships that cannot be accepted by the anti-abortionist mentality for reasons that will be enumerated after the empirical data are presented to validate the relationship of opposition to abortion with repressivepunitive sexuality.

Legislative Studies

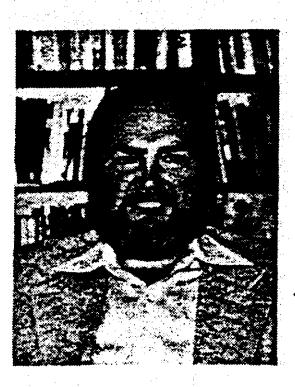
On April 3, 1973, Representative Mullen, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, introduced amendments that



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All I want to do here is not to insert anything new into the law. As a matter of fact, this is the law today and this has been the law in Pennsylvania since the founding of the Commonwealth back in colonial times. It has always been the law that adultery and fornication were wrong, and it has been the law for two reasons. First of all, it is against the law of God. I think all of us believe in God. All of us believe in the Ten Commandments, and one of the Ten Commandments is, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." If you delete this thing from the law, what you are in fact doing is condoning this type of conduct all over Pennsylvania, and this is not going to be good because, first of all, most of the people in Pennsylvania are religious people and they believe in the Ten Commandments. (p. 600)

The amendment passed one hundred eighteen to sixty-nine with fourteen not voting. Representative Williams, in opposing the amendment, noted certain moral inconsistencies in the



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Pennsylvania House voting record where they violated one of the Ten Commandments—"Thou Shalt Not Kill"—by supporting capital punishment. Humanists are aware that this amendment violates the First Amendment of the United States Constitution, which guarantees separation of church and state, since humanist religious views on the morality of human sexuality differ substantially from the Orthodox-Judeo and fundamentalist-Christian positions.

On June 24, 1977, Representative Mullen, Pennsylvania House of Representatives, introduced an abortion amendment which reads as follows:

None of the funds appropriated in this act shall be used to promote or pay for abortions except where the life of the mother were endangered if the fetus were carried to full term.

The amendment passed one hundred fifty-five to twenty-six with nineteen not voting. (Legislative Journal-House, pp. 1551-1522, June 24, 1977).

Although four years have intervened since the passage of the anti-fornication and adultery amendments of 1973 and the anti-abortion amendment of 1977, there were ninety representatives who had voted on both of these amendments. The voting relationship between these amendments was statistically evaluated and the results are summarized in Tables 1 and 2. It was found that: 86 percent who oppose abortion also support criminalization of fornication and adultery; 85 percent who support abortion opposed laws to criminalize fornication and adultery. The statistical results were extraordinary: $\chi^2 = 29.79$, p = .00000005, n = 90, which means that the probability of this relationship occurring by chance is five out of ten million.

These data provide substantial support for linking anti-abortion mentality to a sexually repressive mentality. These findings were cross-validated by evaluating the voting records in the Pennsylvania Senate against abortion (February 22, 1978) and on the Anti-Homosexual Bill SB 83 (April 19, 1977). SB 83 reads

Table 1
Pennsylvania House Record on Abortion (6/24/77)
and Fornication/Adultery (4/3/73): Mullen Amendments

and Fornication/Adultery (4/	3/73): Mullen Amendments		
Group A Support Abortion Rights Support Sexual Rights	Group C Against Abortion Rights Support Sexual Rights		
Fryer	Butera		
Itken	Foster, W.		
Johnson	Mebus		
Rappaport	Morris		
Richardson	Noye		
Ritter	Pievsky		
Scirica	Spencer		
Williams	Taddonio		
Wise	Wagner		
Yohn	Weidner		
Zeafoss	Wilson		
N = 11	N = 11		
AL	and a discussion of		

There were only two Group D voters (Anderson and Dorr) who Support Abortion Rights and are Against Sexual Rights.

as follows:

Notwithstanding any law or executive order or directive to the contrary, no individual or AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF a Governmental agency having the power to hire individuals to fill vacant positions shall hire any admitted homosexual, AD-MITTED SEX OFFENDER or individual convicted of a sex crime to fill any of the following positions: [enumerated].

The Anti-Homosexual Bill SB 83 passed thirty-two to twelve. The anti-abortion amendment to SB 1254, which withheld medicaid reimbursement for abortion except where it is necessary to save the life of the mother was passed thirty-four to twelve.

"The anti-abortion mentality is characterized by authoritarian control of individuals... and repressive attitudes toward sexual expressiveness and pleasure."

There were thirty-nine Pennsylvania senators voting on both bills and the results are summarized in Tables 3 and 4. It was found that: 89 percent who oppose abortion also punish homosexuality; 73 percent who support abortion also support homosexual rights. The statistical analysis was highly significant: $\chi^2 = 15.00$, p = .0001, N = 39. The probability of this voting relationship occurring by chance is one out of ten thousand.

These results fully validate the relationships obtained in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives study which involved a different anti-sexual expression bill. These results, considered collectively, clearly support the interpretation that anti-abortion mentality is authoritarian in nature and attempts to subjugate the rights of the individual to the power of the state. There is, however, a special relationship between anti-abortion

Table 2
Pennsylvania House Record on Abortion (6/24/77)
and Fornication/Adultery (4/3/73): Mullen Amendments

Group B
Against Abortion Rights
Against Sexual Rights

Arthurs	Gallen	Lehr	Salvatore
Bellomini	Geesey	Letterman	Scanlon
Bennett	Geisier	Lincoln	Scheaffer
Brandt	Gillette	Lynch, F.	Shuman
Brunner	Gleeson	Manderino	Shupnik
Burns	Goodman	McClatchy	Smith, E.
Caputo	Grieco	Miller, Jr.	Thomas
Cessar	Halverson	Mullen, M.P.	Wargo
Demedio	Hamilton	Novak	Wilt
De Verter	Hasay	O'Brien, B.	Yahner
Dininni	Hayes, D. S.	O'Connell	Zeller
Dombrowski	Hayes, S. E.	Pancoast	Zord
Doyle	Katz	Petrarca	
Englehart	Kelly, A. P.	Polite	
Fee	Klingaman	Prendergast	N = 66
Fischer	Koiter	Renwick	% = 86%
Foster, A.	Kowalyshyn	Rieger	
Gallagher	Laughlin	Ruggiero	

Table 3 Pennsylvania Senate Record on Abortion (2/22/78) and Anti-Homosexual Bill S.B. 83 (4/19/77)

Group A ort Abortion Rights port Sexual Rights	Group C Against Abortion Rights Support Sexual Rights		
Arlene Duffield Hankins	Coppersmith Noszka Romanelli		
Howard Lewis McKinney Messinger Reibman			
N = 8 % = 73 (8/11)	N = 3 % = 11 (3/28)		

mentality and anti-sexuality, which is illustrated in the following studies.

Questionnaire Studies

The senior author developed a questionnaire called a "Somato-sensory Index of Human Affection," which has become known as the "Index of Human Affection." This questionnaire evaluates a variety of values, attitudes, and behaviors involving parent-child relationships, human sexuality, alcohol and drug usage, ethnic and racial prejudice, and the morality of pain and pleasure in human relationships. The initial questionnaire involved forty-three items and has grown to one hundred three items, plus a number of biographical questions. There is a sixpoint scale to respond to each question, as follows: 1 = agree strongly, 2 = agree moderately, 3 = agree somewhat, 4 = disagree somewhat, 5 = disagree moderately, and 6 = disagree strongly.

The following study will report upon the statistical relationships of the first fifty-six test questions to the statement: "Abortion should be punished by society."

The encoding of the data and its analysis, which has been the primary responsibility of the second author, has been centralized at the University of California School of Medicine. Strategies of data analysis are the joint responsibility of the two authors.

Study A. Over the past five years the "Index of Human Affection" has been given to a variety of different individuals and groups—for example, those who attended public lectures given by the authors, college students (East and West Coasts), high school students, alcoholics in treatment, drug abusers in treatment, incest offenders in treatment, members of professional societies and "growth communities" in California, women who had completed an abortion, and a group of lesbian women.

It was decided to report upon the entire sample that had been collected as of May 1976. The broader composition of the sample described above has greater generalization than just a college sample; however, the limitations of this sample are recognized. In the above sample, it was found that only 8 percent of the 688 males and 5 percent of the 1,178 females agreed to the statement that "Abortion should be punished by society." Consequently, the following analysis compares fifty-five males

Table 4 Pennsylvania Senate Record on Abortion (2/22/78) and Anti-Homosexual Bill S.B. 83 (4/19/77)

Andrews	Murray	Gekas
Dougherty	Nolan	Juberirer
Dwyer	O'Pake	Tilghman
Early	Orlando	
Fleming	Ross	
Gurzenda	Scanion	
Hess	Schaefer	
Holl	Smith	
Hopper	Snyder	
Kelley	Stapleton	
Kury	Stauffer	
Manbeck	Sweeney	
Mellow		

against abortion to 633 males for abortion; and fifty-nine females against abortion to 1119 females for abortion. These For and Against abortion groups were then compared to their being in Agreement or Disagreement with the first fifty-six items of the questionnaire. Males and females were analyzed separately. The average age of the males was twenty-nine years, with a standard deviation of eleven years; the average age of the females was twenty-seven years, with a standard deviation of ten years.

Table 5 presents the social-behavioral correlates of abortion attitudes for males, which are all statistically significant. Statistical significance ranges from p .04 to p .0001. The social-behavioral correlates are rank-ordered from the most significant to the less significant. The first column is the traditional χ^2 statistic; the second column is the percentage of those who are against abortion who agree with the question item; the third column is the percentage of those who are for abortion who agree with the question item; the fourth column is the ratio of the percentage agreement for the "Against Abortion" and "For Abortion" groups. Thus, for the first question item there are six times as many anti-abortions than pro-abortionists who agree with the statement "Prostitution should be punished by society."

Similarly, there are 3.6 times as many anti-abortionists who agree that premarital sex is wrong as there are who support abortion; and 4.6 times as many anti-abortionists agree that "Society should interfere with private sexual behavior between adults" as there are those who support abortion. The negative sign before the ratio indicates that the percent agreement is greater for the "pro-abortion" group than for the "anti-abortion" group. Some effort should be spent in studying this table. In brief, it provides strong support for the point of view that the anti-abortion mentality is very punitive toward sexuality; that sexual pleasures help build a weak moral character; and conversely that physical pain and punishment help build a strong moral character; that the anti-abortion mentality does not enjoy oral-genital sex; that family nudity is harmful to children; that

Social-Be	shav	ioral C	orrelat	es of	Abortic	n: Male	s N =	688
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χ²	Percen Against Abortion	For Abortion	% Ratio No/For Abortion	Question
58.12	36	6	6.0	Prostitution should be punished by society (39)
22.54	29	8	3.6	Unmarried persons having sex with their lovers before marriage is wrong (23)
20.74	23	5	4.6	Society should interfere with private sexual behavior between adults (30)
18.34	44	14	3.1	I do not enjoy oral-genital sex (49)
15.90	35	13	2.7	Nudity within the family has a harmful influence upon children (9)
14.73 ^C	59	32	1.8	Capital punishment should be permitted by society (32)
14.13	24	8	3.0	Physical punishment and pain help build a good moral character (37)
13.52	22	7	3.1	Sexual pleasures help build a weak moral character (38)
12.58	55	30	1.8	The government should have more control of the people (42)
12.35 ⁸	56	78	- 1.4	My father has not adequately discussed sex with me (29)
9.62	22	8	2.8	Violence is necessary to really solve our problems (33)
7.86	46	27	1.7	I use and experiment with drugs quite often (12)
7.82	53	72	- 1.4	My father did not hug and kiss me a lot (3)
5.66	69	51	1.4	I would rather drink alcohol than smoke marijuana (16)
5.32	49	32	1.5	Married persons having sex affairs with their lovers is wrong (25)
4.67	44	61	-1.4	People in government and business do not care about me and my family (43)
4.36 ^A	32	19	1.7	Physical punishment should be allowed in the schools (22)

A: P < .04; B: P < .001; C: P < .0001

they use drugs more frequently; that they prefer alcohol to marijuana; that they believe in physical violence, for example, capital punishment and physical punishment of children; and that society has the right to interfere with the private sexual behavior of adults. The presence of negative signs indicating that the pro-abortion groups agree more with those statements was not expected and needs further study. The finding that males (not females) who support abortion report less sex discussion and physical affection from the father may be interpreted as reflecting a greater identification with the female in providing a source of physical affection in human relationships. The source of this particular relationship could be coming from any or all of the many sub-groups in this sample, and further study of this relationship is obviously required. The finding that males who support abortion also agree more with the statement "People in government and business do not care about me and my family" may be a further reflection of greater identification with matrilineal rather than patrilineal values of our society. The lesser amount of physical affection from the father may be a contributing factor to this relationship.

In summarizing this table of results, it can be concluded that the anti-abortion mentality is characterized by authoritarian control of individuals; a high value on physical pain, punishment, and violence; and the most significant correlates are those of punitive and repressive attitudes toward sexual expressiveness and pleasure. In short, it is the personality profile of the neo-fascist.

Table 6 presents the same data analysis for females. Most striking is the finding that three of the four most significant correlates with anti-abortion mentality for females are identical to those found for males, namely, punishment of prostitution, punishment of premarital sex, and societal interference with the private sexual behavior of adults. It is evident from examining Table 6 that the punitive and repressive attitudes toward sexuality are the most salient characteristics of the anti-abortion mentality. A most striking relationship found for female anti-abor-

tionists that was not found for male anti-abortionists was the high preference for marijuana to sex (10.5 to 1) of alchohol to sex (7.0 to 1), and of drugs to sex (4.5 to 1). These constitute the highest ratios obtained in this analysis. An interpretation of their preference for marijuana, drugs, and alcohol to sex is that drugs and alcohol became compensatory responses to a sexually repressed and a non-satisfying sex life. Another salient difference between the male and female anti-abortion mentality is that female anti-abortionists report significantly greater maternal indifference and maternal punishment, which was not observed for the male anti-abortionists.

Apart from these two distinguishing characteristics of the male and female anti-abortion mentality there is a high communality of punitive-repressive sexuality; high moral values for physical pain, punishment, and violence; and authoritarian control of the individual by the state. In brief, the personality profile of the neo-fascist shows no significant sex difference.

Study A, it was considered desirable to cross-validate the above findings on a more homogeneous sample. Two college student samples, American and Canadian, completed the questionnaire, and their responses to the first forty-three questions are the subject of this report. A different statistical technique was employed in the analysis of these data, called factor analysis, which combines the variables (forty-three questions) in groupings or clusters according to their mathematically defined relationship to one another; that is, how much do they have in common with one another. The specific form of factor analysis employed is known as principal-components analysis with varimax rotation.

This procedure results in several factors or "profiles" which are defined by the clustering of test items that constitute the factor or "profile." Each test item or question has a "weighting" or coefficient that ranges from -1 to +1 and reflects the "weight" or degree of influence that a particular test question has upon the factor or "profile." This statistical technique iden-

	Percent Agree Against For		% Ratio No/For	Guestion Commence of the Comme
	Abortion	Abortion	Abortion	경기의 기업을 보는 경기에 되어 가장 보고 있다. 그렇게 되는 사람들은 보고 있다는 이번 것을 하는 것을 하는 것이다.
103.62	45	7	6.4	Prostitution should be punished by society (39)
61.10	40	8	5.0	Unmarried persons having sex with their lovers before marriage is wrong (23
39.64	21	2	10.5	Marijuana is more satisfying than sex (45)
39.16	24	4	6.0	Society should interfere with private sexual behavior between adults (30)
31.32	14	2	7.0	Alcohol is more satisfying than sex (17)
29.51	32	9	3.6	Nudity within the family has a harmful influence upon children (9)
26.17	22	5	4.4	Sexual pleasures help build a weak moral character (38)
25.83	59	28	2.1	I do not enjoy sex films where the sex partners give each other pleasure (27
23.74	15	3	5.0	Physical punishment and pain help build a good moral character (37)
20.58	17	4	4.3	Violence is necessary to really solve our problems (33)
19.57	23	6	3.8	I get hostile and aggressive when I drink alcohol (15)
18.32	15	3	5.0	Hard physical punishment is good for children who disobey a lot (21)
16.29	49	25	2.0	The government should have more control of the people (42)
15.66 ^C	69	42	1.6	Married persons having sex affairs with their lovers is wrong (25)
14.29	25	9	2.8	Physical punishment should be allowed in the schools (22)
13.30	44	23	1.9	Capital punishment should be permitted by society (32)
10.21 ⁸	47	27	1.7	Natural fresh body odors are often offensive (10)
9.56	9.	2	4.5	Drugs are more satisfying than sex (18)
7.31	17		2.4	I enjoy sex films where the sex partner is physically beaten or hurt (26)
5.96	40	25	1.6	I often get "uptight" about being touched (8)
5.81	38	24	1.6	I often feel like hitting someone (36)
5.11	37	24	1.5	My mother does not really care about me (4)
4.16	21	9	2.3	I usually do not get much pleasure from my sexual activity (46)
3.70^	37	25	1.5	I remember when my mother physically punished me a lot (35)

A: P < .05; B: P < .001; C: P < .0001

tifies the "redundancy" among the various test questions; that is, "how much do they measure the same thing," and permits a reduction of the total test battery (in this case forty-three items) to a much smaller number of factors (in this case sixteen factors). For the purposes of this report only two factors will be described, since they are the only factors that contain a significant "weight" on the abortion variable.

For the American sample, 9 percent of the males (fifty-four) and 3 percent of the females (ninety-four) agreed that society should punish abortion. For the Canadian sample, 10 percent of the males (sixty-three) and 4 percent of the females (one hundred fourteen) agreed that abortion should be punished by society. This means that the relationships described below reflect mostly variations in the strength of "disagreement" category with minor representation from the "agree" category.

Table 7 presents the test questions that have a weighting or coefficient of .35 or greater. Seven of the forty-three questions have such a coefficient value where the abortion question "Abortion should be punished by society" has the highest coefficient, the precise weighting is obtained by squaring the coefficient, which is then interpreted as a percentage. On this factor the abortion variable has a coefficient of .64 or a weighting of 41 percent; that is, 41 percent of this test question is represented on the factor or profile. Just as each test question has a certain percentage or weight on each factor, each factor accounts for a certain percentage of the total percentage of the test battery, which is 100 percent.

Table 7 identifies Factor 2 in this analysis and accounts for 13 percent of the total test variance of 100 percent. (Factor 1 accounted for 17 percent of the variance, and each succeeding

factor accounts for less variance until 100 percent of the test battery variance is accounted for.) Factor 2 is labeled "Abortion and Punitive Sexuality" because of the particular test questions which identify the factor. An inspection of Factor 2 indicates that punishment of abortion is highly associated with punishment of sexual behaviors and a moral value system which considers that sexual pleasures help build weak moral characters and that pain and punishment help build strong moral characters. Associated with this social/moral value system is the advocacy of physical punishment of children and that the government should have more control of the people.

These are the same variables that were found to have the most significant relationship to anti-abortion in the previous and more heterogeneous sample.

Table 8 presents a comparable analysis for the Canadian sample, where Factor 7 (of fifteen factors extracted) contains a stronger representation of the abortion question than any of the other factors. Again we find that punitive and repressive sexuality are the most significant (and only) variables linked to the abortion question. There are important differences between the American and Canadian samples. For the American sample there are correlates of high moral values of pain and punishment, advocacy of physical violence, and government control of the people linked to anti-abortion or marginal support of abortion, which were not found for the Canadian sample. It is of interest to note that capital punishment was not found to be significantly linked to anti-abortion or marginal support of abortion that has been found in previous studies. For these college samples, it was surprising to find that 69 percent of American males, 63 percent of Canadian males, 41 percent of American

American College Sample: N = 148; 54 Males, 94 Females					
Factor 2: 13% Variance Abortion and Punitive Sexuality					
Coefficient	Descriptor				
.64	Abortion should be punished by society (31)				
.52	Sexual pleasures help build a weak moral character (38)				
.50	Nudity within the family has a harmful influence upon children (9)				
.44	Physical punishment and pain help build a strong moral character (39)				
.41	Prostitution should be punished by so- ciety (39)				
.38	Physical punishment should be allowed in the schools (22)				

The government should have more control

Table 7

females, and 52 percent of Candian females support capital punishment. These findings indicate that the relationship between abortion and capital punishment is quite different for the young college student than it is for the older generation. If these findings are replicated for additional American and Canadian college samples, the implications for the future of humanistic values is not encouraging.

of the people (42)

.35

Tables 9 and 10 present those factors that have the second highest weighting of the abortion question for the American and Canadian samples, respectively. For the American sample there is the usual punitive-repressive sexuality, but with a new characteristic—maternal indifference—another measure of failure of nurturance. For the Canadian sample the most significant new correlates are failure of parental sex education and low interspouse physical affection. It is of interest that parental variables involving affection, indifference, and sex education are linked to the abortion issue, although they are clearly secondary factors.

In summarizing these psychometric data we can rank-order from most salient to less salient those social-behavioral characteristics that characterize the anti-abortion mentality as follows: (1) punitive-repressive attitudes toward sexual expression, which includes both moral and political characteristics; (2) subjugation of the rights of the individual to the authority of the state and society; (3) a high moral value system for pain and punishment, which includes capital punishment; (4) drugs,

Table 9 American College Sample: N = 148; 54 Males, 94 Females					
Mate	Factor 15: 3% Variance ernal Indifference, Punitive Sexuality, and Abortion Punished				
Coefficient	Descriptor				
.54	Unmarried persons having sex with their lovers is wrong (23)				
.48	My mother does not really care about me (4)				
.38	Abortion should be punished by society (31)				
.32	Society should interfere with private sexual behavior between adults (30)				

Table 8
Canadian College Sample: N = 177; 63 Males, 114 Females

Factor 7: 5% Variance
Abortion and Punitive Sexuality

Coefficient	Descriptor _
.63	Unmarried persons having sex with their lovers is wrong (23)
.58	Abortion should be punished by society (31)
.49	Prostitution should be punished by society (39)
.40	Married persons having sex affairs with their lovers is wrong (25)

alcohol, and marijuana are compensatory behaviors for sexually repressed behaviors; and (5) low parental affection, caring, and sex education.

The data presented in this two-part article have identified two basic motivational factors in the anti-abortion personality, namely, a puritanical view of human sexuality and the authoritarian control by the state and society of an individual's right of self-determination. These authoritarian and punitive-repressive sexual attitudes are particularly well dramatized by the exchange between Senator Bayh and Congressman Zwach, Sixth Congressional District, Minnesota, on May 6, 1974, before Senator Bayh's subcommittee on constitutional amendments. The relevant dialogue is as follows:

Senator Bayh: I don't want to push, but will just make this reference. I don't think you relish this role, but as long as we are going to have this problem which arises from the question of when life begins, I think it is incumbent upon me to explore in infinite detail all the ramifications and the very strong feelings presented on both sides of this. If the proposition you make, that from the point of fertilization you have life, if that is accurate—

Mr. Zwach: Yes.

Senator Bayh: (continuing) Then it is taking life to use a substance or to have a device inserted, even prior to the act of intercourse, that prohibits implantation. That is why I asked the question.

Mr. Zwach: No. I wouldn't interpret my position as saying that. My position is that after there is the creation of life, a coming together and a new life is formed, then taking that life would be destroying life and wrong.

I think America could very well consider a little bit of self-dis-

	Table	10	
Canadian College	Sample: N =	177; 63 Male	s, 114 Females
-	Factor 2: 15%	S Variance	
Low Home Se	ex Education	and Abortion	Punished

.89 My father has not adequately discussed sex with me (29)
.63 My mother has not adequately discussed sex with me (28)
.34 I have rarely seen my parents hug and kiss each other (1)
.27 Abortion should be punished by society (31)

cipline in this area. We seem to take for granted that we have to have people become pregnant. I think this in itself is a sickness of America, that you have to have intercourse: you have to. We seem to get away from matters of the spirit and deal almost totally with selfishness, personal selfishness, and self-worship rather than in the areas of spiritual values. There is virtue in selfdenial, there is virtue in self-discipline, there is virtue in self-control; virtues which, I think, have made our country great. It is a question, as we follow this easy way, whether it results in a great deal of destruction of the values that are fundamental in our way of life. (pp. 148-149) (our italics.)

There is little question that the major hidden current in the anti-abortion movement is the negative moral values associated with sexual pleasure and the accompanying authoritarian values to limit and suppress the expression of sexual pleasure. The "Right-to-Life" issue in the abortion controversy is a pseudoissue which obscures the real issue of sexual pleasure, which is considered illicit and immoral. The fundamental confrontation in the abortion controversy is the primary function of human sexuality-reproduction or the mutual sharing of physical affection and sensual pleasure. Humanists hold the position that the primary function of human sexuality is for the expression and mutual sharing of physical affection and pleasure as indispensable for the development of personhood and social unity. Fundamentalist monotheism holds the converse, namely, that the primary function of human sexuality is reproduction and that "uncontrolled" experiencing of sexual pleasure not only leads to loss of personal salvation but also to social disunity. There is not sufficient time or space to elaborate and clarify

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these issues in this article. Suffice it to say that an understanding of the abortion controversy requires an understanding of Pythagorean philosophical dualism; it's basic foundation for monotheistic religious values; and the social-political systems of patrilineal cultures that maintain and support these philosophical dualistic-monotheistic religious institutions whose essential objective is the regulation, suppression, and ultimate denial of the equality of women in their expression of their own sexuality.

The relationship of deprivation of physical affection and pleasure in human relationships to violence, exploitation, and authoritarian control has been documented elsewhere. 2,3,4 The linkage of these relationships to philosophical dualism and monotheistic religious values, however, has only been briefly summarized, 3,4,5

It would be remiss not to acknowledge the historic contribution of Wilhelm Reiche who arrived at these same insights from a substantially different data base. Reich states:

More than the economic dependency of the wife and children on the husband and father is needed to preserve the institution of the authoritarian family. For the suppressed classes, this dependency is endurable only on condition that the consciousness of being a sexual being is suspended as completely as possible in women and children. The wife must not figure as a sexual being, but solely as a child-bearer. Sexually awakened women, affirmed and recognized as such, would mean the complete collapse of the authoritarian ideology. (p. 105)

All of these issues are interwoven in such a complex fashion that it is not possible to clarify the detailed structure of their interlocking nature in this paper. This will be the subject of a future essay.

Notes

- 1. As this article was going to press, the United States Senate voted on August 22. 1978 to amend the United States Constitution to give the District of Columbia full voting representation in Congress. These votes were related to the Senate Record on Family Nurturance and Abortion summarized in Table 8, Part I, p. 23 of this article (The Humanist, July/August 1978). For those forty-two senators listed in Table 8, 78 percent who supported women's right to abortion also supported the right of D.C. citizens to full representation in Congress; conversely, 75 percent who opposed women's right to abortion also opposed the right of D.C. citizens to full representation in Congress. This relationship is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 10.89$, p < .001). This voting relationship provides more direct support for interpreting the anti-abortion movement as a movement opposed to the basic human rights of self-determination and equality.
- 2. J. W. Prescott. "Abortion and the Unwanted Child: a Choice for a Humanistic Society," The Humanist, March/April 1975.
- 3. J. W. Prescott. "Body Pleasure and the Origins of Violence," The Futurist, April 1975. Reprinted: in the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, November 1975.
- 4. J. W. Prescott. "Phylogenetic and Ontogenetic Aspects of Human Affectional Development," in Progress in Sexology, Proceedings of the 1976 International Congress of Sexology (R. Gemme and C. C. Wheeler, editors) Plenum Press, New York, 1977.
- 5. J. W. Prescott. "Violence, Pleasure, and Religion," Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, March 1976.
- 6. Wilhelm Reich. The Mass Psychology of Fascism (1933). Farrar, Straus, and Giroux (new trans. 1969) 5th Printing, New York 1973.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors are indebted to Babette Josephs, Philadelphia; NARAL, and Richard E. Chapman; ADA, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Ellen Yacklin, Pennsylvania Legal Services Center, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania for providing the various roll call votes of the Pennsylvania legislature for analysis in this report. Appreciation is extended to Karen Mulhauser, NARAL, for bringing to the authors' attention the comments of Congressman John M. Zwack.