Contents

ABBREVIATIONS, xiii

1 Introduction, 3
Social Movements and the Political Process, 5
Growth, Maintenance, and Decline of Social Movements, 7
The Study, 8

PART I
ORIGINS OF THE MOVEMENT TO LEGALIZE ABORTION

2 The Emergence of the Movement, 13
Professionals and Established Organizations in the Abortion Reform Movement, 13
The Creation of a Repeal Movement, 16
Grass-Roots Participation: The Cycle of Protest, 18
Coordination and Coalition in the Movement, 24
Conclusion, 27

3 Collective Action Through Established Means, 29
The Politics of Persuasion, 30
Activist Backgrounds and Institutionalized Channels of Influence, 32
Organizational Deficits and Movement Diversity, 37
Conclusion, 42

4 Confrontation and Direct Action, 43
The Creation of a New Consciousness, 44
Feminist Mobilization and Direct Action, 51
Conclusion, 54
PART II
SURVIVING THE VICTORY, 1973–1976

5 Movement Maintenance and Reorganization, 57
Countermovement Mobilization and Movement Maintenance, 58
Support from Established Organizations and Interest Groups, 59
Multi-Issue Organizations and Movement Maintenance, 61
Organizational Changes and Movement Stability, 63
Conclusion, 65

6 Defending Roe v. Wade, 66
Proactive Actions Following the Victory, 66
Movement Reactions to Countermovement Actions, 69
Organizational Influences on Collective Action, 72
Conclusion, 76

PART III
COUNTERMOVEMENT VICTORIES AND MOVEMENT EXPANSION, 1977–1983

7 Organizational Expansion and Transformation, 81
New Threats to Abortion Rights, 81
Pro-Choice Growth and Development, 83
Professionalization and Formalization of Pro-Choice Movement Organizations, 87
Conclusion, 92

8 Single-Issue Politics, 93
Grass-Roots Organizing and Political Action, 93
Institutionalized Tactics and Narrowed Demands, 103
Conclusion, 108

9 The Reproductive Rights Movement, 110
Origins of the Reproductive Rights Movement, 110
Multi-Issue Demands, 113
Strategies and Tactics, 114
Conclusion, 121
PART IV
THE PRO-CHOICE MOVEMENT IN THE 1980s AND BEYOND

10 Victory and Survival, 1983–1989, 125
   Opportunities for Action, 125
   Countermovement Initiatives and Movement Survival, 127
   The Reagan–Bush War on Abortion, 134
   Conclusion, 136

11 The *Webster* Ruling and Its Aftermath, 137
   The Battle Intensifies, 137
   Professionalization Versus Grass-Roots Action?, 145
   Conclusion, 146

12 Conclusion, 148
   The Cycle of Protest, 148
   Movement–Countermovement Dynamics, 150
   Social Movements in the American Political System, 153

APPENDIX A
Structures and Resources of Pro-Choice Movement
Organizations, 157

   National Organizations, 157
   State and Local Organizations, 169

APPENDIX B
Organizational Newsletters and Documents, 180

   Newsletters of National Organizations, 180
   Newsletters of Local Organizations, 182
   Manuscript Collections, 183

APPENDIX C
Interviews with Pro-Choice Activists, 186

NOTES, 188
REFERENCES, 209
INDEX, 219