

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

Index

- Abercrombie, Nicholas, 306
- abolition (of slavery), movement for, 36
- abortion. *See also* abortion laws; framing; pro-choice movement; pro-life movement
- access to, post-*Roe v. Wade*, 239–41
- access to, under reform laws, 208, 210–11, 212, 221, 226
- as an uncontroversial issue, 3, 168–9, 172
- Americans' mixed views on, 157–8
- birth control movement's view of, early 20th-century, 50
- eugenics and, 104
- fetal viability and, 217, 223, 232
- framed as a civil right, 162
- framed as a medical, humanitarian issue, 5, 8, 104, 154, 162, 164, 165–6, 167–9, 198–9, 213, 223–5, 242–3, 272–3
- framed as a woman's right (feminist abortion rights frame), 5, 8, 162, 165, 196, 200–1, 273–6
- frames affected by whether women were disenfranchised, 155
- hospital boards to approve, 167, 175, 198, 200, 223, 280
- humanitarian frame separated from medical frame, 165, 210, 269–70, 272–5, 282
- legally acceptable reasons for, 155, 164, 165–6, 186, 187–8
- “partial birth” (intact dilation and extraction), 24, 237
- party politics and, 229–31
- polarization over the issue of, 152–3, 225–8, 242, 313–14
- pro-choice frame, 7, 9–10, 297–8
- pro-life frame, 7–8, 10–11, 167, 182, 188, 196, 200, 277–9
- public opinion on, 294, 310
- race and, 187–90
- “therapeutic,” 164, 165, 174, 191, 200, 208, 210, 224–5, 280
- violence, antiabortion, 19, 153, 234–7, 295–7
- Abortion in America*. *See* James C. Mohr
- abortion law, federal. *See also* individual U.S. Supreme Court cases
- antiracketeering law applied to antiabortion protests, 234
- constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion, proposed, 19, 22, 230, 239, 279
- gag rule, 231
- revisions since *Roe v. Wade*, 228–9, 233–4, 239
- role of courts, 12, 87, 221
- abortion law, state-level. *See also* South
- “abortion mills,” state legislators' concerns about, 174–5, 190
- clergy involved in liberalization movements, 163, 168, 205, 210, 218

- abortion law, state-level (*cont.*)
 controversy surrounding repeal laws, 215
 eugenics and, 184, 189, 193
 lawyers involved in liberalization movements, 163, 168, 205
 legislators' approach to, 172–3, 174–6, 191, 198
 morally charged frames and, 185, 193, 195–205, 289
 moral vetoes of, 17, 191, 219–21, 310
 physicians' discretion within, 161–3
 referenda on, 214, 217, 218–19
 reform bills defeated, 182–3, 196–205, 220
 reform laws passed (with medical, humanitarian frame), 1, 166, 168, 182, 183–4, 214
 reform movement, 151, 163–8
 repeal bills defeated, 215, 218–19
 repeal laws, 180, 186, 192, 209–21
 repeal movement following dissatisfaction with reform, 210–14, 272–5
 residency requirements, 175, 223
 restrictive laws, 19th-century, 155–62
 voting patterns in legislatures, 177–9, 194–5, 203–5, 218, 227
- abortion rights groups, 191–2, 209–11, 212–13, 268–70, 274–5, 299. *See also* pro-choice movement
- African Americans, 33–4, 69, 73, 74, 77, 96, 103, 129, 131, 145, 189. *See also* eugenics
- Alaska, 185, 192, 214, 216–17
- Alaska Right to Life Committee, 216
- Alliance for Humane Abortions (Alaska), 216
- American Birth Control League, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 100, 111, 121
- American Civil Liberties Union, 202
- American Eugenics Society, 90, 93–4, 98
- American Law Institute (ALI), recommendations for abortion law reform, 163–4, 167, 173, 174, 184, 185–7, 192, 194, 198, 212, 215, 308
- American Medical Association (AMA), 163, 210, 267
- anarchists, 55, 59–60, 74–5
- Anglican Church, 131
- Arizona, 167, 197–8
- Arkansas, 185, 195
- Associated Press, 201, 212
- Bauer, Gary, 20
- Beebe, Lorraine, 200
- Beethoven, Ludwig van, 199
- Beilenson, Anthony, 165, 173
- Beisel, Nicola, 41
- Benford, Robert D., 257, 261, 264
- birth control. *See* abortion; birth control movement; contraception
 birth control movement. *See also*
 Comstock laws; contraception; Margaret Sanger
 abortion, view of, 50
 eugenics and, 54, 89–93, 103–5, 125
 feminism and, 42, 58–9, 61–3, 67–8, 93, 103
 grew in context of high social movement activity, 42, 51–9
 legislative failures, 4, 85
 socialism and, 1, 2, 8, 42, 48, 52–7, 93, 270–1
- Birth Control Review*, 53, 81, 90
- black Americans. *See* African Americans
- Blackmun, Justice Harry, 223
- Bolshevism, 56
- Bryan, William Jennings, 73
- Buchanan, Patrick, 18, 152, 279
- Burstein, Paul, 299, 300
- Bush, President George H. W., 18, 19, 24, 230
- Bush, President George W., 20, 231, 237, 282
- Byrne, Ethel, 44
- California, 165, 169, 173–4, 181–2, 183–4, 186, 191–2, 204, 210–11, 221, 268
- California Committee on Therapeutic Abortion, 165
- Casti Connubii* (“On Christian Marriage”), 120, 138, 140
- Catholic Church. *See* Roman Catholic Church
- Catt, Carrie Chapman, 36, 116
- Chen, Constance M., 114

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism
in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)*Index*

333

- Chesler, Ellen, 26, 61, 75–6, 78, 89, 90, 94, 96, 99–101, 112–13
- Christian Coalition, 19, 236
- Christian Council of Metropolitan Atlanta, 189
- Christian Right, 17–20, 22, 122, 151, 156, 171, 229, 235–6, 293
- Church of England. *See* Anglican Church
- Civil Rights Movement, U.S., 14–15, 34, 265–6, 296, 303
- Civil War, U.S., 7, 33–4, 36
- class bias
- eugenics and, 27, 71, 74, 78, 82, 94–7, 98, 99, 101, 104
 - medical frames and, 31, 104, 112, 126, 129, 148–9, 280
- Clergy Consultation Service, 218, 272
- Clinton, President Bill, 229, 231, 236–7, 297
- Colorado, 173–4, 180–2, 184, 186, 198, 211–12
- communism, 56
- Communist Party, American, 17
- Comstock, Anthony, 29–30, 39–40, 41, 46, 78, 130, 149
- Comstock laws, 29–30, 39–41, 42–8, 85, 123–4, 126
- birth control movement and, 31–2, 50, 51, 53, 54, 81, 132
- Catholics and, 129–30, 133, 136, 146–7, 148
- Connecticut, 142
- Massachusetts, 141–2
 - nullified by court decisions, 86–7, 88, 125, 148–9
 - opposition to, as a point of unity in birth control movement, 121
- conflict theory, 305
- Congress, U.S., 63, 85–6, 87, 89–90, 94, 95, 117, 125, 183
- Connecticut, 40, 141–2, 157–8, 159–62
- contraception. *See also* birth control movement; eugenics
- arguments against, 36, 47–8, 58
 - arguments in favor of, 48–51
 - contemporary access to, 301–2
 - framed as a feminist issue, 30, 32–3, 77–9
 - framed as a socialist issue, 8, 16, 30–1, 32–3, 77–9, 277
 - framed within a moral worldview, 52, 70, 77–8, 293
 - laws liberalized by courts, 4, 11, 31–2, 311
 - legislatures' hesitance to address, 31–2, 85–6, 117, 129–30
 - methods of, 37–8, 40, 137, 139–40, 302
 - minorities and immigrants derogated in framing of, 25, 69, 103, 280
 - opposition to, within women's movements, 37, 64–5
 - popular support for, 1, 31, 39, 48, 86, 141–2
 - reframed as a medical issue, 4, 31, 107, 128 (*See also* Margaret Sanger)
 - taboo nature of, 37, 38–9, 62, 123
- Coser, Rose, 252
- Cott, Nancy, 58–9, 64, 66, 110
- Coughlin, Rev. Charles, 134
- Creationism, 72
- cultural pluralism, 306–7, 314. *See also* limiting frames
- culture war. *See also* abortion
- as a popular concept, 18–19, 151–2, 279
 - as a sociological concept, 151–3
- Cuomo, Mario, 297
- Darwin, Charles, 71, 72, 73
- Debs, Eugene V., 30, 53
- Degler, Carl N., 72
- Delaware, 160, 174, 186–7, 196, 201, 220
- Democratic Party, 18, 92, 180, 196, 229
- Dennett, Mary Ware, 25, 27, 43, 111
- birth control as part of larger social justice agenda, 106, 108, 114–19, 126, 127
- Catholicism, view of, 119–21
- Comstock laws and, 40–1, 44, 45–6, 51, 109–10, 124, 127, 128
- eugenics and, 72, 122–3
 - her politics misunderstood, 110–14
 - feminism and, 60, 61
 - opposed Sanger's medical framing of contraception, 30–1, 81, 82–3, 109, 112, 116–17

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism
in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

334

Index

- Dennett, Mary Ware (*cont.*)
 role in birth control movement,
 111–12, 121–2, 128
 strategically less effective than
 Margaret Sanger, 83, 106, 108, 110,
 116–17, 122, 126–7, 128, 143, 277
- Diamond, Milton, 217
- Dickinson, Robert L., 83–4
- Dienes, C. Thomas, 129, 130, 136–7, 142
- discourse analysis, 245
- Dillon, Michele, 135, 153
- Doe v. Bolton* (1973), 3, 5, 12, 149, 208,
 221–8, 231. *See also* *Roe v. Wade*
- Dole, Bob, 19
- Durkheimian sociology, 21–2, 246–7,
 254, 277, 304–5, 308, 312
- Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972), 31
- Eliosoph, Nina, 260
- Ellis, Havelock, 76
- Equal Rights Amendment (E.R.A.),
 proposed, 59
- Essay on the Principle of Population*, 71
- eugenics. *See also* birth control movement;
 class bias; Margaret Sanger
 contraception and, 27, 32, 69–80
 immigration and, 48–51, 72, 74, 77,
 101, 103
 harsher versions in the 1930s, 90–102,
 301
 not an intrinsic component of birth
 control frame, 103–5, 122–3, 128–9,
 301
 Naziism and, 75–6, 91, 97–8, 104,
 184, 202, 301
 race and, 74, 77, 78, 102
 socialism and, 74–5, 76, 103
 variety of perspectives within, 70–7
- Europe, 167
 abortion in, 242–3, 308–10
 contraception, advocacy of, 80, 131,
 137
- Catholic opposition to contraception,
 120, 131–2
- eugenics in, 75, 93
- socialism in, 114
- evolution. *See also* eugenics; social
 Darwinism
 Darwinian theory of, 72–3
 Lamarckian (and neo-Lamarckian)
 view of, 73–4
- Falwell, Rev. Jerry, 17, 18, 236
- Family Limitation* (birth control
 pamphlet), 43, 53
- “Family Limitation” (Catholic anti-birth
 control article), 132
- feminism, 283. *See also* birth control
 movement; contraception; suffrage
 abortion and, 150, 230, 268
 equal rights approach to, 59, 62
 limiting frames within, 62–5
 separate spheres approach to, 64–5, 85
 socialism, relationship to, 59–60
 use of the term, historically, 58, 65,
 85
- fertility rates, U.S., 38, 40, 42, 47,
 58
- Finkbine, Sherri, 166–7
- Fireman, Bruce, 257, 258–9
- First Amendment (to the U.S.
 Constitution), 291, 312–13
- Florida, 173–4, 196–7, 204,
 215
- framing. *See also* limiting frames, moral
 worldviews; moral veto
 affected by entry or elimination of
 players, 271–7
 bridging frames, 11, 246, 252–3,
 264–77, 284
 collective identity and, 267–75, 276,
 278
 comparing history of abortion frames
 and contraception frames, 151
 concept explained, 7, 8–9
 disenfranchised groups, derogated
 within, 24–5, 69, 78–80, 280–1, 301
 “injustice” frames, 276
 reflecting who is included in a
 conversation, 11, 25, 69–70, 244–5,
 266–7
- Freedom of Access to Clinics Act (FACE),
 236, 238
- Friedman, Debra, 257
- Fung, Archon, 169, 226
- Gamson, William A., 257, 258–9, 276
- Garrow, David J., 169, 180–1, 187–8,
 218
- George, Henry, 114–15, 116
- Georgia, 160, 173, 180–1, 184, 185, 187,
 188–9, 192–3, 204, 216, 218
- Germany, 137, 262, 265, 309

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism
in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

Index

335

- Ginsburg, Faye, 10, 191, 197, 229–30
 Ginsburg, Justice Ruth Bader, 225
 Glendon, Mary Ann, 170, 225–7, 308–12
 Goffman, Erving, 256
 Goldman, Emma, 30, 36, 43, 46, 52–3,
 57, 60, 74, 111, 124
 Gooch, Laurel F., 180, 188–9
 Gordon, Linda, 26, 56, 81, 105, 113,
 114
 Granovetter, Mark S., 251–2
 Great Britain, 242, 308–9
Griswold v. Connecticut (1965), 31, 84, 88,
 142, 149, 222, 311
- Hatfield, Henry D., 89–90
 Hawaii, 182, 185, 192, 214, 215, 217
 health care system (affecting reproductive
 politics), 242–3, 301–2, 308–9
 Heterodoxy (feminist group), 61, 116
 Hitler, Adolf, 97
 homosexuality, 19, 236, 279
 Hoover, President Herbert, 146
 Hunter, James Davison, 229–30, 304,
 308
 Hyde Amendment, 228–9, 240
- immigrants (to the United States), 33,
 34–5, 129–38 *See also* eugenics
 interest groups, explanatory problems
 with the concept of, 21, 87, 147–8,
 294
 International Workers of the World
 (Wobblies), 53, 74, 132
 infanticide, 160
 Illinois, 220
 Iowa, 18, 189
- Jacob, Herbert, 183
 Jain, Sagar C., 180, 188–9, 192
 Japan, 137
 Jewish Community Council (Atlanta,
 Georgia), 189
 Jews, 33–5, 76
 Johnston, Hank, 257
 John Paul II, Pope, 295
 Johnson, Victoria, 297
 Jones, Eleanor (a.k.a. Mrs. F. Robertson
 Jones), 111, 121
- Kansas, 174, 186, 195
 Keller, Helen, 199
- Kennedy, David M., 26, 49, 85, 94, 101,
 133
 Kennedy, President John F., 147
 Keyes, Alan, 20
 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 292
 Kingdon, John W., 219
 Knowlton, Charles, 38
 Ku Klux Klan, 119, 146
- Lader, Lawrence, 169, 180, 187, 210,
 272
Ladies' Home Journal, 102
 Lamarck, Jean Baptiste de Monet, 73
 Lamm, Richard, 184, 212
 Latz, Leo J., 138, 139
 Lee, Mei-Hsien, 170, 181–2, 190–1
 LeMay, Curtis, 192
 Leo XIII, Pope, 131
 Lichterman, Paul, 260
- limiting frames. *See also* framing; moral
 worldviews, social movements
 concept explained, 13–14, 16, 24, 80,
 276
 courts' use of, 86–8, 288–9, 291
 cultural pluralism and, 21–2, 28, 246,
 281–4, 301–3
 elite nature of some, 166, 167–8, 205,
 210, 214, 224, 273
 leaving future options open, 301–3
 medical frames as, 28, 70, 80–5, 86–8
 (*See also* contraception; abortion)
 political vulnerabilities of, 206, 207–8,
 227, 288–91
 relationship to moderation of
 movement goals, 65–7, 88
 religious pluralism and, 291–2, 312–13
 strategic effectiveness of, 84–5, 109,
 266, 272, 284
 widespread cultural assumptions and,
 279–84, 301
- Louisiana, 181
 Loyola University Medical School, 138
 Luker, Kristin, 162, 165, 168, 169–70,
 183, 187, 191, 210–11, 222, 268,
 269, 272, 273, 298
- McAdam, Doug, 256, 257
 McCann, Carole R., 26, 50, 60, 79,
 100–1, 114
 McCarthy, John, 124, 256
 Maddox, Lester, 188–9

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

336

Index

- Maine, 173, 198, 200, 203, 204–5
- Malthus, Thomas, 71
- Malthusianism (and neo-Malthusianism), 74
- Mandel, Marvin, 215
- Massachusetts, 141–2, 181
- Marxism
- Marxist sociology, 306
 - Marxists and birth control, 55, 131
- Maryland, 173–4, 186, 212, 215–16, 220
- mechanical solidarity, 278
- Medicaid, 228–9, 240, 302
- medical framing. *See* framing,
- medical profession, United States, 267–70 *See also* abortion; birth control movement, framing limiting frames
- Comstock laws and, 4, 40, 44, 45, 104
 - favoring abortion reform laws, 1950s and 1960s, 1, 151, 163–4
 - opposition to abortion, 19th-century, 1, 36, 50, 78, 150, 157–8, 159–62
 - “regulars,” 159
- methodological challenges to studying culture, 287–8
- Michigan, 173, 200–1, 218, 220
- Midwest, 240
- midwives, 156, 164
- Miller, Keith H., 216–17
- Mills, C. Wright, 306
- Mississippi, 186, 187–8, 190, 193, 214
- Missouri, 232
- Mohr, James C., 156–7, 160, 162, 164, 227
- Mooney, Christopher Z., 170, 181–2, 190–1
- Moral Majority, 17, 236
- moral veto. *See also* abortion law; Roman Catholic Church
- concept explained, 22–4
 - conditions under which moral vetoes are effective, 285–7, 291
 - legislatures, relevance to, 23, 86, 87, 125, 300, 310–11
 - policy windows and, 219–20, 227
 - relationship to prevailing cultural dispositions, 23–4, 144, 285–7
 - role of courts in resolving, 23, 86–8, 148, 300, 310–11
- moral worldviews. *See also* framing
- among activists, 268
 - concept explained, 16–17
 - danger of strong victimization of disenfranchised groups, 302
 - political obstacles, 19, 21–2, 266, 277, 278
 - social movement solidarity and, 19, 270, 272, 278–9, 293
 - societal level, 277–8
- Motherhood in Bondage*, 60–1, 76
- National Abortion Federation, 235
- National Birth Control League, 49, 71, 112, 115, 123
- National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control, 56, 86
- National Health Service (United Kingdom), 242
- National Liberal League, 47
- National American Woman Suffrage Association, 61, 63, 113, 116
- National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NARAL, later renamed National Abortion Rights Action League), 212
- National Organization for Women, 202, 212
- National Right to Life Committee, 213, 218
- National Woman Suffrage Association, 30
- National Woman’s Party, 30, 59, 63
- Native Americans, 73
- Nebraska, 238
- neo-Malthusianism. *See* Malthusianism
- New Deal, 92–4, 104, 129, 133, 136, 147
- New England, 181
- New Hampshire, 173, 199, 204
- New Jersey, 201–3, 220
- New Jersey Association for Brain Injured Children, 202
- New Jersey Medical Society, 202
- New Mexico, 174, 182, 186, 216
- New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 39
- New York, state of, 87, 182, 185, 192, 210, 214, 216, 217, 218, 220–1

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism
in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

Index

337

- New York Times*, 192, 201, 211
 Nichols, Thomas Low and Mary Gove,
 38
 Noonan, John T., Jr., 140
 North Carolina, 173–4, 180–1, 184,
 185, 189, 191, 192–3, 198,
 212
 North Dakota, 197–8, 218, 240
 Nosiff, Rosemary, 170
- O’Boyle, Cardinal Patrick, 215
 O’Connor, Justice Sandra Day,
 231
 Oklahoma, 173, 204, 218
 Olasky, Marvin, 123, 156–7, 160
 Olson, Mancur, 255
 O’Neil, Daniel J., 197
 Operation Rescue, 234–6, 239, 279,
 296–7
 Oregon, 119, 186
 organic solidarity, 305
*Origin of Species (On the Origin of Species
 by Means of Natural Selection)*, 71
- Parsonian sociology, 306
 Pennsylvania, 233
 People’s Council of America, 115
 Perot, Ross, 184
 Petchesky, Rosalind Pollack, 26
 physicians. *See* medical profession
 Pius XI, Pope, 120, 138, 140
 Pius XII, Pope, 138
Pivot of Civilization, The, 100
 Planned Parenthood, 105, 122, 141
 Connecticut, Planned Parenthood of,
 142
*Planned Parenthood of Southeast
 Pennsylvania v. Casey* (1992), 232–3,
 240, 241
 Polletta, Francesca, 260
 postmodernism, 276, 283–4
 pro-choice movement. *See also* abortion
 rights groups
 Democratic party and, 229, 236–7
 historical perspective on abortion and,
 155, 157
 less movement solidarity than pro-life
 movement, 298–9
 pluralist frame distinct from “abortion
 rights” frame, 297–8
- pro-life movement, 181–91, 212–13,
 229–31
 Catholic pro-life movement, 183,
 197–8, 209–10, 216, 218, 268–9,
 276
 historical perspective on abortion and,
 155
 limited success of, 12, 23–4, 153,
 156–7, 239, 279, 293, 299
 militant wing of, 234–6, 239
 moral worldview within, 293–7
 Republican party and, 230–1, 237, 241
 South, in the, 1, 181, 185, 191, 192
 prostitution, 39, 60, 61, 133, 156
 Protestantism
 Catholicism, suspicion of, 145, 286
 contraception, opposition to, 130, 135,
 286–7
 eugenic concerns with dominance of,
 32, 33, 58, 69, 71, 131, 134
 evangelical, 156, 192, 235–6, 283
 Putnam, Robert, 250
- quickening, 156, 159
- “race suicide” argument, 71, 131, 134–6
 Reagan, Leslie J., 163
 Reagan, President Ronald, 17, 24, 229,
 230–1, 299
 recipes (as a sociological concept),
 281–2
 Reconstruction, 34
 “Red Scare” (after World War I), 57
 Reed, James, 26, 110, 116
 Reed, Ralph, 123, 236
 Reform Party, 184
 Reger, Jo, 246
 Religious Right. *See* Christian Right
 religious pluralism in the U.S., 291–2
 Republican Party, 17–18, 19–20, 24, 152,
 180, 196, 229–31, 233 *See also*
 pro-life movement
- Rhode Island, 181
*Rhythm of Sterility and Fertility in Women,
 The*, 138, 139
 Robertson, Rev. Pat, 18, 19, 236
 Robnet, Belinda, 246
 Rockefeller family (and birth control
 movement), 90
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 216

- Roe v. Wade* (1973), 3, 5, 12, 149, 191–2, 221–8
 access to abortion after, 169, 300
 controversy over, 170, 314
 declining Supreme Court majority in favor of *Roe*, 231, 233, 238
 limiting (medical) frame, as a component of, 28, 208, 221–5
 political consequences if reversed, 300
 privacy rights and, 169, 222–3, 232
 scholarly analysis of the significance of, 153–4, 170, 225–7, 308–12
 state abortion policy (pre-1973) that resembled, 210–11, 214
 Supreme Court avoiding an explicit moral worldview, 223–4
- Roman Catholic Church. *See also*
 Comstock laws, pro-life movement
 abortion, opposition to, 182, 183, 191, 197–8, 202–3, 215, 235
 contraception, increased focus in early 20th century, 132
 contraception, losing the battle over, 132–3, 136–7, 139–41
 contraception, opposition to, 1, 23, 31, 91, 106–7, 119–20, 129–44, 148
 eugenics and, 131, 134–6
 immigration and, 33–5, 145
 laity diverging from hierarchy on contraception and abortion, 132, 140–1
 loyalty to the U.S., suspicions about, 145–6, 147–8
 moral veto over liberalizing contraception laws, 1, 23, 107, 108–9, 129–30, 136–7, 141–2, 146–9, 286–7
 natural law doctrine of, 132–3, 135, 286
 Margaret Sanger, opposition to, 132
 New Deal and, 92–3, 133–4, 135–6, 147
 political weakness, 19th and early 20th centuries, 1, 106–7, 144–6
 view of religious freedom and church–state relations, 119, 120, 286
 rhythm method and, 120, 137–41
 use of arguments not specifically Catholic (to oppose contraception), 129–30, 134–5, 136, 286–8
 the Vatican, 131, 137, 138 (*See also* individual popes)
- Roosevelt, Eleanor, 92
 Roosevelt, President Franklin Delano, 92, 136, 147. *See also* New Deal
 Roosevelt, President Theodore, 71
 rubella, 166, 180, 202
 Rubin, Eva R. 224
 Russian Revolution, 56, 115
 Ryan, Rev. John, 132, 133–4, 136, 145–6
- Saleten, William, 298
 Sanger, Margaret, 26, 86. *See also* birth control movement
 belief in radical implications of birth control, 127
 Comstock laws and, 43–4, 45–6, 62, 109, 124
 eugenics and, 26, 74, 76–7, 89–103
 feminism and, 60–1, 62–3
 leader of birth control movement, 3, 4, 52, 56, 106, 107–8, 109, 121–2, 128, 143, 267
 mainstreaming contraception through medical framing, 30–1, 80–3, 125, 137, 276
 New Deal and, 92–3, 136
 opposition to racial discrimination, 96
 personal life of, 50, 113
 radicalism (early in birth control movement), 52–3, 54, 60, 61, 126, 271
 self-promoting, 110–11
 view of Roman Catholicism, 49, 93, 106, 120–1, 140, 143–4
- Sanger, William, 43, 53
 Sarch, Amy, 40
 Schuetz, Alfred, 281
 Selznick, Philip, 225, 307–8
Sex Side of Life, The (sex education pamphlet), 44, 84
 sexuality (as a matter of controversy), 23, 30, 37, 38, 47, 50, 62, 63, 89, 120, 144, 146–7, 148, 285–7
 Singing, Steven W., 180
 Slee, Noah, 90

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

Index

339

- Smith, Al, 92, 146
- Snow, David, 256, 261, 264
- social Darwinism, 73, 77–85, 96. *See also* eugenics; evolution
- social movements, 42. *See also* limiting frames; moral worldviews
- contribution to social change, 6, 12–13, 20–1
- dominant frames dependent upon identities within the coalition of, 78–9, 91–2
- as obstacles to limiting frames, 32–3, 123–4
- relationship to moral vetoes, 5, 11, 12
- social movement theory
- brokerage, concept of, 265
- collective behavior theory, 253–4
- cultural approaches, 258–62, 263–4, 266–70
- frame analysis, 256–7, 260–6
- network analysis, 255, 260
- “new” social movements, 264–5
- rational choice theory, 253, 255–6, 258–9, 260
- resource mobilization and political process theory, 253–7, 260, 262–3, 278
- social order, 246–7, 304–14
- socialism. *See* birth control movement; contraception; eugenics; Margaret Sanger; Socialist Party
- Socialist Party, 29–30, 35, 41, 51–7, 60, 114. *See also* contraception
- South (southern U.S.), 240. *See also* individual states
- abortion laws of, 1, 2, 5, 6, 151, 169, 171–6, 185, 191–2, 196, 219
- absence of effort to repeal abortion laws, 192, 215
- racist eugenics and, 102
- South Carolina, 173, 184, 185, 193–4, 195, 219
- South Dakota, 240
- spiritualism, 156
- State and the Church, The*, 145
- Steinberg, Marc, 260, 263
- Steinhoff, Patricia G., 217
- stem cell research, 282
- Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000), 238
- Stephens, Frank, 114
- sterilization, coerced, 90, 95, 96–7, 98, 189
- Stopes, Marie, 45
- Storer, Horatio, 78
- Souter, Justice David, 231
- suffrage, women’s, 35, 36, 58–9
- equal rights feminism, relationship to, 59
- limiting frame within the movement for, 63–6
- Margaret Sanger’s view of, 116
- Mary Ware Dennett’s involvement in, 115–16
- racial and ethnic prejudice within the movement for, 36
- Sulloway, Alvah W., 133–4, 137
- Supreme Court (United States). *See* individual case names
- Sweden, 167
- temperance movement, 36, 64
- Tarrow, Sidney, 265
- Tentler, Leslie Woodcock, 132
- thalidomide, 166–7, 180
- Thomas, Justice Clarence, 20, 231
- Thornburgh v. American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists* (1986), 233
- Valenza, Charles, 99–100
- Vermont, 204
- Virginia, 185, 194, 219
- voluntary motherhood, 19th-century idea of, 47
- Voluntary Parenthood League, 117, 118, 121
- Wallace, George, 192
- Washington, D.C., 215, 229
- Washington, state of, 185, 192, 214, 217, 218
- “weak ties,” the strength of, 251–2
- Weber, Max, 267, 281, 290
- Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989), 232, 241, 298
- Wobblies. *See* International Workers of the World
- “white slavery,” early-20th-century moral panic about, 60

Cambridge University Press

0521552095 - The Moral Veto: Framing Contraception, Abortion, and Cultural Pluralism
in the United States

Gene Burns

Index

[More information](#)

340

Index

Williams, Rhys, 260

Wilson, President Woodrow, 118

World War I, 54, 99, 118, 145, 147
 repression of Socialists during and
 after, 56, 57

Socialist opposition to, 30, 42, 51

World War II, 87, 104, 105, 147, 148,
 163–8, 242*Woman Rebel*, 43, 53, 54, 60

Women's Peace Party, 113

Zald, Mayer, 124, 256