

ATTITUDES TOWARDS ABORTION IN CANADA

T.R. Balakrishnan

University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada

Evelyne Lapierre-Adamcyk

Université de Montréal, Montréal, Québec, Canada

and

Karol J. Krótki

University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

Résumé — Une analyse des données de l'Enquête Canadienne de Fécondité de l'année 1984 montre que les attitudes envers l'avortement parmi les femmes d'un échantillon national sont relatives non seulement à leur acquis démographique et socioéconomique, mais aussi à leur expérience en grossesse non planifiée. Les femmes nées non-catholiques, qui sont éduquées et moins religieuses et qui habitent les grandes régions urbaines étaient plus libérales dans leurs attitudes envers l'avortement. Celles qui avaient eu une grossesse non planifiée ou non espacée étaient aussi plus libérales. On avait aussi constaté que l'attitude envers l'avortement est corrélative à l'attitude envers le mariage et la gestation en général. Les femmes qui sous-estiment le mariage et la gestation et surestiment le travail et la liberté personnelle sont plus libérales envers l'avortement.

Abstract — An analysis of the data from the Canadian Fertility Survey of 1984 shows that attitudes towards abortion among a national sample of women are related to not only their demographic and socioeconomic background, but also to their experience with unwanted pregnancy. Women who were non-Catholic, educated, less religious and lived in large urban areas were more liberal in their attitudes towards abortion. Those who had an unwanted or an untimed pregnancy were also more liberal. It was also found that attitude towards abortion is correlated with attitude toward marriage, family and childbearing in general. Women who place less value on marriage and childbearing and more value on work and personal freedom are more liberal towards abortion.

Key Words — abortion, attitudes, unplanned pregnancy

Introduction

Following the changes made in the abortion law in 1969, the incidence of therapeutic abortions in Canada rose from about 8.6 per 100 live births in 1969 to 17.8 in 1979. The rate, as well as the absolute number of abortions, has since then decreased: the latest figure for 1985 being 16.2 per 100 live births (Statistics Canada, 1986). As the present law is still restrictive, in that a duly constituted therapeutic abortion committee has to approve an abortion, wide variations are observed in the regional distribution of abortions depending on the interpretation of the law and the attitudes of the abortion committees. One may also surmise that given the lower rates in Canada compared to United States and other developed countries — especially in Western Europe — the reported therapeutic abortion statistics may be an understatement of the true numbers. The purpose of this paper is not to measure abortion *per se* in Canada, but to analyze the attitudes of women towards abortion. Though attitudes in general cannot be equated with actual behaviour, one can expect them to have some impact on behaviour and possible legislation, depending on their strength. Politically active groups for and against abortion could also create significant swings in the attitudes of the general public. To the extent that attitude towards abortion is a morally and ethically sensitive issue, it is important to know its place in the broader set of social norms regarding family, marriage and childbearing. In addition, there is clearly a continuing need to measure attitudes in the wider Canadian population for policy reasons.

A number of local and province-wide studies have been done in Canada since 1967 to measure attitudes towards abortion (Balakrishnan *et al.*, 1972; Barrett, 1980; Barrett and Fitz-Earle, 1973; Boyce and Osborn, 1970; Committee on the Operation of the Abortion Law, 1977; Hartnagel *et al.*, 1985; Henripin and Lapierre-Adamcyk, 1974; Osborn and Silkey, 1980). In addition, Gallup polls have interviewed a national sample of women, albeit small (less than 500 women), since 1965. However, due to a lack of standardization in the questions and the samples covered, no good time series of attitudes on abortion in Canada can be constructed (Boyd and Gillieson, 1975). In the United States, a much larger number of studies have been conducted, including annual surveys by Gallup and the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) to assess changes in the attitudes towards abortion (Blake and Del Pinal, 1981; Granberg and Granberg, 1980; Henshaw and Martire, 1982; Jones and Westoff, 1978).

An interesting trend has been observed in the American studies. Level of approval increased rapidly until 1973, but has since then levelled off. In the NORC surveys, the average approval for six specified reasons (mother's health, rape, defect in baby, low income, unmarried and does not want another baby) increased from 41 per cent in 1965 to 68 per cent by 1973, but has remained at that level until 1980 (Granberg and Granberg, 1980). Analyzing NORC as well as Gallup polls, Blake and Del Pinal made a similar observation on the erosion of the liberal abortion platform since the historic Supreme Court decision of 1973 (Blake and Del Pinal, 1981). Though the strength of the "pro-life" movement may have something to do with this, a more enduring cause may be that there is still considerable conflict in matters of personal morality among the American public, and opposition to abortion reflects a conservative approach in these matters. For example, in the NORC surveys from 1972 to 1978, it was found that disapproval of pre-marital sex, extramarital sex, homosexual relations, interracial marriage, use of marijuana and pornography were inversely related to approval of abortion (Granberg and Granberg, 1980). The conflict between legality and morality of abortion was more directly measured in a 1981 survey. Though 67 per cent in this national survey of women said that abortion should be legal, 56 per cent also said it is morally wrong (Henshaw and Martire, 1982). These studies show that attitudes towards abortion can be understood better in the context of attitudes to other matters of personal morality. Though this study did not gather information on whether women regard abortion as morally wrong, data on approval or disapproval of behaviour such as having children out of wedlock and raising a child without a husband or partner were collected which could be examined in relation to their attitudes towards abortion.

The objective of this study is to analyze the factors associated with attitudes towards abortion in a national sample of Canadian women. First, the relationship of demographic and social status variables — such as age, marital status, religion, education, religiosity, place of residence and work experience — to abortion attitudes will be examined. Other studies have found that higher education, being non-catholic and urban residence are positively associated with liberal attitudes towards abortion. Conversely, religiosity and Catholicism have been consistently negatively associated (Granberg and Granberg, 1980). One theoretical explanation for this offered by Hartnagel *et al.* (1985) is that it is the dominant status group in a society that is likely to approve situations where there is a moral conflict such as in the case of abortion. Second, it is hypothesized that while socioeconomic background variables are important in the formation of attitudes, proximate determinants — such as an unwanted or an untimed pregnancy, number of children expected or the type of contraceptive use — may also independently influence one's attitudes towards abortion. In other words, experience of a personal situation where abortion may seem an option may influence one's attitudes in general. Third, it is hypothesized that attitude towards abortion is related to attitude towards marriage, family and childbearing in general. For example, those who feel strongly that marriage and childbearing are important to be happy in life are likely to be less liberal in their attitudes towards abortion. In other words, those who are family-oriented and more traditional will be less approving of abortion. Conversely, those who value work outside the home and greater personal freedom and who put less emphasis on marriage and children as sources of happiness may be more approving of abortion.

Materials and Methods

A series of questions on attitudes towards abortion under various conditions was asked of a national sample of women as part of a large comprehensive survey of fertility behaviour. The project known as the Canadian Fertility Study was done in the summer of 1984. A national probability sample of 5,315 women of all marital statuses in the reproductive years of 18 to 49 were interviewed on the telephone, using a structured schedule. The topics covered a wide range, including pregnancy, marriage and work history, contraceptive behaviour, attitudes towards marriage, family and abortion, and socioeconomic background variables such as religion, education, income and occupation, including those of the husband where applicable. Each interview took about 36 minutes on average. The percentage distribution of the responses to the six

questions on attitudes towards abortion, which are arranged in descending order of seriousness of the situation, is presented in Table 1. Non-responses were very low: together with unsure, they amounted to only one to five per cent in the range of questions. The situations were preceded by the phrase "Assuming abortion were legal, would you be for or against a woman having an abortion if...". Therefore, the responses are general attitudes and do not measure whether the respondents themselves would get an abortion under the specific situation. To include a larger set of questions to tap such nuances, though important, was beyond the scope of the parent study. As we expected, our deliberately limited attempt to measure the number of abortions actually performed on the respondents was not so successful. The pregnancy histories, which contained information on the outcome of each pregnancy, indicated only 357 abortions, which gives a rate of 4.4 abortions per 100 live births — a substantial underestimate. It is evident that Canadian women are still reluctant to admit to having had an abortion. Similar results of substantial underreporting were also found in a much earlier study (Krótki and McDaniel, 1975). On the other hand, the fact that even that many will volunteer the information on a telephone survey may be indicative of more liberal attitudes than in the past. It is possible that some of the abortions were reported as a miscarriage, which amounted to 16.4 per 100 live births — a slightly higher figure than one would expect in the Canadian population.

The responses in Table 1 reveal a dichotomy. The women overwhelmingly approved of abortion if the mother's life or health was in danger and in the case of rape. Ninety-two per cent approved of an abortion if the mother's life was in danger and 85 per cent if her health was in danger. Eighty-three per cent approved in the case of rape. There is no doubt that when the woman's physical well-being was gravely threatened, there was considerable support for an abortion. If the child was likely to be born physically or mentally handicapped, a lower proportion — 72 per cent — approved of an abortion. But only about one-third approved of abortion if the mother was not married or for financial reasons. Support for abortion declined considerably in situations where there was no threat to the mother's or child's health.

The consistency of responses to the six questions, assuming an ordinal sequence, was tested using Guttman scalogram analysis. The coefficient of reproducibility was 0.93. An index measuring the attitudes towards abortion was developed using the six questions in Table 1. The index is the sum of the positive responses and can vary from 0 to 6 for any respondent. The mean of the index for all women was 3.99 with a standard deviation of 1.63. Construction of the index by simple addition implies equal weight for all the questions. The larger the index, the more liberal is the respondent's attitude towards abortion.

TABLE 1. PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS ABORTIONS IN DIFFERENT SITUATIONS

Situation	For	Against	Don't know Unsure Non-Response
1. ...if the pregnancy is endangering the mother's life	92	7	1
2. ...if the pregnancy puts the mother's health in danger	85	12	3
3. ...if the woman has been raped	83	13	4
4. ...if there were good reasons to believe that the child would be physically or mentally retarded	72	23	5
5. ...if the woman was not married	36	58	5
6. ...if the household does not have the financial means to support a child	32	65	4
Q: Assuming abortion were legal would you be for or against a woman having an abortion.....			

Results

Attitudes towards abortion are influenced to a great degree by the values and norms acquired through early socialization, from reference groups, and through media and social movements. While it is hard to investigate the exact manner in which attitudes are formed, there is no doubt that a wide range of characteristics are found to be correlated. We first examined the relationship between five selected socioeconomic factors and three personal situation variables on attitudes towards abortion, taking into account the age and marital status of the respondent at the time of the interview. The five socioeconomic factors were religion, religiosity, education, place of residence and work status. The personal situation variables were last pregnancy status (whether planned or unplanned), total expected number of children and current method of contraception.

Catholics have traditionally been less liberal than Protestants, as documented in many studies (Balakrishnan *et al.*, 1972; Hartnagel *et al.*, 1985; Osborn and Silkey, 1980; Ryder and Westoff, 1971). In our study, the religious differ-

ences, while they existed, were much less. The mean abortion index for Catholics was 3.80 and for Protestants, 4.16 (Table 2). Controlling for all the other predictor variables using Multiple Classification Analysis reduced the difference, the adjusted means being 3.93 and 4.04, respectively. One cannot but speculate that the convergence in the attitudes towards abortion runs parallel to a convergence in fertility and family planning behaviour between Catholics and non-Catholics found in recent years in Canada. Religiosity turned out to be the most discriminating variable. Women were asked "How often do you attend religious services? Would you say every week, every month, a few times a year, rarely, or never". Those who attended religious services regularly every week were least liberal, with an index of 2.94, compared to 4.56 for those who rarely or never went to church. Only 16 per cent of regular churchgoers approved of abortion if the mother is not married, while 52 per cent of those who rarely went to church approved of abortion for the same reason. Controlling for the other variables hardly changed these figures, indicating that the effect of religiosity on attitudes towards abortion is largely independent of other factors. This parallels a recent U.S. study where religious attendance was the most highly correlated variable with attitudes towards abortion (Henshaw and Martire, 1982).

As reported in other studies, education and place of residence of the respondent were found to be related to the attitudes towards abortion (Balakrishnan *et al.*, 1972; Ryder and Westoff, 1971). Better-educated women were more liberal than those with a lesser education. Those who had at least some college education had a mean abortion index of 4.27, compared to 3.56 for those with less than eight years of schooling. Women in larger cities were more liberal (4.12) than women living in small towns (3.79) or on farms (3.56). Though those with a greater commitment to work seemed to be more liberal, when controlled for other factors, work differences were found to be minimal.

Age did not show any clear pattern. Younger women in the age group 18-24 were more conservative in their attitudes towards abortion than older women, contrary to conventional wisdom that people grow conservative as they become older. This age pattern on attitudes towards abortion has also been evident in earlier studies (Balakrishnan *et al.*, 1972; Ryder and Westoff, 1971). One may hypothesize that younger women have not experienced the pressures of birth control or unwanted pregnancies and therefore can afford to take a more casual attitude towards abortion than older women. Married women were more conservative than single or previously married women in their attitudes towards abortion but the differences by marital status were small.

One of the main premises of this paper is that attitudes towards abortion are likely to be strongly correlated with personal desires and experience with

TABLE 2. MEAN ABORTION INDEX (UNADJUSTED AND ADJUSTED) BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	% approving					Mean Abortion Index			Number of Women
	Mother's Life	Mother's Health	Rape	Child Handi-capped	Not Married	No Financial Means	Unadjusted	Adjusted for the predictors	
<u>Age at Interview</u>									
18-24	90	84	86	64	34	31	3.73	3.73	1301
25-29	95	87	86	76	41	33	4.12	4.01	969
30-34	95	90	88	79	41	37	4.24	4.14	908
35-39	95	86	81	74	37	34	4.00	4.06	835
40-44	93	84	80	74	31	26	3.82	3.98	635
45-49	92	86	77	74	37	28	3.89	4.22	587
<u>Marital Status</u>									
Single	92	88	90	70	41	38	4.10	4.07	1394
Married	94	85	81	72	34	28	3.89	3.94	3248
Widowed, Separated, Divorced	94	87	87	81	45	41	4.29	4.07	594
<u>Religion</u>									
Catholic	91	83	81	71	30	27	3.80	3.93	2522
Non-Catholic	95	89	86	74	43	36	4.16	4.04	2713
<u>Religiosity</u>									
Attend services weekly	84	71	63	50	16	12	2.94	3.07	1345
Attend services every month or a few times a year	95	90	89	78	37	33	4.17	4.16	2023
Attend service rarely, never	97	93	93	84	52	45	4.56	4.47	1867
<u>Education</u>									
≤ 8 years	88	83	69	71	25	22	3.56	3.82	404
9 - 11 years	92	85	80	71	29	26	3.79	3.79	1193
12 - 13 years	93	85	85	71	37	32	3.96	3.95	1950
14 or more years	96	89	89	76	46	39	4.27	4.22	1689
<u>Place of Residence</u>									
Large city or town	94	87	86	75	41	35	4.12	4.04	3378
Small town	93	86	80	69	30	26	3.79	3.92	1512
Farm	90	80	73	67	31	23	3.56	3.81	345

childbearing. There is a clear inverse relationship between mean abortion index and total expected number of children. Those who expected to be childless were most liberal with a mean index of 4.52, which decreased uniformly to 3.05 for those who expected five or more children. It was even more striking in certain situations. If a woman was not married, 53 per cent of those who expected to be childless approved of abortion, while only 19 per cent of those who expected five or more children did so. Similarly when financial means were lacking, the corresponding figures were 48 per cent and 16 per cent, respectively. Controlling for other factors does not alter the trend or the figures significantly, confirming that personal reproductive experience and expectations are important determinants of attitudes towards abortion.

TABLE 2. CONTINUED

Characteristics	% approving						Mean Abortion Index		Number of Women
	Mother's Life	Mother's Health	Rape	Child Handi-capped	Not Married	No Financial Means	Unadjusted	Adjusted for the predictors	
<u>Work Status</u>									
Never worked for more than 6 months	91	85	81	63	31	28	3.72	3.96	763
Previously worked for 6 months or more but not now	92	85	79	70	34	29	3.82	3.95	1584
Presently working	94	88	87	77	40	35	4.16	4.02	2889
<u>Total Expected Number of Children</u>									
0	95	93	89	81	53	48	4.52	4.31	501
1	95	88	91	81	49	41	4.39	4.21	539
2	94	87	86	74	37	33	4.07	4.03	2193
3	93	85	81	71	31	26	3.84	3.93	1296
4	91	77	75	60	26	22	3.45	3.65	477
5+	87	66	60	56	19	16	3.05	3.41	299
<u>Last Pregnancy Status</u>									
Number failure (unwanted)	95	87	82	79	47	43	4.31	4.30	422
Timing failure	93	85	85	75	40	33	4.05	4.01	603
All others	93	86	84	72	35	31	3.95	3.96	4210
<u>Current Method of Contraceptive</u>									
Pill and IUD	95	89	91	77	44	41	4.33	4.14	1305
Barrier (Condom, Diaphragm)	94	87	87	77	45	38	4.21	4.04	416
Sterilization (Tubal Ligation & Vasectomy & Hysterectomy)	94	86	80	75	36	29	3.99	4.05	2105
Rhythm, withdrawal, & others	86	87	72	55	21	18	3.18	3.54	146
None, at risk	87	83	82	62	31	28	4.39	3.67	789
Not at risk	93	86	82	70	28	26	3.79	3.96	474
Total							3.99		5235

The planning status of the most recent pregnancy was also clearly related to attitudes towards abortion. For each pregnancy, women were asked whether they planned that pregnancy, would have preferred to have a child some other time, or preferred not to have another child. Number failure denotes an unwanted pregnancy, and timing failure a pregnancy not wanted at that time. Women were classified according to whether their recent pregnancy was unwanted, unwanted at that time, and all others. Those who had an unwanted pregnancy or did not want a pregnancy at that time were more pro-abortion than others. Number failure was more significant (4.31) than spacing failure (4.05) in the determination of the attitudes towards abortion. Women who were using more effective contraceptive methods were also more liberal than those

using less effective methods. Women who were using the Pill or IUD were most liberal with a mean abortion index of 4.33, compared to 3.18 for those who depended on rhythm or withdrawal for birth control. Those who are serious about family planning seem to be more likely to approve abortion than those who are not.

*Attitudes towards Abortion and Attitudes towards
Marriage, Family and Childbearing*

In the Canadian Fertility Survey, a large section was devoted to assessing the attitudes towards marriage, family and childbearing. Questions were asked about the importance of marriage, children, work outside the home, and autonomy of spouses for happiness in life. Attitudes towards premarital sex, having a child outside of marriage and the importance of having a child for life satisfaction were also ascertained. It should be interesting to see whether the attitudes towards abortion are related to these broader attitudes towards life in general. Table 3 presents the mean abortion index for women by their responses to questions on other attitudes.

Very clear relationships are to be found among the attitudes, in the direction one would expect. Those who felt that to be happy in life one had to be married and should have at least one child were less liberal towards abortion (3.66) than those who felt that these were not very important or not at all important (4.65). Women who felt it is very important to be able to take a job outside the home had a mean abortion index of 4.30, compared to women who thought work outside the home is not important at all (3.24). Such wide differences were also found according to whether they felt that women should be free to do as they wish in order to be generally happy.

How strongly or not one feels that it is necessary for a couple to get married when they decide to have children is a measure of the extent of permissive attitudes. Those who considered it necessary to get married to have children had a mean abortion index of 3.83, compared to those who did not feel that way (4.38). One could also hypothesize that those who found it acceptable to have a child without a husband/partner were likely to be more liberal and approve of abortion under more circumstances. This was supported by the data, the mean abortion index being 4.45 for those who found it acceptable to raise a child without a husband/partner, compared to 3.65 for those who said that it is not acceptable.

Those who felt strongly that having a child provides a goal in life that nothing else can replace and having a child provides an irreplaceable source of

TABLE 3. MEAN ABORTION INDEX BY ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE, FAMILY, AND CHILDBEARING

Attitude	Mean Abortion Index			
	Very Important	Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important
1. In order for you to be generally happy in life, is it very important, important, not very important, not at all important				
a. to be married	3.66	3.98	4.40	4.65
b. to have at least one child	3.67	3.99	4.34	4.75
c. to be able to take a job outside the home	4.30	4.04	3.67	3.24
d. to be free to do as you wish	4.25	3.89	3.51	3.22
		Yes	No	
2. When a couple decide to have children, do you think that it is necessary that they get married?		3.83	4.38	
3. Do you find it acceptable for a woman to decide to have a child without a husband/partner in the house?		4.45	3.65	
4. Could you make such a decision to have a child without the presence of a husband/partner in the house?		4.32	3.88	
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
5. On the whole, would you say that you strongly agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:				
a. Having a child provides a goal in life that nothing can replace	3.81	3.91	4.24	4.61
b. Having a child provides an irreplaceable source of affection	3.94	3.94	4.22	4.75

affection were less in favour of abortion than those who did not feel so strongly. It is again not surprising that a more positive attitude towards childbearing is related inversely with approval of abortion.

Multivariate Analysis

In the earlier sections, we have seen that three sets of factors — namely socioeconomic, personal situation and attitudes towards marriage and childbearing — affect attitudes towards abortion. We will now examine the relative importance of these factors using Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA). Our interest will be to look at the beta coefficients and the variance explained in the attitudes towards abortion. Table 4 presents the coefficients and the variance explained. Computer software capabilities restricted the maximum number of predictors in the MCA to 10 variables. The five socioeconomic and the three personal situation variables along with age and marital status explain 21.6 per cent of variance. This figure is very close to the 21.0 per cent variance explained by a large set of predictors in a U.S. study (Westoff *et al.*, 1969), but lower than variance explained of 31 per cent in an earlier Toronto study (Balakrishnan *et al.*, 1972) and 27 per cent in a recent Edmonton study (Hartnagel *et al.*, 1985). Religiosity alone explained 15.9 per cent of the variance. The three personal situation variables of last pregnancy status, expected number of children and current method of contraception explained 7.8 per cent when considered by themselves. The five selected attitudinal variables explained 10.7 per cent of variance in abortion attitudes as a set. A combination of three socioeconomic variables, two personal situation variables and five attitudinal variables together explained the maximum variance in abortion attitudes amounting to 22.7 per cent. All the variables in this set were statistically significant at the five per cent level, as were most at the one per cent level, as well. They clearly show that attitude towards abortion is a complex variable determined jointly by situational factors, religious behaviour, socioeconomic characteristics and attitudes towards marriage and childbearing.

Conclusion

A generally liberal attitude associated with secularism, education and urbanization means greater approval of abortion. This is consistent with other studies. One also finds in this study that women who have experienced personal situations such as an unwanted pregnancy have more liberal attitudes towards abortion. It is not surprising that those who use more effective contraception such as the Pill or IUD are more pro-choice. These women are particular about avoiding another pregnancy, and if found pregnant with an unwanted child are likely to resort to abortion.

TABLE 4. BETA COEFFICIENTS OF PREDICTORS AND VARIANCE EXPLAINED ON ABORTION INDEX

Predictors	Beta Coefficients				
	One	Three	Ten	Five	Ten
Religiosity	0.40**		0.34**		0.32**
Religion			0.03*		
Education			0.11**		0.08**
Place of Residence			0.05**		0.04*
Work Status			0.02		
Age at Interview			0.10**		
Marital Status			0.04		
Last Pregnancy Status		0.09**	0.07**		0.09**
Total expected births		0.21**	0.12**		0.10**
Current contraception		0.15**	0.10**		
Child important for happiness				0.14**	0.08**
Job outside home important for happiness				0.14**	0.08**
Marriage necessary to have children				0.07**	0.03*
Child provides goal in life				0.05**	0.03*
Acceptable to have child without husband/partner				0.18**	0.11**
Multiple Correlation Coefficient	.399	.279	.465	.327	.476
Variance Explained	15.9%	7.8%	21.6%	10.7%	22.7%

* Statistically significant at 5 percent level

** Statistically significant at 1 percent level

+ The Beta coefficients presented here are derived from multiple classification analysis. They indicate the relative importance of the various predictors in their joint explanation of the dependent variable. For a technical discussion of the MCA, see Andrews, Morgan and Sonquist 1969.

Attitudes towards abortion are clearly a subset of a wider range of attitudes towards life in general; towards marriage, family and childbearing. Women who place less value on marriage and childbearing and more value

on work and personal freedom are more liberal towards abortion. Thus, in spite of the rhetoric of pro- and anti-abortion groups, attitudes towards abortion are probably rooted more in general social change in the area of family and marriage. In the absence of comparable national statistics, it is impossible to talk about trends. One may, however, speculate that the trend towards greater permissiveness in cohabitation, premarital sex, childbearing out of wedlock, etc., may also imply a more liberal attitude towards abortion.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to acknowledge the financial assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council for carrying out the Canadian Fertility Study on which this paper is based. They would also like to express their gratitude to K.V. Rao and Dorothy Worth for assistance in data analysis and computer programming.

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Received February 1987; revised August 1987.

