

## THE STRUCTURE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION

CHARLES F. WESTOFF

EMILY C. MOORE

AND

NORMAN B. RYDER

“I disapprove. I believe the child is alive from the time of conception and has a right to be born.”

“It’s her business. I think if a woman doesn’t want to have a baby she shouldn’t have to have it.”

“I feel you should be careful beforehand and not take the life of a baby afterwards.”

“It’s up to the women and if they don’t think it’s wrong for them, neither do I.”

“I feel that in anything except extreme cases where the doctor has to save the mother, it’s just plain murder.”

“I guess it would be all right if she wasn’t supposed to get pregnant and her life was in danger; or if she was mentally ill, or the continuation of the pregnancy would make her so.”

“I feel that this is both wrong and foolish—it is wrong because once life is evident, it is wrong to disrupt it for any reason and foolish because you can always manage with one more.”

“I know it’s wrong but I don’t feel it’s fair to have a baby if you really don’t want it or can’t afford it.”

“Once you’re pregnant, you’re pregnant!”

These are just a few of the attitudes toward abortion expressed by married women in a recent interview study of fertility in the United States. Abortion is a subject that many women feel strongly about and one that is rapidly becoming a subject of public debate. In only a few years abortion has been transformed from a taboo topic to daily newspaper copy, involving the legal, moral and political aspects of the subject. Abortion law reform bills have been passed in several states and are under consideration in others. Changes in statutes have mostly followed the model code proposed by the American Law Institute. That code expands the grounds for therapeutic abortion to include both mental and physical health of the mother as well as instances where the child would be born with grave physical or mental defects, or where pregnancy resulted from rape or incest.

Of obvious importance to these current political and legislative activities are the attitudes of the women most directly affected by such laws. How do American married women feel about abortion?<sup>1</sup> How does attitude toward abortion vary in the population? Is any pattern found in the components of this attitude? Does age, race, religion or education make any difference? Does the woman's own fertility history affect her attitude? These are some of the questions posed in this paper. The data consist of the replies of some 5,600

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED ATTITUDES TOWARD ABORTION

I'm going to read to you a list of six possible reasons why a woman might have a pregnancy interrupted. Would you tell me whether you think it would be all right for a woman to do this:

	Yes %	No %	Other* %	Total** %
A. If the pregnancy seriously endangered the woman's health?	87	11	2	100
B. If the woman was not married?	13	84	3	100
C. If the couple could not afford another child?	11	87	2	100
D. If they didn't want any more children?	8	91	1	100
E. If the woman had good reason to believe the child might be deformed?	50	46	4	100
F. If the woman had been raped?	52	42	6	100

\* Includes qualified, "don't know" responses, and no answers.

\*\* The numerical total for each distribution is 5,617 women.

married women in a national probability sample interviewed in late 1965. The questions on attitudes toward abortion are only a few of the many questions asked as part of the 1965 National Fertility Study, the primary object of which is the analysis of factors associated with reproduction and contraception.

Seven questions on attitudes toward abortion were asked following a detailed pregnancy and contraceptive history. The subject was introduced with an open-ended question: "Sometimes a woman has a doctor interrupt a pregnancy. How do you feel about this?" The illustrative quotations above are a few of the responses to this question. The analysis is confined however to a series of six questions, which are reproduced in full with the distributions of responses in Table 1.<sup>2</sup>

#### STRUCTURE OF THE ATTITUDE

The distribution of answers to the six questions clearly indicates three patterns of response. Women are overwhelmingly predisposed to favor abortion if the mother's health is seriously endangered; they are almost evenly divided on the questions of deformity and rape; and they are overwhelmingly opposed if the grounds are that the woman is not married or cannot afford another child and if the woman simply does not want any more children.

Table 2 presents the distribution of response patterns in which all six items are considered simultaneously, following the logic of Guttman scalogram analysis. The nine combinations account for 91 per cent of all respondents. The two most common patterns are an acceptance of health but a rejection of all other reasons (scale score 1), comprising 23 per cent of the respondents, and an acceptance of deformity and rape as well as health (scale score 3), accounting for an additional 24 per cent. These are three of the grounds recommended by the American Law Institute. Nine per cent reject all six reasons; at the opposite end of the scale, five per cent appear to endorse the principle of abortion on demand in that they accept all six reasons for abortion.

TABLE 2. SCALE PATTERNS OF RESPONSES TO THE ABORTION ATTITUDE ITEMS

Scale Score	Wants No More	Could Not Afford	Not Married	Child Might Be Deformed	Rape	Health	Per cent
0	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
1	-	-	-	-	-	+	23
2	-	-	-	-	+	+	11
2a	-	-	-	+	-	+	10
3	-	-	-	+	+	+	24
4	-	-	+	+	+	+	5
4a	-	+	-	+	+	+	2
5	-	+	+	+	+	+	2
6	+	+	+	+	+	+	5
All other combinations							9
Per cent total							100
Number* of women							5,516

\* Excludes women with responses insufficient to assign scale value.

- = no, + = yes in answer to whether abortion is "all right" in the specific circumstance listed.

TABLE 3. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY AGE, RACE, RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Age	Oppose					Approve		Per cent Total	Number of Women	Mean Positive Response
	All 0	1	2-2a	3	4-4a-5	All 6				
All Women	9	23	23	26	12	8	100	5,516	2.4	
Under 25	9	26	27	22	8	7	100	1,058	2.2	
25-34	10	25	23	27	10	6	100	1,779	2.3	
35-44	8	22	23	25	12	9	100	1,889	2.5	
45-54	9	19	20	27	15	10	100	790	2.6	
<i>Race</i>										
White	9	21	23	27	12	8	100	4,332	2.5	
Nonwhite	12	34	21	17	8	7	100	1,184	2.1	
<i>Religion*</i>										
Non-Catholic	5	20	24	29	13	9	100	3,113	2.7	
Catholic	18	24	22	20	10	5	100	1,219	2.0	
<i>Education</i>										
College 4	5	13	20	33	13	17	100	366	3.1	
College 1-3	8	15	23	30	13	11	100	600	2.7	
High School 4	7	21	24	29	12	7	100	2,321	2.5	
High School 1-3	8	26	24	23	12	7	100	1,345	2.4	
Grade School	17	31	21	15	8	7	100	882	2.0	

\* White women only.

## SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION

One might expect more tolerant attitudes toward abortion to be held by younger people on the grounds that attitudes are changing and that older people are generally more conservative. The data in Table 3 indicate quite the opposite pattern. Although the association is not strong it is clear that younger women are less, not more favorable toward abortion than are older women.<sup>3</sup> Other data (presented later) suggest that the age factor operates in connection with childbearing. Those who have reached a more advanced stage in the process of family formation experience greater

TABLE 4. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY AGE OF WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND RELIGION

Age	Oppose All 0	1	2-2a	3	4-4a-5	Approve All 6	Per cent Total	Number of Women	Mean Positive Responses
<i>All Women</i>									
Total	9	23	23	26	12	8	100	5,516	2.4
Under 25	9	26	27	22	8	7	100	1,058	2.2
25-34	10	25	23	27	10	6	100	1,779	2.3
35-44	8	22	23	25	12	9	100	1,889	2.5
45-54	9	19	20	27	15	10	100	790	2.6
<i>White</i>									
Total	9	21	23	27	12	8	100	4,332	2.5
Under 25	9	26	28	22	8	7	100	789	2.2
25-34	10	23	23	28	10	6	100	1,382	2.3
35-44	8	20	23	26	13	9	100	1,529	2.5
45-54	8	17	20	30	16	9	100	632	2.7
<i>Nonwhite</i>									
Total	12	34	21	17	8	7	100	1,184	2.1
Under 25	9	30	24	22	9	5	100	269	2.1
25-34	8	36	22	20	8	5	100	397	2.1
35-44	11	37	20	17	8	7	100	360	2.0
45-54	19	32	21	10	7	11	100	158	2.0
<i>White Non-Catholic</i>									
Total	5	20	24	29	13	9	100	3,113	2.7
Under 25	6	25	30	23	8	8	100	559	2.4
25-34	6	22	24	31	11	7	100	972	2.5
35-44	4	19	23	29	13	11	100	1,091	2.7
45-54	4	17	20	32	16	11	100	491	2.9
<i>White Catholic</i>									
Total	18	24	22	20	10	5	100	1,219	2.0
Under 25	19	28	22	20	7	4	100	230	1.8
25-34	20	28	22	20	6	4	100	410	1.8
35-44	16	23	24	21	11	5	100	438	2.1
45-54	19	16	23	21	14	6	100	141	2.2

TABLE 5. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY EDUCATION OF WIFE CLASSIFIED BY RACE AND RELIGION

<i>Education of Woman</i>	<i>Oppose</i>					<i>Approve</i>		<i>Per cent</i>	<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>
	<i>All 0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2-2a</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4-4a-5</i>	<i>All 6</i>	<i>Total</i>			
<i>All Women</i>										
College 4	5	13	20	33	13	17	100		3.1	366
College 1-3	8	15	23	30	13	11	100		2.7	600
High School 4	7	21	24	29	12	7	100		2.5	2,321
High School 1-3	8	26	24	23	12	7	100		2.4	1,345
Grade School	17	31	21	15	8	7	100		2.0	882
<i>White Women</i>										
College 4	5	12	19	33	13	18	100		3.1	319
College 1-3	8	14	23	30	13	11	100		2.7	511
High School 4	8	21	23	30	12	7	100		2.5	1,992
High School 1-3	7	24	25	24	13	6	100		2.4	956
Grade School	16	29	22	17	10	7	100		2.1	553
<i>Nonwhite Women</i>										
College 4	0	30	25	32	12	0	100		2.3	47
College 1-3	7	25	26	21	14	8	100		2.4	89
High School 4	5	29	26	24	10	6	100		2.3	329
High School 1-3	10	35	22	16	9	8	100		2.1	389
Grade School	21	40	17	10	3	8	100		1.7	329
<i>White Non-Catholic Women</i>										
College 4	0	10	18	37	15	21	100		3.5	263
College 1-3	4	13	23	33	14	13	100		3.0	389
High School 4	3	19	25	31	13	8	100		2.7	1,394
High School 1-3	6	23	26	28	11	5	100		2.4	681
Grade School	12	30	19	19	9	10	100		2.2	355
<i>White Catholic Women</i>										
College 4	30	23	23	16	5	3	100		1.6	56
College 1-3	24	18	23	20	8	7	100		2.0	122
High School 4	18	24	21	25	8	3	100		2.0	598
High School 1-3	10	25	24	17	14	9	100		2.4	275
Grade School	25	26	25	12	11	1	100		1.7	168

pressures on the control of fertility and are thus more likely to be permissive toward abortion than are younger women who are still at earlier stages of having children. The relationship with age holds only for the white population (Table 4); among nonwhites that association is not present at all.

White women tend to be more in favor of abortion than do non-white women, a relationship that persists regardless of amount of education (Table 5). The failure of differences in educational composition to explain the race difference is one of the surprises that cropped up in this study.

As expected, Catholic women are more opposed to abortion than non-Catholic women (Table 3). This difference is somewhat greater than that between whites and nonwhites, but less influential than the educational factor. The proportions of Catholic women approving health alone or health and rape or deformity as grounds for abortion are very similar to non-Catholic proportions, but approximately one in every five Catholic women opposes all grounds in contrast with one in 20 non-Catholic women.

The amount of formal education attained by the woman exerts the strongest influence on attitude toward abortion (Table 3). All subgroups (Table 5) except white Catholic women show a fairly uniform progression of favorableness of attitude with increasing education. The most approving category in Table 5 is the white non-Catholic college graduates; one-fifth of them endorse all reasons and none rejects all. The least approving category is the white Catholic college graduate group with only three per cent approving all reasons and 30 per cent rejecting all.

The influence of education on the attitudes of Catholic women represents an interesting deviation from the general relationship and one commonly encountered in connection with other variables in the fertility area (such as attitudes toward and use of contraception). As has been speculated in other contexts<sup>4</sup> the explanation seems to be that the better-educated Catholic women tend to be more religious and attend Catholic educational institutions.<sup>5</sup> This

TABLE 6. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY RELIGION OF COUPLE (WHITE WOMEN ONLY)

<i>Religion of Couple</i>	<i>Oppose</i>					<i>Approve All 6</i>	<i>Per cent Total</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>	<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>
	<i>All 0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2-2a</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4-4a-5</i>				
Both Protestant	5	20	25	30	12	8	100	2,599	2.6
Wife Protestant, husband Catholic	3	17	17	31	26	7	100	170	2.9
Wife Catholic, husband Protestant	11	24	23	25	12	5	100	186	2.3
Both Catholic	20	24	23	19	9	5	100	1,001	1.9
Both Jewish	—	2	7	27	27	37	100	83	4.4
Both Mormon	4	49	18	24	4	—	100	64	1.8
Both none	3	28	14	14	16	25	100	31	3.2
All other	6	23	20	25	14	11	100	197	2.6

arises partly because of the history of immigration to this country; the Irish in particular have been here longer than the southern and eastern European Catholic immigrants and the Irish variant of Catholicism is the most orthodox.

### *Further Dimensions of Religion*

Thus far observations have been restricted to Catholic and non-Catholic white women. This section examines religious preference in greater detail, adds the husband's religion to that of his wife, specifies the particular Protestant denomination with which white and nonwhite Protestant women are affiliated and assesses the significance of variations in religiousness among women of different denominations.

It is clear from Table 6 that Jews are by the far the most liberal of all religious groups considered on the subject of attitude toward abortion. Not a single Jewish woman rejected all six questions, and 37 per cent endorsed all six. The only category close to this

TABLE 7. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY DENOMINATION OF PROTESTANT WIVES, BY RACE

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>White</i>						<i>Per cent Total</i>	<i>Number of Women</i>	<i>Mean</i>
	<i>Oppose All 0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2-2a</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4-4a-5</i>	<i>Approve All 6</i>			
Protestant total	5	20	25	29	13	8	100	2,843	2.6
Fundamentalist sects	14	24	26	22	8	6	100	316	2.1
Baptist	6	25	28	26	10	5	100	774	2.3
Evangelical	2	22	26	31	16	4	100	47	2.5
Minor sects*	6	24	22	28	10	9	100	292	2.5
Methodist	3	18	27	30	14	8	100	626	2.7
Lutheran	4	15	20	37	17	7	100	335	2.8
Congregational	4	17	17	29	17	16	100	63	3.0
Presbyterian	1	11	22	37	18	13	100	249	3.1
Episcopalian	2	11	16	37	18	16	100	141	3.3
	<i>Nonwhite</i>								
Protestant total**	12	35	20	17	8	7	100	1,088	2.1
Fundamentalist sects	18	39	18	12	8	5	100	114	1.8
Baptist	12	35	21	17	7	8	100	744	2.0
Methodist	7	34	23	20	11	4	100	173	2.1
Presbyterian or Episcopalian	10	21	17	24	14	14	100	36	2.7

\* Includes a minority of women with no denominational preference.

\*\* Includes two Lutherans, one Congregationalist and 18 members of minor sects as well as major groups in the table.



extreme is women who are classified along with their husbands as not having any formal religious affiliation.

Catholic and Mormon couples are at the opposite extreme. Although Mormons differ from Catholics in their attitude toward contraception, they are very much like Catholics in their fertility ideals and practices,<sup>6</sup> as well as in their attitudes toward abortion.

The attitude of Catholic women married to Protestant men lies, as expected, between the average of Protestant women married to Catholic men and Catholic women whose husbands are also Catholic. The only anomalous result is the somewhat more permissive attitude of Protestant women whose husbands are Catholic compared with Protestant women whose husbands are Protestant.

Looking at variations by Protestant denomination, we observe that Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists appear to be the most liberal on the issue of abortion (see Table 7). At the opposite pole are the members of fundamentalist sects and the Baptists.

To what extent do these variations reflect underlying differences in educational composition? These differences are extreme: only ten per cent of white<sup>7</sup> Baptists and members of fundamentalist sects have attended college compared with 42 per cent of Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Episcopalians; the corresponding proportions for women with less than four years of high school education are 52 per cent and 12 per cent. An analysis of the interrelationships among denominations and attitude toward education, though revealing a direct association of education and attitude within each sect, indicates the persistence of a very strong relation of attitude and denomination that is not reducible to differences in educational composition.<sup>8</sup>

The final question to be posed in the analysis of the religious dimension is the relation of attitude toward abortion with degree of adherence to the norms of different religions. Jews are most, Protestants less and Catholics least favorable toward abortion; also, variations have been noted in attitude by Protestant denominations. The question now is whether attitude toward abortion relates to religiousness within those sects. The indices of religiousness for non-

Catholics are frequency of attending "religious services" and for Catholics the frequency of attending Mass and receiving Communion. For reasons of economy, in these and subsequent analyses, only the mean number of items endorsed rather than the full distribution will be reported.

In general, the more actively the woman participates in religious services, the more opposed she is to abortion (see Table 8). However, numerous exceptions are found; for some inexplicable reason no relationship at all seems to exist for Methodist women and only a very irregular pattern emerges for women classified as Evangelical or in various minor sects. Among Protestants the relationship between religiousness and attitude is strongest in the classification Episcopalian, Presbyterian and Congregational.

The strongest relationship in the table is that for Catholic women; whether religiousness is indexed by frequency of Mass attendance or of receiving Communion, a strong and well-patterned association is present. Whether one is more or less "Catholic" is of greater significance for attitudes toward abortion than whether one is more or less active in any Protestant denomination.

An interesting feature of these data is the tendency for denominational differences to persist at similar levels of religious activity. For example, among women most involved in their religious organization—those attending services weekly or more—a distinct patterning of the denominations is seen along the line previously described. In other words, similarity of formal adherence to the institutional life of any denomination does not erase the denominational effect. This is also the case at the opposite extreme, among women who never or only annually attend services. Although the way the subject of abortion is treated may differ widely among the various Protestant denominations, the more likely explanation is the variation in liberalism or secularism that colors the treatment of many subjects. Despite the previous conclusion that denominational differences cannot be "explained" by variations in educational composition, undoubtedly subcultural differences exist along social class, regional and size of place of residence dimensions that

TABLE 8. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY DENOMINATION

Denomination	Total	Never	Few	Two-		More	
		or An- nually	Times a Year	Monthly	Three Times a Month	Than Weekly	
<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>							
White women							
Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational	3.2	4.1	3.1	2.6	3.3	3.0	
Lutheran	2.8	3.2	3.1		2.7	2.6	
Methodist	2.7	2.5	2.6	3.1	2.7	2.7	2.5
Evangelical and minor sects	2.5	2.9	2.2	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.1
Baptist	2.3	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.3
Fundamentalist	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0
Roman Catholic							
Mass	2.0	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.5	1.8	1.3
Communion	2.0	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.6	1.2	0.3
Nonwhite women							
Baptist	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.1	2.1	2.0	1.8
<i>Number of Women</i>							
White women							
Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregational	433	48	91	32	63	199	
Lutheran	318	35	62		74	147	
Methodist	604	85	134	46	90	219	30
Evangelical and minor sects	327	56	68	23	40	104	36
Baptist	766	96	139	61	88	233	149
Fundamentalist	311	28	41	23	28	82	109
Roman Catholic							
Mass	1,215	65	112	54	91	828	65
Communion	1,209	337	244	247	144	212	25
Nonwhite women							
Baptist	741	20	74	96	225	243	83

TABLE 9. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY REGION OF RESIDENCE, RACE AND RELIGION

Region	Total	White	Nonwhite	White	White
				Non-Catholic	Catholic
<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>					
Northeast	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.0	2.3
Midwest	2.4	2.5	2.1	2.7	1.8
South	2.1	2.2	1.8	2.3	1.5
West	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.1
<i>Number of Women</i>					
Northeast	1,185	985	200	521	464
Midwest	1,531	1,359	172	969	390
South	2,014	1,274	740	1,094	180
West	786	714	72	180	185

bear on expressions of attitude toward a subject such as this, which until recently was hardly even mentioned.

### *Residence*

The most favorable attitudes toward abortion are found among white non-Catholic women living in the Northeast or the Far West (Table 9); the least favorable populations are white Catholic women in the Midwest and the South, and nonwhite women in the South. On the whole, women in the South are the most opposed to abortion.

As expected, attitude toward abortion is also associated with size of place of residence (Table 10), a relationship that exists independent of the effects of race and religion. Women who live in or near the most populated areas are most receptive to abortion; those resident in small towns and rural areas are least favorable. The most favorable are white non-Catholic women in the central cities and suburbs of the largest metropolitan areas; least favorable are nonwhites and white Catholics in rural areas and small towns. Fur-

TABLE 10. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY SIZE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE, RACE AND RELIGION

<i>Size of Place of Residence</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>White</i>
				<i>Non-Catholic</i>	<i>Catholic</i>
<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>					
Central cities of 14 largest metropolitan areas*	2.8	2.8	2.8	3.3	2.4
Suburbs of largest metropolitan areas	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.3	2.1
Central cities 150,000-1.5 million	2.5	2.6	2.1	2.9	2.2
Suburbs of cities 150,000-1.5 million	2.4	2.5	1.7	2.6	2.0
Central cities 50,000-150,000	2.2	2.2	1.9	2.3	2.0
Smaller cities and towns	2.2	2.3	1.8	2.5	1.7
Rural nonfarm	2.1	2.2	1.3	2.4	1.7
Rural farm	2.1	2.1	1.8	2.2	1.4
<i>Number of Women</i>					
Central cities of 14 largest metropolitan areas*	662	374	288	174	200
Suburbs of largest metropolitan areas	768	740	28	476	264
Central cities 150,000-1.5 million	642	359	283	225	134
Suburbs of cities 150,000-1.5 million	1,042	928	114	724	204
Central cities 50,000-150,000	395	312	83	239	73
Smaller cities and towns	773	651	122	495	156
Rural nonfarm	744	604	140	473	131
Rural farm	490	364	126	307	57

\* New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, San Francisco, Boston, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Baltimore, Newark, Minneapolis.

ther analysis<sup>9</sup> indicates that the combination of southern farm residence is associated with least favorable attitude.

### *Socioeconomic Status*

Among both white non-Catholic and nonwhite women, acceptance of abortion varies directly with husband's income and occupational status (Table 11), but among white Catholic women no such relationship appears. In fact, a reversal by occupational status is suggested with women whose husbands are white-collar workers appearing somewhat less favorable than wives of blue-collar husbands. This difference for Catholics is similar to the association of attitude and education discussed earlier, reflecting the heavier concentration of more religious Catholics in the white-collar classes.

### *Wife's Work History*

More liberal views on abortion are found among "working wives"—including both women who have worked since their marriage but are not now working as well as those currently in the labor force—than among women who have never worked since marriage (Table 12). The difference may of course be as much a result of age and stage in the childbearing cycle as exposure to more liberal attitudes in the working world.

### *Fertility*

Is a woman's attitude toward abortion shaped at all by the number of children she has or expects to have? Does a woman who has had all the children she wants feel more favorably disposed toward abortion than the woman who wants additional children?

The data in Table 13 indicate generally that the more children a woman expects to have the less favorable she is toward abortion; the one anomalous exception (as with age, previously noted) is for nonwhite women. When women are classified according to whether they say they have had all the children they wanted (Table 14), the more favorable attitude toward abortion appears among those who do not want any more children;<sup>10</sup> again the nonwhites show little difference. Most actual abortions are thought to occur to mar-

TABLE II. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY HUSBAND'S INCOME AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

<i>Husband's Annual Income</i>	<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>				<i>Number of Women</i>			<i>White Non- Catholic</i>	<i>White Catholic</i>
	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>	<i>White Non- Catholic</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>		
\$15,000 and over	3.2	3.2	2.7	3.6	1.9	228	34	166	62
10,000-14,999	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.2	2.0	625		449	176
8,000-9,999	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.9	2.1	586	42	396	190
7,000-7,999	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.0	465	63	326	139
6,000-6,999	2.4	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.0	608	98	424	184
5,000-5,999	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.0	702	211	502	200
4,000-4,999	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	1.9	426	234	311	115
3,000-3,999	2.0	2.1	1.7	2.2	1.5	274	223	217	57
2,000-2,999	2.1	2.3	1.7	2.5	1.6	144	166	120	24
Under \$2,000	2.0	2.2	1.7	2.2	2.1	122	95	101	21
<i>Husband's Occupational Status</i>									
Upper white collar	2.8	2.8	2.0	3.1	1.8	1,227	92	907	346
Lower white collar	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.7	1.9	568	103	399	190
Upper blue collar	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.6	2.2	1,050	229	719	374
Lower blue collar	2.2	2.3	1.9	2.3	2.1	1,121	641	800	359
Farm	2.1	2.2	1.7	2.3	1.6	232	79	182	61

TABLE 12. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY WIFE'S WORK HISTORY

<i>Wife's Work History</i>	<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>				<i>Number of Women</i>					
	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>		<i>White Catholic</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White Non-Catholic</i>		<i>White Catholic</i>		
		<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>			<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>			
Never worked since marriage	2.2	2.3	1.7	2.5	1.9	1,390	1,075	315	768	307
Worked since marriage, not currently	2.5	2.6	2.2	2.8	2.0	2,225	1,866	359	1,323	543
Now working	2.4	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.1	1,848	1,347	501	987	360

TABLE 13. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN EXPECTED

<i>Race and Religion</i>	<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>							<i>Number of Women</i>						
	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6+</i>	<i>Total Number of Children Expected</i>						
								<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6+</i>
Total	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.3	2.0	276	423	1,330	1,269	998	427	566
White	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.5	2.2	2.3	1.9	205	334	1,105	1,059	802	327	362
Nonwhite	2.1	1.9	2.0	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.1	73	89	226	210	196	101	204
White Non-Catholic	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.4	2.6	2.3	163	270	887	806	506	201	209
White Catholic	2.9	2.6	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.4	43	64	218	253	296	126	153

ried women toward the end of their reproductive life, presumably because of a late unwanted pregnancy. The difference in attitude between women who do or do not want additional children seems to support this.

#### RELATED ATTITUDES

It seems improbable that attitudes toward abortion are unique in the set of attitudes toward other aspects of fertility control. The interview included several questions designed to tap attitudes toward contraception and voluntary contraceptive sterilization.

The questions on attitude toward contraception<sup>11</sup> were: "Many married couples do something to limit the number of pregnancies they will have. In general would you say you are for this or against this?" and "Some couples use a natural method—rhythm or safe period—to keep from having too many pregnancies. Would you say you are for this or against this?" The response options for both questions were "for," "against" and "other;" when jointly coded they yield "unqualified approval," "approval only of the rhythm method" and "unqualified disapproval." The cross-classification of attitude toward contraception with attitude toward abortion (Table 15) reveals a definite association in the expected direction. The extent of this relationship should not, however, be overstated, because the overwhelming proportion of women are both in favor of contraception and opposed to abortion except for extreme reasons.

The relationship between the use of oral contraception and attitude toward abortion was studied on the assumption that the modern outlook reflected in the choice of the pill might also imply a more liberal attitude toward abortion. Results indicated that women currently using the pill, those who had only temporarily interrupted its use and those who never used it but indicated they might, are indeed the most favorable toward abortion.<sup>12</sup> Less favorable are women who have tried but rejected it, and those who have never used it and do not intend to try it; least favorable are those who had never heard of the pill. The relationship appears to reflect a combination of education and receptivity to innovation.



TABLE 14. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION BY WHETHER THE WOMAN HAS ALL THE CHILDREN SHE WANTS

<i>Race and Religion</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Had all Children Wanted</i>		<i>Number</i>
			<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	
Total	2.5		2.1	3,415	1,462
White	2.6		2.1	2,646	1,204
Nonwhite	2.1		1.9	769	258
White Non-Catholic	2.7		2.4	1,990	773
White Catholic	2.2		1.6	656	431

TABLE 15. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD CONTRACEPTION

<i>Attitude Toward Contraception</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Nonwhite</i>	<i>White Non-Catholic</i>	<i>White Catholic</i>	
						<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>
For fertility control, method unspecified	2.6	2.6	2.3	2.7	2.2	
For rhythm method only	1.7	1.7	1.9	2.2	1.4	
Against fertility control	1.7	1.9	1.2	2.0	1.7	
		<i>Number of Women</i>				
For fertility control, method unspecified	4,537	3,629	908	2,802	827	
For rhythm method only	591	471	120	174	297	
Against fertility control	388	232	156	137	95	

TABLE 16. ATTITUDE TOWARD ABORTION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD STERILIZATION

<i>Attitude Toward Sterilization</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Female Sterilization</i>				<i>Male Sterilization</i>					
		<i>White</i>	<i>Non-white</i>	<i>White Catholic</i>	<i>White Catholic</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Non-white</i>	<i>White Catholic</i>	<i>White Catholic</i>	
		<i>Mean Positive Responses</i>									
Strongly approve	3.0	3.2	2.4	3.3	2.8	3.0	3.0	2.5	3.2	2.5	
Approve	2.8	2.9	2.4	2.9	2.6	2.9	3.0	2.5	3.0	2.7	
Qualified	2.7	2.7	2.3	2.7	2.5	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.9	2.6	
Disapprove	2.2	2.2	1.8	2.4	1.9	2.2	2.2	1.8	2.4	1.9	
Strongly disapprove	1.9	1.8	1.9	2.2	1.6	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.3	1.6	
		<i>Number of Women</i>									
Strongly approve	237	161	76	124	37	237	190	47	152	38	
Approve	1,777	1,418	359	1,207	211	1,567	1,276	291	1,109	167	
Qualified	453	412	41	307	105	256	235	21	175	60	
Disapprove	2,248	1,725	523	1,176	549	2,436	1,849	587	1,269	580	
Strongly disapprove	781	601	180	288	313	963	745	218	59	365	

The questions asked on attitudes toward sterilization read: "Some women get operated on to prevent further pregnancies. Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of those women doing this?" The subsequent question, identical in wording, referred to men.

The cross-classification of the responses to these two questions with attitude toward abortion (Table 16) discloses a fairly strong linear association. The category most in favor of abortion are white non-Catholic women who strongly approve of sterilization; least in favor are white Catholic women who strongly disapprove of sterilization.

#### MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES

Throughout the analyses of factors affecting attitude toward abortion only two or three variables were examined simultaneously, which leads to the question of whether particular relationships might not be due to some uncontrolled variable such as age, stage in the life cycle or education. To answer such questions as well as to summarize the analyses presented thus far in detail, a series of factor analyses of all variables has been prepared. This technique permits an estimate of both the number and structure of the main dimensions underlying the interrelationships among all the variables considered simultaneously. Of particular interest, of course, is the content of the factors in which the variance of attitude toward abortion is located.

The matrices of intercorrelations have been factor analysed for the total sample, nonwhites, white non-Catholics and white Catholics. The factor matrices in Tables 17–20 show the factor loadings after rotation to simple structure (quartimax solution) in which the loadings of the variable "attitude toward abortion" were excluded from the rotational calculations.

Looking first at the factor structure for the total sample (Table 17) where race and religion have been included as dummy variables, one finds that 21 per cent of the variance of attitude toward abortion is explained by the four factors accounting for most of the

TABLE 17. ROTATED FACTOR STRUCTURE FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

<i>Variable</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Com- munality</i>
Attitude toward abortion	-.21	-.39	-.01	.09	.21
Attitude toward contraception	-.03	-.37	.04	-.11	.16
Age of woman	-.01	-.03	.14	.84	.70
Had enough children	.10	-.09	-.04	.32	.13
Use of oral contraception	-.02	-.14	-.06	-.50	.28
Total number of children expected	.11	.26	-.13	-.05	.10
Region of residence*	-.56	-.02	-.14	.02	.33
Size of place of residence	-.43	-.04	.07	-.05	.20
Farm and Southern farm residence history**	.62	.03	.02	.14	.41
Race***	-.37	-.12	-.06	.05	.16
Husband's annual income	-.53	-.06	-.32	.03	.40
Wife's work history†	-.06	-.09	.09	.02	.02
Education of wife	-.44	-.33	.43	-.26	.55
Education of husband	-.48	-.29	.41	-.29	.57
Fundamental Protestant sects††	.64	.06	.10	-.09	.43
Other major Protestant sects††	-.15	-.45	.06	.09	.24
Catholic††	-.51	.70	-.13	-.03	.75
Jewish††	-.15	-.09	.04	.03	.03
Frequency wife attends religious services	.03	.39	.66	.04	.58
Religiousness of wife†††	-.04	.36	.63	.03	.54

\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. South; 2. Midwest; 3. Northeast and West.

\*\* A five-category variable ordered: 1. no farm background; 2. has lived on a non-Southern farm; 3. now living on a non-Southern farm; 4. has lived on a Southern farm; 5. now living on a Southern farm.

\*\*\* A two-category variable ordered: 0. nonwhite; 1. white.

† A three-category variable ordered: 1. never worked since marriage; 2. not now working; 3. now working.

†† A two-category variable: 0. not a member of the religion; 1. is a member.

††† An eight-category index including frequency of attending services, praying at home, seeing minister, whether married at a religious ceremony, whether there are daily family religious activities, religious-mindedness, whether they attended religious instruction classes and whether as a child she participated in family religious activities. For Catholic women the first four items of the index measure frequency attends Mass, receives Communion, sees priest or nun and whether married by a priest. The remaining four items are the same.

total variance of the 20 variables.<sup>13</sup> The factor containing the largest share of this variance (opposed to abortion)—Factor 2—also contains most of the common-factor variance of attitude toward contraception (opposed) and total number of children expected (high), shows a very high loading on Catholicism and lower loadings on religiousness (positive) and education (negative). The other factor containing most of the remaining common-factor variance of attitude toward abortion (opposed) is Factor 1. Its structure is defined by Southern, farm and small town residence, non-white, low income and education and fundamentalist religious affiliation. Factor 3 shows no significant loading on attitude toward

TABLE 18. ROTATED FACTOR STRUCTURE FOR NON-WHITE SAMPLE

Variable	Factor				Com- munity
	1	2	3	4	
Attitude toward abortion	-.33	-.02	-.11	-.02	.12
Attitude toward contraception	-.25	.06	-.07	-.23	.12
Age of woman	.10	-.02	.20	.73	.57
Had enough children	.09	.03	-.04	.29	.09
Use of oral contraception	-.06	.00	-.16	-.48	.26
Total number of children expected	.35	-.04	-.13	.02	.14
Region of residence*	-.61	-.04	-.19	.07	.41
Size place of residence	-.75	.06	-.07	-.01	.57
Farm and Southern farm residence history**	.57	.04	.07	.20	.37
Husband's annual income	-.50	-.09	.02	-.10	.27
Wife's work history***	-.34	.07	.20	.08	.16
Education of wife	-.50	-.12	.22	-.46	.52
Education of husband	-.51	-.12	.08	-.46	.50
Fundamental Protestant sects†	.16	.99	.06	.03	1.00
Other major Protestant sects†	.02	-.69	.03	-.01	.51
Catholic†	-.25	-.22	-.07	-.06	.12
Frequency wife attends religious services	.06	.03	.68	.12	.48
Religiousness of wife††	-.11	.01	.70	.09	.50

\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. South; 2. Midwest; 3. Northeast and West.

\*\* A five-category variable ordered: 1. no farm background; 2. has lived on a non-Southern farm; 3. now living on a non-Southern farm; 4. has lived on a Southern farm; 5. now living on a Southern farm.

\*\*\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. never worked since marriage; 2. not now working; 3. now working.

† A two-category variable: 0. not a member of the religion; 1. is a member.

†† An eight-category index including frequency of attending services, praying at home, seeing minister, whether married at a religious ceremony, whether there are daily family religious activities, religious-mindedness, whether they attended religious instruction classes and whether as a child she participated in family religious activities.

abortion and Factor 4 contains only a very low loading; this latter factor appears to be a family life cycle factor.

Only 12 per cent of the variance of nonwhite women's attitude toward abortion is held in common with the same set of variables (Table 18). The main factor is Factor 1, which appears to be mainly a residential (Southern, farm and small town) and socio-economic (low income and education) dimension. The factor also includes high fertility.

One factor also predominates in the factor structure for white non-Catholic women. Factor 1, containing more than four-fifths of the total explained common-factor variance (which is only 20 per cent), is almost exactly the same as the main factor just described for nonwhites. The only difference is that the factor for whites con-

tains some loading on fundamentalist religious affiliations. Two minor factors—3 and 4—account for the remainder of the common-factor variance of attitude toward abortion. Factor 3 is religiousness and Factor 4 the family life cycle factor.

For Catholic wives, the various non-Catholic religion variables are of course irrelevant; in their place were substituted some additional measures of religiousness. The primary factor for Catholic women, Factor 3, contains virtually all of the common-factor variance of the four measures of religiousness and includes most of the variance of attitude toward contraception as well. The other factors of some significance for Catholic attitudes toward abortion are Factor 1, a residential factor, and Factor 4, the family life cycle factor.

TABLE 19. ROTATED FACTOR STRUCTURE FOR WHITE, NON-CATHOLIC SAMPLE

<i>Variable</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>Com- munity</i>
Attitude toward abortion	-.41	-.02	-.13	.12	.20
Attitude toward contraception	-.22	.01	-.01	-.11	.06
Age of woman	-.04	-.04	.11	.84	.71
Had enough children	.03	.01	-.06	.32	.11
Use of oral contraception	-.09	.03	-.10	-.51	.29
Total number of children expected	.21	.01	-.09	-.03	.05
Region of residence*	-.41	-.14	-.26	.02	.26
Size of place of residence	-.54	.05	-.13	.01	.31
Farm and Southern farm residence history**	.55	.12	.16	.13	.36
Husband's annual income	-.60	-.06	.09	.09	.38
Wife's work history***	-.13	-.01	.02	.03	.02
Education of wife	-.61	-.16	.26	.22	.51
Education of husband	-.65	-.12	.24	.24	.55
Fundamental Protestant sects†	.37	.68	.15	-.05	.63
Other major Protestant sects†	-.20	-.86	-.02	.02	.76
Jewish†	-.30	.17	-.08	.07	.13
Frequency wife attends religious services	-.03	.06	.78	.04	.61
Religiousness of wife††	-.12	.02	.67	.06	.46

\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. South; 2. Midwest; 3. Northeast and West.

\*\* A five-category variable ordered: 1. no farm background; 2. has lived on a non-Southern farm; 3. now living on a non-Southern farm; 4. has lived on a Southern farm; 5. now living on a Southern farm.

\*\*\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. never worked since marriage; 2. not now working; 3. now working.

† A two-category variable: 0. not a member of the religion; 1. is a member.

†† An eight-category index including frequency of attending services, praying at home, seeing minister, whether married at a religious ceremony, whether there are daily family religious activities, religious-mindedness, whether she attended religious instruction classes and whether as a child she participated in family religious activities.

TABLE 20. ROTATED FACTOR STRUCTURE FOR WHITE CATHOLIC SAMPLE

Variable	Factor				Com- munality
	1	2	3	4	
Attitude toward abortion	-.25	-.08	-.43	.19	.29
Attitude toward contraception	-.06	-.23	-.38	.00	.20
Age of woman	-.11	.07	.11	.85	.73
Had enough children	.03	.06	-.14	.41	.20
Use of oral contraception	.05	-.20	-.19	-.37	.22
Total number of children expected	.16	.08	.16	-.13	.08
Region of residence*	-.35	.00	-.12	.02	.14
Size of place of residence	-.54	-.21	.01	.06	.34
Farm and Southern farm residence history**	.70	.12	.02	.11	.51
Husband's annual income	-.21	-.55	.10	.08	.36
Wife's work history***	-.11	-.07	-.08	.02	.02
Education of wife	-.11	-.67	.17	-.18	.52
Education of husband	-.15	-.67	.18	-.27	.58
Frequency wife attends Mass	.01	-.12	.66	.11	.46
Frequency wife receives Communion	.13	-.16	.79	.00	.67
Religiousness of wife†	-.02	-.17	.74	.00	.57
Religiousness of husband††	.11	-.26	.73	.04	.62

\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. South; 2. Midwest; 3. Northeast and West.

\*\* A five-category variable ordered: 1. no farm background; 2. has lived on a non-Southern farm; 3. now living on a non-Southern farm; 4. has lived on a Southern farm; 5. now living on a Southern farm.

\*\*\* A three-category variable ordered: 1. never worked since marriage; 2. not now working; 3. now working.

† An eight-item index containing frequency attends Mass, receives Communion, sees priest or nun, whether married by a priest, whether there are daily family religious activities, religious-mindedness, whether she attended religious instruction classes and whether as a child she participated in family religious activities.

†† A seven-category index containing frequency of attending Mass and receiving Communion.

## SUMMARY

In view of the recent surge of interest and legislative activity concerning abortion in the United States, an analysis of the structure and social correlates of women's attitudes toward abortion is especially pertinent. The data are derived from a series of questions in the 1965 National Fertility Study asked of a national probability sample of some 5,600 currently married women under the age of 55. Following an open-end question on feelings about interrupting a pregnancy, each woman was asked whether she would endorse the practice under the following circumstances: if her health were seriously endangered, if the woman were not married, if the couple could not afford another child, if they did not want any more children, if the woman had good reason to believe the child might be

deformed, or if the woman had been raped. As of late 1965, married women in the United States were overwhelmingly in favor of abortion if the mother's health is threatened; they are about evenly divided in the case of deformity or rape, and they are overwhelmingly opposed if the woman is not married, cannot afford another child, or simply does not want any more children. The two most common combinations of responses are a rejection of all reasons except health, and acceptance on the grounds of deformity, rape and health, but a rejection of the other three reasons. Nine per cent reject all six reasons; five per cent appear to endorse the principle of abortion on demand by accepting all six reasons for abortion.

More favorable attitudes toward abortion are held by older women who either have or hope they have completed childbearing. As expected, Catholic women are most opposed to abortion and Jewish women least opposed. Among Protestant women, those from fundamentalist sects are least favorable.

Attitude toward abortion varies strongly with the amount of education the woman has received. In general, except among Catholics, the higher the level of education the more favorable the attitude toward abortion.

Nonwhite women are consistently less favorable than white women toward abortion, a difference that does not appear reducible to educational differences.

Other variables revealing some relation to attitudes toward abortion are region and size of place of residence, income and occupational status, wife's work history, religiousness, fertility and attitudes toward contraception and sterilization. The article concludes with a series of multivariate analyses in which some 15 to 20 variables are explored in their connections with attitude toward abortion.

## APPENDIX

### RELIABILITY OF MEASUREMENT

When examining the structure of an attitude and exploring its social correlates one is usually making some optimistic assumption about the reliability of measurement. The researcher would like to assume that if the same questions were asked several months later, people by and large would give the same answers. This study presents an opportunity to examine that assumption.

Part of the 1965 National Fertility Study was designed to measure the consistency of response to the questions on attitude toward abortion as well as other items of interest in fertility studies. The procedure involved re-interviewing a probability subsample of between 400 and 500 women who had been initially interviewed with a probability sample of over 5,000 other women three to four months earlier.

The consistency of responses to the different items and the scale are shown in Table 21 by two measures—the per cent replying “yes” or “no” both times and by a coefficient of reliability designed for this purpose. The latter statistic indicates on a scale from zero to unity the extent to which the number replying consistently exceeds the number that would be expected by chance; it is an improvement over the simpler “per cent same” in that it is independent of the marginal distributions.

According to the first index, the values range from a low of 81 per cent replying identically in both interviews—the item on deformity—to a high of 94 per cent for the item “wants no more.” The items on deformity and rape, which also have a low percentage, are close to a 50-50 marginal split, whereas the items with high percentages such as the “wants no more” and the “health” items have extreme marginals. The reliability coefficients (which are independent of these marginals) show very little variation in consistency.

The reliability of the scale score, perhaps more relevant for this analysis, appears to be considerably lower than the individual items but the two are not really comparable. Whereas the individual items are essentially dichotomous,<sup>14</sup> the scale contained seven primary categories<sup>15</sup> (see Table 2). Dichotomizing the scale at the 2-3 level increases the “per cent same” to 78 per cent and the reliability coefficient to .56.



TABLE 21. MEASURES OF CONSISTENCY OF RESPONSE ON ABORTION ATTITUDE ITEMS

Item	Per cent Same	Reliability* Coefficient
Health	93	.66
Not married	91	.65
Could not afford	90	.59
Wants no more	94	.64
Child might be deformed	81	.62
Rape	82	.63
Scale	53	.42

\*  $(O - E)/(N - E)$  where O is the observed number on the equality diagonal, E is the expected number on the equality diagonal, and N is the total number of women.

How one evaluates this evidence of reliability depends of course on the basis of comparison. The reliability demonstrated here is fairly reassuring, especially by comparison with many of the other variables measured in fertility surveys.

It is important to realize that some of what appears to be unreliability may be a genuine change of attitude over the three or four month interval. One is inclined to minimize this factor however, not only because of the short interval but also because no evidence shows any bias in the change. The women replying "yes" in the first interview and "no" in the second were about the same proportion as the opposite combination. Although this does not "prove" the absence of compensating shifts of individual opinion it seriously weakens the hypothesis that women might have become more liberal over the period.

The sources of unreliability are several. Probably the most serious is response error—the woman either gives a different answer inadvertently or perhaps more commonly the attitude is not well crystallized nor intensely felt and may therefore be more variable or unstable. Finally, other sources of error are present—interviewer bias, coding and punching error and data processing errors.

## REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> Other national surveys of attitudes toward abortion have been made, but they do not provide extensive analysis of either the structure of the attitude or its social correlates. The most extensive has been Rossi, A. S., "Public Views on Abortion" February, 1966 (mimeographed), summarized in *Abortion Laws and Their Victims*, *Trans-action*, September–October, 1966, based on data collected by the National Opinion Research Corporation. The other is a Gallup poll conducted for the Population Council, the results of which show a trend toward liberalization of attitude between 1965 and 1967. Kantner, J. F. and Allingham, J. D., *American Attitudes on Population Policy: Recent Trends*, *Studies in Family Planning*, May, 1968.

<sup>2</sup> The reliability of measurement of attitude toward abortion is examined in an appendix.

<sup>3</sup> In this and subsequent analyses, the nine per cent unclassified in Table 2 are assigned to their closest scale pattern.

<sup>4</sup> Westoff, F. and Ryder, N. B., *Recent Trends in Attitudes Toward Fertility Control and in the Practice of Contraception in the United States*, to be published in the Proceedings of the Population Symposium of the University of Michigan Sesquicentennial Celebration; and Potvin, R. H., *et al.*, *Factors Affecting Catholic Wives' Conformity to their Church Magisterium's Position on Birth Control*, *Journal of Marriage and Family Life*, 263-272, May, 1968.

<sup>5</sup> When Catholic women who have attended college are separated into those who attended Catholic and those who attended nonsectarian institutions the resultant mean scores on our attitude scales are 1.1 and 2.1 respectively.

<sup>6</sup> Westoff, C. F. and Potvin, R. H., *COLLEGE WOMEN AND FERTILITY VALUES*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1967, Chapter 8.

<sup>7</sup> Only in denominational preferences among white Protestant women is sufficient variation present to permit analysis.

<sup>8</sup> The means on the attitude scale are:

	<u>College</u>	<u>H.S.A</u>	<u>Less</u>
Baptists, Fundamentalists	2.5	2.3	2.2
Evangelical, Methodists, Lutherans, minor sects	2.9	2.7	2.4
Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopalian	3.5	3.0	2.9

<sup>9</sup> Detailed data not reproduced but represented in subsequent multivariate analyses.

<sup>10</sup> This relationship persists when age is held constant.

<sup>11</sup> An analysis of factors associated with attitude toward contraception and the trend in this attitude between 1960 and 1965 is contained in Westoff, C. F. and Ryder, N. B., *Recent Trends in Attitudes Toward Fertility Control and in the Practice of Contraception in the United States*, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> To save space the detailed table has not been included here, but the variable is represented in the following multivariate analyses.

<sup>13</sup> An earlier analysis with 28 variables (including other religious dummy variables and attitudes toward sterilization) include 26 per cent of the common-factor variance of attitude toward abortion.

<sup>14</sup> The few responses other than "yes" or "no" are ignored for present purposes.

<sup>15</sup> The two non-scale types represented in Table 2 labeled 2a and 4a were consolidated with types 2 and 4 respectively.

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