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CONFERENCE ON ABORTION
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MAGAZINE COMMITTEE

Dorothy, Sherrill, Val
Joan & Christine

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IN A REVERIE

One day
leaning on her elbow
she fell into a reverie
not catching herself
in time
to stop the pining
that always took her far away
to things she might have done
and things she might have been
if only she'd been able
not to spend her time
pining life away
leaning on her elbow
in a reverie.

Joan Lawler

GRANDFATHER

Handlebar moustache
gracefully shrinking down
to a miniature picture
at the wrong end
of a telescopic
frame of reference
the size of a locket
hanging around my grandma's neck
from World War One
till death do them part

Joan Lawler

Few topics are as controversial as that of abortion. Evidence is accumulating that society's attitudes toward abortion are changing. More and more thoughtful people feel that laws governing abortion must keep pace with our changing social conscience. In 1969, laws governing abortion were "liberalized" by amendment to the Criminal Code which allowed abortion provided a committee of doctors in an approved hospital believed that the continuation of the pregnancy would or would be likely to endanger the life or health of the woman. The law further states that the therapeutic abortion committee must consist of not less than three members, each of whom must be a qualified medical practitioner and the medical practitioner performing the abortion cannot sit on the committee. A great deal of controversy has arisen over the amendments to the law with some claiming that the law is too liberal and others arguing that the law as it stands impedes many women in obtaining abortions. At the present time, there are insufficient facilities to meet the public demand for abortion because not all hospitals are required to establish a therapeutic abortion hospital committee. Pelrine (1971) reports that not even one-half of all Canadian hospitals with 100 beds or more have set up a committee to review abortion applications. She further points out that those hospitals with committees are already working to capacity and in some cases are found to turn qualified applicants away because of lack of facilities. Many women who seek abortions in areas where hospitals have not established committees are forced to look for a sympathetic physician elsewhere, finance a trip to a large centre abroad, or failing these measures, are found to resort to the illegal abortionist.

Is there a case, then, to broaden the grounds for abortion in Canada? In a national opinion survey released on March 7, 1970, a Gallup Poll of Canada showed that 43% of the adult population favored legislation that would permit a woman to terminate pregnancy at any time during the first three months. Moreover, many organizations and individuals urged the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (1970) to liberalize or repeal all abortion laws. On the basis of numerous public hearings and briefs, the Commission recommended that the Criminal Code be amended to permit abortion by a qualified medical practitioner on the sole request of any woman who has been pregnant 12 weeks or less. It seems then that public opinion has moved in the direction of pressing for more liberal abortion laws. The purpose of the present survey was to, (a) ascertain the attitude of representative members of the population toward the decision to have an abortion, (b) to inquire into the reasons persons give in support of their attitude, and (c) to determine the variables associated with persons favouring a more and less liberal attitude toward abortion.

Let us look for a moment at the content of some of the views held toward abortion. Many hold the view that the decision to have an abortion should be left entirely to the woman. Since she alone knows her circumstances and her emotional limitations, she alone should be allowed to make the decision. They further argue that in a pluralistic and democratic society, people should be permitted to exercise a maximum degree of individual freedom. According to this view, the law should be amended to permit abortion at the woman's request after she has received the best medical advice available. She of course is free to consult with her sexual partner if she so wishes. At the other extreme, there are those who argue that abortion under any circumstances should not be permitted since it involves the taking of a human life. There can be no doubt that strong religious ideals contribute to sustaining a system of legal sanctions that labels abortion a crime. This view is based on the concept of the "inviolability of every human life" and the Roman Catholic dictum that the embryo should, from the moment of conception, be considered a human life. Further, there are those who argue that in certain circumstances, abortion may be justifiable. Typically, those holding this view regard the individual as incapable of making the decision to have an abortion. For this reason, these individuals would favour that the decision to have an abortion be left to a committee (present law) which they see as objective, emotionally uninvolved, and informed.

What are the characteristics associated with those who are most likely to disapprove of highly liberalized abortion laws? Similarly, what are the characteristics of persons who are most favourable to abortion? As expected, Catholics are reported to be least favourable to abortion (Blake, 1971), Protestants more liberal toward abortion, and Jews the most favourable (Niswander, Klein, and Randall, 1966; Westoff, Moore, and Ryder, 1969). Previous research further suggests that those opposing abortion are more likely to participate actively in religious activities (in all religions) and to be less educated than those who hold more favourable attitudes toward abortion (Westoff, Moore, and Ryder, 1969). Attitudes toward abortion are probably also related to attitudes toward other aspects of fertility control as well as sexual behaviour. It is possible, for example, that many people oppose abortion because they fear anything which will promote sexual liberation whether it is the sale of pornographic materials, sex education in the schools or the distribution of birth control devices. The assumption is that if a woman is threatened with pregnancy she will avoid sexual intercourse.

One might expect that relatively older people are generally more conservative and younger people more tolerant toward abortion. Recent data indicate, however, that younger women are less, not more, favourable toward abortion than older women (Westoff, Moore, and Ryder, 1969). It is possible that those who have reached a

more advanced stage in the process of family formation, experience greater pressure 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.

In this survey, respondents were asked to state whether they thought that the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion should be a private matter between a woman (or a couple) and a doctor, or that the decision be left to a therapeutic abortion committee of a hospital. Respondents were also asked if they disapproved of abortion under any circumstances. The nature of the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion was also examined in relation to the following variables: Religion, degree of religiosity (importance of religious activities), attitudes toward use of contraceptives, frequency of use of birth control, age, sex, income level, education, marital status, residential category in which the respondent grew up, racial group, and country of origin.

Method

Procedure:

Five undergraduate York University students distributed the questionnaires personally to the respondents at their homes. Four of these were female and one was male. All of the students ranged in age from 18 to 22. Respondents were told that the questionnaire was part of a York University survey studying attitudes toward abortion. The respondent was asked to fill out the questionnaire alone and send it to York University in a self-addressed envelope. In order to ensure anonymity, respondents were asked not to put their names on the questionnaire. Students asked the respondent to glance through the questionnaire and said they would answer questions he or she might have concerning the meaning of any of the questions. The sample was chosen on a random basis with the following requirements: As far as possible, (1) An equal number of males and females and, (2) Equal representation from all income brackets. Respondents were chosen from the City of Toronto and, from three Boroughs: North York, East York, and York. Six hundred questionnaires were distributed and approximately 269 were returned. Fifty questionnaires were discarded because they were incomplete. A total of 219 questionnaires were analyzed.

The Questionnaire:³

The questionnaire consisted of 25 questions. The main purpose of the questionnaire was to assess respondents' thoughts as to the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion. This was accomplished by means of question 24: "The Canadian Criminal Code prohibits a woman from having an abortion unless the abortion is performed by a qualified medical doctor in an

approved hospital. The doctor is allowed to perform an abortion after the patient has received permission to have an abortion from the therapeutic abortion committee of that hospital." Respondents were then asked: "Do you think that the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion should be (1) A private matter between a woman (or a couple) and a doctor? Or should the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion be left to (2) A therapeutic abortion committee of a hospital? (3) A woman should not be permitted to have an abortion under any circumstances. Respondents were asked to circle one of the above three alternatives. In addition, respondents were asked to try to give four reasons for their choice. It was expected that responses to this question would provide information on some of the motivation for each of the choices.

A number of questions was included to obtain data on the demographic or background characteristics of the respondent. For example, respondents were asked to state their sex, age, marital status, religion, the degree to which religious activities had been important to them over the past year, racial group, the country in which they were born, level of education, occupation or profession (if employed), income level, and the nature of the residential area in which they grew up. Additional questions inquired into whether or not the respondent had moral or religious objections to the use of contraceptives and the frequency with which the respondent and his (her) sexual partner practiced birth control.

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents:

The sample consisted of a total of 219 respondents. Ninety-three were males and 126 were females. The mean age for respondents was 39.9 years with a range of 15 to 86 years old. While 43% of the sample was Protestant, 22% was Catholic, 21% was Jewish, 9% was either Agnostic or Atheist, and the remaining 5% was "Other" (Greek and Russian Orthodox, Christian Science, Existentialism). When asked how important religious activities had been in their lives over the past year, 45% responded either "very important" or "important", and 48% responded "not very important" or "not important at all."

Representatives of most income levels were included for study. Thirty-one percent of the respondents reported earning between zero and \$6,000.00 per year, 22% reported earning between \$6,100.00 and \$10,000.00, 12% earned between \$10,000.00 and \$14,000.00, 13% were in the \$14,100.00 - \$20,000.00 bracket, and 22% reported earning over \$20,000.00 per year. One-half of the respondents had completed either grade school, high school, or some high school. Thirty percent had attended college, and the remaining respondents had attended graduate school, a community or technical school. Eighty-seven percent of the males and 48% of the females were employed outside the home (including full and part-time work). Approximately 35% of the females were

housewives with no independent income. The rest of the male and female samples were either students, retired, or on welfare. Approximately 73% of the total sample was married and 17% of the males and 10% of the females were single. The remaining respondents were either divorced or separated, engaged, widowed, or not married to but living with a member of the opposite sex. While approximately 62% of the sample was born in Canada, 13% was born in the British Isles. One-quarter of the sample was born in one of the following countries: The United States, Italy, Slavic, Greece, Spain, or Germany. While approximately one-half of the sample had spent their childhood in a city or a central area of a metropolitan city, 30% grew up in a rural area, a village, or a large town. At the time of the interview, respondents lived either in the City of Toronto or in one of the Boroughs of North York, East York, or York.

Results

Nature of the Final Decision to End a Pregnancy

Respondents were asked to indicate their opinion as to the nature of the final decision to end a pregnancy: (1) A private matter between a woman (or a couple) and a doctor, (2) A therapeutic abortion committee of a hospital, or (3) A woman should not be permitted to have an abortion under any circumstances. Respondents were asked to check one of the above three alternatives.

Total Sample and Nature of Final Decision

A significant proportion of respondents (76.7%) stated that they thought the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion should be a private matter between a woman (or a couple) and a doctor.

Sixteen percent of the sample stated that the decision to end the pregnancy by means of an abortion should be left to a therapeutic abortion hospital committee, and 7.3% stated that a woman should not be permitted to have an abortion under any circumstances.

Religion and Nature of Final Decision

Nature of the final decision chosen by the respondent was significantly affected by the respondent's religion. The abortion decision as a private matter was endorsed by 100% of Atheist respondents, 89% of Jewish respondents, 85% of Agnostic respondents, 80% of those of "other" religions, 76% of Protestant respondents, and by 60% of Catholic respondents. Use of a therapeutic abortion hospital committee was favoured by 23% of Catholic respondents, 18% of Protestant respondents, 15% of Agnostic respondents, 11% of Jewish respondents, and by none of the respondents who were Atheist or of "other" religions. Opposition to abortion was expressed by 20% of respondents of "other" religions, 17% of Catholic respondents, and by 6% of Protestant respondents. No respondents in the remaining religious groups

expressed opposition to abortion.

Nature of the final decision was significantly affected by the respondent's degree of religiosity over all religions. The abortion decision as a private matter was chosen by 89% of respondents who stated that religious activities were "not very important" or "not important at all," and by 65% of respondents who stated that religious activities were either "very important" or "important." Use of a therapeutic hospital committee was chosen by 23% of respondents who stated that religious activities were not important. While 12% of respondents who stated that religious activities were important opposed abortion, only 2% of respondents for whom religious activities were not important, expressed opposition.

Attitude toward Use of Contraceptive and Nature of Final Decision

The decision chosen by the respondent was differentially affected by his (her) attitude toward use of contraceptives. "Private matter" was chosen by 81% of those who had no objections to use of contraceptives, by 50% of those who had objections to use of contraceptives, by 33% of those who "can't say," and by 43% of those who did not answer the question. Use of a committee was favoured mostly by those who had objections to use of contraceptives (36%), next by those who did not answer the question (29%), next by those who "can't say" (17%), and least by those who had no objections to use of contraceptives (14%). Opposition to abortion was expressed by 50% of respondents who could not answer the question, by 29% of those who did not answer the question, by 14% of those who had objections to use of contraceptives, and by 5% of those who had no objections to use of contraceptives.

Use of Birth Control and Nature of Final Decision

The respondent's opinion regarding the final decision was significantly affected by the frequency with which he (she) used birth control. The abortion decision as a private matter was favoured by 86% of those who practiced birth control "always" or "almost always," 73% of respondents who practiced birth control "sometimes," by 68% of respondents who never practiced birth control, and by 41% of respondents who did not answer the question.

Use of a committee was favoured by 47% of respondents who did not answer the question inquiring into frequency of birth control, by 18% of respondents who never used birth control, by 13% of those who used birth control "sometimes," by 11% of those who used birth control "always," and by 9% of those who used birth control "almost always." Opposition to abortion was expressed by 13% of respondents who used birth control "sometimes" or "never," by 11% of those who did not answer the question, by 5% of those who used birth control "almost always," and by 3% of those who used birth control "always."

Age and Nature of Final Decision

Age of males only significantly affected nature of final decision. "Private matter" was chosen by 88% of males between ages of 21 and 30, by 43% of males between ages 31 and 40, and by 70% of males who were 41 years old and over. Use of a committee was favoured by no males under 30 years old, by 50% of males between 31 and 40 years old, by 23% of males who were 41 years old and over. Opposition to abortion was expressed by 11% of males 30 years old and under, by 7% of males between the ages of 31 and 40, and by 7% of males who were 41 years old and over.

The nature of the final decision chosen by the respondent was not significantly related to: country of origin, residential category, income level, education, sex, marital status, and age of females.

Reasons for Final Decision

Respondents were asked to give four reasons for the final decision that they chose. Number of reasons given by each respondent ranged from zero to six reasons with an average of three reasons per respondent. Two coders independently placed all of the reasons mentioned into 28 categories, i.e. "abortion is murder, no right to take the life of a human being," "overpopulation," "unhappiness of unwanted children," etc. The categories can be distinguished with fairly high reliability. The index of inter-coder agreement for nominal-scale judgments (Scott and Wertheimer, 1962) is .83. For respondents who saw the abortion decision as a private matter, the following reasons were given, overall. (These reasons are listed in order of frequency of use, beginning with the most frequent): (1) "It's nobody else's business. It's a matter that only concerns the parents;" (2) "A couple should not be forced to have unwanted children for financial or other reasons;" (3) "Unhappiness of unwanted children;" (4) "A woman should have control over her own body;" (5) "The doctor is the authority, not the committee;" (6) "It's wrong to legislate/or impose ethics on people who may not agree;" (7) "It is the woman or the couple who may be required to raise the child and therefore it should be their decision;" (8) "Over-population." The above-mentioned reasons constitute 73% of all reasons given by all respondents who favoured the abortion decision a private matter between a woman (or a couple) and a doctor.

For those who stated that the final decision to end a pregnancy should be left to a therapeutic abortion committee of a hospital, the following reasons were given, overall, in order of frequency of occurrence: (1) "Committee is educated and objective (impersonal) and can make objective decisions. Also, it has better knowledge of the after-effects;" (2) "Murder, no right to take the life of a human being;" (3) "If granted, too many abortions, promiscuity would increase, i.e. lower morality;" (4) "Committee ensures that abortions are not indiscriminately performed;" (5) "Couples who engage in sexual intercourse

should accept responsibility for a possible pregnancy;" (6) "Abortion can be physically or psychologically dangerous for the mother;" (7) "Abortion is a poor substitute for birth control." The above-mentioned reasons constitute 77% of all reasons given by respondents who stated that the abortion decision should be left up to a committee.

Respondents who stated that a woman should not be permitted to have an abortion under any circumstances used the following reasons, in order of frequency of occurrence: (1) "Murder ... no right to take the life of a human being;" (2) "Abortion can be physically and/or psychologically dangerous for the mother;" (3) "Abortion is a poor substitute for birth control;" (4) "Parents are not objective, unemotional or responsible to make the right decision / or do not possess enough knowledge;" (5) "Committee is educated and objective (impersonal) and can make objective decisions. Also it has better knowledge of the after-effects;" (6) Moral, religious, ethical and social reasons; (7) Other. These reasons constitute 86% of all reasons given by those who opposed abortion.

Discussion

The results of this survey indicate that attitudes toward abortion are influenced by a number of ethical, social, religious, and practical factors. A large percentage of the sample, 76.7%, preferred that the decision to have an abortion be a private matter between a woman, or a couple, and a doctor. Some of the reasons given for this choice were that, since this is a highly personal decision and since the parents have to raise the child, it is the parents who should take responsibility for the decision to end the pregnancy. While some respondents mentioned additional reasons such as, "unhappiness of the unwanted child," and the problem of overpopulation, most of the reasons for this choice centered around the rights of individuals to make their own decisions regarding the abortion.

Individuals favouring "private matter" not only were willing to take responsibility for the decision regarding abortion, they were also most likely to take responsibility for their own birth control and expressed little objection to use of contraceptives. These same individuals tended to state that religious activities were not important to them. Nevertheless, a substantial percentage of the sample for whom religious activities were important, endorsed the abortion decision as a private matter. This result is somewhat surprising in light of the conviction held by most theologians that abortion destroys human life and is therefore prohibited by the Church (Montgomery, 1969). The individual who saw the abortion decision as a private matter was likely to be either Jewish, Atheist or Agnostic, or Protestant, and to lesser extent, Catholic. The percentage of Catholics endorsing "private matter" is higher than anti-

culated when one considers that the Catholic Church has persistently condemned the practice of abortion. While publicly, a Catholic person may condemn the practice of abortion because of social pressure, privately, it appears that many Catholics believe that the abortion decision should be made by the individual in consultation with a doctor.

A somewhat smaller percentage of respondents, 16%, stated that they thought that the decision to end the pregnancy should be left to a therapeutic abortion hospital committee. In general, the reasons given by those favouring "committee decision" expressed the need for some kind of control on the number of abortions performed as a means of controlling sexuality. Some of the reasons stated, "If granted, too many abortions and promiscuity would increase," and "Couples who engage in sexual intercourse should accept responsibility for possible pregnancy." Indeed, reasons given by those favouring a committee decision also expressed the need for some kind of control of doctors performing the abortion. For example, one reason which was frequently used stated, "committee ensures that abortions are not indiscriminately performed."

Respondents who favoured shifting responsibility for the abortion decision from the individual to a committee were also most likely to have objections to an individual's taking responsibility for birth control. Further, the less frequently the respondent (or sexual partner) practiced birth control, the more likely he (she) was to leave the decision to a committee. In direct contrast to the reasoning employed by those favouring "private matter," respondents favouring a committee decision saw the individual as not having responsibility for his own fertility and, moreover, saw the need for regulatory control of sexuality. A highly religious individual was more likely than a less religious one to endorse a committee decision. This choice represents, for the highly religious individual, a compromise solution of a social problem fraught with conflicting elements. For one, the highly religious individual recognizes that abortion is prohibited by an authority body (the Church), while nevertheless realizing that abortions are being sought and obtained. The solution then is to give the responsibility for the decision to another authority body, in this case, the hospital committee, which has the power of either approving or prohibiting the abortion in the light of relevant information. According to this type of reasoning, a decision by an authority body is always regarded as superior to that of the individual.

Some respondents, 7.3% of the sample, stated that a woman should not be permitted to have an abortion under any circumstances. According to most of these individuals, abortion was unacceptable since it involved the taking of a human life. In addition, the possible dangers of the abortion itself for the woman were mentioned as reasons supporting opposition. Abortion was regarded as a poor substitute for birth control and parents were not regarded as objective enough to

make the right decision. It is not surprising that 50% of those opposing abortion under any circumstances were members of the Catholic Church. The remaining respondents opposing abortion were primarily Protestant. As expected, 75% of those opposing abortion stated that they were highly religious. While approximately one-half of respondents opposing abortion had no objections to use of contraceptives, only about 37% of those opposed to abortion reported using birth control to some extent. Approximately 71% of those endorsing "private matter" and 46% of those endorsing "Committee decision" reported using birth control. It appears that respondents opposing abortion tend to see the individual as not having control of his (her) own fertility and, they tend not to control their own fertility to the same extent as some other respondents, particularly those endorsing "private matter."

It is interesting to note that age significantly affected the nature of the final decision endorsed by males and not by females. "Private matter" was chosen mostly by males 30 years of age and younger, and by males who were 40 years of age and older. Males between the ages of 31 and 40 were far more likely to leave the decision to end the pregnancy to a committee. Males between the ages of 31 and 40 probably witness pregnancy and child-birth within their own families to a greater extent than males in other age groups. Because of their relatively greater immediate involvement with pregnancy, it is possible that many males feel that they are not objective or unemotional enough to contribute to a sound decision and therefore prefer to leave the decision to a committee. The fact that neither age nor marital status significantly affected the nature of the woman's choice suggests that pregnancy and child-bearing do not significantly influence a woman's attitudes toward the decision to end a pregnancy, by means of an abortion.

One of the major implications of this survey is that most people (in the Toronto area) are dissatisfied with present legislation regarding abortion because it leaves the decision to have an abortion to a hospital committee. For the most part, respondents in this survey, both female and male, saw the decision to have an abortion as a private matter between a woman, or a couple, and a doctor. Most of the reasons given for this choice centered around the rights of individuals to make their own decisions in a matter which directly affected them.

Summary

A survey using 219 respondents assessed attitudes toward the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion. Respondents, both female and male, included members of most religious and age groups as well as representatives of most income and educational levels. A significant proportion of respondents (76.6%) stated that they thought that the final decision to end a pregnancy by means of an abortion should be a private matter between a woman (or a couple) and a doctor. Sixteen percent of the sample stated that the decision to end the pregnancy by means of an abortion should be left to a therapeutic abortion hospital committee, and

7.3% stated that a woman should not be permitted to have an abortion under any circumstances. Significant relationships were found between the nature of the final decision chosen and religion, religiosity, attitude toward use of contraceptives, frequency of use of birth control and age of males.

Note: Due to space, the tables accompanying this article were omitted.

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FOOTNOTES

1. This survey was carried out during the summer and early fall of 1971 with the aid of an Opportunities for Youth Grant. Grateful acknowledgement is due to Anne Rubenstein, Joanne Kirzner, Jennifer Davis, Joe Visenberg, and Mollie Koperwas for collecting and compiling the data.
2. Professor Esther Greenglass, Department of Psychology, York University, Downsview, Ontario.
3. Acknowledgement is made to Professor A. Simmons, Department of Sociology, York University for making parts of his questionnaire for the York Family Survey available to the author.

*I would rather be
mad with the truth
than sane with lies*

--bertrand russell

Pat Grinstead attended the "National Conference on Abortion" sponsored by the University of St. Michael's College, May 23, 24 and 25, 1972, as a representative of the Unitarian Universalist Women's Federation of Canada.

The aim of the conference was to contribute to the unbiased and intellectually competent discussion of abortion which is called for by the complex intellectual and practical problems facing Canadian society. Pat informs us that pro and anti abortion "labels" were put on those attending throughout the "unbiased and intellectually competent discussion." There were few pro abortion persons attending. More men than women spoke at the conference.

At the final session, Pat spoke at the mike:

"I address myself to the men on the panel. This conference has had a male dominated panel at all times. This is a specially invited assembly, not a nationally represented body of people. Bear this in mind when evaluating this conference. Much as I would like to believe your "aim", as a supporter of abortion law repeal I have never been in a more biased situation against me. I say that abortion is not the issue; men feel threatened because abortion hurts men where men are most easily hurt. Sigmund Freud - enemy of all women - coined the phrase "penis envy". The establishment bought it, carefully nurtured it, and conditioned people to accept it. This is a male dominated society and women are second class citizens. Women are becoming more and more aware of their plight and so developing WOMAN POWER. Whether you like it or not, basically what we are discussing here is Woman Power vs. Penis Power. God is a sex symbol, MALE!"

Unfortunately, Pat's excellent report was too long to be printed in its entirety in this issue. It has been excerpted below:

Anti abortion presentations were made by the following males:

Arthur J. Dyck, Professor of Population Ethics, Harvard University.

This man's paper was an in-depth paper on "Foetal Rights."

Elmer J. Kremer, Associate Professor of Philosophy, St. Michael's.

This man was chief organizer of the conference and gave a paper on "The Humanity of the Foetus" which concerned itself mainly with the "killing" aspect of abortion.

Germaine Grisez, Professor of Philosophy, Georgetown University, Professor of Philosophy (elect.), University of Saskatchewan.

His paper was titled, "Legal Personality and Abortion Law."

This man presented an extreme anti position and was very vocal at the conference.

Mark R. MacGuigan, M.P. Windsor-Walkerville, Professor of Law, University of Windsor, (on leave).

The title of his paper was "Abortion and the Law." He discussed whether abortion is a matter of public or private morality. Following is a quotation from his presentation: "Left to his own resources, it seems to me that the legislator is not equipped to give a principled answer to the question of whether abortion is, or is not, a matter of criminal legislation." This male M.P. was also very vocal against abortion.

Robert Crooker, Associate Professor of Ecclesiastical Law, St. Michael's.

This is another male strongly opposed to repeal of abortion laws.

Dominique H. Salman, Professor of Psychology, U. du Quebec.

This presentation was eloquent and clever. Essentially, he said, "don't upset the present marriage and family structure whatever you do."

Barnet Yellun, Social worker, Winnipeg.

The paper this man presented did not take a strong pro or anti abortion stand but essentially described family situations - "the decision itself cannot be considered apart from the family system."

David Dehler, Barrister and Solicitor, Ottawa.

A male lawyer gives a paper entitled "Abortion and the Value of Life", somehow correlating persecution of the Jews and cloning with abortion. He believes that "the punishment shall fit the crime" and abortion is a criminal offence. This was an angry paper and we need to watch Mr. Dehler very carefully.

Pro abortion presentations were made by the following persons:

Lorene M.G. Smith, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, U. of T.

A quotation from Lorene's paper follows: "The whole question ought to lead us to a fundamental re-evaluation of those (societal) values. If we cannot support the principle of the absolute moral personality of the individual, what can we hope for?"

Wayne Sumner, Associate Professor of Philosophy, U. of T.

"The crux of the entire debate is whether a fully developed and mature individual and a one-celled zygote are to have the same moral status. The Catholic position implies they are, and it is this implication which I reject."

W.H. Allemang, M.D., Senior Staff Obstetrician and Gynecologist, Toronto General Hospital.

His paper on therapeutic abortion was an important humanist paper.

Anne Firor Scott, Professor of History, Duke U.

This paper dealt with the cultural, social and economic changes through history and the effect of such changes on women and the "motherhood" role. This paper tells it like it is and Ms. Scott is a humanist we value.

Herbert W. Richardson, Associate Professor of Theology, St. Michael's.

This paper was a technological and philosophical look at our present social structure, with an optimistic hint for the future. "Since sexual behaviour is always shaped by an entire social system, we cannot expect to have unambivalent use of contraceptives until we have first expunged those ambivalent role expectations that are put upon women in our society. This means that Women's Liberation is essential to effective contraception and that, in the long run is doing far more to contribute to the decrease of abortion than, I believe, any other social movement."

A statistical paper entitled, "Why Abortions are Done" was given by Margaret W. Thompson, Ph.D., Senior Staff Geneticist, Hospital for Sick Children.

No position was taken in this paper.

This conference was intended to be an academic study on abortion with no actions or decisions to result; there was a determined effort to minimize emotionalism. The questions answered in the plenary sessions were largely red herrings. Many important questions went unanswered. Missing from the whole conference was the subject of "concern for the dignity of all women."

During the workshops, I became increasingly annoyed with the group leader. He felt that I was everything he had read or heard about the Women's Liberation Movement. He would, in addition, keep pulling the group back to square one, by saying, "But what has that got to do with the Human Rights of the Foetus?"

In conclusion, I am grateful to St. Michael's for giving me the opportunity of this fascinating study of human development and relationship. I hope there will be some kind of follow-up because in spite of the rules and controls, most people left feeling more friendly towards each other than when they started.

Patricia Grinstead.

May 1972

By Radical Feminists 28

Separatism is a subject that has been raising a furor within the Women's Liberation Movement. "How can you expect women to leave their men?" they ask? "What alternatives can you offer us?" "What island will you go to?"

For most of us he was no bargain in the first place. We got hooked to him as a way out of the back breaking tedium of the work-a-day world. We believed, somehow, all the garb we've been saturated with about "man" and "woman" belonging to each other, two parts of one whole, or so they say. Mostly we had to have a man because everybody knows that a woman without a man is either an "old maid" or a "dyke" and we wouldn't be caught dead in either of those categories. Men have power. Women have got no power. We found a man so that we could have a piece of the action. And what did we get? Kids twenty-four hours a day, a man to pick up after, clothes to wash, meals to cook, and an insatiable ego to please, pamper, and continually pump up. We lost our names along with our economic, emotional, and political independence. We have to rely on him for the bread. We keep looking for some reward for our energies and our sacrifices, but he hasn't got time. His life is too important. We've got no way out. Leaving him altogether just means more hardships and more sacrifices.

Separatism is power for women. Separatism is a new reality. It is a political force that gives women the option of showing their man the door and throwing his baggage out behind him. Separatism is women united in our own self interest. It is the only way to freedom.

Separatism does not mean women individually leaving men and fending for themselves. It means women fighting together in a political, economic, and social struggle for power. Organizing a revolutionary movement is a central aspect of separatism. Without the movement, separatism offers us no alternatives to powerlessness. Likewise, power for women will come only if we leave men. Separatism is an essential aspect of Feminist Revolution.

Today society is organized so that each man has his own personal servant. His home is his castle; his children, his property; and his wife, his slave. We have sold ourselves willingly into slavery because male society has indoctrinated us to dispise the single woman. They have told us that the "male-female" relationship is sacred, that love between a man and a woman is the greatest love - a woman without a man is not a woman. How can so great a love show such disdain for women? How can a man rape his wife in the bedroom, his girl in the car, or a woman walking independently down the street? How can so great a love beat women daily into submission? How can man expect blind obedience to his every command? Men do not love women. Men love themselves. They do not identify with women.

They identify with male power.

Men are not isolated in individual homes as we have been. Men are not separated by the petty jealousies and perpetual competition of women trying to make it in a male world. Men are highly organized. They already have a well-developed separatist culture with their own organizations and groups. All the major institutions in this society are run by men for their benefit. It is men who run off to join the military and fight wars. It is men who separate to have "man talk" at social gatherings. Business, politics, and the world of sports all belong to men. We are told that it is men's affairs which are important and that we women must make sacrifices for them. The male mind believes that the entire universe exists for man's benefit and fulfillment, that means all of nature, including women.

If love exists between a man and a woman in this society it is a fluke of chance or a miracle - certainly not something to be dangled before the millions of us not so fortunate. We need power for women, not fairy tales and knights in shining armor. We have only to gain by separatism. We shall gain freedom, independence, and power and we shall give hope to the human species. We will no longer allow men to drain our energies. We will no longer have to beg male power for legitimacy. We will have strength and power because we will refuse to let men call the shots. We will challenge them on every level of their society and they will be forced to justify their power or support our separation. It is as simple as that. Left alone to their masculine exploits the patriarchs will completely destroy human life in only a matter of years. Our liberation and the liberation of our mother earth is at stake. We owe Feminist rebellion to our daughters and their daughters. Ours is not a struggle for reform within an oppressive culture; ours is a struggle for an entirely new civilization.

There are those who understand how marriage enslaves women and merely voice opposition while continuing to sleep in the master's bed, continuing to play woman's role of ego builder and emotional crutch, continuing to make excuses for their individual men. This is the utmost hypocrisy. This is to say that "man" is more important than the liberation of our people. "Mr. Charlie has been good to me." The Women's Liberation Movement, in the arms of these damsels, has become a powerless movement. It is a sickly reform movement of women who enjoy the pittance of power liberal men have given them by "supporting their cause." These women close the door on all Feminist ideas which threaten their relationship with their man. They continually set limits beyond which they will not go. They reek of Feminist conservatism because they are attached to individual men who are more important to them than the liberation of all women from male rule. They have their Feminism, but they have their men too. No self-respecting woman could identify with the dribble they espouse. If Feminism is to be accomplished, if we are to realize power for women, if we are to bring the dawn of a new era, we must dare to build a Separatist-Feminist Movement that exposes women's natural strength and calls women everywhere

to rebel against centuries of patriarchy.

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This month's Iniquity contribution from Rota Lister:

Original Greek noun for man: anthropos.

ANTHROPOLOGY: definition (Webster's) "the study of races, physical and mental characteristics, distribution, customs, social relationships, etc. of mankind: often restricted to the study of the institutions, myths, etc. of primitive peoples."

Original Greek noun for woman: gyne.

GYNECOLOGY: definition (Webster's) "the branch of medicine dealing with the study and treatment of women's diseases, especially of the genitourinary and rectal tracts."

*"Pay no attention to her murmurs, her cries, her pains:
NATURE HAS MADE HER FOR OUR USE and for bearing every-
thing: children, sorrows, blows and pains inflicted by
man. Do not accuse yourself of hardness. In all the
codes of so-called civilized nations, man has written
the laws that ranged woman's destiny under this bloody
epigraph: "Vae Victis!" "Woe to the weak!"*

Belzac.

Contributed by Joan Harries.

ON MISANDRISM

Marilyn Goldberg

Misogyny is an acceptable social attitude today;* yet is there even a word for the opposite state? Not only is man-hating unacceptable, it is unmentionable, or unable to be considered rational.** Well, sisters, no longer. As of today, there is a word to express man-hating: misandrim; and if you are a man-hater, nameless one, you are now a misandrist. If there is any truth to the theory that the assignation of a name to an idea gives the idea validity, then misandrists now have a place in this sexist world' and a name under which they can unite to dispel the male indoctrinated theory of perverted female behavior.

mis an drism n. hatred of men (Greek, from misein, to hate and aner, andros, a man***) - mis an drist, n.; - mis an dris tic adj.

Add to this the definition of sexism****:

"sexism - n. 1. a belief that the human sexes have distinctive make-ups that determine their respective lives, usually involving the idea that one sex is superior and has the right to rule the other.
2. a policy of enforcing such asserted right.
3. a system of government and society based on it.
sexist, n. adj."

As in "All men are sexists." "Sexism pervades every aspect of society "

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- * As Pamela Kearon notes in the N.Y. Times Magazine, page 129, March 29, 1970.
 - ** Unmentionable from the Latin mens, meaning mind or reason.
 - *** Note that the word anthropos from which misanthropy derives means mankind in general; aner means a specific man.
 - **** Kathleen Shortridge, The Daily Magazine (U. Mich) April 12, 1970.

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Pittsburgh, Pa. 15232

NEWS AND VIEWS

ABORTION

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics released May 12, 1972 in Statistics Canada Weekly says "Nearly 31,000 therapeutic abortions were performed on Canadian residents in 1971 - up from just over 11,000 the previous year. This brought the Canadian ratio of therapeutic abortions to live births up to 8.3/100 from 3.0/100. Compared to New York under the new abortion law of 46.4/100 in 1970 and 134/100 in Hungary and 46/100 in Czechoslovakia in 1969, Canada is well down the list.

BOOKS

The Lace Ghetto by Maxine Nunes & Deanna White has just been released by New Press, 84 Sussex Avenue, Toronto and sells for \$7.98. This book has an attractive format and is a well illustrated mixture of historical and contemporary items on the Women's movement in Canada in the words of the participants and would be perfect for the not quite convinced novice. Ask your bookstore and library or write to New Press.

DAY CARE

Parents have been occupying a University of Toronto building and have turned it into a Day Care Centre. While the University has finally given into their demands to have the building rent free, they have placed the condition that they must also accept the children of another Day Care Centre which the university has closed, thus making the accommodations over crowded. It is laudable that a group of parents have taken matters into their own hands in this one instance but the provincial government is ignoring its responsibility, as ten months ago they promised amendments to the Day Nurseries Act. We have been promised "soon" for a long time now and in the meantime mothers and children are waiting for adequate day care.

DISCRIMINATION

Protesting the refusal by Ottawa's tradition bound Rideau Club to admit two official delegates, both women, to a luncheon of Canadian and U.S. officials, the Ottawa Women's Resource Group put on its own luncheon on the sidewalk outside the club. To date the government has not stopped patronizing this club which discriminates against women and until the word "sex" is placed in each provincial Human Rights Code, those discriminated against have no redress under the law. Premier Davis promised in his throne speech to add the word "sex" to Ontario's Human Rights Code and on June 23, 1972 the Globe & Mail ran an article saying the Code is to be amended to include housing, employment, sex, age, and marital clauses.

EMPLOYMENT

There is legislation being considered to alter the Fair Employment Practices Act to include age, sex and marital status as prohibited reasons for discrimination. This legislation was introduced by Martin O'Connell, Minister of Labour in May of this year and is a giant step forward.

Working Women In Ontario by Kay Eastham of the Ontario Department of Labour, Women's Bureau is an informative 62 page booklet with an excellent bibliography available free from the Department in Toronto.

A news release from the Department of the Solicitor General dated May 12, 1972 announced the appointment of Miss Johanna Hickey to the position of Special Programmes Office. "We are just delighted with this first appointment of a woman at the senior management level within our organization." commented the Commissioner of Penitentiaries.

An article criticizing the stand of organized labor on the issue of equal rights for women workers has been published in the May edition of Canadian Labor, the Journal of the Canadian Labor Congress.

American women are finding it pays to complain about sex discrimination in employment. Since 1965, more than \$43 million in back pay and court costs have been awarded to 104,604 workers, almost all female, who were not getting paid equally for work of equal value.

FAMILY INCOME SECURITY PLAN

The new family income security plan which is to replace the "baby bonus" has come under various attacks (1) that it will not be paid directly to the mother (2) that it will be deducted from welfare payments (3) that the money will be taxable (4) that it is too complicated to apply for and (5) that it makes the income tax statements no longer confidential. Grace McInnis, M.P. has closely questioned Health Minister Munro in the House of Commons on some of these issues and he maintains that the word "parent" was used instead of "mother" so as not to discriminate against one parent or the other but that in cases where there are two parents or single parents, it will definitely go to the mother. Grace McInnis is not satisfied with this answer. Are you? Whether the income from this plan is deducted from welfare payments is up to the province but the Federal government has asked the provincial government not to penalize welfare recipients for getting higher federal allowances. There is no guarantee that the provinces will heed this request. There is still time for amendments to this bill which has had its second reading in the House of Commons. Write your M.P. and give him your views.

FEMINIST MAGAZINES, JOURNALS, ETC.

The other woman, vol. 1, no. 1, a Toronto Feminist newspaper has just been published and it is fine indeed. To subscribe, send what you can afford (they suggest at least \$2.00) to Box 928 Station "Q", Toronto 7, Ontario.

Bellyfull, the new newspaper of Toronto Women's Liberation, is available from 380 Victoria Street, Toronto, Ontario. Send a donation.

HOUSEWIVES

Should housewives be paid? There are many arguments pro and con. Maggie Siggins will explore some of them in a coming issue of Chatelaine and Lorna Marsden will give her ideas in a scholarly paper for the Canadian Journal of Anthropology and Sociology. In an editorial in the Globe & Mail April 20, 1972, the editors give strong support to recognition of the value of the housewife in our society.

LAW

Bill C 2, an act to amend the Criminal Code, is now before the Senate. It suggests removing vagrancy from the criminal code thus removing the method commonly used in Canadian courts to deal with prostitution. But at the same time they include male prostitution in the Criminal Code for the first time. There is also a provision to modify the law concerning jury duty so as to put women on the same footing as men; that is, they cannot simply decline to serve, but must show cause before a judge why they should not serve. On this later issue, there is also consideration before the Ontario government to make the law concerning jury duty for women equal to that of men.

MUSIC

"Woman is the nigger of the world" is a new song written by John Lennon and first heard on the Dick Cavet show. It is released by Apple Records and at present is a single. "Woman is the nigger of the world. Yes she is. Think about it. Woman is the nigger of the world. Think about it. Do something about it ..."

Yoko Ono, an artist, composer and film maker and also married to John Lennon, wrote in the San Francisco Chronicle March 15, 1972 an article on "A Feminine society" in which she called for a whole revolutionary society. "I am proposing the feminization of society, the use of feminine tendencies as a positive force to change the world."

POLITICS

Aline Gregory is running as an independent Feminist candidate in the Rosedale riding of Toronto in the next federal election and Kay McPherson is running as an independent woman's candidate in St. Paul's riding in Toronto. Woman for Political action (Ms. for M.P.) held a meeting filled to capacity at the Town Hall in Toronto May 24 in which Aline and Kay along with other panelists, Doris Anderson, editor of Chatelaine magazine, Margaret Scrivener, M.P.P., Esther Greenglass, Dr. of Psychology, and Fiona Nelson, Toronto Board of Education Trustee discussed women as candidates. In spite of Dennis Braithwaite who says "these women couldn't elect a dog-catcher", the response was enthusiastic for independent women running in the next election.

PSYCHIATRY

Dr. Theodore Sarbin writes in the June 1972 Psychology Today that Schizophrenia is a myth, born of metaphor, meaningless. As Szasz, he compares witches with today's mentally ill and finds that both the institution of the church and the institution of psychiatry know very little about the minds of people.

At a recent meeting of the Canadian Psychiatric Association, Dr. F.M. Richards, a Vancouver doctor and clinical psychiatrist said that Psychiatrists perpetuate the myth of women's subordinate role in society and need to change their attitudes. So at last, within the profession, there is beginning to be some criticism of the way psychiatry treats women.

SEXUAL MORALITY

In a recent study done in New York it was found that parents have a dual set of morals re: their male and female children which adds up to hypocrisy and the double standard. They still think it is OK for their sons to have sexual relations with someone else's daughter, even in their homes but that it is not alright for their daughters.

STATUS OF WOMEN

The Ontario Committee on the Status of Women meets regularly and has a monthly newsletter. You may become a member by sending \$3.00 to the committee c/o Bridig O'Reilly, Apt. 112, 83 Elm Avenue, Toronto 5.

Freda L. Paltiel, co-ordinator for the Status of Women has issued a booklet Status of Women in Canada - 1972, Information Canada. In French and English which answers questions about what has been done to date to implement the Status of Women Report.

TELEVISION

C.B.C. had planned a summer show for women called "All about women" with interviews with The Happy Hooker, a pronographic film actress, a transexual, a lesbian, a woman who prefers younger men, etc. In itself there is nothing wrong with this kind of show if they had also included a wider variety of women such as polititians, artists, working women, professional women etc. But as the show was set up it perpetuated the woman as sex object image. The show has been cancelled due to protests but for all the wrong reasons. Letter after letter to the editor, editorials, columns etc. in the Toronto papers have berated this show, not because of the inherent sexism in it but on moral grounds, thus confusing in the minds of the public the obvious differences between objections to sexual display on moral grounds and objection to sexual display on the grounds of sexism in our society.

UNIVERSITY WOMEN

Women instructors at Canadian universities need to start collecting statistical ammunition to fight sexual discrimination in the colleges of universities of Canada.

WOMEN'S STUDIES

The first Canadian conference on Women's Studies and women in the university was held in Montreal May 31, 1972.

R E A D I N G

Munro, Alice. Lives of girls and women. Toronto, McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1971.

Alice Munro sensitively and poetically portrays the life of a young girl growing up in Western Ontario in the 1940's. Each character is captured perfectly so that instead of the usual stock stereotypes, we see individuals honestly portrayed. Each nuance of language and scenery is depicted so that one can actually be a part of the life of this small Ontario town. The options left open for women are small but each is explored completely and beautifully. This is by far one of the best Canadian books about women and can be favorably compared to Sylvia Plath's The Bell Jar and Marie-Claire Blais's Manuscripts of Marie Archange.

Lessing, Doris. Briefing for a descent into hell. New York, Knopf, 1971.

In her latest book, Doris Lessing comes near to creating a new form in writing, as she did in her earlier The Golden Notebook. With a

Laingian distrust of psychiatry, she deals with a patient in a mental hospital (male). The first half of the book records the voyage his mind takes during part of his stay in a mental hospital, while the second half includes the interchange between the patient, the hospital staff and his wife and letters from friends and colleagues as well as his memories artfully intertwined. His journey leads him to shock treatments in which he loses the thread of the self he was searching for. A devastating book with Doris Lessing's rewarding insights into women, the institution of marriage and our patriarchal society.

Woolf, Virginia. Three Guineas. London, Hogarth Press, 1938.

Virginia Woolf considered this book and The Years (Penguin Classic paperback) to be in reality one book, with Three Guineas being the feminist polemic and The Years a fictional rendition of the lives of women in England 1890-1938. Three Guineas is a perfect blending of feminism and pacifism and carries on the position begun in A room of one's own. The coins are symbolic of economic independence for women and she carefully and at times satirically answers letters asking for money and her opinion on how to bring peace to the world. She patiently points out that women can have no influence over war and peace until they have voice in government and they can have no voice in government until they have economic independence. To gain economic independence, they must have professions but to have professions, they must have education and there is discrimination against women in education just as there is in employment and politics. She traces these discriminations back to the family and patriarchy. No words can do justice to Virginia Woolf's brilliance in expressing her thoughts. She, like Sylvia Plath, took her own life soon after writing this book.

new books from the feminist press

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON by Mary Ann B. Oakley
 "Thorough, accurate, witty, and eminently readable ... A necessity for anyone interested in women's history." \$1.50 --Robin Morgan

ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING by Mary Jane Lupton
 "... must reading for a wide audience, including any high school program enlightened enough to be engaged in the task of laying to rest the myths about women which abound in our society." \$1.50 --Baltimore SUN

THE DRAGON AND THE DOCTOR by Barbara Danish
 "Children will enjoy the story. The dragon is a pale-green animal with a sore tail ("Ow! Berrkshmert!") who goes to the doctor—a woman. There is a happy ending." \$1.00 --Guardian

CHALLENGE TO BECOME A DOCTOR: The Story of Elizabeth Blackwell, by Leah Heyn, with illustrations by Greta Handschuh \$1.50
 "An adventure story which is more adventurous because the protagonist is a woman struggling against tradition and society ... For either older children or adults."
 --COLLEGIAN REPORTER (Sioux City, Ia.)

Available soon ...
FIREGIRL by Gibson Rich \$1.95
CONSTANCE DE MARKIEVICZ
 by Jacqueline Van Voris \$1.50

For copies write to THE FEMINIST PRESS, 1090 Battersea Lane, Columbia, Md. 1044. (Or urge your bookstore to order lots.)

The following letter appeared in The Globe & Mail 'Letters to the editor' on May 25, 1972.

There has been much press coverage given of late to the winner of the Kentucky Derby, Riva Ridge, and to his "lovely" and "attractive" owner, Mrs. John Tweedy.

The latter seems to be a very liberated woman; she runs the stables herself and appears to be very much in charge.

And yet, for one very conspicuous reason, I feel a little sorry for her. It must be quite difficult for such an attractive woman to go through life with the name John. Could it be that her father wanted a son? Or perhaps the members of the press have not wakened up to the fact that women of today, even when they are married, are allowed to retain their first names.

I'm sure that with a little research on his part, Dick Beddoes would discover that she does indeed have one of her own.

*Brenda Costello,
Islington.*

SEND US YOUR WRITINGS, IDEAS, COMMENTS.

The New Feminist is on film at the International Women's Historical Archives, 2325 Oak Street, Berkeley, California 94708.

Copies available at: Bell & Howell
Drawer "E"
Wooster, Ohio 44691