

The Critical Influence of the Prospective Father on Abortion- Decision Making

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CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT from most discussions of the abortion issue are considerations of third party interests, especially those of the father. A survey of the literature reveals an implicit assumption by most writers that the issue is to be viewed as a two-party conflict—the rights of the fetus versus the rights of the mother—and that an adequate analysis of the balance of these rights is sufficient to determine the conditions under which abortion is considered to be morally permissible.ⁱ The United States Supreme Court has held that even a husband has no legal right to be notified prior to his wife obtaining an abortion.ⁱⁱ

Despite the fact that the prospective father may be lacking in legal rights, he is nevertheless very likely to be an important part of the decision for abortion or childbirth. For example, several studies have found that the attitude of the prospective father is an important factor in the stress, anxiety, or depression of the pregnant woman. One U.S. study found that the two most stressful conditions for pregnancy were situations in which (1) the woman is pregnant out of wedlock and receives no help from the father of the baby and (2) the husband doesn't want the baby she is carrying.ⁱⁱⁱ Another American study found that the most consistent predictor of anxiety throughout the pregnancy was the need for emotional support and the degree of satisfaction of her relationship with her partner.^{iv} Studies in Nigeria,^v Japan,^{vi} and England^{vii} reached similar conclusions.

Anthropologist George Devereux, in his study of abortion in 400 pre-industrial societies, concluded that female attitudes toward maternity appear to be largely determined by the masculine attitude toward paternity even where children are

ardently desired and fertile women are much esteemed. He concluded that this was true even when women abort of their own free will, including instances where they abort from spite, or as a result of a domestic quarrel, for they do so under the impact of a genuine or expected masculine attitude.^{viii} The importance of the male attitude in pregnancy outcome is not limited to pre-industrial societies. Teri Reisser, an experienced women's post-abortion counselor in Southern California, has stated, "It has been my experience in post-abortion counseling that most women desperately needed their partner to demonstrate a reassuring attitude that everything would work out, that the destruction of a baby that was the product of their love-making was out of the question, [and] that he would protect and care for her and the child."^{ix}

For many women, abortion appears to be a pressured pragmatic response to a pregnancy rather than an affirmative action in her life which is consistent with her highest and best aspirations. This appeared to be the case in interviews of 1900 women in a 1987 study conducted by the Alan Guttmacher Institute at U.S. abortion facilities. When women were asked why they were having abortions, 23% said their husband or partner wanted her to have an abortion, 68% said they could not afford a baby now, and 51% said they had problems with a relationship or wanted to avoid single parenthood.^x Among the 790 women who stated they had relationship problems or wanted to avoid single parenthood, 25% indicated they were not in any relationship with their partner. This could include pregnancy resulting from casual or unwelcome sex or from relationships that broke up prior to the abortion. Some 29% of the women said that they were aborting because the partner did not want or was not able to marry. Included among these women are those who may have become pregnant to test the quality of the relationship and then had an abortion if the male failed to commit himself to the relationship. It would also likely include women who became pregnant from extra-marital affairs. Another 32% gave as a reason for abortion that "the couple may break up soon." This likely indicates that the

abortion was a consequence of a conflicted or strained relationship.

In comparison to other types of relationships, a married couple is much less likely to seek abortion if the wife becomes pregnant. An Alan Guttmacher Institute survey of 9985 women who obtained induced abortions in the U.S. in 1994-95 found that women who were living with a partner to whom they were not married accounted for 20.2% of the women obtaining abortions but only about 5.8 % of the women of reproductive age in the general population. In contrast, married women only accounted for 18.4% of the induced abortions but 49.9% of the women of reproductive age in the general population. Never married women accounted for 64.4% of the abortions but were only 37.5% of the women of reproductive age in the general population.^{xi}

Similar findings have been made among Latin American and African women. A 1983-84 study of Bolivian women with induced abortions found that the abortions were much more likely to come from single women who were never in union (46.3%) or women who were divorced, separated, or widowed (54.8%), compared to women in consensual union (23.6%) or married women (18.0%).^{xii} An African study among 1077 women admitted to various hospitals for incomplete abortions in Kenya during 1988-89 found that the women who had induced abortions were much more likely to have been impregnated by a boyfriend and much less likely to have been impregnated by a husband.^{xiii}

The mental and emotional state between women at the time they undergo abortions compared to women at the time of childbirth can be widely different. Many women who have had abortions perceived that they were all alone at the time when they had the abortion.^{xiv} In contrast, women in a stable marriage may make a “gift” of the baby to her husband which satisfies her sense of femininity and her husband’s sense of masculinity. Once this is accomplished, it has been observed that strong reassurance to the self occurred, producing a profound sense of security in the woman.^{xv}

Studies in several Latin American countries have also found

that the partner's ability to provide emotional and financial support are important factors in determining whether or not the pregnant woman has an abortion or carries to term. In a 1974-75 study of Columbian women, if the male partner advised an abortion, the woman took steps to obtain an abortion in 70% of the cases.^{xvi} In a 1988 Chilean study, 48% of the women who obtained abortions reported that they had relationship problems or could not afford a baby.^{xvii} In a study of Mexican women who had abortions in 1980-88, 33% said they were pressured into the abortion by their partner, 21% of the women said they did not wish to marry the partner, and 18% cited economic reasons for having an abortion.^{xviii} Brazilian women seeking abortion by use of misoprostol also appeared to do so primarily for socioeconomic reasons, including no stable partner and lack of income.^{xix} Other studies among such diverse populations as unmarried African-American women in the inner-city^{xx} or married Filipino women^{xxi} have been found to be influenced for childbirth or abortion based on the economic status of the prospective father.

Research has identified some of the specific reasons for abortion in the context of the partner-relationship. These include a threat to abandon the woman if she gives birth, that the partner or the woman herself refuses to marry in order to legitimate the birth, that a break-up is imminent for reasons other than the pregnancy, that the pregnancy resulted from an extra-martial affair, that the husband or partner mistreated the woman because of her pregnancy, or that the husband or partner simply does not want the child. Sometimes women combined these reasons with not being able to afford a baby, suggesting the importance of a partner who can offer both emotional and financial support.^{xxii}

Various Swedish studies have also confirmed the important role of the male. In one study of 120 unmarried Swedish women, all of whom had induced abortions, it appeared that many of the women who had abortions actually desired childbirth. In this study, 80% of the women who had abortions said they wanted children in the future. Two-thirds of those who said they wanted children in the future could accept a child with the same man who fathered

the aborted child. Some 68% of the women were nulliparous. Many of the women said they decided more or less on their own to have the abortion. Men's reactions to the pregnancy were, "I support whatever you decide" or "It's your problem."^{xxiii} Thus, the lack of commitment on the part of the male appeared to be a major reason for the abortions. In another study of Swedish women, some of whom were applying for abortion while others were carrying to term, the women were asked what were the main motives for choosing an abortion. Some 53% said because of the relationship to the partner, 26% said an unstable life-situation for having a child, and only 15% said that they did not want more children. The women carrying to term were much more likely to be married or in a stable, established, long-lasting relationship with a perceived better economic situation compared to women applying for abortions.^{xxiv} A more recent Swedish study of 75 male partners of women who obtained abortions found that the most common reaction of males upon first becoming aware of their partners' pregnancy was that it was unrealistic and that they appeared to view abortion as an acceptable form of birth control. Although many men were ambivalent, only one wanted his partner to carry the pregnancy to term.^{xxv}

Further evidence of influence is found in a study of 71 post-abortion women recruited from urban undergraduate colleges in the New York city area. The study found that women would often initially deny that their partners were influential in the decision. However, during the course of the interview, women would describe how they would evaluate the quality of the relationship or the partner's attitude toward the pregnancy. They would further describe how this evaluation was used in their decision to abort. It became evident that the partners were either directly or indirectly influential in the decision-making process.^{xxvi} A recent study among Vietnamese couples found that both husbands and wives considered the husband to be the main decision-maker regarding family-size, including the decision whether or not to have an abortion.^{xxvii} A German study found that an important factor in pregnancy decision-making was the general commitment of the

involved man toward a relationship.^{xxviii}

VARIOUS SPECIFIC WAYS IN WHICH
THE MALE INFLUENCES A DECISION FOR ABORTION

One of the reasons for males urging abortion on women may be that the male has difficulty in seeing himself as a father. In a study of 55 expectant fathers by the U.S. Air Force, it was found that men with a previous history of impulsive or schizoid behavior often rejected the expected baby. Expectant fathers without identified psychiatric problems had a superior adaptation to fatherhood and had a "benign kind of identification with their pregnant wife or with the expected baby." However, those with psychiatric problems were unable to form a helpful or stable identification as a "good father or husband."^{xxix}

Sometimes males influence a decision for abortion by being more dysfunctional compared to childbearing fathers. A Hong Kong study compared husbands of women who were applying for abortion with husbands of women who had completed their pregnancies. Significantly more abortion-husbands compared to childbirth-husbands reported poor relationships with either or both parents, a more unhappy childhood, more psychiatric illness in their families, and a higher incidence of alcoholism, drug dependency, neurosis, and compulsive gambling. Some 45% of the abortion-fathers compared to only 12% of the childbirth-husbands considered themselves as having financial, job, or relational problems.^{xxx}

It is not necessary for a prospective father to have a psychiatric or mental illness in order to adversely influence the outcome of a pregnancy. An Australian psychiatrist has found that the unborn child is a potential recipient *par excellence* for projection and displacement. He developed a list of several risk factors for fetal abuse based on attitudes and personality characteristics of the pregnant woman as well as prospective fathers toward the child in the womb.^{xxxi} These risk factors also can be applied to fetal destruction as well, including the increased

likelihood of abortion. Several identified risk factors specifically include the male partner. These include: low attachment to fetus; denial of pregnancy; passivity by both partners; psychological problems of pregnancy not being tackled or being overwhelmed by them; perception of the fetus as a threat by spouse or partner; marital dysfunction; or adopting an attitude of being only interested in the fetus rather than the mother.

OVERWHELMED BY PREGNANCY

If men are psychologically overwhelmed by the pregnancy of their partners, this may result in excessive daydreaming, heavy drinking, forgetting related events, doing things to avoid confrontation with the pregnancy, and having trouble making even the simplest of decisions regarding the pregnancy. These are all ways of fleeing from situations that create anxiety.^{xxxii}

When 25 year old Becky told her boyfriend she was pregnant, he panicked. “He just didn’t know what to do. He didn’t know how to react. He would hike in the hills all by himself.” Becky saw that she had to fend for herself and had an abortion.^{xxxiii}

Riana (27) faced a similar situation with her boyfriend. She said, “The whole thing was freaking him out far more than me. He waffled between extremes, from frightened but solid support, to getting drunk and high to try to make it go away.” Riana obtained an abortion and the relationship broke up.^{xxxiv}

Joan is in her early twenties and has one child from a relationship a few years ago. When she got pregnant by a new boyfriend, she was devastated by the idea of having two illegitimate children, but would have seriously considered another child if the father was in favor, and she wanted to build on the relationship. Joan said, “He has always said he doesn’t want children. He has a very low opinion of himself and is convinced that any child he has will be as ‘bad’ as he is. He just went into a black depression when I told him, and wouldn’t discuss it.” Joan had an abortion.^{xxxv}

CHILD UNWANTED BY MALE

“I was surprised [to find out that my girlfriend was pregnant], for sure, but

in my mind there was never any question of what she'd do. My response was automatic.... She wanted the kid, but it seemed totally unreasonable to me. There is no way I could handle a kid right now." (A 31-year-old garage mechanic who is now impotent three months after his girlfriend's abortion.)^{xxxvi}

I was working as a bartender at a local pub when I met Jim. He managed a local band and was very handsome, intelligent, and determined. One night he showed up at my apartment, claiming he and his wife were through. Our love affair began, and he was helping me raise my two children. Once I found out I was pregnant, all of the band members were very excited for us, except Jim. He did not say anything about it for a week, but when I pressed him, he stated that he did not want me to have the baby, and that if I did he would leave me. So weighing the costs, and very much wanting to please him, plus being fearful of his leaving me... I had an abortion.^{xxxvii}

These are not isolated situations. In a study of Hong Kong fathers whose wives had abortions, 44% of these fathers instigated the decision for abortion. In 20% of those cases, the mothers wanted to bear the child.^{xxxviii} In a survey of 252 U.S. women who were members of Women Exploited By Abortion (WEBA), one-half of the women said they were encouraged to have an abortion by a husband or boyfriend; others had also encouraged abortion in many instances. The vast majority (84%) stated that the outcome would have been different if they had been encouraged differently.

Two out of three said their life was out of control at the time of their decisions.^{xxxix}

UNBORN CHILD AS A THREAT

There are men who struggle, and perhaps never manage, to accept the pregnancy.^{xl} This was the situation with the father in the case next described. It appears to have occurred because he believed that the unborn child was a threat:

May was not particularly happily married with two daughters, and lived in a small house in the suburbs. She worked part-time to supplement her husband's small income. At the time she became pregnant, he was investing the little money they had in a business venture (which later

failed). May said: "My husband was furious and would not even talk about the idea of another baby. I pleaded with him that if I could have the child then I would be sterilized. I had never imagined having an abortion... but I knew there was no other alternative because I knew my husband meant it when he said that he would leave me if I didn't get rid of the baby. I couldn't face the idea of being alone, in poverty, trying to bring up three children."^{xli}

RELATIONSHIP CONFLICTS

Conflict in the relationship, which may involve third parties, is a risk-factor for abortion if the woman becomes pregnant, as the following situations illustrate:

"We don't know if I am the father of the child. She told me that if she knew for sure I was the father, she wouldn't want to have the abortion. I blame her and she blames me. She says that if I hadn't yelled at her and given her a hard time that night, then she wouldn't have gone out with another guy in the first place.... We have lived together for two years, off and on.. I will have a boy someday. I know his name." Later his girlfriend found out he was the father, but had the abortion anyway.^{xlii}

Sally had been involved with her partner for only six months and they conceived while using the rhythm method. Her partner was very distressed because he had impregnated his previous partner, who claimed to have been using contraception. She gave birth around the time that Sally had conceived. Sally said: "My partner was totally traumatized and rushed out to obtain a vasectomy." Sally had an abortion.^{xliii}

HOSTILITY/RESENTMENT

Men may have their own needs that are being neglected during the pregnancy. Invariably they feel resentment and anger, and these feelings find expression. Perhaps a man will subtly remind his wife of her vulnerabilities or withhold affection.^{xliiv} In the following case, the boyfriend contributed to the abortion decision by teasing his pregnant girlfriend at her point of vulnerability:

Ricki (20) was pregnant and preoccupied with her body shape. She recalled, "As soon as I found out, I always had this fascination with the

mirror and thought one day I was going to wake up and I'd be showing. I was like, Oh no. People are going to know." She stared into her full-length mirror and thought, "Damn, I'm getting fat." Ricki was slender and small-boned and figured she couldn't possibly be showing. Her boyfriend, however, egged on her "paranoia about showing" and would rub her abdomen and say, "Oh, you are going to start showing in a minute." With new doubts, Ricki returned to the mirror. Ricki had her abortion when she was about three and a half months along. Just about the time when she would start to show.^{xlv}

Sometimes the hostility of the male toward the unborn child will take the form of an obsession which may result in abortion. Simone (39) found herself pregnant, but recently had had a baby with her husband Vic some 17 months before. Both were in the middle of career changes and had planned to conceive in the next year once their lives had stabilized. Simone was ambivalent and relied heavily on her husband. Vic told her, "I am willing to be convinced by you and I am willing to go through it all" if she felt it was essential to give birth. Vic cautioned, however, that he saw "the future of this child as bleakness and darkness." Simone thought, "I just cannot do it alone" and so she reluctantly had an abortion. Later they began to fight about it. Each blamed the other for the decision.^{xlvi}

It is also possible that the unborn child may be seen as a rival by the prospective father and thus become a target for unconscious aggressive feelings. This was observed in a study of 60 battered women at the University of North Carolina School of Medicine. The women involved frequently reported changes in the pattern of family violence during pregnancy. There was increasing abuse for some, with the pregnant abdomen replacing face and breasts as the target for battering, which resulted in abortions or premature births.^{xlvii}

One reason for this resentment or hostility is that a pregnant woman may become more inward-looking and as a result may withdraw some of the affection she previously expressed to her husband or partner. In addition, there are some husbands or partners who are so immature, narcissistic, and demanding of attention that they tend to regard their offspring, even before birth, as rivals for their wives' or girlfriends' attention. This attention was demanded of their mothers and after marriage was

demanded from their wives. In other words, the male continued to want another mother, not a wife.^{xlviii}

MARITAL DYSFUNCTION

An example of marital dysfunction as a risk-factor for abortion can be found in pregnancy resulting from an extra-marital affair:

Elissa, 24, a Caucasian, met Miguel 9 months ago when she began to work at her father's company. Miguel, a Spanish American, drove a company truck. Elissa's father forbade her to date anyone in the company, but Elissa and Miguel developed a "passion" so strong they became involved anyway. Miguel lived with a woman and was married to a third woman. Miguel and Elissa met once a week and after two months, Elissa believed she had conceived. She said, "The idea of carrying his baby seemed absolutely wonderful." They planned to go together to a clinic for a pregnancy test, but Miguel didn't show. Elissa was furious. Miguel said he wanted her to have the baby, but Elissa, feeling violated, very lonely, and crying at the clinic, had an abortion.^{xlix}

DENIAL

One way that a man may attempt to deny a pregnancy is to attempt to trivialize it. This occurred in the following situation:

When Charles found out his girlfriend Suzy was pregnant he made a joke about it by buying a little bean-bag frog and put a sign on it saying: "It's not my fault, I'm only a frog." Suzy left it up to Charles to make the arrangements for the abortion. Charles said, "At the time of the abortion I felt immensely sad. I felt I'd been shouldering an enormous burden. I'd made all the arrangements and worked everything out. Suzy just wanted to wake up and find it over, which was exactly what she did. Later we decided it was much more of a moral dilemma than we had realized."

Another way a man can deny or trivialize a pregnancy is by failure to acknowledge that there is human life present in the womb. Consider the following example:

Leo said Liane must have an abortion when he found out she was pregnant. Liane said "No, I'm carrying your child." Leo said, "Not a child, a blob of tissue" and said his family would be disgraced unless she had

an abortion. Liane reluctantly had an abortion and their relationship was badly damaged as a result. Although they later married, it ultimately ended in a divorce.ⁱ

Based upon the few available studies, many men whose wives or girlfriends have abortions believe that a human life is not destroyed when an abortion occurs. One American study of male partners who accompanied women when they obtained abortions found that only one-third believed that life began at conception or within the first 12 weeks after conception, the period when most abortions take place.ⁱⁱ A larger U.S. study found that 39% of the male partners thought the fetus was a person and 26% felt abortion was the killing of a child.ⁱⁱⁱ

PASSIVITY OR “NEUTRALITY”

There are some passive men who do not say anything or do not reveal their own attitudes when their wife or partner becomes pregnant. This may be because they believe that the decision on childbirth or abortion is solely that of the woman. But by relying on the legal status of abortion as the basis for the content of the communication with their partner, they may mistakenly convey an attitude of indifference or even abandonment to the pregnant partner. They will thus increase the likelihood of abortion:

Wanda (23) had her first abortion at age 19, mainly because her boyfriend at the time abandoned her. Later, she became pregnant again by Colin, her live-in boyfriend. She felt terrified. “He’s going to walk. I really love this person and I’ve been so happy with him. I’m pregnant and now he’s going to leave.” Wanda told Colin she was pregnant and he responded, “Whatever you want to do, I’ll be there.” Colin kept his word. They talked over the situation at length and Wanda decided to have an abortion. However, Colin never told Wanda that a part of him was thrilled about the pregnancy because he did not want to influence her in any way. After the abortion Wanda developed various psychological problems, and it became clear that Wanda and Colin had different perspectives about the abortion. The relationship languished and may end soon.^{liii}

A 20-year-old man in the waiting-room of an abortion clinic whose

girlfriend got pregnant the second time they had sex said: "It was real important to me for her not to have the abortion, but I didn't let on. I didn't want her to feel she was hurting me. I'm fairly religious, a Catholic. I'm totally against abortion. But it was what she wanted to do. And she's got to have the say, doesn't she?"^{iv}

A large study interviewed 1000 males who accompanied their partners to various U.S. abortion facilities in 1981. In this study, 45% of the men interviewed recalled urging abortion, while only 10% recalled urging adoption, and 17% had recommended childbirth, which the men said they would support financially and emotionally. Thus, the urging of abortion was the predominant reaction of the males to their partners' pregnancy. But perhaps more significantly, 83% of the men favored legal abortion, while only 9% favored a law to outlaw abortion.^{iv} In another U.S. study of 60 males who accompanied their partners to a Connecticut abortion facility in the early 1980s, only 12% were opposed to abortion.^{vi} The attitude of certain males about conforming to the legality of abortion may also convey to the female a perceived attitude of indifference or abandonment by the male. This can occur because the woman might fear that her partner will reject both her and the baby, though the degree to which her own fears are real or fantasy may depend on her own ability to accept the pregnancy. In other words, she is likely to project some of her own feelings of ambivalence onto her male partner.^{lvii}

EROTIC ANTI-CHILD ATTITUDES

Abortion serves well the erotically compulsive male or one with such tendencies who strives to maintain his self-esteem and to gratify narcissistic needs through sexual achievements. Typically, this Don Juan male is minimally involved in the personality of his partner since his capacity to love is sharply limited. His sexual activity is invested in countering feelings of inferiority by proving an erotic success. After such a conquest, he loses interest in the chosen woman and reacts with hostility towards her after the successful conquest. Abortion is a handy passport for such adventure.^{lviii} Consider the following two examples of erotic, anti-

child males who were involved in multiple abortions.

Three years ago, Ralph, now 26, had a bad year during which he was responsible for three unwanted pregnancies with three different women. None of the women were important to him, and neither were any of the abortions. Rather than drawing him closer to any of the women, the abortions made him dislike them as they became emotional and dependent upon him. Ralph likes "super-women" and dislikes children, and at this point in his life has no intention of marrying and settling down. He thinks he is lucky to have been involved in only three abortions, given his free-wheeling life style in New York, where he is in public relations.^{lix}

At age 51, Fritz is a successful insurance agent. He estimates he has been responsible for at least nine abortions. Each of his two wives had three abortions and various other casual encounters led to other abortions. He was not upset by any of them, nor did he feel much emotional responsibility, as he believes that birth control is in the woman's province. He provided some insight into his life. "My father was a frightfully irresponsible ne'er do well who saw me around five times in my life. He deserted my mother when I was three, and the only memory I have of him is being terrified of his booming voice. I rarely saw my mother either and can only remember her kissing me good night. I lived with my nanny while my mother was being supported by her various boyfriends. I was sent away to boarding school at age six and always had a terrible feeling of rejection. My mother subsequently remarried and became a drunk. What terrified me about having children was that it entailed for me a commitment not to reject them. And I still craved attention for myself.... If I did knock up another girl, I'd certainly go through with another abortion. It doesn't bother me at all. It's much easier to have an abortion than to have a child."^{lix}

Although the outward response of the male may strongly influence the decision for abortion, many males whose wives or girlfriends have abortions have considerable ambivalence toward abortion, and some are strongly opposed. A 1989 *Los Angeles Times* nationwide poll found that about two-thirds of U.S. males expressed guilt over their involvement in abortion.^{lxi} This would offer some hope insofar as the expression of guilt would indicate that many males believed that they had not lived up to their ideals.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The various types of males involved in pregnancies frequently resulting in abortion include those with relational conflicts often involving third parties; male hostility or resentment of the unborn child, or seeing the child as a threat; confusion about or being overwhelmed by the pregnancy; attempting to deny or trivialize the pregnancy; timidity or passivity or attempting to remain “neutral”; or erotic, immature, anti-child males.

What will increase the possibilities for childbirth? The available evidence indicates that the more the male is committed to the female, especially in marriage, the less likely that an abortion will take place if pregnancy occurs. On the other hand, if the female perceives that she is all alone without an adequate sense of security and well-being because the male is not providing both economic and emotional support for childbirth, she is at increased risk for abortion.

NOTES

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 - v. O. A. Abiodun *et al.*, “Psychiatric Morbidity in a Pregnant Population in Nigeria” in *General Hospital Psychiatry* 15 (1993) 125. Anxiety and depression were found in pregnant Nigerian women whose husbands were unsupportive.

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- xvi. Carole Browner, "Abortion Decision-Making: Some Findings from Columbia" in *Studies in Family Planning* 10/3 (March 1979) 96.

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- xvii. Monica Weisner, "Induced Abortion in Chile, with references to Latin America and Caribbean countries," a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Toronto, Canada, May 3-5, 1990 as cited in A. Bankole, "Reasons Why Women Have Abortions: Evidence from 27 Countries" in *International Family Planning Perspectives* 24/3 (1998) 117.
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