

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA**

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES
STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**The Abortion Rights Controversy between
Liberalism and Conservatism in the United
States of America**

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master
Degree**

By: CHENNI Halima

And

GUADI Samiya

Academic Year:2016 /2017

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Abstract

The history of abortion in the United States of America is portrayed as controversial topic, and over the years many different attitudes have been taken around it with religious, moral, political, and cultural dimensions. The present work is an attempt to give an overview and history of abortion in the United States of America and to uncover the multi- voices attitudes that shaped the abortion rights controversy between pro-life and pro-choice positions. In addition to that, the objective of the current study is to provide a detailed investigation about the issue of abortion. To investigate our topic, we chose the psychoanalytical, feminist approaches, and descriptive method. Through our research, we came to the following conclusion that abortion is still a continuous controversial topic.

Key words: Abortion, pro-life, pro-choice, psychoanalytical, and feminist.

ملخص

إن تاريخ وصف الإجهاض على انه موضوع جدلي في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وعلى مر السنين تم تشكيل العديد من المواقف المختلفة حوله وذلك تبعاً للأبعاد الدينية، الأخلاقية، السياسية والثقافية. هذا العمل هو محاولة لإعطاء لمحة عامة عن الإجهاض وتاريخه في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وكشف المواقف متعددة الأصوات التي شكلت الجدل حول حقوق الإجهاض بين المواقف المؤيدة للحياة والمواقف المؤيدة للاختيار. إضافة لذلك الهدف من تحقيق مفصل حول مسألة الإجهاض. اخترنا منهج التحليل النفسي ومنهج المؤمن بمساواة الدراسة الحالية هو تقديم الجنسين والطريقة الوصفية التحري موضوعنا. من خلال بحثنا وصلنا إلى النتيجة التالية حيث أن الإجهاض لازال موضوع جدلي ومستمر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإجهاض، المؤيدة للحياة، المؤيدة للاختيار، التحليل النفسي، المؤمن بمساواة الجنسين.

DECLARATION

We, GUADI Samiya and CHENNI Halima, know and accept that plagiarism is wrong.

Consequently, we declare that this dissertation is our own work.

We have correctly acknowledged all direct quotations and paraphrased ideas/content.

In addition, we have provided a complete alphabetized reference list, as required by the MLA method of referencing.

We understand that the University of Mohamed Boudiaf in Msila may take disciplinary action against us if there is a belief that this is not our own unaided work, or that we failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in our writing.

Furthermore, this dissertation has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other university.

April 2017

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All Praise is to Allah, the most graceful and most compassionate the Almighty, who gave us strength and good health for accomplishing this work.

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Thank you All

Dedication

This work lovingly is dedicated to the arms that taught me to fight; to the hearts that taught me to love; to the minds that taught me to dream and the lips that taught me to keep moving; to my beloved parents. Special thanks for my husband and my whole family especially for my brother and sisters for their endless support.

Warmest thanks to my friends and my loved ones, thank you as well as to all classmates of the 2nd year Master and everyone who supported and helped me. Also a special thanks to my partner of this dissertation *Miss GUADI Samiya* who worked with me hand in hand to accomplish this work.

CHENNI Halima

Dedication

Thanks to Allah the most passion and compassionate.

I extend heartfelt thanks to my family. Special thanks go to my parents: to my father who taught me to look up, and my mother who taught me to never give up. They are the role models of my life for their endless support and prayers. Last but also first are my sisters and my brothers. They pushed me to persist when I had given up.

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GUADI Samiya

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List of Abbreviations

AMA: American Medical Association (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary).

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary).

CDC: Center for Disease Control and Prevention (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary).

CVS: Cyclic Vomiting Syndrome (www.acronymfinder.com/ CVS.html).

GOP: Grand Old Party (the Republican political party in the U.S.A) (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary).

STD: Sexual Transmitted Disease (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary).

SPUC: Pro-life Society for Protection of Unborn Children (<https://www.spuc.org.uk>).

MDA: Methylenedioxyamphetamine (<http://psychonautwiki.org/wiki/MDA>).

U.S.: a large country in N America consisting of 50 states and the District of Columbia (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary).

General Introduction

Modern societies have faced many difficult and controversial subjects. There is no topic as debatable, emotional, and painful in the United States of America (USA) as Abortion. Abortion is a widely practiced method of fertility control. It continues to occur today in developing areas under medically primitive conditions. However, modern technology and social change have made abortion a part of modern health care. At the same time, abortion has become a political issue in some societies and flash point for disagreement about the role of women and individual autonomy in life decisions.

In fact, the topic of abortion is a contentious one in USA with two clear parties existing with opposing views: the Liberalism party and the Conservatism party. It seems that everyone has an opinion on abortion and expressing these opinions is likely to start a lively impassionate debate. The basic foundation of American democracy is the freedom of expression. The opposing viewpoints series is dedicated to the concept of freedom and the idea that is more important to practice it then enshrine it. In many cases, abortion has entered the cultural realm of religion and politics. Abortion is an ongoing topic having no ground of agreement among two polar aspects. It is life or death matter having equal supporters on both sides. Yet, these supporters have one goal in common: decreasing the number of abortions and making abortion safer.

Moreover, many countries around the world have made efforts to legalize abortion but states in U.S.A have restricted the procedure to make it increasingly unattainable within their borders. Abortion opponents have shifted protests away from abortion clinics, and have successfully focused on changing state legislation to limit access to the procedure at a state-wide level .Unlike other social-political issues abortion is a divisive topic. Since the 1973 national legalization of abortion, competing groups have fought to either restrict or increase access to the procedure leading to a sensitive issue with political activists, religious organizations, and state legislatures. The Supreme Court's decision in the case of Roe vs. Wade protects woman's decision to terminate her pregnancy (Greenhouse and Siegel XIV).

Abortion has been a source of intense dispute for generations, the issue of abortion has continued to shape American politics and cut party lines. Until recently, many researchers have shown their interest to the controversial issue of abortion which is up to date topic, and it has ongoing impact on USA history and the entire world. Increased

efforts need to be directed toward identification of the clash between the Conservative party and the Liberal one which is the subject of this study. Moreover, due to the significance of this subject, many specialists and educators have been investigating in the domain of abortion. Such researchers have carried out numerous studies for the comprehension of the topic. In an earlier study, a student of master two degree of Arts and Geography in University of Illinois, 2015, writes about this topic from different angle. In his thesis entitled: «Abortion Access in the U.S: Is It a Fading Reality? A Mixed Methods Approach ». Actually, his work serves as a major impetus for this research since he gives a prelude to the subject of abortion.

Connecting with the previous study, Sonaly Regmy, a student of master of Laws Faculty in University of Toronto (Canada, 2001) writes a dissertation entitled: «Unsafe Abortion: Violation of Women's Right to Reproductive and Sexual Health ». She refutes and judges abortion as unsafe solution for women .In addition to that she focuses on women's rights by showing clearly her feminist attachment. Sonaly gives just a small glance about Feminist attitudes towards abortion, and we do not come along rigorous ideas about the multi-voices attitudes towards abortion which lead us to investigate about it. In addition to that, Rudolph Gurtovnik, a student in Boca Raton, Florida University (USA, 2008) focuses on the factors influencing women's decisions to choose abortion in his thesis entitled: «A Study of the Effects of Abortion in the United States: The Reasoning behind Abortions and Improving Access to Care». We do not find an explanation about the debate of abortion. In a later research, Alexa Lutchen, a student of Williams College focuses on the topic of abortion from a medical sphere in her thesis entitled: «The Impact of Abortion Legalization on Adult Mortality in the Next Generation». Furthermore, she discussed the subject from a narrow angle which is social and political dimensions. However, she did not examine the relationship between abortion and the American two parties, and she depended on some mysterious facts and difficult diction. The present study can be considered as a continuation and a deep investigation to the previous ones.

The topic of abortion is unlike any other topic in American politics. People have different views on abortion; those in support of abortion who are conservatists often believe that a fetus is a human being, and she/he has the same individual rights to life as any other human being. Proponents of abortion who are liberalists usually argue that a woman has the right to choose what to do with her body, and nobody has the right to make the choice for her. In addition to the government which is criticized for either

intervening or overlooking in social, moral, religious, and political issues related to abortion decisions.

Any controversial topic has two sides to the story, and the topic of abortion is not different. Many researchers have tackled this topic but we do not find in none of them the apparent explanation of important elements which are the controversy between Liberalism and Conservatism, in addition to Feminist's attitude towards abortion in the United States of America. This will set the cornerstone to reveal the ties between abortion and politics in the United States of America. In summary, there is a need for a better understanding of the clash that lies between Liberalism and Conservatism parties and to explore this problematic subject which has been overlooked.

This work seeks to find answers to some questions that are supposed to cover the topic. The fundamental questions are: What are the causes and the consequences of abortion? And what are the arguments of the two opposing parties on abortion? What are the multi-voices attitudes towards the issue of abortion?

This work shows the importance of the subject of abortion and the different voices towards it. It attracts the attention of a political intelligentsia particularly in the U.S.A. The success of abortion issue is in highlighting the disagreement between Liberalism and Conservatism parties about the legalization of abortion within U.S.A. In order to comprehend the Roe decision and the controversy it engendered, one shall examine first the precedent upon which Roe relied which set forth the privacy right. This research aims to defuse and civilize the heated debate surrounding the new breed of abortion disclosure requirements. Together with feminists, conservatists criticized abortion as a way to dismiss women's groups. Furthermore, this research analyzes the meaning of rights as supported, understood, and felt in the Feminist movement. Given this situation, it is both worth discussing and necessary to examine the way in which Human Rights movement used the concept of right. Moreover, it sheds the light on the victimization of women showing that the female gender is under attack in U.S.A. Additionally, it contributes to enriching the meaning of the concept of abortion in relation to politics through time.

The objective of the current study is to identify and reveal the factors and the consequences related to abortion in U.S.A. It provides a comprehensive review of literature in relation to abortion and politics. The preceding goals need to be achieved. This dissertation aims to describe the transformation of abortion through time, and to give a detailed explanation about the multi-voices attitudes towards abortion. In

addition to that, it is important to reveal the relationship between the issue of abortion and politics, and to understand the impact of the turning point for the debate of abortion; Roe vs. Wade event in 1973.

In an attempt to answer the research questions, there is a need to use psychoanalytical, feminist approaches, and descriptive method. These approaches are chosen to give the reader a general overview about this topic that lead to the controversy between Liberalism and Conservatism. Moreover, it gives a detailed explanation about the multi-voices attitudes towards abortion, and it also reveals the relationship between the issue of abortion and politics. The first approach will be applied to show the trauma that women suffer from after resorting to abortion. However, the second approach will be applied by using feminist theory in order to find out how feminists want equality between genders. The third method provides us with the chronological events of abortion issue, and the gradual progress of its legalization. It sheds the light on some facts that happened during the debate about the subject of abortion especially to understand the impact of the turning point for the debate of abortion.

This dissertation is divided into two chapters. The first chapter is: Abortion, Causes, and Consequences. It provides an overview of abortion and an explanation of its reasons and consequences. While the second chapter, the Multi- Voices Attitudes towards the Issue of Abortion, discusses the opposition about the issue of abortion either politically, religiously, and socially. It describes the development of abortion's legalization. In addition to general introduction that covers the whole research and general conclusion that gives the findings of the discussed topic and provides recommendations for coming works.

In the course of this research, we deal with collecting historical and political realities of abortion controversy between Liberalism and Conservatism. The accomplishment of this research requires the use of different sources. Throughout this research, efforts have been made to rely on several references including: books, articles, websites, dissertations, and dictionaries.

Chapter One: The Causes and the Consequences of Abortion in U.S.A

Introduction

Abortion is one of the most controversial, debatable, and painful subjects in modern society. It is a subject that excites a range of reactions in most men and women: interest, anger, outrage, sense of involvement, and host of ambiguous feelings.

There are three sections in this chapter. The first section dedicates to grasp the meaning of abortion. Coupled with, describing women's vicious experience as well as focusing on the issue of abortion in U.S.A. However, the second section includes the different factors influencing abortion by pointing out to the case of rape, sexual abuse, sex selection, and the effect of technology on abortion. Whereas, the last section covers the consequences of abortion; it sheds the light on the harmful aftermath of abortion.

1. Abortion as a Traumatic Experience: Abortion Dilemma

For several decades, the psychological effects of abortion have been the subject of scientific investigation. Additionally, the importance of abortion for women results from the unpleasant health implications. Furedi states: "Abortion was a word you could not say but it was the experience of many women" (9). Indeed, abortion is socially unacceptable even though it is the expertise of numerous women.

Generally speaking, abortion coincides with many subtleties and complexities for putative women. Its effects are immense and miserable in terms of the emotional and the psychological sides which are always difficult to be estimated.

Fine and Davis clarify some of the different reasons that lead to the negative outcomes of abortion: "The factors that do seem to predict negative psychological outcomes include: certain personality traits including impulsivity, attachment, low self-esteem and dependency, late gestation abortion, prior psychiatric illness" (16). Actually, the reasons behind these negative impacts reflect the weak personalities of women themselves. They are clearly shown in the symptoms that are mentioned earlier.

In Major's view point, the link between abortion and its devastating effects is:

One perspective argues that abortion is a uniquely traumatic experience because it involves a human death experience, specifically, the intentional destruction of one's unborn child and the witnessing of violent death, as well as violation of parental instinct and responsibility, the serving of maternal attachments to the unborn child, and unacknowledged grief (qtd. in Major 11).

Women suffer from the separation of their own children because of death, their psychology will be exhausted. In this way, abortion is seen as trauma due to the resulted number of death.

Gafeke points out to two real stories of women blaming themselves about such harsh deed of abortion:

Haley declared: "I ran out of the clinic and just leaned up against the wall crying my eye out. I couldn't control it. Tears were streaming down my face as I thought," Why the hell am I here? Why do I want to kill my own child? My own flesh and blood!"(11).

Women feel guilty because of intentional extermination. Abortion is also harmful to women because they will suffer psychologically as a result of their decision which may have led to bitterly regretted decision.

In addition, Gafeke illustrates the trauma of women who experience abortion:

I started drinking heavily, smoking pot, taking pills, snorting cocaine, and soon I was sticking needles in my arms doing Demerol, cocaine, MDA, or whatever the crowd was doing. Funny how none of those drugs erased the memory of me killing my child, or the recurrent nightmares of the doctor's hands. No matter how numb I was, I still very deeply, said Tena (qtd.in Gafeke11).

Pain of abortion leads to severe depression, self-destructive whilst sometimes reaches the highest peak of sadness to provoke suicide. Depression, suicidal ideation, illicit drug dependence, and total mental health problems were associated with abortion.

Furthermore, U.S.-based Fortress International made a survey on women rape victims and their psychological destruction after the abortion operation: A survey of hundreds of rape victims by U.S. - based Fortress International discovered that women who aborted their "rape babies" reported more pain, guilt, and anger than women who did not abort (Morse).

Another key point is that abortion recurrent surgery whether in developed or undeveloped countries. Women resort to abortion either by themselves or by the assistance of others. Abortion was performed by traditional methods but due to the effect of technology the circumstances of making abortion get improved (Hern1).

Fisher reports the two factors that affected women's psychology which are:

Theresa Burke, the founder of Rachel's Vineyard, a ministry that helps men and women find healing after abortion, says the lack of support continues after abortion. While nearly 78 percent of post-abortive women report feeling guilty, the therapeutic safety net is non-existent. There is little in the way of acknowledgement, let alone support (101).

As a matter of fact, the idea of abortion trauma has been disputed about. There is a discernible element in the aftermaths of abortion which is the psychological ordeal for women. The psychological effects of abortion can be particularly disastrous, literally crippling a woman's ability to function in normal relationships with family or friends, and even at work. Abortion leads women to adapt very high psychological price to pay. Positive practical assistance is crucial in helping to prevent these painful outcomes.

Williams indicates the mixed thought and the hesitation about the abortion decision:

It said that women and men who have experienced abortion can suffer for years with remorse, depression, anxiety, nightmares and worry about their decision. Many times they think there is something wrong with them, but in reality they are suffering grief from the loss of their child (194-196).

Many women and men experience a period of mourning. Women often feel sad, disappointed, guilty, alone, or have a sense of loss after an abortion. Yet, the abortion experience can also be a time for many women to review their lives, to learn more about themselves. Not only the physical health but also the emotional or psychological health is important as long as abortion is the case of human being's death because melancholic memories of abortion affect on women's mood.

Planned Parenthood provides statistics in the United States of America to compare between maternal mortality either after abortion or after giving birth: "In comparison, the maternal mortality rate in the U.S in 2007 was 12.7 deaths per 100,000 live births a significant difference in maternal mortality rates between deciding to end a pregnancy by abortion or carrying it to term" (3).

As shown above, the psychological effects of abortion show how catastrophic the decision of abortion is. At first, the personality of women plays a major role in the gloomy impacts of abortion. Coupled with, sorrow befalls as a result of losing part from mother's heart beyond the decision of abortion sometimes extends to the death of the mother. Hence, abortion leads to dissolution of women. Besides that abortion induces to death unlike giving birth.

1.1 Definitions of Abortion:

Abortion is an operation that terminates the pregnancy. There are just few medical procedures as divisive and politically charged as abortion. Furthermore, abortion according to *Oxford English Dictionary* has two meanings which are: The deliberate ending of a pregnancy at an early stage in one hand, and it is a medical operation to end pregnancy at early stage in the other hand.

Hern defines abortion as: “the classic definition of abortion is “expulsion of the fetus before it is viable.” This could include spontaneous abortion (miscarriage) or induced abortion, in which someone (a doctor, the woman herself, or a layperson) causes the abortion” (1).

Abortion is the deliberate termination of human pregnancy, the natural expelling of foetus from the womb before birth. If abortion occurs spontaneously, it is called miscarriage; however, if it is brought purposefully, it is often called induced abortion.

Amnesty International supports the meaning of abortion given by International Encyclopedia:

Abortion: The termination of pregnancy from whatever cause before the foetus is capable of extra-uterine life. Induced abortion is defined as “the intentional termination of pregnancy prior to foetus reaching the state of viability by mechanical (surgical) means or by drugs.” Spontaneous abortion is an abortion that was not artificially induced (and is commonly referred to as ‘miscarriage’) (37).

Literally speaking, the term originates from “the German text is *Ab-ort*. Ort means place, and *Ab-ort* would literally translate as” a place to be avoided “. Many Austrian dialects use the word *Abort* to indicate “the toilet” ” (Zoja6). Moreover, Ronco provides another meaning for abortion: “The word abortion originates from the Latin word, *aboriri* which means the failure to be born ”(qtd. in Ronco16).

As can be seen, defining abortion in this way is too broad due to the variant view points. This latter gives more clarification for the concept of abortion and its origin.

1.2. The Issue of Abortion in U.S.A

Abortion is one of the most common surgical procedures in the United States of America. The extent to which abortion has harmful consequences for health remains controversial. At the beginning, abortion is seen as a safe way to terminate pregnancy; however, this idea has been converted owing to the risks that can occur after abortion.

Hern shows the contradiction about the risks of pregnancy and abortion:

In the United States, Canada, and Western Europe, abortion has become not only the most common but also one of the safest operations being performed. This was not always the case. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, abortion was quite dangerous, and many women died as a result. Pregnancy itself is not a harmless condition; women can die during pregnancy (4).

It is worth noting that much of the debate has focused on the linkages between unwanted pregnancy, abortion, and women’s health. Correspondingly, abortion may lead to health effects including feeling of guilt, low-self esteem, and neurotic.

“According to a study conducted in New Zealand, women who induced abortion experienced high rates of depression, anxiety and suicidal thoughts” (Domingos903).

Finer lists the circumstances, reasons, and women who are allowed to have abortion:

The issue of abortion in U.S.A. paves the way to the debate by disaccording chiefly in three points: firstly, the most important difference is in terms of putative women. Secondly, the conditions that contribute to abortion. Thirdly, reasons that fall behind abortion’s decision(110).

Fisher links abortion to death in the United States of America: “It is the leading cause of death (heart disease kills 600,000 annually while 1.2 million pre-born children die each year from abortion).Over 55 million Americans have lost their lives to abortion since 1973” (18).Women who have abortion are more likely to get heart disease since the landmark 1973 in which the number of mortality raised for both mother and child.

It is important to know that abortion and its effects on politics are not debatable only in the U.S.A. but in other countries:

Abortion is not just a problem for the United States and its political institutions. Many countries are facing a similar set of questions surrounding abortion policy [...] How political institutions in such diverse countries as China, Ireland, Mexico ‘and others handle abortion-related issues is a story yet to be told, but some of the issues raised here are being heard in other countries (Ainsworth- Hall 204).

Kaczor enumerates the number of abortion performed per year in which he says:

The first is that there are millions of abortions performed every year . In the United States alone, the number of abortions ranges between 1.2 and 1.6 million each year. Worldwide the number of abortions yearly is estimated at about 46 million, and in the United States alone, there have been over 42 million since 1973(177).

The statistics mentioned earlier confirm that the number of abortion performed every year increased rapidly. It is noted that abortion is practiced worldwide but the United States of America reaches its peak comparing to other countries since 1973. See Appendix C Kaczor emphasizes on the huge number of abortion undertaken, and that they are destruction of humanity.

Kaczor shows clearly how the issue of abortion is a sensitive one:

Obviously our problems had touched deep emotional wellsprings in many people. It seemed that a fair portion of the human race had chosen sides over a woman out in the middle of Arizona who simply didn't want to give birth to a child who might be hopelessly crippled for life (257).

Kaczor also insists on how the issue of abortion is sensitive one since it leaves a big spot on people's heart. Kaczor blames the society mainly women for their decision, and he sees abortion as a deprivation of children's rights.

2. The Causes of Abortion: Factors Leading to Abortion

Abortion has been a difficult enquiry to conduct in the light of the extremely polemic and ticklish topic. The principal controversy revolves around the questions of; under what circumstances abortion may be done; sexual exploitation, sex selection, young women's unwilling to face motherhood, or the effects of technology.

Finer conducts a research in the United States of America in which he finds that the prominent reason for abortion is women's unpreparedness to have a baby:

The research into U.S. women's reasons for having abortions has been limited. In a 1985 study of 500 women in Kansas, unreadiness to parent was the reason the most often given for having an abortion [...] Most important reasons: In both 1987 and 2004, unreadiness for a child or another child and inability to afford a baby were each mentioned by about one-quarter of women as their most important reason for having an abortion (110-113).

As it has been mentioned earlier, women's unwillingness to have a baby is a dominant reason for having abortion. In addition to financial poverty that enables them to provide a better condition for their kids.

Finer reports that women are afraid of birth, because of children are considered as an obstacle for their lives. "Reasons in 2004. Among the structured survey respondents, the two most common reasons were "having a baby would dramatically change my life" " (112).

In addition to that, Finer completes the reasons that push women to resort to abortion:

smaller proportions of women in 2004 than in 1987 said that having a baby would interfere with their job or career (38% vs. 50%), that they were not mature enough (22% vs. 27%), that their husband or partner wanted them to have an abortion (14% vs. 24%), and that they and their partner could not or did not want to get married (12% vs. 30%). In both surveys, 1% indicated that they had been victims of rape, and less than half a percent said they became pregnant as a result of incest (113).

Abortion highlights the difficulties that women have been competed demands on their lives such as: School, work, family, husband, and children. Firstly, some women see abortion as obstruction from enjoying their lives. Otherwise, other women resort to

abortion because they are young. However, other women choose abortion because of the instability in their relationships.

Planned Parenthood presents health circumstances relinquish women to have abortion.

In a survey of U.S. women deciding to end their Pregnancies[...] The fetal health concerns they cited included the risk of fetal anomaly due to advanced maternal age, a history of miscarriage, a lack of prenatal care, and fetal exposure to prescription medications and non-prescription substances(2).

They conduct a survey in United States of America in which they find that abortion performed either because of women decision or the decrease of medication requirements.

Kacizor connects the practice of abortion to the shift of tradition relationship between man and woman from marriage to planned family. Abortion contributed to raise the chance of having a baby ratio, diminution in begetting proportion, and total decrease in taking somebody else's child into their family (1).

2.1. Rape Justifies Abortion

Women have confronted many reasons for abortion. Some pregnancies resulted from rape or incest, and women who are victims of these assaults often seek abortion. Most women; however, decide to have abortion because of illegitimate pregnancy which represents a problem in their lives.

Zoja states: "Abortion belongs to a separate dimension. It has certain features of the taboo, in that it stands at a certain limit, at the edge of a certain threshold" (5). Abortion is a word that cannot be said in front of public since it is against mores and conventions.

However, pregnancy results from rape justified abortion, according to *Life Facts*, because they consider these people as victims, and they are in need of the total support from society. "Rape is a shocking crime, and rape victims deserve the full and unfailing support of society."(1).

Dr. Mahkorn conducts a study in which he finds that most women feel that the termination of pregnancy is a step of force and that matters connecting to the rape experience, not the pregnancy, where of main interest in guidance (55).

Fisher declares that men who watched pornographic movies are more likely to be rape addicted in which he writes:

A survey of college men at a Midwestern university found that "men who view pornography are significantly less likely to intervene as a bystander, report an increased behavioral intent to rape, and are more

likely to believe rape myths.” Executed Serial killer Ted Bundy, who murdered at least 28 women, said his sadistic behavior found its origin in his addiction to hard-core pornography. One of Bundy’s last victims was a 12-year-old girl, whose body he dumped in a pigsty (48).

According to Amnesty International, there is a need to ask whether rape proves abortion: “And what about the girls who are pregnant because of rape[...]They have no other [legal] choice but to give birth” (22). This signifies the prosecution of women, and the hurdle situation they are in. Women, who become pregnant because of rape, have no other option but to carry the pregnancy even though it is unwanted.

Equally important women are prone to sexual abuse and harassment. Some women experience this cruel incident by their relatives. “The father of psychoanalysis had noticed that many of his hysterical female patients reported a childhood experience of rape or molestation, most often at the hands of their own father” (Maloy -Patterson 217).

Similarly, Maloy and Petterson describe the feeling of raped girls who get pregnant:

Kelly's silence about her rape and her revulsion over her pregnancy are typical. Most victims of sexual assault have profound, mixed feelings of rage ‘shame, fear, and grief. The discovery of a pregnancy-two or three weeks later ‘when the worst feelings may have begun to subside--can intensely revive the attack and the terror (250).

Women who become pregnant as a result of rape face another layer of overwhelming depression. When a young female gets pregnant through rape her psychology will be completely destructed because of the fear from scandals.

In the same fashion, Amnesty International acknowledges the reasons that lead most teens to get pregnant:

Young people are more likely to become pregnant after rape because they are not likely to be on contraceptives already, they don’t have the wherewithal or knowledge to get emergency contraception, nor the capacity and finances, and economic freedom to make an independent decision; there is the expensive cost of going to travel to have an abortion (212).

Teens are subjected to be pregnant because of rape since they have no way to prevent pregnancy.

2.2 Teen Pregnancy (Sexual Abuse):

Adolescent pregnancy is a complex phenomenon associated with economic and social factors, as well as sexual behavior.

Teenage pregnancy is a fact of life in America. More than one million American teenagers become pregnant every year. By age eighteen, one in four teenagers will become pregnant at least once; more than 44 percent will conceive by age twenty, according to the Alan Guttmacher Institute (Maloy-Patterson 177).

The statistics mentioned above show that the American teenagers are prone to pregnancy, and the number of pregnancy is increased by the adolescence.

Maloy and Patterson insist on the affection between parents and their children, and this latter has effects on them; in which they declare:

Freud, and most psychologists after him, defined adolescence as a painful time in which the child completed the task of separating from his or her parents. Freud observed that some individuals, notably girls, failed to complete their withdrawal from their parents' affection and authority (174).

It is worthy to be noted that teens experience a delicate period because it is difficult for them to detach from their parents especially girls.

Domingos estimates that the number of adolescence pregnancy chiefly during fifteen till nineteen years old; in which he states:

Approximately 15 million 15 to 19 year-old adolescents worldwide give birth every year, which represents more than 10% of all births. At least 1.25 million adolescents become pregnant per year in the 28 members nations of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (900).

Teen pregnancy is considered as an important public health problem. Girls who have been targeted for sexual viciousness experience a loss of control over their bodies, and a violation of their physical integrity.

Finer indicates the argument presented by a single woman behind her choice to abort:

A never-married woman who had just started college and whose partner was still in high school remarked: "You know, I'm 19 years old. I don't think I should be having a child right now. I should be more focused on what I'm trying [...] I'm trying to do things for myself. How am I supposed to do something for another human?"(114)

Some women feel emotionally unprepared to enter parenthood and raise a child; they are too young or do not have a reliable partner with whom to raise a child. They view pregnancy as a barrier in their lives. They believe that they are not mature enough, and they cannot hold the responsibility of their new born babies.

Ehrlich supports the previous idea by pointing out to the educational accomplishment which affects their decisions of abortion.

All of the young women I spoke with had more than one reason for choosing abortion over motherhood. Committed to holding onto their place in the world, most of them (except, of course, those who already had a child) saw becoming a mother in high school as unimaginable, and motherhood would have forced them to reinvent themselves in entirely new and unfamiliar ways (86).

Adolescents' primary motivations include: feeling ashamed because of the stigma attached to unwed motherhood, wanting to continue with school. Many teenagers find themselves pregnant, and they must choose between continuing the education they need to survive economically and dropping out to have a baby. "A relevant issue is the possibility of an early pregnancy interrupting the adolescent's educational process, forcing her to leave school and hindering her inclusion in the job market" (Domingos903).

In other words, young women are socially dissatisfied from being barred from attaining their educational goals. "In 1987, a survey of 1,900 women at large abortion providers across the country found that women's most common reasons for having an abortion were that having a baby would interfere with school..."(Finer110).

Domingos affirms the importance of parental discussion of teenagers' issues: "Currently a great part of family problems are due to a lack of dialogue between parents and children, especially among families with adolescents, since age-specific conflicts tend to worsen family confrontations" (903).

The teenager's decision of abortion leads to a highly contested realm of family relationships, particularly with respect to the tension between the rights of parental control and adolescent claims to self-agency. It shows the family dysfunction. The decision to have an abortion will enable the identification of the reflection upon issues focusing on family perspective. Besides, when it comes to issues of sexuality, many parents are too embarrassed to know how frankly the subject needs to be discussed with their children. They may postpone or avoid it, and their silence is deadly.

Burke notes that women suffering post-abortion trauma also have histories of molestation and sexual abuse; in which he provides some statistics:

In the Elliot Institute survey, 21 percent of the post-abortive women surveyed reported a history of childhood physical abuse and 24 percent reported childhood sexual abuse. In a random sample survey of the general population, Dianne Russell reports that approximately one in three girls is sexually abused before age 18 and one in four is abused by age 14. These alarming statistics have a good deal to do with patterns of abuse and crisis (2).

Molest always results to grief, but it is more exhausting when it comes to young woman as soon as she can never forget any incident happened in her life especially the offence which may has everlasting effect till it affects into her developing personality (Burke2).

Furthermore, Burke depicts the suffering of teens who experience sexual abuse: “Sexual abuse survivors describe a sense of lost selves, injured inner children, wounded souls, and stolen psyches” (2).

Women who confronted sexual abuse are more sensitive than others because they are wounded from the inside, they have low self esteem thus they need all the support and encouragement from society coupled with more understanding, and mercy towards them.

Abortion cannot fulfill teens’ needs since it is another act of destruction. Abortion is not the solution; instead it compounds violence with violence. There is evidence that abortion deepens the trauma of teens that require special emotional care. Thus, everything depends on whether the modern family can provide this emotional security based on personal intimacy. “Victims of abuse have a deep hunger for respect, love, and justice. Abortion simply cannot fill these needs because it is inherently a destructive, negating act” (Burke7).

Adolescents are in a period of embracement. They are the victims of society in which they need closeness with their parents. Santrock describes adolescents: “In their most pimply and awkward moments, they become acquainted with sex. They play furiously at ‘adult games’ but are confined to the society of their own peers. They want their parents to understand them” (qtd. in Macleod 14).

2.3. Abortion and Sex Selection

Sex selection is considered as a main cause for women’s aborting her child whether in rural areas or developing ones. The disagreement in gender selection is not new in human history since it exists from the past.

Boy or Girl Pink or blue? Gender selection has historically existed in some form or another in many cultures, but thanks to technological advances in recent years, it has become an accepted and widespread practice in a number of developing countries (Berlatsky 121).

Sex selection is a disastrous reason for gender shortage so it creates unbalance between the two sexes.

Tong demonstrates that there are many nations prefer male progeny to female progeny by using contraception; which has affected in a sex-ratio imbalance of 1,000

males for every 927 females. And, as in China, Indian authorities have decided to ban the use of ultrasound and amniocentesis for sex-selection purposes in an effort to correct India's sex-ratio unbalance (222).

Fisher states that abortion is mainly performed because of gender selection:

Very few abortion proponents today argue otherwise mainly because the facts of life are conclusive. So it stands to reason that around half of the 55 million babies aborted in America over the last 40 years were male. Abortion most certainly impacts the male gender (21).

Sex selective abortion is the practice of terminating a pregnancy based upon the sex of the unborn child. It has been the subject of considerable media and political attention. It stems from gender preference.

As it is mentioned earlier, because of the shortage of the necessary requirements for life, a huge number of babies are aborted even though they are male, and this obviously leads to male shortage. Conversely, Fisher contradicts the previous idea in which he shows that some countries kill unborn females because of male preferences. "The procedure disproportionately culls unborn females through sex-selection abortions. Some 200 million girls worldwide are missing due to this practice, which takes place even in the U.S" (22)

In the light of the previous idea, *Life Choices Part Two* declare statistics in which they find that small proportion accepts abortion in case of sex selection. "only one in twenty (6%) say that abortion is acceptable if a couple wants a boy but a test shows that it is a girl[...]only two percent admit they would actually have an abortion for the purpose of sex selection" (24).Moreover, Kaczor announces that many couples prefer masculinity particularly at the first pregnancy. "Sex selection abortion almost always means the elimination of females[...] in the United States, some 85% of women and some 95% of men would prefer to have a male first child" (194).

In like manner, Berlatsky points out on the growth of abortion rates of girls in some countries because of the traditional norms.

The reasons for the high abortion rates of girls are many and varied. Both India and China, as well as other countries that use sex-selective abortions widely, have a long-standing preference for boys, especially in rural areas. It often comes down to practicalities: A son can work the farm, carry on the family name, and look after elderly parents, whereas a daughter will become part of her husband's family after she gets married (121).

Most countries prefer boys rather than girls because they believe that the boy will assist them in every domain of life unlike the girl.

Kaczor illustrates that in the case harmless circumstances sex selection is permitted:

In 2001, the Ethics Committee of the American Society for Reproductive Medicine (ASRM) considered that, in the absence of robust arguments in favor of any potential harm, preconception sex selection was not hazardous and therefore any ban would be unjustified (195).

2.4. The Effect of Technology on Abortion in United States of America

Technology becomes integral part from our today's life. It contributes in different angles for facilitating the human needs. It has a great impact on abortion. Many people consider the necessity of integrating technology in all aspects of life in which Hern notes: "However, modern technology and social change have made abortion a part of modern health care" (1).

Berlatsky states that the abortion option looms behind tests that determine the sex of the unborn child (160). It has been combined between medical care and technology.

Ainsworth and Hall show the relationship between technology and the genetics of people:

Lasch tied abortion and medical fine-tuning to attitudes toward progress and the acquisition of wealth and creature comforts [...] There was, in Lasch's view[...]an "impatience with biological constraints of any kind, together with a belief that modern technology had liberated humanity from those constraints and made it possible for the first time to engineer a better life for the human race as a whole(20).

There is a belief that modern technology grants people freedom from any ties, and gives them better opportunity for achieving golden life.

Ainsworth and Hall emphasize on the link between technological development and its effect on abortion controversy. The impact of technology expands to a shift in politics:

Given the medical and technological advances affecting the abortion debates[...] Debates over stem cells and their use in medical research highlight the role of technology [...]Aristotle, the first known scholar to engage in systematic embryonic research, recorded his studies of embryo development by opening a chicken egg during each of the 21 days of incubation [...] Our point is less dramatic. Simply put, technological change may affect committee jurisdictions (155-156).

However, Macleod threaten from the effects of technology:

In other words, there is the threat of moral decay should educators not take up what is termed their duty. External forces and bad information sources (pornography and blue movies are specifically

mentioned) may corrupt the innately curious teenager, with disastrous consequences (Macleod 43).

Technology is double-edged weapon. Even it has positive sides but its negative aspects cannot be neglected since it leads to unethical behaviours.

Furthermore, Maloy and Petterson highlight the negative aspects of technology:

Even people who have supported the unrestricted right to abortion admit that the implications of this technology trouble them. In a 1987 survey reported in *Medical World News*, for example, eight out of nine prenatal diagnostic clinics surveyed reported that they occasionally encountered couples seeking prenatal testing solely to determine the sex of the fetus[...]The magazine did not report what these couples intended to do once they learned the sex of fetus, but members of some cultures-in their native countries and here in the United States-are believed to be using amniocentesis and CVS to eliminate female children because of a cultural preference for males(308).

Technology affects negatively on the issue of abortion since it induces to abortion in the case of knowing the sex of the fetus.

Maloy and Pitterson show their fear about the negative effects of technology since it leads people to doubt about their decisions because of their unawareness of how to deal successfully with technology: “Technology did not represent a simple solution [...] Instead its benefits came mixed with compromise and moral uncertainty. The uncertainty surrounding decisions based on prenatal testing will undoubtedly grow for both individuals and society” (308-309).

Mother’s life threatening becomes no more in danger due to the great role that technology plays. (Kaczor 185).

Ronco shows how the media shaped the abortion debate. Media biases the individuals’ decisions according to its interests. In case of being with abortion the media promotes to stories which indicate that abortion is safe; however, if it is against abortion it shows pictures of distorted foetuses (9).

2.4.1. Other Type of Abortion: Contraception

Contraception is a method that is not new in human history. It has long-standing history. “Contraception has been used worldwide since ancient times.”(Teall147).

Berlastky states: “Modern medicine enables us not only to know the sex of our future children, but also to manipulate it. Doctors can artificially fertilize ova and test them for genetic disorders” (187).Technology, sex selection, and contraception are overlapped terms. Modern technology paves the way to other type of abortion which is contraception for gender selection goals.

Miller and Valente declare that the contraception use creates a chaos in politics as long as it is another way of abortion:

Debate about the relationship between contraception and abortion has fundamental implications for public policy and foreign aid. Importantly, if modern contraceptives and abortions are substitutes, then an effective strategy for reducing expensive and potentially life-threatening abortions may be to boost the supply of modern contraceptives(3).

Miller and Valente indicate the relationship between contraception and abortion:

There is longstanding debate in reproductive health circles about the relationship between modern contraception and abortion use. Over several decades, population scholars have documented concomitant increases in both contraceptive prevalence and abortion rates around the world[...]This phenomenon is commonly attributed to rapid reductions in desired fertility, which in turn increase demand for all methods of birth control (2).

Control of family size is an important consideration for all women in every country. Many different contraceptive methods exist, and no single method is appropriate for all couples. The use of contraception attributes to decrease in the number of birth.

The common use of contraception is to prevent pregnancy but the pregnancy can happen when there is lack of knowledge of efficient use of contraception (Warriner - Shah 53). The relationship between the use of modern contraceptives and abortion have attracted the attention of scholars, the causal relationship between the two has been difficult to isolate. The decision to abort a pregnancy may also indicate the improper use of contraceptives. Abortion is the final form of birth control in America.

According to a 2010 CDC report, contraception is a prevalent method used by American women. The Guttmacher Institute reports that one-half of all pregnancies in the U.S. are unwanted. Although women use contraception but there are over 5.2 million pregnancies each year, that means that contraception is not working well by 2.6 million times each year. "The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services reports the average probability of an unintended pregnancy in 12 months of contraceptive use in the U.S. is 12 percent" (Fisher 110-111). This shows the failure of contraception use.

Lee considers that women are more likely to choose abortion whether by contraception or other methods. Thus leads to the decline rate of abortion in U.S.A.

As stated by the Alan Guttmacher Institute (2002), as much as 43 percent of the decline in abortion in the United States between 1994 and 2000 can be attributed to the use of emergency contraception. Whatever the reason for the decline, however, it still remains the

case that American women, like British women, are very likely to opt to end, rather than continue, pregnancies (4).

Despite its known risks, the abortion pill has been called a major medical breakthrough. Contraceptive services have been scarce or unreliable method. “Abortion is reported to be sought by some women because of popular beliefs that forms of modern contraceptives are more dangerous than abortion (Haren 1).

According to World Health Organization, the need for counseling and advising is paramount for the protection of women. This advice can be granted either before abortion to consult about further contraceptive needs or after abortion to avoid future unwanted pregnancy (37).

2.5. The Contribution of Sex Education in Increasing Abortion Rates

“Education is the key to unlock the golden door of freedom” (Carver). Education is paramount for everyone especially for women because of their exploitation by male chauvinistic society and understanding health concerns. It empowers women to fight for their rights in different cultures for good reasons.

In America, we strive for female education and equality. Women generally have the same opportunities as men for public or private schooling, collegiate and post-graduate education [...] In matters of health, America strongly encourages women to be fully educated about their bodies, how to fight illnesses, how to take care of themselves, and how to protect and defend themselves (Fisher100).

Education removes the women’s uncertainty about abortion as long as education provokes women to think more critically about anything through questioning, learning, and digging.

In relation to health care, adolescents and young individuals have the right to access information and obtain education in regard to sexual and reproductive health, as well as contraceptive methods to help them avoid unplanned pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) (Domingos904).

Education contributes to a tremendous rate of abortion. It increases women’s knowledge about safe and unsafe abortion methods, and how abortion works within woman’s body. Education has advantages and disadvantages; it depends on the human being where to apply it. In case of women, education can alter their choices either in life or death of human being:

The Elliot Institute cites research showing that information and counseling are in short supply for women contemplating an abortion. According to these findings, women who have access to abortion reported their ignorance of the results: 54 percent were unsure of their decisions, yet 67 percent received no counseling beforehand. 84 percent were inadequately counseled beforehand; 79 percent were

deceived or not told about available resources; and many were misinformed by experts about fetal development, abortion alternatives, or risks (Fisher 100-101).

Sex education emerges in the United States of America thanks to prominent movements which are the Child Study Movement and the Social Hygiene Movement.

Medicine, eugenics, psychology, education - all of these modern fields promised to help the adolescent meet the inevitable struggle with sexuality [...] And so began sex education in the United States [...] One of the aims of the Child Study Movement was the development of the responsible sexual 'adolescent'. The Social Hygiene Movement had as its key focus the prevention of venereal disease and prostitution. These two movements lobbied for the introduction of sex education, finding in each other willing allies (Macleod 34).

The main reasons of sex education in the United States of America are to prevent the emerged problems. Thus, the first sex education program has instrumentalist aims. That is to say, the use instruments in spreading social changes by changing adolescent's sexual stances. The government insists on the importance of sex education thanks to the British Broadcasting Corporation(2002) which reports 'After warnings about increased rates of sexually transmitted infections, the government says it wants to "raise the status and quality" of sex education'(Macleod 35).

3. The Consequences of Abortion: Post-Natal Depression

Abortion has severe consequences for the protection of women's health. Therapeutic abortion endangers the lives of women. "The consequences and risks associated with abortion, including risks of infection, hemorrhage, cervical perforation or uterine rupture, risks for future pregnancies, breast cancer risk, and potential psychological effects"(Yoest28).

The link between mental health problems and abortion is controversial. In addition, abortion provides an immediate threat to the life of women. Many studies were able to identify common factors that seemed to pre-dispose women to negative psychological effects.

The physical complications [of abortion], however, are overshadowed by psychological effects. Guilt, regret, remorse, suicidal impulses, mourning, nightmares, lower self-esteem, anger, rage, hostility, child abuse, despair, helplessness, promiscuity and loss of interest in sex are all documented consequences of abortions. (Macleod87).

Post-abortion Syndrome proves the mental illness of the putative category of mothers.

Post-partum depression has become increasingly visible due to the health risks that motherhood poses. In fact plethora of mental illness categories is associated with motherhood. Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is a reason for giving a baby (Lee5). Likewise, women experience period of torment after abortion which affects them to be deeply regretted about their decisions. “After the abortion, a pain begins to emerge from the depths of [a woman’s] heart” (Williams 187).

3.1. Health Consequences of Unsafe Abortion

The issue of abortion is quite important to humanity. It is linked to physical and psychological complications. There is another truth related to human life due to unsafe abortion procedures; “Unsafe abortion can be defined as a procedure for terminating unwanted pregnancy either by persons lacking the necessary skills or in an environment lacking minimal medical standards or both” (Amnesty International38).

Significant social stresses further complicate the issue; unsafe abortion provokes sexual transmitted infections: “In relation to post abortion infection, the RCOG guidelines state that genital tract infection, including pelvic inflammatory disease of varying degrees of severity, occurs in up to 10 % of cases” (House of Commons 49).

In addition to that, breast cancer can be a result for unsafe abortion. House of Commons reports: “Dr Richards told us that “if you compare women who keep their pregnancy with those who have an induced abortion, those who have an induced abortion are more likely to get breast cancer later on.” (49)

Warriner defines unsafe abortion through writing:

Unsafe abortion is a significant yet preventable cause of maternal mortality and morbidity in developing countries[...]Participants addressed the theoretical and medical issues relating to research on unsafe abortion and outlined regional priorities for the prevention of unsafe abortion (1).

Unsafe abortion is a major public health problem in United States and is responsible for the death and disabilities of thousands of women each year. One of the reasons for unsafe abortion is because safe abortion services are frequently not available, even when they are legal for a variety of indications in almost all countries. These barriers impede women from reaching the services which they are illegible and contribute to unsafe abortion.

Notably, World Health Organization estimates the huge number of death owing to unsafe abortion practices: “Unsafe abortion accounts for 13% of maternal deaths [...]

almost all deaths and morbidity from unsafe abortion occur in countries where abortion is severely restricted in law and in practice” (87).

World Health Organization provides statistics about the devastating death of women from abortion: “Despite these advances, an estimated 22 million abortions continue to be performed unsafely each year, resulting in the death of an estimated 47 000 women and disabilities for an additional 5 million women” (1).

Over the recent decades, the health evidence, technologies and human rights rationale have evolved greatly for providing safe and comprehensive abortion care. In spite of this progress, some women seek unsafe abortion methods; thus, leads to decess

Women seeking to terminate their pregnancies sometimes resort to unsafe methods, particularly where and when access to legal abortion is barred. Due to this latter, the relation between unsafe abortion and maternal mortality is now well established.

Bergen offers a clear example about the fact of unsafe abortion by writing:

Someone gave me the phone number of a person who did abortions and I made the arrangements [...] A greasy looking man came to the door and asked for the money as soon as I walked in [...] I got up on a cold metal kitchen table. He performed a procedure, using something sharp. He didn't give me anything for the pain — he just did it. He said that he had packed me with some gauze, that I should expect some cramping, and that I would be fine. I left (1).

By the same token, maternal deaths are caused by complications from unsafe abortion. These deaths could have been prevented if appropriate medical care is given. Another key point is that abortion services can be supplied clandestinely. Therefore, women turned into risky methods of terminating a pregnancy, hence fail to seek medical treatment for complications to avoid prosecution.

Abortion is a serious challenge to human since it results to huge number of death for either the mother or her child. Abortion performs under unsafe conditions claim the lives of thousands of women around the world every year; in which Demirel states: “The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that 19 million unsafe abortions occur around the world annually and that 68,000 of these result in the woman's death” (1).

Lee gives some reasons for women's fear from pregnancy and motherhood in which he states:

Most recently, a new category of mental illness called “tokophobia” has been named, which is considered by the proponents of this term to be “an unreasoning fear of childbirth” that makes its sufferers

unable to face the prospect of pregnancy and motherhood at all (Lee 5).

Indeed, women's panic of giving birth leads them to avoid having a child. In like manner, it is obvious that many dimensions of motherhood results to complicated issues through referring to the psychological repercussion.

Women have been disappointed from pregnancy for this reason; they resort to plight and harmful methods. Albeit, these methods result to death, they would not mind. Cross affirms the careless attitudes of women toward unsafe methods of abortion in which he portrays: "I would have done anything to terminate this pregnancy, regardless of how dangerous or stupid it would have been" (21).

3.1.1. Abortion as a Form of Genocide

Abortion is considered as a massacre against humanity. Some people see it as evil deed while others compare aborted babies with Jewish Holocaust victims. "Abortion is an evil whose magnitude is comparable to that of any 'crime against humanity' " (Williams54)

Abortion is considered as a turning point for many countries. Its consequences are immense and miserable. It is among the bloodiest events in history that witnessed many died children. "Abortion is a form of genocide, argues Gregg Cunningham in the following viewpoint. Since 1973, more than 38 million unborn children have been systematically aborted in the United States—an occurrence that Cunningham maintains is a veritable modern-day holocaust" (Williams54).

Abortion is much more than the exercise of personal choice; just as certainly, it cannot be reduced to an instance of state-sanctioned murder. Bernard Nathanson wrote: "There were perhaps three hundred or so deaths from criminal abortions annually in the United States in the sixties" (qtd. in Fisher 112).

In like manner, Hern demonstrates numbers that justify the catastrophe of maternal mortality:

The maternal mortality rate in the United States in 1920 was 680 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births (Lerner and Anderson 1963). It had fallen to 38 deaths per 100,000 live births by 1960 and 8 deaths per 100,000 live births by 1994 (4).

The previous statistics show how abortion is a destructive decision against humanity in the United States of America.

Life Choice presents a survey in U.S.A that shows the different perspectives toward the issue of abortion:

Survey research has only solidified this impression by asking simplistic “either-or” questions. ACBS/New York Times poll conducted in April, 1989 posed the issue this way — “Is abortion murder? Yes or No?” and found that slightly more Americans said yes it is (48%) than no it isn’t (40%). Similarly, a Los Angeles Times poll of women conducted one month earlier that year found the same general pattern but slightly more polarized[...]The question, like the word “murder,” is laden with meaning that must be “unpacked,” as it were, to really understand the ethical significance that people impute to the act(17).

One of the reasons of abortion debate in America is the polarized language used. Some people consider abortion as homicide while others do not. In a survey conducted in New York and Los Angeles, about whether abortion is murder or not, the result show that abortion is murder and against moral norms.

3.2. Economic Cost of Unsafe Abortion

Abortion is not an easy operation to be done. It requires a lot of money; this leads most women to practice unsafe abortion, because of financial poverty, despite knowing its risks which results to death. Most women travel abroad to have an abortion even it is unsafe because it is prohibited in their countries.

In countries where induced abortion is legally highly restricted and/or unavailable, safe abortion has frequently become the privilege of the rich, while poor women have little choice but to resort to unsafe providers, causing deaths and morbidities that become the social and financial responsibility of the public health system (World Health Organization1).

World Health Organization estimates the economic cost of unsafe abortion:

A recent study estimated an annual cost of US\$ 23 million for treating minor complications from unsafe abortion [...] Unsafe abortion was estimated to cost the Mexico City health system US\$ 2.6 million in 2005, before the legalization of abortion. With access to safe abortion, the system could potentially save US\$ 1.7 million annually (World Health Organization26).

On the strength of World Health Organization, unsafe abortion increases the amount of money consumed; however, allowing abortion in countries such as: Mexico leads to the decrease of unsafe abortion cost and to gain women’s health.

Women are subjected to unsafe abortion due to different reasons which are: Total need for privacy, fear from law, and the rise of prices of safe abortion in which Marlow reveals: “Because of the need for secrecy to avoid condemnation, uncertainty about the

law, and perceived higher cost of safer abortion methods, women sought unsafe abortions from community midwives, drug sellers and/or untrained providers at lower cost” (149).

Mushabati exposes the reasons for women behind resorting to unsafe abortion methods:

The same study noted that economic reasons also contributed to women opting for unsafe abortion methods, as most women cannot afford to pay for safe abortion services. It is ironic that despite the existence of a law that legalizes abortion on socio-economic grounds, one of the reasons women decide to undergo unsafe abortions is for economic reasons related to the actual cost of the procedure (21).

Financial conditions are among the prominent factors that lead women to seek unsafe abortion methods.

Domingos also argues about the financial cost of unsafe abortion:

The fact is that unsafe abortion methods are an important cause of morbidity and mortality among women in developing countries. In addition to the consequences already presented, we highlight those of an economic nature related to costs from medical care, loss of productivity for the country, and the impact on families and the community (903).

For some women, the high cost of abortion can pose significant barriers to access to safe abortion methods. In fact, unsafe abortion induces high rate of the decease of women and low birth rate.

Cross observes that women who have unsafe abortion are totally destructed in every aspects of life such as: Finance, emotions, and society. So, their lives will be dramatically changed:

Virtually no abortionists provided counseling or emotional support of any kind. Because it was illegal, most women felt unable to seek assistance if they had medical problems following the abortion or to talk to family or friends about what they had been through (21).

Greenhouse compares the price of using pills and abortion: “Costs come to between \$400 and \$500. (A half hour in an operating room today for any reason costs a patient about \$100 just for the room.” (64).

The cost of abortion usually includes: the procedure, lab of work, and post-operative medications. Depending on the clinic, there may be additional charges for optional anesthesia. Unsafe abortion procedure is expensive neglecting the cost of post abortion care how much it is.

Greenhouse also emphasizes on the necessity of decreasing the expense of abortion in New York and New Haven: “Efforts are being made to bring costs down to a feasible scale, and this has been accomplished somewhat both here in New Haven and in New York. But, at the present time abortion is still a large expense”(66). See Appendix A

3.3. Constructing a Threat of Degeneration

The different methods of abortion form a real menace to future generations since it leads to gender unbalance through sex selection or murder of the unborn children.

According to House of Commons, infection is seen as source of degeneration; however, they find that there is no relation between abortion and future reproductive outcomes. “SPUC comments that: Infection can result from abortion, leading to an increased risk of infertility” (48).

It is believed that sex is primary for procreation because of fear from threat of degeneration. “Malthus recognized the need of sexual activity for procreation but not for pleasure” (Bullough153).

Berlatsky states that sex selection constructs threat of degeneration because it leads to widen the gap between boys and girls.

D’Agostino says: “When it comes to sex-selective abortion, it’s something that’s leading to grave social problems—the extermination of tens of millions of girls [...] And of course it’s bad for the boys too because they’re going to grow up and not be able to get married” (qtd. in Berlatsky 122-123).

Macleod unpacks the social risk of abortion, and links it to the threat of degeneration.

Teenage pregnancy and abortion among young women are viewed as social and personal problems. Because young women conceiving, bearing children or terminating a pregnancy are viewed as carrying personal and social risk, the management of these risks or the threat of degeneration becomes a priority (128).

Teen pregnancy and abortion are two overlapped issues which have great social problems.

Macleod warns from teen pregnancy because he sees it as the source of moral and social decay: “It is against the backdrop of this debate concerning the consequences of abortion, as well as the extensive literature on ‘teenage pregnancy’, that research on young women who have undergone a termination of pregnancy is conducted” (83).

Conclusion

The three bodies of thought discussed earlier are closely interrelated. Their interrelatedness stems from abortion as single phenomenon. Through this chapter, the

issue of abortion proves to be the most debatable issue in the world and in America specifically. The second focus of this chapter is about the reasons of abortion. However, the last part discusses the consequences of post-abortion period. It discusses the danger of abortion as a form of homicide, and the high expense of unsafe abortion, and its effects on the reproduction of future generations. The next chapter will be the practical side of this research. It will be devoted to the multiple voices towards the issue of abortion. It will be focused on the different viewpoints of the two parties towards abortion, and the chronological order of abortion history.

Chapter Two: The Multi-Voices Attitudes towards the Issue of Abortion

Introduction:

The issue of abortion offers a wide array of voices between those who are in favour of the abortion rights and those who are against it. This chapter is an attempt to understand the abortion controversy in American public opinion; thus far, the most striking differences of belief and conviction have been between the strong pro-life and the strong pro-choice.

The important ways of looking at the issue of abortion are most easily categorized into three major points: legal precedence, human and women's rights, and religion which are going to be discussed in this chapter.

1. Abortion and the Opposing Attitudes: Liberalism and Conservatism

Few issues in the contemporary American politics have remained on the public agenda, among them is abortion policy. Williams states the reason behind abortion controversy by pointing out to some arguments:

The abortion controversy is actually quite multifaceted, involving complex speculation on biology, ethics, and constitutional rights. Those who identify themselves as prolife, for example, generally contend that abortion is wrong because it kills human life[...]Those who identify themselves as pro-choice often maintain that abortion must remain legal because a woman should have the right to control her body and her destiny (12).

Abortion debate takes place in the United States of America with different views according to political, social, and moral dimensions that make it an explosive issue in which no institution, group, or religion has succeeded in finding a solution to such debate.

According to Berlastky, the controversy goes back to the Western public consciousness itself and its implications that affect the morality of human being. For the American society, the debate has centered on rights of the unborn child against the rights of women (34).

1.1 Abortion Yes/ Infanticide No

For many scholars, abortion issue differs from other moral issues because of the question which is rised; a philosophical question of whether there is a difference between killing newborn baby which is infanticide and killing an adult. However, other

scholars see that abortion right is women's choice to abort and to get rid of her baby legally. Becket presents an argument in his article: "Thomson argues that even if the unborn entity has a right to life, this does not mean that a woman must be forced to use her bodily organs to sustain its life" (110).

Some philosophical interpretation tends to investigate the issue of woman's right versus the unborn entity right to life which leads to a heated debate among the American public opinion.

Furthermore, Tooley has presented two moral principles that support the philosophical question. Firstly, there must be equality between the two, the mother and the foetus, and who deserves the opportunity to enjoy life. Secondly, since the foetus has a great life expectancy than the mother, one is in strong position to choose the life of the foetus over the life of the mother (39).

Abortion and infanticide are two related issues. The most traditional objection to abortion rights is that human foetuses and infants have the right to life.

Liberalism as defenders to abortion rights have come to conclusion that infanticide is morally impermissible; whereas, abortion is legalized in the development stage of the foetus since Liberalism support women's right over her own body and life. However, the Conservatism as pro-life presents their viewpoints that abortion is not permitted; it is killing an unborn baby. And there is no stage that permits to kill the foetus since it is a continuation of life development. (Tooley25).

In this context, liberals and conservatives wanted to defend their position towards the moral issue, abortion, by pointing out to some facts according to their moral principles in which Tooley presents:

Many have felt that the conservative's position is more defensible than the liberal's because the conservative can point to the gradual and continuous development of an organism as it changes from a zygote to an adult human being. He is then in a position to argue that it is morally arbitrary for the liberal to draw a line at some point in this continuous process and to say that abortion is permissible before, but not after, that particular point (33).

Liberalism and Conservatism are the main parties who have struggled in hot subjects as abortion. Pro-life is the term that characterized the conservative party which argues that the foetus is a human being and the woman has no right to abort it; however, the liberalism party is characterized by the pro-choice belief which defends woman's right

to choose what to do towards her body, and the foetus is not considered as a baby until she decides so.

Tooley also presents the Liberal position towards the philosophical debate, abortion and infanticide, what properties a thing must possess in order to have a right to life, and how an organism's having certain potentialities must grant a right to life. Besides that liberalism has attacked the claim that a foetus is considered as *Homo sapiens* by indicating that the fetus lacks the psychological properties (56-57).

It is important to mention that abortion and infanticide have contributed to the controversy between Liberalism and Conservatism, in which each position has tried to defend its point of view towards the issue.

2. Liberalism Attitudes towards the Issue of Abortion

When the twenty- first century launched, the sands of abortion, as a social movement, have affected politics in U.S.A. Both, states and federal government restrict the abortion access, testing the Supreme Court's resolve to protect a woman's right to end her pregnancy. "Contemporary American politics is about worldview. Conservatives simply see the world differently than do liberals, and both often have a difficult time understanding accurately what the other's worldview is" (Lakooff 3).

Feser defined liberalism as the ideology that maintains liberty by writing:

For many libertarians, the thesis of self-ownership is the foundation of their political philosophy. Natural rights to life, liberty, and property the protection of which is, according to the libertarian, governments sole legitimate function derive from self-ownership, in particular ones ownership of his body and its parts, of his capacities and labor, and, by extension, of whatever he can acquire by his non-coercive exercise of them (91).

In other words, liberalism is a political ideology that stands with the total freedom towards one's self-ownership; it means that the individual is the one who has the total freedom to decide what to do towards his life.

Melody also provides a clarification towards liberalism principle:

This is an instance of liberalism called feminism, liberalism applied to the woman as if we *are* persons, gender neutral. It is at once an ideological division that lies about a woman's shared experience and that mystifies the unity among the spheres of woman's violation. It is a very material division that keeps the private beyond public redress and depoliticizes women's subjection within it (125).

Feminism, as an ideology that called for women's rights, is a part from liberalism since it guarantees the total freedom to women.

In fact, the pro-choice position is in favour of abortion and do not view it as morally wrong. Besides, pro-choice supporters claim that women should have the choice of legal abortion for an unwanted pregnancy, and thus they believe that women should have the right to control their own fertility and reproduction (Callahan 313).

For some politicians, abortion is regarded as a private matter according to Edward: Liberalism and Conservatism dispute over many issues such as: immigration and sexual morality. In this context also Fiser states:

These philosophies inevitably conflict with one another that the libertarians insist on noninterference is incompatible with the conservatives concern to defend the traditional moral order. In fact, though, there is *essential* tension between them, even over questions of sexual morality, family values, and the like (qtd. in Fiser 93).

Liberalists believe that the government must not interfere in individual liberties and they want to confuse the Supreme Court decision because liberalism supports women's right to choose what to do with her body.

Indeed, Liberalism has believed that there are principles obtained by nature such as: individual rights in which the constitution have to consider. In other words, all the individual rights are preserved and already established by the constitution. So, it is unconstitutional act by legislation to limit the freedom of expression unless the restrictions, it imposes, are necessary to meet a compelling public need (Wenz 11).

At the same token, it is declared that there is:

A natural law that women have a natural right to terminate their pregnancies, then no textual support from the Constitution is needed to declare unconstitutional any and all statutes that restrict this right more than is necessary to meet a compelling public need. "I call this the Liberal view (Wenz11).

American Liberalism is an ideology that is unlike the other socio-economic regimes such as: Marxism. Instead, it is a mixture of liberal beliefs that contradict each other despite these paradoxes which have characterized the American folklore (Leddhin 47).

3. Conservatism Attitudes towards the Issue of Abortion

Conservatism is an ideology that is presented in the United States of America under the leadership of Republican Party. It shows more restriction compared to Liberal movements such as: Women's Rights movement (Fiser12). Conservatism by definition

is the tendency to resist sudden change it also insists on the political belief that society should change as little as possible toward the controversial issues (Scruton).

For the abortion matter, Conservatism ideology stresses on the rights of the unborn child as Pro-Life movement according to Wenz:

One extreme view is that the Constitution guarantees only those relatively specific rights explicitly mentioned there [...] and that the meaning, extent and implications of these rights are just what the original authors believed them to be. I will call this the Conservative view. Thus, for example, if the Framers of the First Amendment intended the guarantee of free speech to extend only to speech used in the process of political debate, such speech would forever be all that the First Amendment guarantees (12).

Another important point, the conservative attitude has called on the human rights as Wenz notes: “it reflects greater respect for the value of majority rule than for the value of individual rights. I call this the Conservative view, though it does not invariably support politically conservative causes” (9).

These two quotations prove that the conservative party is completely against women’s choice to abort, it supports the unborn child right. The conservative ideology presents an opposite viewpoint compared to the liberal one. However, conservative view has criticized the Supreme Court decision about the legalization of abortion.

Conservatists, as prolife supporters, are against abortion whatever the circumstances are this means a foetus is considered as a human being from the moment of conception. Moreover, the pro-life position strongly opposes abortion even in the case of rape or incest. Abortion is not justified since it is killing of an innocent life, and thus proposes the necessity for woman to carry her unborn child to term, and she gives the baby up for adoption if she does not want him. The main reason for the pro-life position is that it is not the fault of the unborn child (Kamide Dana).

This shows that Conservatism position has strongly supported the rights of the foetus. In contrast to the pro-life position, the pro-choice position argues that human life takes place only after giving birth. Therefore, a foetus is not a human person at any stage.

The controversy also relies on how Conservatism chooses the word to indicate the new born baby in which Lakooff states:

Liberals are defenders of the morality of removing from a mother a group of cells that is not an independent, viable, and recognizable human being. Opponents of abortion use the word baby to refer to

the cluster of cells, the embryo, and the fetus alike [...] the issue of the morality of abortion is settled once the words are chosen (264).

So, the given name determines the position that the one adopt, whether Liberalism or Conservatism, and this is the heart of the abortion debate in which two positions have been formed. See Appendix B

4. Political Response to Abortion: the State of Abortion Law in the U.S.A

The United States of America responds to the abortion issue with many laws that have issued lately. Wenz provides the arguments by the two positions, pro-choice and pro-life, in order to have a political response:

Pro-choice advocates have claimed that because women as a group are much less politically powerful than men, and legislation restricting abortion rights primarily affects women only, the Court should subject such legislation to strict scrutiny[...]Pro-life advocates, in contrast, have maintained that fetuses as a group are even less able than women to speak for themselves politically. So legislation that allows abortions should be subjected by the Court to strict scrutiny (8).

Pro-choice supporters argue that men are more powerful than women, and abortion issue is only women's concern; however, pro-life supporters see that foetuses are less powerful to defend themselves in which the Supreme Court has to consider the decision about the fundamental rights.

4.1. Brief History of Abortion Legality

Before the coming of the ninetieth century, the abortion debate was not heated as it is in the contemporary America because many women resorted to abortion by unsafe methods. In the 1850s, medical practice was promoted in a professional way to insure that an anti-abortionist campaign an offer by the American Medical Association (Nossiff 28).

Before Roe vs. Wade, Abortion did not present any political issue but instead it was permitted only when woman's life is under real risk, and the AMA¹ had succeeded in passing laws that made abortion illegal. Each state has its political decision towards the abortion issue. Until the 1960's, a group of abortion supporters have worked to legalize abortion and the result was the 1973 landmark decision in Roe vs. Wade. (Nossiff 11).

Ehrlich clarifies the reason behind silencing the abortion issue until the 1960s by writing:

¹ AMA :American Medical Association see, Nossiff , "before roe- abortion policy"

In these early decades of the twentieth century, abortion politics itself was local and muted. In part because progressive women were focused so keenly on the achievement of national suffrage, no organized movement for women's abortion rights existed. Rather, the vocal advocates of the day would focus on prevention of unwanted children through birth control (XIII).

In fact, women's rights prove the abortion legalization, and they pave the way to more rights to be achieved.

In like manner, Melody argues: "certain groups of women found their the reproductive choices not only discouraged, but prevented through forced sterilization practices[...] Without regulation, abortion providers would take advantage of some women's desperation to end their pregnancies" (24).

Abortion has a very long history but it is worthy to shed the light on some important facts. It is needed to present some historical facts and amendments of the abortion laws:

In 1965 The Supreme Court decides *Griswold v. Connecticut*, recognizing married couples' constitutional right to privacy. 1967 The National Organization for Women (NOW) endorses abortion law repeal. The Family Life Bureau of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops forms the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC). 1968 Planned Parenthood-World Population calls for abortion repeal. 1969 NARAL (the National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws) is formed. 1971 Americans United for Life (AUL) is founded. 1972 In *Eisenstadt v. Baird*, the Supreme Court strikes down Massachusetts contraception ban for unmarried individuals (Ziegler XXIX).

After the landmark of *Roe vs. Wade*, history has recorded many essential events that have affected the abortion movement either by Pro-Life or Pro-Choice movements. In addition to that abortion history has contributed greatly to the controversial subject especially when the Supreme Court held laws prohibiting elective first- trimester abortion that were unconstitutional acts because they violated women's rights.

4.2. Pre-Jane Roe vs. Henry Wade

Before the landmark of *Roe vs. Wade*, there was no direct political response that shaped the abortion rights. It was only presented by some Pro-Choice movement that belongs to different directions such as: Women's Rights movement towards the issue of abortion.

Luker illustrates how the abortion issue is viewed politically before the landmark of *Roe vs. Wade*:

Nineteenth-century statutory permissiveness on abortion gives way to early-twentieth century controls. From the turn of the twentieth-century to the mid-1960s, restrictions on abortion are the rule, and

the selections will indicate a range of beliefs regarding this strict era. Then, in the 1960s, the pendulum begins to swing again; doctors and women's groups organize to oppose restrictive laws and *Roe v. Wade* ushers in a new era of relatively easier access to abortion (2).

In the 1960, it is the first sight for the political response towards abortion legalization because before that date abortion was restricted. The political response tended to support women's choice to abortion according to the situation or the circumstances that women may face.

Politically speaking, the United States of America responds to the abortion issue through passing laws that regulate the abortion access. The fourteenth amendment presents the first time that most liberal states stand on to justify the abortion legalization, and this results to the *Roe vs. Wade* landmark decision that makes abortion legal. Socially speaking, the political response towards abortion causes approval and disapproval. However, some states celebrate the landmark of *Roe vs. Wade* (Williams14).

According to two major academic surveys² that have asked the Supreme Court to legalize abortion only in six circumstances:

When the mother's health is in danger, when the pregnancy is the result of rape, when the fetus is severely defective, when the family is too poor for additional children, when a single pregnant woman does not want to marry, and when a married couple wants no more children (Jelen 55).

Jelen demonstrates that for nearly thirty years, supporters of abortion have asked about their rights but since 1972 two scales took into measurement support of abortion for physical and social reasons (55).

The seeds of controversy were shown in the seven years immediately preceding *Roe vs. Wade* 1973.

Even before the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), abortion has been an important and divisive issue in American politics. The question of whether a woman has, or should have, the right to terminate a pregnancy intentionally has been a source of intense controversy for over a generation (Jelen 1).

The battle lines of abortion were drawn when the legislature and the court attempted to reconcile religious opposition to abortion with individual's civil liberties. The struggle began with the 1965 Supreme Court decision in *Griswold vs. Connecticut* which identified a right to privacy that protected married women access to

² Surveys, see, Jelen, "Cause and Cosequences of Public Attitudes".

contraception. “Since the Thalidomide, a drug that caused devastating harm to a developing fetus, made abortion a topic of media attention and public conversation as never before” (Greenhouse-Seigel 3).

Using Grilwold, pro-abortion activist on the states level, argues that women’s access to abortion is protected in certain circumstances, and women begin campaigns to change the laws (Nossif 15).

In the early 1960’s, the practice of abortion was only restricted to save woman’s life in the United States of America. Few jurisdiction procedures still opposed the liberalizing of abortion laws. However, the risks that resulted from illegal abortion have alarmed one million American women every year (Greenhouse-Seigel 3).

4.3. Roe vs. Wade: the Landmark of National Legalization of Abortion

On January 22nd, 1973, Roe vs. Wade is a significant timeline which has a profound effect on the abortion debate. It is also considered as the starting point for abortion legalization:

The lawyers filed the case in federal district court in Dallas on March 3, 1970. On June 17, a three-judge panel agreed unanimously that the Texas law violated a woman’s “fundamental right to choose whether to have children.” The court said the law was unconstitutionally broad in its “monolithic interdiction,” sweeping Speaking to the Court (Greenhouse- Seigel 224).

It is important to recognize that Texas law has violated women’s right to abort unlike other states. Thus, at the time Roe was decided in 1973, abortion laws were not fixed aspect of American life as they had only been part of their legal landscape. Roe vs. Wade is a turning point for American women; this event permitted all American women to choose whether to abort or to complete their pregnancy (Callahan 313).

Greenhouse and Seigel affirm the Supreme Court decision by highlighting:

On January 22, 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court in Roe v. Wade ruled that there existed a constitutionally protected right to privacy which allowed women to obtain an abortion. The Roe vs Wade decision established a woman’s right to have an abortion [...]The decision was a nominal victory that lacked practical utility. On October 6, 1970, the plaintiffs’ lawyers appealed to the Supreme Court (225).

The case of Roe vs. Wade is about a woman named Norma McCorvey (under the alias Jane Roe) who asked the Supreme Court of Texas represented by Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade law which permitted abortion only under life-threatening circumstances. McCorvey was seeking an abortion. She was unmarried and pregnant for

the third time. McCorvey called advocate Sarah Weddington who has served as the chief attorney through the appeal (Goss Jennifer L).

Sarah Weddington was the *Roe vs. Wade* [plaintiff](#)'s lawyers. She was looking for a woman who wanted an abortion. An adoption attorney introduced her to Norma McCorvey. She was in need of plaintiff to remain pregnant without traveling to another state where abortion was legal. Weddington feared that if her plaintiff obtained an abortion outside of Texas, she would lose the case. (Napikoski Linda). Similar cases of unwanted pregnancy have occurred in Texas such as: the Does case who preferred abortion if it is permitted. Moreover, a physician declared that he would perform the procedure if it is requested by his patient (Goss Jennifer L).

4.3.1. The Supreme Court Decision towards Roe v Wade

[Roe vs. Wade](#) is one of the most famous [Supreme Court](#) decisions of the 21st century in which Jane Roe admitted to the court the reasons behind having an abortion:

Jane Roe had been “unable to secure a legal abortion in Dallas County because of the existence of the Texas Abortion Laws.” She had sought this medical procedure “because of the economic hardship which pregnancy entailed and because of the social stigma attached to the bearing of illegitimate children in our society.(qtd, in Greenhouse 230).

Comparing to the issue of slavery, abortion is a human-life matter that the Fourteenth Amendment stands for. McCorvey and her co-plaintiffs argued that this ban violated women's rights given to them in the Fourteenth Amendments. As Wenz has stated that the attorneys hoped the court would find merits. So, *Roe vs. Wade* rests on the claim that woman has the total right to end her pregnancy that is given by the constitution (17).

The Supreme Court has taken an important measurement in order to regulate the abortion legalization by passing the so-called *Roe vs. Wade* decision as long as the constitutional laws have not affected the abortion debate throughout the history.

As a matter of fact, the Supreme Court decision stays as the most important feedback that the United States populations stand for. Firstly, abortion is not restricted during the first trimester. Secondly, states can restrict abortion during the second trimester but only if it is threatening the life of woman; the life of the foetus has no meaning. Finally, the states can ban abortion during the third trimester as long as there is exception of protecting the woman's life (Wenz 52).

According to the history of the United States of America, abortion was governed by the laws of individual states. Some states were conservatists and abortion is permitted

only in a few extenuating circumstances; however, the Supreme Court's decision in 1973 was more liberal stand than conservative one.

The Supreme Court's decision reflected the arguments of both parties, as well as many of those contained in the friend-of-the-court briefs filed on both sides. The Court rejected the state's argument that the fetus was a "person" meriting the same protection under the Constitution as born persons[...] Similarly; the Court endeavored to strike a balance in defining the scope of the right to abortion it recognized (Greehouse228).

The Supreme Court did not consider the foetus as a human being but it supported women's right to choose what to do with her own body.

Becket analyzes the Supreme Court decision towards *Roe vs. Wade* and the *Doe* cases; he considers the Supreme Court decision as an insult for the foetus by considering him as human being. Besides that Becket has added what Thomson already argued about; in constitution woman is not obliged to carry her pregnancy and becomes a mother (110).

Abortion is legal in the United States, and that law empowers women. The landmark 1973 *Roe v. Wade* case effectively stripped men of any legal right to protect or terminate the life of a child in the womb. The Supreme Court decided the right to abort rests solely with women. It found that right in either the Fourteenth or the Ninth Amendment.¹ What it didn't find was any legal authority for a father to have a say about the fate of his offspring (Fisher10).

Eventually, abortion is legal and the decision is at the hand of the mother whether to abort or not. So, few years later the question that has been asked by the father is how he could protect the rights of his child after the event of *Roe vs. Wade* restriction has occurred in the United States of America:

Then, once again, in 1989, a new trend is evident: a remade Supreme Court permits more abortion restrictions until, in 2007, a landmark decision steps away from 34 years of abortion jurisprudence. Other trends around the nature of government's various roles in abortion policy and practice, the influence of political parties and interest groups, and the roles of science and religion in the debate are familiar themes (Luker2).

4.4. Post *Roe v. Wade* Decisions

As a result of *Roe vs. Wade* decision, abortion rights legalization, a number of recent studies have shown how the change of access to abortion affects the child outcomes. Furthermore, the number of legal abortion has increased rapidly. By 1980, there were

over 1.5 million abortions as compared to 3.6 million births. Since the abortion is legal, it becomes more practiced for families that have fear for raising their children (Joyce 2).

After *Roe vs. Wade* case, antiabortion activists create the National Right to Life Committee:

Since *Roe v. Wade* effectively supports that assertion, it's no surprise that many men and women fully support it, especially in politics and entertainment. President Barack Obama declares: "I remain committed to protecting a woman's right to choose and this fundamental constitutional right [...] We must also continue our efforts to ensure that our daughters have the same rights, freedoms, and opportunities as our sons to fulfill their dreams (qtd, in Fisher20).

President Barack Obama has insisted on women's rights and equality with men. As well as he supports the *Roe vs. Wade* decision as an important constitutional right.

Yarnold extrapolates that the overall success rate for the ten pro-life groups is quite low at 46 percent. Thus, pro-life groups have the worst success rate in abortion litigation in the federal courts (105).

There have been small significant changes in aggregate opinion over time. In 1973, after the *Roe* decision supports for abortion has increased. Yet, this overall increase has masked an underlying polarization for some citizens who become more opposed to abortion as a result of *Roe vs. Wade* decision (Jelen 5).

According to the results presented by prolife supporters in American life, abortion rights have been criticized especially the decisions of the Supreme Court. In addition, the idea of killing human being has been quietly changed and become less effective in terms of the emotional side of the American society. However, those who support the abortion legalization, liberal states, have welcomed this event by celebrating it each year: "After the *Roe* decision in 1973, support for abortion increased. Yet this overall increases the political debate as a result of *Roe*" (Williams 20- 23).

Jelen presents similar cases to *Roe vs. Wade* by mentioning:

During the 1980s, support for abortion dropped for reasons yet unexplained, and then rebounded in 1989, just before the Court handed down the *Webster* decision that permitted some state regulation of abortion. Wlezien and Goggin (1993) have argued that the public anticipated the *Webster* decision, perhaps based on signals sent by party and interest group elites. By the late 1990s, support had declined again (37).

As can be seen above, the new existing rights violate the unborn child rights. Activists on both sides, pro-life and pro-choice, use the decision of abortion rights to

symbolize the legality of abortion to alter public understandings of sex equality, fetal life, and the role of the courts in American democracy.

5. Ethics of Abortion: Women's Rights, Human Life, and the Question of Justice

Before delving deeper into the history or current debates over an issue like abortion, it is important to look simply at the fact of its existence in the United States. The Presidential appointment of Justices leaves abortion as a hot topic for political candidates. As Thomas Jefferson, one of the founding fathers, wrote: "The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only object of government." (Right to Life of Michigan Educational Fund).

Exploring the values and ethics of any topic can be complex and confusing and abortion is not an exceptional case. There are two opposite sections about the issue of abortion, one section believes that abortion is up to women whether to choose it or not while the other section considers abortion as ignorance for the baby's right. Abortion touches the meaning of motherhood and the meaning of human life:

The new cultural trend favorable to the protection of life faces opposition because it goes against the dominant culture inherited from the 1960s. It is in this context that the will of some governments [...] to normalize abortion and to make it a fundamental right of women can be understood. But this "right," in order to exist and to last, requires ignoring the rights of an embryo and human fetus (Puppinc43).

Regardless of one's position on the abortion issue, everyone finally agrees that the struggle over abortion takes people to the core of what American society is and will be. Abortion is classified as individual rights either for women or for foetus: "Most of Americans think of abortion issues as individual rights-either the right to life of the fetus or a woman's right to privacy, choice, or control over her own body" (Maloy - Patterson1).

The long and bitter struggles over the legalization of abortion and women's reproductive rights generally produced arguments for women's control over their own lives: "Human rights bodies have repeatedly held that restrictive abortion laws[...] violate women's and girls' rights to life, health, privacy, non-discrimination and freedom from torture and other ill-treatment"(Amnesty international 6).

Slack states that the government should not be too conservative, and it must acquire a kind of secular system to let people decide their own affairs:

While the nature of government should not be theocratic, the task of government is more than simply a concern about secular activities in public life. Bonhoeffer wrote “The Church proclaims the principles of the social and political order, and the state makes available the technical means for putting them into effect” (8).

5.1. Abortion: A Question of Rights not Morals

Abortion controversy surrounds between two blocks: the Conservatism and the Liberalism. One block sees abortion as deliberate killing for innocent human being while the other one sees it as freedom for women. Fieser describes the unspoken pain for the foetuses, and he highlights the necessity for raising awareness in society:

1. The wrongness of intentional killing: abortion is the intentional killing of a potential person[...]intentional killing is morally wrong.
2. The responsibility to protect the innocent: the fetus is an innocent being which cannot speak for its own interests, and, thus, society must actively defend the fetus’s interests. Again, the notion of defending the innocent is an important value in society (16).

With the same token, abortion is seen as wrong because it entails the killing of innocent human life. It violates human rights: “A death occurs every time an abortion is performed—the death of an unborn child” (Williams 36).

That is to say that abortion is a threat for humanity. It is not an issue that should be neglected because of its danger. As Williams said: “Today, more than twenty-seven years since the legalization of abortion, over 30 million legal abortions have taken place in the United States [...] It is a matter of life and death for an innocent human being” (37).

Moreover, Williams states that human rights are among the fundamental principles for the United States government that is mentioned in the Declaration of Independence:

The words of the Declaration of Independence speak of the “Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God,” and proceed to make the historic assertion: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”[...]The words of the Declaration of Independence illuminate the founding principles of the American Republic, principles explicitly grounded in unchanging truths about the human person (21-22).

Another key point, Williams blames women for resorting to abortion ,and he links between the Declaration of Independence and the Bible in which these two references ban killing human being by any way and no way for freedom in this case:

They can remind us that our nation’s declaration of God-given rights, coupled with the command “Thou shalt not kill,” are the starting points of true freedom. To choose any other path is to

contradict our own identity as a nation dedicated to “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” (Williams 25).

Furthermore, Williams emphasizes that people must return to morality and the most important basic for human rights is living. He said that bishops argue about making abortion as legal would end up to a corrupted society and that any other crime would be permissible:

These bishops maintain that the most basic human right is the right to life. Since human life is sacred from conception until natural death, they contend, abortion is immoral. The bishops argue, furthermore, that the legalization of abortion in the United States has created a cultural environment in which other infractions against life—such as fetal experimentation, infanticide, and euthanasia—have become more acceptable. Americans must return to a morality that upholds the sanctity of all human life, they conclude (17).

5.2. Violation of Women’s Rights

The belief that individuals should be able to make their own choices shapes attitudes about the issue of abortion in USA. The question of abortion has been emerged from years. Human Rights organizations consider abortion as a vital human right and the question of motherhood is a personal one:

The understanding of a woman’s human right to decide when and if to have children has evolved and grown over the past 40 years. At the international level, governments recognized the right to make childbearing decisions at the first global meeting on human rights[...]At the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, 179 governments agreed that free and informed decision making about pregnancy and childbirth is a basic right (Protecting Women’s Health Advancing Women’s Reproductive Rights 1).

The right of self-decision is considered as human rights, and it must be away from political scene which means secularism. Pro-choice advocates argue continually for women’s rights to choose, and to have sovereignty over their own body, however; pro-life organizations counter these arguments with the rights of the foetus:

Right to life is an inherent right of every individual and based on this right is the enjoyment of other rights [...]“Everyone has a right to life, liberty and security of person”[...]“Every human being has the inherent right to life... The right to life has been classically interpreted as non-interference from the State in the enjoyment of the rights of the individual. However, the right to life in the abortion debate has been interpreted as a positive duty on part of the State. The pro-life supporters interpret this right to protect the life of the foetus whereas the pro-choice group interprets this right to protect the life of the women” (Regmy 72-73).

Fundamentally, abortion is about bodily integrity and the right of self-determination. Regmy asserts that the right of self-determination is one of the basic rights of an individual which is required for the full development of the personality (66).

Many of the specific human rights violations highlighted are rooted in discriminatory and harmful stereotypes about women. Harmful gender stereotypes of women's roles are enshrined in which it reinforces a deeply gendered state ideology around the traditional and patriarchal family: "Stereotypes about women's roles in society [...] were also violently enforced by the state and religious institutions" (Amnesty international 15-16).

In one hand, there are defenders for women's rights to choose whether to abort or not since it is their own bodies. Shaw states: "The right not to reproduce means the entitlement not to be compelled to beget or bear children against one's will [...] Women do not owe their reproductive products or labour to any person or institution, including male partners or the state." (Shaw3). Furthermore, Frances O'Grady, TUC Deputy General Secretary, links between abortion rights and women's rights: "Abortion Rights are vital for women's rights. Trade unionists must act together to defend a woman's right to choose" (qtd. in UNISON).

Additionally, Amnesty International emphasizes on the seriousness of abortion issue. Linda Wilson clarifies the suffering of women who are not convinced with the choice that is the call of either the government or the state:

We started out with the question of what makes an abortion register as an important event in the life of a woman. An abortion is something serious "I would love to see women being upheld as human beings who have rights and choices which are always legally, medically or religiously appropriate to the government. It feels like you can't just be a woman with free will. You have to be a suicidal woman and we will look after you."- Linda Wilson Long, Head of Counselling at Dublin Well Woman, a reproductive health service provider and counselling centre (17).

In the other hand, there are opponents for women's rights. These dissenters see abortion is an offensive act for the child and the mother: "Direct abortion is never a morally tolerable option. It is always a grave act of violence against a woman and her unborn child" (Williams 17).

5.3. Feminist Perspective on Abortion Issue

Feminism looks for equality. It is a fight for equal rights. Women want to be treated the same as men. When we look to the term, we feel that Feminism is merely for

women but in reality it works for the advantage of both sexes. The main point feminists has stressed on is gender inequality. Its aim is to improve the situation of people. Some women perceive feminism as women dominance. Some men see it as provoking women to get men as enemies because the term Feminism roots from feminine which means female. At early years, Feminism was only for female gender but in contemporary time, it speaks for gender equality (Mittal Palak).

Watkins defines Feminism as: “a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression.”(1). Watkins sees Feminism as a movement that seeks equality between sexes. Mittal Palak asserts the real meaning of Feminism by stating some principles that every feminist should own:

Feminism works for both men and women. True feminism doesn't look towards subverting the fellow gender. It is not “choice” specific but is directed towards communal “harmony”. True feminists do not demand dominance. Only equality. It is high time that the world should realize that feminism is not WOMEN DOMINANCE but GENDER EQUALITY.

In order to say that a person is feminist, he must support equality.

The origin of the word feminist goes back to French origin. At first, the term feminist was used in medicine. Fraise writes:

The term feminist first appeared in 1871 in a French medical text to describe to development of the in a French medical text to describe a cessation in development of the sexual organs and characteristics in male patients, who were perceived as thus suffering from ‘feminization’ of their bodies (qtd. in Freedman2).

The term feminist used to refer to a male who is behaving in feminine way.

After that the term feminist takes a different meaning by a politician. A French writer uses the term to refer to women who are behaving in a masculine way in Freedman’s book:

The term was then picked up by Alexandre Dumas fils, a French writer, republican and antifeminist, who used it in a pamphlet published in 1872 entitled *l’homme-femme*, on the subject of adultery, to describe women behaving in a supposedly masculine way (2).

Freedman gives a brief history about Women’s Rights movement:

In the 1840s the women's rights movement had started to emerge in the United States with the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 and the resulting Declaration of Sentiments, which claimed for women the principles of liberty and equality expounded in the American Declaration of Independence [...] So, although we can trace the development of women's rights movements from the mid nineteenth century, this was not the starting point for women's concern about their social and political condition (2).

In the mid 19s, American women started to ask for their rights through the emergence of Women's Right movement and they started to ask for equality between genders but it did not reach its evolvement in the political and the social arena till later time.

Even the term feminism used to refer to some figures like Mary Wollstonescraft (1759 - 1797), the term was not that early. The first use of this word appeared in French as *féminisme* in the 1870s. Its meaning at that time was women's freedom or emancipation. Hubertine Auclert used the term *féministe* about herself and others working for women's freedom, as the description of individuals, in 1882. In 1892, a congress in Paris was described as "feminist." In the 1890s, the term began to be used in Great Britain and then America in about 1894 (Lewis Jone Johnson).

Lorber dates back the first use of the word feminism and feminist:

Although the terms "feminism" and "feminist" did not gain widespread use until the 1970s, they were already being used in the public parlance much earlier; for instance, Katherine Hepburn speaks of the "feminist movement" in the 1942 film *Woman of the Year*.

Feminism and Women's Rights movements are quite overlapped terms. Delmar could break the discernible lines between them:

Feminism is thus a term that emerged long after women started questioning their inferior status and demanding an amelioration in their social position. Even after the word feminism was coined, it was still not adopted as a term of identification by many of those who campaigned for women's rights. Even many of the women's rights organizations in the late 1960s and early 1970s did not call themselves feminist: the term feminism had a restricted use in relation to specific concerns and specific groups (qtd. in Freedman).

Feminism is about social equality whereas Women's Rights movement is about liberating women from all the constraints.

Freedman points out recently to the fact that feminist and women's rights groups are alike. At the beginning there was separation between these two movements, then historians agreed about putting them together but with one condition since Feminism witnessed two waves: the first one from late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is like Women's Right movement because they have one shared aim which is equality, then Feminism developed to witness the second wave which has different aims that are totally different than Women's Rights movement (2).

As it is mentioned above, Feminism witnessed two waves. The first wave refers to late 19s and early 20s: Feminist movements were concerned with gaining equal rights for women chiefly the right of suffrage. Whereas, the second wave feminist (the late 1960s and 1970s) emerged as more active, women started to ask for more rights as being marginalized not only in politics but even in areas like: family, sexuality, and work. This division is good but it leads to confusion for some people. When we say first and second wave of Feminism does not mean that before the first one there is no existence of Feminism but rather it is found. Even the term was coined recently but Feminism ideas existed before and after the two waves (Freedman4).

Lorber subsidizes Freedman since he writes about the waves of feminism:

According to Maggie Humm and Rebecca Walker, the history of feminism can be divided into three waves. The first feminist wave was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the second was in the 1960s and 1970s, and the third extends from the 1990s to the present. Feminist theory emerged from these feminist movements. It is manifest in a variety of disciplines such as feminist geography, feminist history and feminist literary criticism (8).

Feminism can be divided into three loose groups: liberal feminism, Marxist or socialist feminism, and radical feminism. Liberal feminism argues that women are essentially similar to men, and therefore they should be represented equally in public places. Marxist and socialist feminisms argue that women must be economically independent in order not to be oppressed by men. Women are just mothers, and some men consider them as vassals or merely as wombs to carry their children. Radical feminists see men's domination of women as the result of patriarchal system (Lorber 15).

Feminism is a group of political, ideological, and social movements that aims to achieve political, economic, and social rights for women. Feminists have worked to guarantee the rights of women and to promote bodily autonomy. There were different

feminist movements over the years but they get criticized as segregated ones since they take into account only white, middle class, and educated women. This criticism leads to the creation of feminism that includes all races as melting pot (Lewis Jone Johnson).

Feminist is the person who believes in feminism like: [Simone de Beauvoir](#), [Betty Friedan](#), [Gloria, and Steinem](#) Robin Morgan (Lewis Jone Johnson).

In feminism, there are three important terms which are: gender, sex, and patriarchy. Gender is not a synonym of sex but instead it is women's identities in relation to the complex social and cultural differences with men. Sex is the biological difference between men and women. Lorraine Code defines patriarchy as a system in which females must be submissive to men in terms of power and status. He states that women must be property for men since Aristotle asserted that women are biologically inferior to men (Ruiz1).

Both females and males who identify themselves as feminists disagree on many things but most of them agree on five basic tenets according to Moffitt Kimberly:

Working to increase equality: Feminists believe that to grant change there is a necessity for action, they insist on action to reach gender equality.

Expanding human choice: Feminists believe that sex has nothing to do with the wish to develop humans' talents.

Eliminating gender stratification: Feminists oppose laws and cultural norms that limit woman to be what she wants. They want to find solutions to overcome oppression.

Ending sexual violence and promoting sexual freedom: Feminists feel that women should have control over their sexuality and reproduction.

Feminism asserts women's rights to control their bodies as a foundation of their principles. Equal rights cannot be achieved if women are not in control of their fertility. It is the pregnant woman who decides whether she is able and willing to have a child:

Let's begin by restating some basic points — obvious to feminists[...]A woman's access and freedom to choose abortion is a fundamental precondition to having control over her life[...]Without access to abortion, women become prisoners of their reproductive systems, and prisoners of a stereotype and culture that promotes motherhood as the valid role for women (Holt -Hinman5-6).

The rights of the father are often overlooked. Many people see abortion as woman's issue. This relates again to the rights of the woman whether she should be able to have the final say over her own body. In addition to this, the pregnancy occurs in the woman's body, and it is the woman that needs to either give birth or sign the consent for abortion:

If men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament. But they cannot, so legal and political arguments for abortion rights seek to compare a pregnant woman to a man and thereby make her situation comprehensible to liberal legal doctrine. Such comparisons become especially important when abortion is claimed not just as a privacy right, but as a matter of equality [...] Seventy-seven percent of anti-abortion leaders are men. One hundred percent of them will never be pregnant (Hendricks 330- 332).

Clearly one of the social issues which Americans deeply disagree about is concerning the role of women. Feminists are among the defenders for women's right to choose whatever they want; they believe that the right to choose would guarantee the equality between genders:

In the mid-1970s, however, feminists gradually made Roe a symbol of the relationship between the abortion-rights and women's movements [...] In part, abortion-rights leaders responded to the changing politics of civil rights in the late 1960s and early 1970s [...] Projecting new meaning onto the Court's decision, feminists convincingly argued that legal abortion reflected the importance of equality on the basis of race and sex. As the abortion-rights and women's movements grew closer, activists redefined their cause and its relationship to racial justice (Ziegler96-97).

Abortion debate is new in American history, its emergence is due to a group of women who rise their call which is equality between genders, and they believe that the abortion decision must be given according to women's wish, and if others interfere in such decision it will be seen as violation of women's rights. These groups of women who shape American history are as avant-guardist for the abortion decision; their questioning for women's rights has great effect on American politics mainly the Supreme Court:

Prior to 1967, the abortion debate in California was conducted in a spirit of compromise and civility[...]A group of women who valued motherhood, but valued it on their own timetable, began to make a new claim [...] that abortion was a woman's right. Most significantly, they argued that this right to abortion was essential to their right to equality—the right to be treated as individuals rather than as potential mothers[...]For all its dramatic and pervasive influence on American life, is a very recent phenomenon, dating from the late 1960s or the early 1970s.The emergence of women as a

self-conscious interest group that claimed abortion as a right marked a new and fundamentally different stage in the abortion debate[...]Its full effect came only after 1967, in the period leading up to the Supreme Court decision of 1973(Luker92-93).

The most important thing to remember is that feminists who ask for freedom of women adopt specific emblem for their demands as Luker states: “women have a right to their own bodies” (99).

Today’s laws on abortion could never have come about without Feminist movement. For a long time, the Feminist movement and the debate on abortion were closely connected, and in certain situations they fuelled each other. Thanks to Feminism that abortion becomes offered to any one and considers as legal right.

John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freeman write about Feminism in their book that is entitled: *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (1988):

When feminism took root in the late sixties, a movement was already a foot in a number of states to reform abortion laws[...]But feminists quickly transformed the debate, recasting the issue as one of “rights” over one’s own body[...]Then, in January 1973, in the case of *Roe v Wade*, the Supreme Court [...] declared unconstitutional any prohibitions[...]Feminists, caught unawares by this unexpected boon, hailed the decision as major victory (qtd. in Maloy- Patterson 97).

This history of harmful gender stereotype has played a large role in enforcing the laws associated with abortion issue. Amnesty International links the violence against women to tradition, culture, and religion:

The UN Human Rights Committee [...] has long acknowledged the critical role that culture, and other social structures such as gender, has had on women’s full enjoyment of their rights under the Covenant. In its General Comment No. 28, the Human Rights Committee elaborated: “Inequality in the enjoyment of rights by women throughout the world is deeply embedded in tradition, history and culture, including religious attitudes” (13).

Such acceptance, however, planted the seeds of discontent. The discrimination based on gender has always been at the heart of the Feminist movement. Feminists want to get rid of all the bonds:

The whole range of feminist discussion-from rights to revolution-had evolved in re action to the extreme confinements of the post-war era. All feminists wanted to throw off the old constraints, and few seemed to feel that women's traditional roles had any parts worth saving (Maloy- Patterson60).

The abortion debate continues to affect every aspect of life. Feminists did not agree about the issue of abortion. There are feminists who are pro-life and others who are pro-choice. Pro-life feminists argue that abortion rights are the essence for social equality,

while, pro-choice feminists argue on feminist good principles and that abortion itself is destructive act (Callahan 167).

Earl and Sharp show that Feminism is quite paradoxical because it is about bodily autonomy and abortion is a surgery within the body:

The crux of the feminist position is that women have a fundamental right to bodily integrity, and this includes the right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. Indeed, Petchesky (1986) argues that this is one of the principal tenets of feminist thought, suggesting that women's need for personal autonomy in the decisions that affect their bodies is an indispensable condition of their full participation in society (2-4).

BBC rises some arguments given by opponents of abortion. Some women are pro-life. They argue that the right to life should always outweigh the right of the individual since abortion is oppression against the defenceless. But others rise some arguments that are connected to women's rights. They say that abortion is history of oppression of women when it is illegal, and this does not free them since they remain tied to men constraints. They add that abortion violates feminist principles since this later is against all forms of violence including abortion: "We believe in a woman's right to control her body, and she deserves this right no matter where she lives, even if she's still living inside her mother's womb".

In addition to that some feminists argue that abortion is a male plot since most of men support it for bad reasons. They argue that men see pregnancy as an obstacle for them to have sex when needed. They believe that abortion is exploitation against women. This was one of the factors that the 19th century feminists opposed abortion, they regarded it as a way for men to have sex without thinking about the resulting child and pushing life of women in danger to get through an abortion (BBC). See Appendix D

5.4. Religious Response to Abortion

Modern life increasingly presents painful problems of conscience. If religion is to be of practical use it should provide people with complete answers, or at least clarify the principles that guide them through wilderness. Religious beliefs might play a role in how people understand pregnancy, fertility, and birth control. This might be a significant contributing factor to abortion's decision.

It is convenient to depict the abortion controversy as a debate between conservative and liberal sides. The difference between liberalism and conservatism is in terms of religion. Fieser speaks about this idea in which he states: "Religious tradition: [...]"

Much of the force behind the conservative view of abortion comes from religious tradition” (16).

It seems that the different influential groups have presented varied beliefs on the issue of abortion. When fighting to pass abortion restrictions, a commonly used argument goes against religion. Debates over religious implications have helped fuel the conflict over this highly charged issue. The religious issue over abortion is so difficult to resolve because of the varied nature of religion in the United States of America. Due to freedom of religion existed in this one nation, an uncountable number of different faiths being followed. While sects of Christianity are by far the majority, about 76.69% of the U.S. population as of 2001; other groups still retain considerable numbers of followers such as: Judaism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism (U.S. Census Bureau).

As it is shown in the statistics mentioned above, Christianity is the dominant religion in the United States of America. From a Christian point of view, abortion is considered as act of killing as it is declared by Pope Sixtus V:

In Christianity, Pope Sixtus V (1585–90) was the first Pope to declare that abortion is homicide regardless of the stage of pregnancy (*Brind'Amour*) the Catholic Church had previously been divided on whether it believed that abortion was murder, and did not begin vigorously opposing abortion until the 19th century (Joffe).

This is not to say that religion has nothing to do with the shifts that occurred over time. Religion is the only reliable source that helps to ease the pain and prejudice of a country divided for decades over the bitter issue of abortion. It dictates people’s views since the American world is deeply embedded in tradition, history, and culture, including religious attitudes.

5.4.1. Abortion from Christian Ethical Point of View

The issue of abortion creates chaos in politics and religion in the United States of America. It divides one nation to two sections. This division is due to religious norms or politic inclination. In U.S. Catholic Conference, people show clearly their disapproval about the decision of abortion, and they were surprised how can abortion be legal even it is about killing an innocent child: “[Constitutionally protected] abortion [...] has never been understood [...] to include taking the life of a partly born child” (Williams 12).

In the same way, Williams estimates the abstract precious cost of human life. He emphasizes on the necessity of protecting the human life. He wants people to feel resentful and related to religion since he combines the value of life to God. He explains

that people are not created by God for vain but rather have purposes to be reached. John Paul II states:

Human life is sacred and inviolable at every moment of existence, including the initial phase which precedes birth. All human beings, from their mothers' womb, belong to God who searches them and knows them, who forms them and knits them together with his own hands, who gazes on them when they are tiny shapeless embryos and already sees in them the adults of tomorrow whose days are numbered and whose vocation is even now written in the "book of life" [cf. Psalms 139:1, 13–16]. There too, when they are still in their mothers' womb—as many passages of the Bible bear witness—they are the personal objects of God's loving and fatherly providence. (qtd. in Williams 22).

In the light of what has been mentioned, abortion is considered as immoral from Catholic point of view. For this reason, Catholic women feel afraid because of religious constraints since abortion is considered as a sin, they never resort to it. They give birth and raise their babies through adoption. Even they believe that this solution is difficult but they see it better than the other road: "While these decisions were undoubtedly painful, the women and girls who made such choices often did so because, as Betty articulated it, it was "part of her way to God.'" (Rudy23).

5.4.1.1. Abortion Evidence from the Bible

The Bible is the holy book for Christians. It is the cornerstone for Christianity in which people rely on as Machen states: "Christianity is founded upon the Bible. It bases upon the Bible both its thinking and its life" (78).

In addition to that the Bible is the source of knowledge when people get confused about any issue; they resort to it to clarify this confusion. Machen shows that according to the Christian view, the Bible contains an account of a revelation from God to man which is found nowhere else (69).

To come out to clear evidence that solves the problem between Conservatism and Liberalism, there is a necessity to reach some answers from the Bible about the disagreed problems. Firstly, the disagreement is about when life starts for child. In the verse of Psalm and Jeremiah, life begins when God creates life in the womb through the miracle of conception:

Psalm 51:4-5 "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight: that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest. Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me." (The Holy Bible 1266).

Christian Life Resources provides the interpretation of the pervious verse:

Even though He is talking specifically about Jeremiah, God does not indicate He knows more about this future prophet than He does about any other unborn person. Hence, scripture gives no reason to assume that God is unaware of the identity of other developing unborn human beings even before they enter the womb.

The bond between the unborn child and God is confirmed more in Isaiah 49:16, where God says that He has carved, in the palm of His hand, the name of the person He creates and, therefore, He will never forget who is made in His image. Christian scripture indicates that God has plans for the unborn, and He knows those plans prior to conception (Christian Life Resources).

Secondly, the disagreement between Liberalism and Conservatism is about whether the unborn children are regarded as humans or not. In the verse of Luke, God talks about this issue:

Luke 1:41-44 “And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb ; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost : and she spake out with a loud voice, and said, Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb.” (The Holy Bible2153).

In the Bible, God talks about abortion. God shows the punishment of the person who causes the miscarriage of the woman that her husband has the right to decide: Exodus 21:22-25 “If men strive, and hurt a woman with child, so that her fruit depart from her, and yet no mischief follow: he shall be surely punished, according as the woman’s husband will lay upon him” (174).

This passage establishes the fact that God treated the unborn and the born child in the same way. If this passage only dealt with an injury to the woman, that situation covering bodily injury had already been treated. This case is different because it endangers both the woman and the child. So, the two persons need protection from bodily harm (Christian Life Resources).

In fact, the American people want to violate children’s rights of life. Indeed, all the evidences from the Bible are the contrary. Abortion is a tragedy as the President Ronald Reagan, in State of the Union Address-January1984, states: “We should rise above bitterness and reproach. And if Americans could come together in a spirit of understanding and helping, then we could find positive solutions to the tragedy of abortion” (qtd. in Christian Life Resources).

Thirdly, the dispute over abortion between Conservatism and Liberalism is about whether the unborn children are truly human or just flesh that has no senses and could

be thrown away. This is another idea of dispute between the two bunches. The Bible speaks of the unborn as having feelings of joy which implies faith and therefore a soul. It is confessed that Jesus became a man from the moment of his conception: "Luke 1:44 "For, lo, as soon as the voice of thy salutation sounded in mine ears, the babe leaped in my womb for joy." (The Holy Bible 2153).

Fourthly, women's claim who favoured abortion is that they can do whatever they want with their bodies. They believe that no one has the right to interfere in their personal lives, and they neglect all the constraints about this matter. The Bible shows the right answer is even people are created free but their freedom must not overstep to the freedom of others: "Exodus 20:13-14 "Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery." (The Holy Bible 171).

From the previous verses, it is clear that women have the right to control their bodies in a moral way. They do not have the right to control, harm or kill someone else's body. An unborn child is a separate body even though it rests within the woman's body. Boys obviously cannot be part of the female body of their mothers.

The following verses uncover that the legality of any issue does not reflect its purity. Making something legal does not necessarily make it right: Act 4:19 " But Peter and John answered and said unto them, Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." (The Holy Bible 2316).

The Bible gives the commandments that must be followed by Christians. Here are some verses that show how abortion is a sinful act even it is not mentioned explicitly but the meaning can be grasped through introspection. While abortion is never explicitly discussed, Old Testament Scriptures gives more affirmation to the defense of the unborn than they do to the rights of the mother. In Genesis 1:28, God shows His concern about the unborn and their role in the future of the earth: "Be fruitful and increase in number, fill the earth and subdue it" (Christian Life Resources).

Exodus 20:13 "Thou shalt not kill." (The Holy Bible 171).

Slack writes about the sinful of murder in Christian traditions:

To us murder is once for all forbidden; so even the child in the womb, while yet the mother's blood is still being drawn on to form the human being, it is not lawful for us to destroy. To forbid birth is only quicker murder [...] He is a man, who is to be a man; the fruit is always present in the seed (22-26).

Christian Life Resources shed the light on the previous idea: Proverbs 31:8, 9 “Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute. Speak up and judge fairly; defend the rights of the poor and needy”.

A Christian is compelled to speak up and to fight against abortion, the murder of the unborn child. He has to speak and defend for this silent and harmed category. These are God’s word demands nothing less!

Christian opposition to abortion is based on the Bible that human life starts at conception, and is always a precious instance of God’s image. As Williams states: “Now the word of the Lord came to me saying: Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born, I consecrated you; a prophet to the nations I appointed you. Jeremiah 1:5” (18). See Appendix E.

Conclusion

In a nutshell, we have discussed in this chapter the different voices that shaped the abortion controversy in the United States of America. Starting with the political side which has great effect on the debate, and how Liberalism is paradoxical from Conservatism point of view, since abortion is permissible; however, infanticide is not. By shedding the light on the development of abortion controversy from pre-Roe vs. Wade in which abortion was illegal, passing through the landmark of the legalization of abortion, and reaching the final decision of the Supreme Court which is the legality of abortion.

Moreover, we have presented abortion dispute from another angle by mentioning two other voices that contributed greatly to the controversy. These two voices are feminist perspective and religious attitude towards the issue of abortion. However, the two sides are completely opposed to each other. In terms of religion, we have emphasized on Christian point of view since the majority of American population are Christians.

General Conclusion

The present study has been an attempt to understand the abortion issue in the United States of America. Abortion has been, and will continue to be, one of the most controversial political issues. It is a centerpiece for the most important political movements that have played dominant roles in the American history since it remains a hot-button issue in American politics. Abortion is a subject that is morally charged. It is a contentious issue as reflected in inconsistent laws across the United States of America.

This work is an attempt to study the abortion rights and add it to the already existed knowledge. The prohibition of abortion access is discriminatory because of its negative consequences for women and girls. This thesis has provided a clear understanding about the procedure of abortion in general as well as it has described the transformation of abortion legalization through time.

Through this research, we can conclude the following results that reveal the relationship between the issue of abortion and politics. The political history of abortion has been a turbulent one, and the position of the Supreme Court on abortion influences the issue. A more liberal Supreme Court would strongly support the woman's right to choose what to do with her body; whereas a Supreme Court with more conservative justices would be more inclined to oppose making decisions that would strengthen the precedent set in *Roe vs. Wade*. Thus, the Presidential appointment of justices leaves abortion as a hot topic for political candidates. The event of *Roe vs. Wade* in 1973 is considered as a major spot in the abortion controversy because of this event abortion becomes legal.

Abortion controversy originated between Pro-life and Pro-choice movements. Pro-Life advocates believe that abortion is a murder, while Pro-Choice advocates believe that abortion is woman's right. Since 1973, abortion becomes legal in the United States of America but Pro-Lifers hope to make amendments that restrict abortion, and they also support adoption. A strong base for the Pro-Life group is religion. Pro-Choice activists believe that women have the freedom to choose abortion; they believe that abortion is a personal choice.

This work has argued that the feminist position on abortion rests on the fundamental assertion of women's rights to choose. Whilst rights are often enacted and ensured via legislation, the assertion of this right is otherwise unconditional; it cannot be

undermined by any one of the social, cultural, economic or political origins of the woman's desire to terminate the pregnancy. We conclude that attempts to reconcile the feminist position with that of defend-less rights advocates must fail. It has not been our intention in this paper to present a defense either for the feminist or disability equality position on abortion. We have instead sought to demonstrate that whatever ideological allegiances between the two positions may exist on this important point the two positions remain in fundamental opposition.

These voices give life to the full debate even it is often unavailable in the domain of abortion politics. This research has provided the different attitudes towards abortion among mass public in the United States of America. Women throughout the world, both in the distant past and in contemporary societies, have always turned to abortion as a last resort to prevent unwanted births. Moreover, they do so even when abortion is a dangerous procedure or where it is against the law. Despite the universality of the practice of abortion, there are wide variations across countries in the legal status of abortion and the prevailing ethical views about abortion. According to the limited data, there are also considerable differences in the incidence of abortion.

Christianity has long recognized abortion's impact on women and their families. While law and society often pit the interests of a mother against the interest of the unborn child, the Church recognizes that their best interests are joined; what is best for the child is also best for the mother.

Abortion has to break the silence. It is a case study for many issues that the American politics have dealt with through looking after its results on the American life and culture. There is a gap that must be filled between what is highly debated and what is being happening in real life. This has been a difficult inquiry to conduct in the light of the extremely controversial and sensitive subject matter.

As suggestion for future studies, if a further research is to be made, it would be worth to apply other approaches on this work such as: Marxism, or to tackle the issue of abortion from other religious attitudes.

List of Appendices

Appendix A :



Title: How to Get an Abortion in the United States.

Source : www.fundabortionnow.org

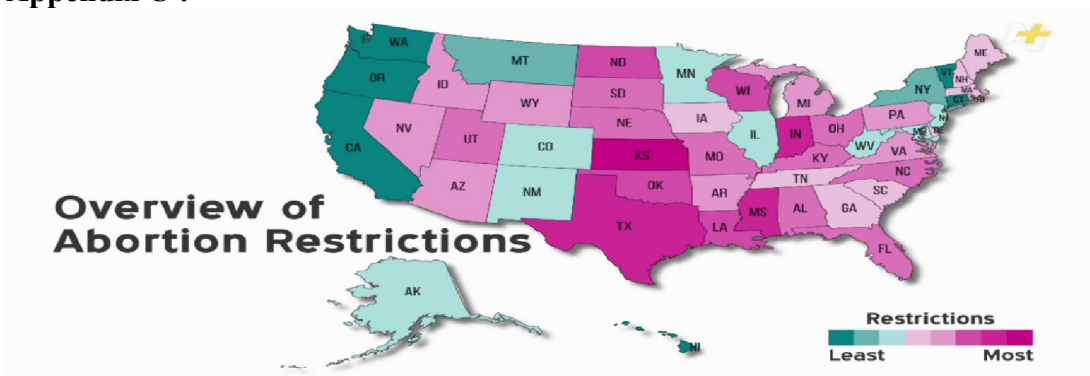
Appendix B :



Title: Modern liberal vs. conservatism end of topic.

Source : <https://www.slideshare.net/mattbentley34/modern-liberal-vs-conservatism-end-of-topic>

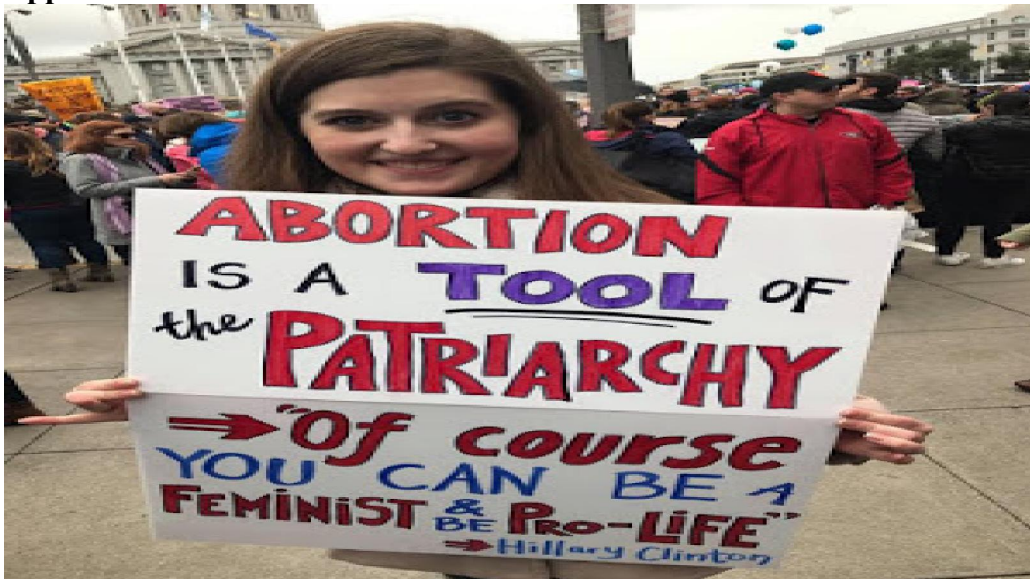
Appendix C :



Title: How to Get an Abortion in the United States.

Source: Overview of Abortion Restrictions.

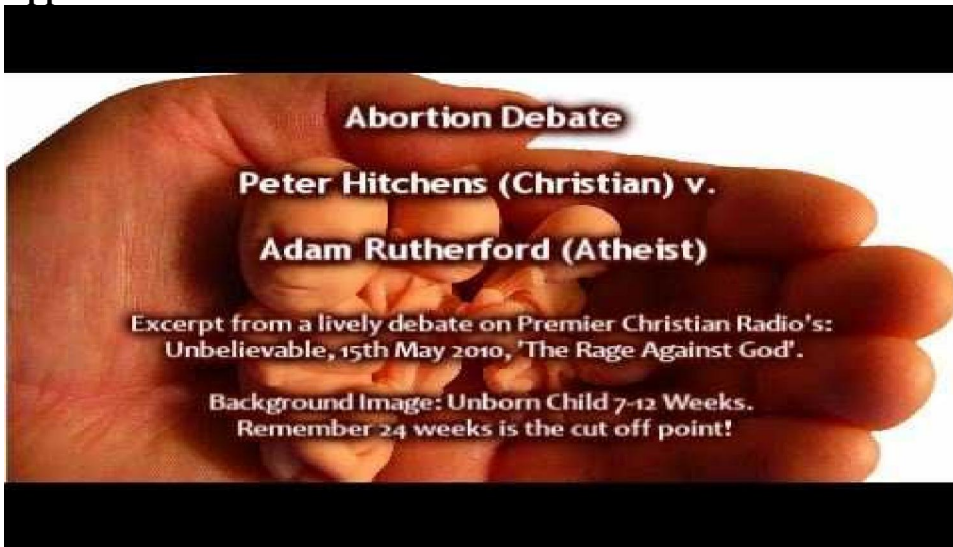
Appendix D:



Title: Secular Pro-life Perspectives.

Source: <http://blog.secularprolife.org/2017/01/>

Appendix E:



Title: Explore Us Christian, Christian Brother, and more

Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/429812358170213622/>

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Glossary

This is a list of some ambiguous expressions with their explanation according to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary 8th edition (2013):

Abortion: - the deliberate ending of a pregnancy at an early stage.

- a medical operation to end a pregnancy at early stage.

Activist: a person who works to achieve political or social change, especially as member of an organization with particular aims.

Alan Guttmacher Institution: The Guttmacher Institute is a primary source for research and policy analysis on abortion in the United States.

Amnesty International: an international human rights organization that works to help people who have been put in prison for their beliefs or race and not because they have committed. It also works to prevent torture and punishment by death.

Anesthesia: the state of being unable to feel anything, especially pain.

Autonomy: the freedom for a country, a region or an organization to govern itself independently.

Capitalism: an economic system in which a country's business and industry are controlled and run for profit by private owners rather than by the government.

Coalition: a government formed by two or more political parties working together.

Conservatism: the political belief that society should change as little as possible.

Constitution: the system of laws and basic principles that a state, a country or an organization is governed by.

Degeneration: the process of becoming worse or less acceptable in quality or condition.

Democracy: a system of government in which all the people of a country can vote to elect their representatives.

Embryo: a young animal or plant in the early stages of development before birth, or before becoming out of its egg or seed, especially a human egg in the first eight weeks of fertilization.

Feminist: a person who supports the belief that women should have the same rights and opportunities as men.

Fertility: the state of being fertile

Fetus: a young human or animal before it is born, especially a human more than eight weeks after fertilization.

Genocide: the murder of a whole race or group of people.

Gestation: the time that the young of a person or an animal develops inside its mother's body until it is born; the process of developing inside the mother's body.

Human Right: one of the basic rights that everyone has to be treated fairly and not in a cruel way, especially by their government.

Impulsivity: acting suddenly without thinking carefully about what might happen because of what you are doing.

Incest: sexual activity between two people who are very closely related in a family, for example, a brother and sister, or a father and daughter.

Infanticide: the practice of killing babies that are not wanted, for example because they are girls and not boys.

Intelligentsia: the people in a country or society who are well educated and are interested in culture, politics, literature, etc.

Legislation: the process of making and passing laws.

Liberalism: liberal opinions and beliefs, especially in politics.

Marxism: the political and economical theories of Karl Marx (1818-83) which explain the changes and developments in society as the result of opposition between the social classes.

Planned Parenthood: a private U.S. organization that gives free information and advice on planning a family. It has established in 1916 and has over 850 local branches, with its main office in New York.

Post-natal depression: a medical condition in which a woman feels very sad and anxious in the period after a baby is born.

Pro-choice: believing that a pregnant woman should be able to choose to have an abortion if she wants. –Pro-choice activists –Pro-choice stand on abortion.

Pro-life: opposed to abortion. – the Pro-life movement. – A pro-life campaigner.

Roe vs. Wade: a legal case in the U.S Supreme Court that decided that abortion is allowed by the constitution.

Supreme Court: the highest court in a country or state.

United States of America: a large country in N America consisting of 50 states and the District of Columbia.

World Health Organization: an international organization that aims to fight and control disease.

Zygote: the cell produced by the union of two gametes, before it undergoes cleavage (www.dictionary.com/browse/zygote).