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The Abortion Conundrum: Balancing Rights and Ethics

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Abortion and the rights of the unborn child are complex and controversial issues. This paper analyzes the issues that continue to spark beated debate and disagreement among individuals and groups with different values, beliefs, and moral frameworks. Proponents of abortion rights argue that women have the right to control their bodies and make their own reproductive choices, including the decision to terminate a pregnancy. They contend that the right to abortion is essential to women's autonomy, privacy, and bodily integrity and that denying women access to safe and legal abortion services puts their health, well-being, and lives at risk. Contrarily, proponents of abortion contend that abortion is a form of violence that violates the fundamental value of human dignity and that the fetus bas a right to life that the law must protect. They contend that denying an unborn child legal protection would be a grave injustice because the unborn child is a distinct human being with its rights and interests. The legal status of the unborn child is a distinct human being with its rights and interests. The legal status of the unborn child, the law sometimes tries to strike a balance between the rights of the woman and the child. The ongoing discussion surrounding abortion and the rights of the unborn child, its a complex and the rights of the unborn child is a complex and multifaceted issue that requires careful consideration and dialogue to promote understanding, respect, and justice.

Keywords: abortion, unborn child, social justice, right to life, state regulation.

INTRODUCTION

Abortion is "the deliberate termination of a human pregnancy, most often performed during the first 28 weeks of pregnancy¹". This can occur either as a miscarriage or be purposefully induced via medications, surgery, or other techniques. For generations, women have fought for reproductive rights and to have abortions. These rights have historically generated much debate because of their social, ethical, and religious implications. In addition to other rights, it is thought that every mother has a fundamental right to an abortion². Therefore, the right to an abortion has gained increased significance as a fundamental human right that should be protected for women. The freedom of a woman to have an abortion is protected by her rights, including her right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Reproductive rights are widely acknowledged as essential for increasing women's human rights and fostering development. Several factors make women opt for abortion. These factors include maternal health, inability to sustain a child, domestic violence, unplanned pregnancy, teenage pregnancy, etc³. In earlier times, the Right to Abortion was vehemently opposed and considered a sin by society. In the present times, though some countries have started mending their thinking and supporting the concept of abortion, there still exists much opposition that women face to abortion laws⁴. Criminal restrictions and punishments for abortion are included in various statutes of the countries⁵. Abortion may be classified based on the nature and circumstances under which the abortion took place.

¹ Philip J Steer, 'The Language of Abortion: Time to Terminate TOP: AGAINST: "Termination of Pregnancy" Is Less Likely than "Abortion" to Be Misunderstood or Cause Distress' (2018) 125 BJOG <<u>https://doi.org/10.1111/1471-0528.15136</u>> accessed 17 April 2023

² Suzanne M Alford, 'Is Self-Abortion a Fundamental Right?' (2003) 52 Duke Law Journal <<u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/1373127</u>> accessed 03 March 2023

³ Aparna Sundaram et al., 'Factors Associated with Abortion-Seeking and Obtaining a Safe Abortion in Ghana' (2012) 43(4) Studies in Family Planning <<u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/23409223</u>> accessed 01 March 2023

⁴ Eve Chen, 'Where Is Abortion Legal in the World? Canada, Other Countries Allow Abortions and These Ban Them' (*USA Today*, 6 May 2022) <<u>https://www.usatoday.com/story/travel/news/2022/05/06/abortion-legal-</u> <u>illegal-countries-list/9672276002/</u>> accessed 10 March 2023

⁵ 'Right to Abortion: In Which Countries Is It Banned, Restricted or Threatened?' (*Le Monde.fr*, 24 June 2022) <<u>https://www.lemonde.fr/en/international/article/2022/06/24/right-to-abortion-in-which-countries-is-it-banned-restricted-or-threatened_5987907_4.html</u>> accessed 12 March 2023

The following are the categories:

- 1. Natural Abortion;⁶
- 2. Accidental Abortion;7
- 3. Spontaneous Abortion;⁸
- 4. Artificial or induced Abortion.'

If the circumstances under which abortion took place fall under the first three categories, it is not to be considered an offense, and thus, it is not punishable. However, artificial or 'induced abortion' is punishable under Section 312 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860.⁹

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The paper deals with the following research question: -

- 1. Should women's rights take precedence over the rights of an unborn fetus?
- 2. How does the concept of fetal personhood affect abortion laws?
- 3. Does a fetus have the status of a legal person?

OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

- This study aims to investigate the personal, social, and environmental influences on abortion decision-making. This includes deciding to get an abortion and determining how to have the abortion.
- The objective of this study is to provide a thorough overview of abortion laws and policies around the world.
- It reveals that there is no justification, either legally or in terms of public health, for the proliferation of complex legislation and regulations about abortion.
- To scrutinize the changes incorporated in the Medical Termination Pregnancy Act.

⁶ Kalyan Sundaram, 'Types of Abortion' (Focus Women's Center, 20 August 2009)

<<u>https://focuswomenscenter.com/en/your-options/abortion/types-of-abortion/</u>> accessed 21 February 2023

⁷ Malik Kaushik, 'Nirvana - Accidental Abortion (1995) 4th Fan Album' (*Rock-metal-wave.ru*, 08 December 2010) <<u>https://rock-metal-wave.ru/video/vip/13500/muzyka/nirvana_accidental_abortion_1995_4th_fan_album</u>> accessed 25 March 2023

⁸ Clark Alves and Amanda Rapp, 'Spontaneous Abortion' (*PubMed*, 29 September 2022)

<<u>https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/books/NBK560521/</u>> accessed 23 March 2023

⁹ Indian Penal Code 1860, s 312

STATEMENT OF THE STUDY

This research paper addresses the rights of the mother and fetus in the context of abortion. There is a right to live for everyone in this world. But the point arises: whose right to life should we emphasize- mother or fetus? It is a fact that pregnancy brings many changes in a woman's body. A woman faces many hormonal changes and mood swings during pregnancy, and after the delivery of the child, her body cannot be the same as it used to be.

Keeping this in mind, the government should protect the reproductive rights of mothers. Abortion does not amount to a violation of the right to life of a fetus as it has no interest of its own. The fetus has not come into life and depends on the mother's food, nutrition, oxygen, etc. We can say that a fetus is part of a woman's body. Additionally, any law that criminalizes or forbids abortion violates a woman's right to privacy, right to dignity, right to health, right to freedom, and ultimately, the right to life¹⁰.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The researcher in this paper has evaluated and analyzed the requirements essential for studying the topic. The topic's main focus revolves around the establishments for abortion and its need to make it a right both ethically and mentally. The research will assist the need for acceptance in cases wherein abortion takes place. The paper will broaden the cases relating to the termination of pregnancy and its criminalization without any valid reasoning which would have affected the families. It also reflects medical professionals' lack of essential due care, which becomes a significant concern for individuals dealing with traumas. The research will benefit women worldwide and not only women but also individuals, including medical professionals stating that there is always a right to choice and acceptance from the world dealing in such cases.

SCOPE AND LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Due to the study's restriction on solely university-bound female respondents, the statistics may not accurately represent all reproductive age groups. Additionally, more studies and data must be needed to compare the results. In addition to this, the study's weakness was the limited

¹⁰ Constitution of India 1950, art 21

sample size. The paper critically analyzes the medical termination pregnancy act's flaws. It establishes the necessity of improvising the requirements by circumstance and condition because the proper examination is impossible due to time constraints.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The division of this research methodologies into categories is based on doctrinal research. Analysis of the legal theory and how it has been produced and used is the focus of doctrinal research, which is theoretical. Hence this paper evaluates a doctrinal approach to carrying out fundamental analysis. The study was done using several research instruments and is descriptive and analytical in nature. The main aim of this research paper is to focus on a critical examination of abortion laws.

SOURCES OF DATA

Primary and secondary sources are further divided into categories for data sources. As noted above, the researcher in this work has concentrated on carefully examining the available primary and secondary data. The researcher relies on laws, reports, court precedents, and notifications for primary data sources. Furthermore, commentaries, research papers, magazines, case laws, and books are relied upon for secondary data.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the journal article, 'The Determinants and Impact of State Abortion Restrictions' by H Medoff¹¹ while discussing the restriction on abortions, pointed out the famous case of Roe v Wade¹². In this case, the court held that the right to abortion is a constitutional right of women which shouldn't be restricted. However, it was also stated that women have access to abortion without restrictions in pregnancy's first and second trimesters. Still, there is the state-imposed restriction on abortion in the third trimester of pregnancy as it interests potential life. The writer further stated that working women are potential users of abortion as compared to housemakers. His

¹¹ H Medoff, 'The Determinants and Impact of State Abortion Restrictions' (2002) 61(2) The American Journal of Economics and Sociology <<u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/3487791</u>> accessed 07 April 2023 12 Roe v Wade [1973] 410 US 113

reasoning was that the unexpected child results in them risking their jobs, and hence they opt for abortions.

Another journal, 'A rights-based approach to abortion' by Fiona De Londra and Mairead Enright¹³, talks about when a woman becomes pregnant, all the rights granted to her under the constitution, like 'privacy,' 'bodily integrity,' 'equality' are subordinated to the right to life of the fetus. Hence, she can't do anything that will endanger the fetus's life. She still holds all those rights; however, those rights are weakened due to the additional responsibility on her. Further, the author shares that the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women' has stated that criminalization, denial, or refusal of safe measures of abortion gives rise to gender-based violence that amounts to unsafe treatment.

WHETHER THE RIGHT OF WOMEN SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE RIGHT OF THE UNBORN FOETUS

Mother's Right to an Abortion v the Unborn's Right to Life: The rights of a woman are equal to those of other individuals, but they frequently appear to conflict with those of her unborn child. Maternal-fetal conflict is the term used to describe how the pregnant woman's interests are occasionally treated differently from those of the fetus. This duality gives rise to a defense for limiting the pregnant woman's autonomy.¹⁴ The freedom to choose whether or not to carry a particular pregnancy to term should be granted to mature women in their capacity as mature humans with the utmost respect and dignity. The Roe case concluded that a woman's right to choose to have children was fundamental and could not be infringed upon. The decision of a woman whether or not to terminate her pregnancy was deemed to fall outside the scope of the right to privacy.

Schools that support life demand the fetus's rights and seek the outlawing abortion. But in this case, the mother's right to choose is violated. The pro-choice movement and school of thought call for protecting a mother's freedom to decide when and how many children she will have.

¹³ De Londras Fiona and Enright Mairead, *Repealing the 8th: Reforming Irish Abortion Law* (Policy Press 2018)

¹⁴ Sozos J Fasouliotis and Joseph G Schenker, 'Maternal-Fetal Conflict' (2000) 89 European Journal of Obstetrics & Gynecology and Reproductive Biology

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0301211599001669> accessed 07 April 2023

Whether to carry a pregnancy to term or not belongs to the woman. When a woman decides whether or not to bring her pregnancy to term, her body, her health, and her future are all at risk, According to pro-choice proponents. They think that when abortions are permitted, women are less likely to resort to desperate measures to have illegal abortions, improving the lives of both parents and children. More generally, pro-choice proponents define their views regarding personal freedom, reproductive choice, and reproductive rights. This argument also claims that since an embryo is not a legal person, it has no rights. Therefore, if one is aborted, there is no issue of any personal rights being violated.

THE MENTAL HEALTH OF THE MOTHER AND THE FUTURE OF THE CHILD IS AT RISK

Unwanted or untimely pregnancies can be called "unintended pregnancy," synonymous with "unplanned pregnancy." Both short- and long-term health outcomes for mothers and children are significantly influenced by the intent to become pregnant¹⁵. Pregnancy intention on parenting attitudes and behaviors may eventually impact child development. Babies had a higher chance of having prolonged nursing and the recommended vaccines if the pregnancy was planned. The purpose of being pregnant also has long-term effects on a child's health. Unplanned pregnancies resulted in children who, compared to their classmates, had cognitive deficits at age 3, more significant behavioral disorders at ages 5 and 7, and more problem behaviors and drug use at age 14. Poor relationships between mother and child can result from unwanted pregnancies, even after the child has grown up. An unintended pregnancy raises the risk of adverse maternal mental health conditions like perinatal depression, stress, and decreased psychological well-being. The likelihood of maternal depression and parenting stress increases with an unwanted pregnancy¹⁶. There can be various ways women can get pregnant, as she might be in a bad marriage where she was constantly abused physically, mentally, and sexually. While carrying out that pregnancy will not do any good, neither to the mother nor to

¹⁵ Jessica D Gipson et al., 'The Effects of Unintended Pregnancy on Infant, Child, and Parental Health: A Review of the Literature' (2008) 39 Studies in Family Planning <<u>https://www.jstor.org/stable/20454434</u>> accessed 07 April 2023

¹⁶ Xing Qiu et al., 'Unintended Pregnancy and Postpartum Depression: A Meta-Analysis of Cohort and Case-Control Studies' (2020) 138 Journal of Psychosomatic Research

<<u>https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpsychores.2020.110259</u>> accessed 07 April 2023

the child. In that case, she will be mentally exhausted, and the child's future will be hampered¹⁷. The other issue can be that she might have been raped, and she already is not in the condition to carry the child, or she doesn't want to bring the child because that will mentally disturb her. Being a mother is not an ordinary thing, for one is supposed to be mentally and physically ready, and if someone is not fulfilling the conditions, then that will not be good for both child and mother. So, letting women do abortions is ethical as it saves two lives. If we are supposed to choose between two things, we will select which benefits the majority ethically.

WHO CONTROLS A WOMAN'S BODY?

One of the most critical components of reproductive independence is the sex and body of women under their control. Due to this, the feminist movement highlighted the various ways that patriarchal control over women's bodies could appear, such as when a husband forces his wife to have sex or when the government orders a woman to get sterilized. It contested the prevailing social norm of patrilineage, which only bestows legitimacy on the legitimate heir and harshly penalizes sexual expression or reproduction outside of marriage. It criticized the institutionalization of patriarchal control over women's sexuality through monandrous heterosexual marriages. When a woman lacks bodily integrity, her body is invaded against her will. When social conventions more influence her decisions than her preferences, she is unlikely to be able to actively engage in decision-making, either on a micro-household level or a largescale societal level. To reclaim women's control over their fertility and open doors for autonomy and decision-making in all spheres of life, the women's health movement has promoted women's right to voluntary maternity through access to safe contraception and abortion services. The right to contraception has been accorded worldwide due to the fight for women's "reproductive rights." Yet, women still lack simple access to affordable, side-effect-free contraceptives. Yet, in many other regions worldwide, women are still refused access to similar services today. They are unable to use contraception due to cultural and religious taboos. In cultures like India, where motherhood is valued and infertility is viewed as a curse, contraception is frowned upon. The battle for women's reproductive autonomy has led to a

¹⁷ Jessice Houston Su, 'Unintended Birth and Children's Long-Term Mental Health' (2017) Journal on health and Social Behavior <<u>https://doi.org/10.1177/0022146517717037</u>> accessed 07 April 2023

separation between sexuality and reproduction thirty years after it began, enabling women to have sexual encounters without pregnancy as the unavoidable result.

EFFECTS OF CRIMINALISATION OF ABORTION

Criminalizing abortion doesn't prevent it; it merely makes it riskier: Laws prohibiting abortion don't prevent women and girls from needing or requiring it. The efforts to limit or outlaw abortions have little effect on the number of abortions; instead, they drive women to dangerous abortion facilities. World Health Organization defines 'unsafe abortions' as a procedure for terminating an unintended pregnancy carried out either by persons lacking the necessary skills or in an environment that does not conform to minimal medical standards or both¹⁸. According to the data collected by World Health Organization, the estimated number of unsafe abortions was approximately 25 million yearly. The laws in many countries prohibit abortion and also prescribe punishment for the same. However, this doesn't stop women's lives from being risked. Unsafe abortions are a leading source of harm and death to women globally. Comparing countries with restricted abortion laws to those where abortion is legal and accessible, dangerous abortion rates are higher in the former, while overall abortion rates are similar. Unsafe abortions may result in death compared to an abortion performed by professional medical health staff. So much so that, according to the WHO, "unsafe abortions are the third most common cause of maternal deaths globally and are responsible for an additional five million completely avoidable abnormalities¹⁹. Hence the laws must legalize the practice of abortion to protect females from using unsafe means of abortion and thus risking their lives.

Doctors cannot provide essential care because laws criminalize and restrict abortion: Medical practitioners are hindered by criminalization and stringent legislation on abortion, the most appropriate treatment options for their patients by acceptable medical practice, and their responsibilities under ethical and professional standards. When abortion is made illegal and unlawful, there is a chilling effect that causes medical professionals to either not grasp the law's restrictions or to implement them more strictly than is required and mainly necessary.

¹⁸ 'Abortion' (*World Health Organization,* 25 November 2021) <<u>https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/abortion</u>> accessed 12 February 2023

¹⁹ Jessica D Gipson (n 16)

Numerous factors could be to blame for this, such as personal convictions, the stigma around abortion, Environment and surroundings implications, different perspectives and opinions, several negative attitudes and stereotypes of the female race, or concern over possible legal ramifications. Likewise, it deters females and young people from seeking post-abortion care for challenges posed by unintended pregnancies or other pregnancy-related problems. This, in turn, creates anxiety in them, leading to stress and sometimes depression which is harmful to the individual's body and has not been foreseen by medical professionals. Similarly, referring to a case below wherein,

A young Irish woman Claire Malone²⁰, who already had two children, shared her harrowing testimony with Amnesty International Ireland shared her story about how her right to health was violated because she could not access abortion due to the strict abortion laws in her country. Claire had her lung removed in 2014 due to several complexities and potentially fatal medical conditions that were dangerously harmful to an individual, such as pulmonary atresia and hypertension. Women with pulmonary hypertension risk dying during pregnancy or contracting a serious illness if they get pregnant. Since Claire is aware of this, she requested a termination for the same, yet her doctors were unable to comply with her request due to legal restrictions. She expressed, "My doctors said they couldn't offer a termination as my life wasn't at risk right now, and that was it. I know the law binds them. But I felt like if I waited until my health got so bad that I could die, it would be too late anyway. And why is a risk to my health, as bad as it already was, not enough? How much do I have to go through before my doctors are allowed to treat me²¹?"

BACKGROUND OF THE LAW OF ABORTION

Before 1971, abortion was considered to be purposefully 'causing miscarriage' and was therefore

²⁰ Hussain Malik, 'When Claire Malone Became Pregnant for the Third Time... She Knew Her Life Was at Risk' (*Her*, 15 November 2001) <<u>https://www.her.ie/news/incubator-just-get-claire-malone-eighth-amendment-made-risk-life-400841</u>> accessed 24 March 2023

²¹ 'Amnesty Presents Powerful First-Hand Testimony Showing the Eighth Amendment Harms Pregnant Women's Health - Amnesty International Ireland' (*Amnesty International Ireland*, 27 April 2018) <<u>https://www.amnesty.ie/amnesty-presents-powerful-first-hand-testimony-showing-eighth-amendment-harms-pregnant-womens-health/> accessed 07 April 2023</u>

illegal under Section 31²². Except in situations where it was done, abortion was a crime, so protect women's lives. In India, discussions for a framework legally permitting induced abortion did not start until the 1860s, when it was authorized in 15 other countries. The (MTP) Act²³ lays down the legal foundation for offering CAC services in India. There are several reasons why pregnancy can end up to 20 weeks of gestation. Reasons, as listed below:

- When a pregnant woman's life is at risk or when continuing the pregnancy could seriously affect her physical or mental health; When there is a high likelihood that the unborn child will have severe physical or mental defects or will pass away before being born
- When rape results in pregnancy;
- When a married lady or her husband's usage of contraception fails to prevent pregnancy;
- When the family's socioeconomic situation is poor, and the couple has more than two or three kids.

According to the MTP Act, there are restrictions on who can end a pregnancy, when, and where it can happen. The MTP Rules and Regulations 2003²⁴ provide reporting and documentation requirements and the education and licensing requirements for a facility and a provider for safe and permissible pregnancy termination.

The Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) Act, 2021²⁵

It came intact on September 24th, 2021, and received the president's assent on 25th, 2021. The bill annexed the statement of object and the reason, stating - With the passage of time and the advancement of medical technology for safe abortion, there is potential for raising the upper gestational limit for terminating pregnancies, particularly for safe abortion, there is potential for raising the upper gestational limit for terminating pregnancies, particularly for vulnerable women and pregnancies with the significant fetal anomalies detected late in pregnancy. Furthermore, enhancing women's access to legal abortion services to reduce Maternal mortality

²² Indian Penal Code 1860, s 312

²³ Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act 1971

²⁴ Medical Termination Rules and Regulations 2003

²⁵ Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) Act 2021

and morbidity caused by unsafe abortion and its complications²⁶. The Amendment changes Section 3 of the MTP Act²⁷, among other things by increasing the maximum period for medically terminating a pregnancy for some categories of women from 20 to 24 weeks.

CASE LAWS

DR. Nisha Malviya & Anr v State of MP:²⁸ Referring to the case of Dr. Nisha Malviya & Anr v State of MP, the accused had committed rape on the victim who was a minor girl aged 12 years, and he had made her pregnant. The allegations are such that the two other co-accused had taken the girl and terminated her pregnancy. The court held that the three people accused of the rape were also accused of termination of pregnancy, which was against the consent of the mother or girl". This leads to abortion in cases that could be considered illegal and unlawful, leading to legal implications that could affect the victim in her personal life and surroundings with different eyeballs pinpointing the victim by victim-blaming and leading to depression.

D. Rajeswari v State of Tamil Nadu & Ors:²⁹ This is a case of a girl who used to live in a village in Tamil Nadu. She was kidnaped by a person whom she used to know. That person confined her to his house in a room, but she was not allowed to go out. He changed the place of hiding daily. One day he forcefully raped her. He and his friends were involved in this inhumane act and even took her nude pictures. One day the boy was not there, so she escaped. When she was 18 years old, she got pregnant. This case was brought to Tamil Nadu HC. Because of the unwanted pregnancy during her 3rd month, she was mentally unstable. Hence the court gave the decision to terminate the pregnancy. Therefore this case can be used to conclude that an unwanted pregnancy can adversely affect your mental condition.

Shri Bhagwat Katariya & Ors v State of MP:³⁰ It was determined in this case that Section 3 of the MTP Act of 1971³¹ gives a doctor the right to end a pregnancy in certain situations and that

²⁶ Veronica Arora and Ishwar C Verma, 'The Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) Act, 2021: A Step towards Liberation' (2021) 7(1) Indian Journal of Medical Ethics <<u>https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/34018962/</u>> accessed 13 April 2023

²⁷ Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) Act 2021, s 3

²⁸ Dr Nisha Malviya and Anr v State of MP (2019) MP 3323

²⁹ D Rajeswari v State of Tamil Nadu & Ors (2003) 2 MLJ 590 (Mad)

³⁰ Shri Bhagwat Katariya & Ors v State of MP (1962) SC 1184

³¹ Medical Termination of Pregnancy (Amendment) Act 2021, s 3

if the pregnancy was terminated following the law, it must be assumed that the woman had given her consent for the pregnancy. In this instance, the doctor will be liable because denying the lady her kid inflicted a lasting wound on her heart and spirit. In light of this case law, women have unalienable rights to abortion, and no one may deny them.

CONCLUSION

About the laws relating to abortion, I agree on the terms that women should be entitled and given the right to terminate their pregnancy. Even not looking from a legal perspective, it is ethically correct to save an individual's life who has an unwanted child who is brought into life without her consent and convenience. Even if the mother keeps the unwanted child, she has to face a stigma of eyeball perspectives with a dull and not-so-happy environment and surroundings. The mother must work more than her limit for proper nutrition and living conditions for the child. The individual is neither mentally nor physically prepared for their circumstances and future. The child might not have a joyful life as not seeing a proper family and acceptance from a young age is complex, and they might have to see their mother face discrimination because she doesn't have the 'normal' surroundings as everyone does. The mother faces a series of stress, tension, anxieties, and depression, which harms her mental wellbeing and causes trauma throughout her life. Hence, we can conclude that it is ethically correct to do an abortion.