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JOURNAL PURPOSE

The purpose of the *Ngenani - Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University Journal of Community Engagement and Societal Transformation Review and Advancement* is to provide a forum for community engagement and outreach.

CONTRIBUTION AND READERSHIP

Sociologists, demographers, psychologists, development experts, planners, social workers, social engineers, and economists, among others whose focus is on community development.

JOURNAL SPECIFICATIONS

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SCOPE AND FOCUS

The journal is a forum for the discussion of ideas, scholarly opinions and case studies of community outreach and engagement. Communities are both defined in terms of people found in a given locale and defined cohorts, like the children, the youth, the elderly and those living with a disability. The strongest view is that getting to know each community or sub-community is a function of their deliberate participation in matters affecting them by the community itself. The journal is produced bi-annually.

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Language: British/UK English

Title: must capture the gist and scope of the article

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Keywords: must be five or six containing words that are not in the title

Body: Where the authors are more than three, use *et al.*,

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ABORTION AMONG PREGNANT TEENAGE GIRLS: A CASE STUDY OF CHERIMA, MARONDERA, ZIMBABWE

KUDZAI MUTUWIRA¹

Abstract

The notion of why pregnant teenage girls abort is a very controversial topic in the sense that it is rooted in the discourse of pro-life and pro-choice. At the same time, abortion is forbidden in a patriarchal society as they view women's role as giving birth. Thus, this research study sought to explore the reasons pregnant teenage girls abort. Qualitative research methods were used to gather relevant data. The methods utilised include semi-structured personal interviews and key informant interviews that pinpointed why pregnant teenage girls abort and the consequences faced after abortion. The experiential research study made use of the symbolic interactionism theory to relate to how society views the discourse of abortion. Thematic analysis of the data revealed that the reasons for abortion by pregnant teenage are a result of societal norms and values. The study findings agreed that pregnant teenage girls aborted because of different experiences they are facing in their community.

Keywords: *young girl, abortion, pro-life, pro-choice, policy, sociality*

INTRODUCTION

There is an increase in the cases of abortion among pregnant teenage girls. Many studies on teenage abortion. In Zimbabwe, there is scarcity of studies on teenage abortion. In addition, most studies carried out on abortion focused on medical reasons such as the study by McHale and Jones (2011), Mavroforou, Koumantakis and Michalodimitrakis (2004) and Harries *et al.* (2007). Hypothesising that there are other reasons for abortion, the focus of this study is to explore the socio-economic reasons pregnant teenage girls abort in Cherima, a suburb of Marondera, Zimbabwe. As argued by Zhou (2010), in Zimbabwe, the

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highest rates of abortion are in the Mashonaland Provinces and Harare, recording 21 per 1 000 girls aged 15-19. Despite this observation by Zhou, there remains a scarcity of studies in Marondera on why pregnant teenage girls abort; therefore by focusing the study in Cherima, the researcher is bringing out the localised picture. The present research addresses this problem by exploring the abortion push factors in Cherima. Many studies that have been carried out on abortion by pregnant teenage girls focused mainly on the consequences of abortion, more specifically, health complications. That abortion has socio-economic push factors remains unexamined, especially in the Zimbabwean context. This study, therefore, emerges as a timely and relevant contribution to the existing literature on this important topical issue.

This study seeks to explore abortion, specifically the socioeconomic factors that trigger abortion in Cherima. As argued by Feltoe (2004) in Chin'ombe (2014:29-30), abortion is unlawful and intentional killing causing the expulsion of a human foetus from the uterus. Abortion affects women of different ages, religions and societies. The topic of abortion remains controversial because it centres on the debate of women's control over their bodies but is influenced by religion (pro-life) and policies (pro-choice) (Grisanti 2000). In Zimbabwe, abortion is regulated by the Zimbabwe Termination of Pregnancy Act, Chapter 15:10 (1977), which states that abortion is allowed only in circumstances of rape, incest, foetal impairment or to serve the mother's life. Abortion performed for any other reason than the highlighted becomes illegal. Thus, this study seeks to highlight the socioeconomic reasons behind illegal abortion by teenage girls.

Adolescent pregnancies are a global problem that occurs in high-, middle- and low-income countries. Around the world, they are more likely to occur in marginalised communities, commonly driven by poverty, lack of education and unemployment opportunities (World Health Organisation, 2015). Darroch *et al.* (2016) state that adolescent girls face barriers to accessing contraception because of restrictive laws and policies regarding their provision based on age or marital status,

health worker bias, and adolescents' own inability to access contraceptives because of ignorance and financial constraints.

As argued by Ngome and Odimwegu (2014:2), globally, about 16 million teenage girls give birth each year and of these births, 95% emanate from developing countries (World Health Organisation 2011: ix). The National Abortion Federation (2020) argues that 78% of teenage pregnancies are unintentional. Unwanted pregnancies result in abortion, which can be the main cause of death among teenage girls aged 15-19 years globally (World Health Organisation, 2015).

As argued by the Ministry of Health and Child Care (2016:1) report, Zimbabwe has a young population, with one-third being between the ages of 10 and 24 years. The National Statistics Agency (2012) argues that adolescents aged 15-19 years constitute 24% of the total population of Zimbabwe. These young people face a myriad of challenges related to their development. These challenges include unemployment, limited educational opportunities, gender-based violence, inter-generational relationships, child marriage, pregnancy, HIV and other negative reproductive health outcomes.

Unsafe sexual behaviours among 15-19-year olds results in a high number of sexually transmitted infections and unwanted pregnancies (Zhou, 2010). The restrictive abortion laws in Zimbabwe result in teenage girls pursuing clandestine and potentially unsafe abortions (Ganatra and Gerdt, 2010). A global burden of disease study (2016) propounded that unsafe abortions are likely to contribute to maternal mortality in Zimbabwe, estimated to be 25 million between 2010 and 2014. Section 60(1) of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act criminalises abortion that states that.

“Any person who intentionally terminates pregnancy by conduct that he or she realises involves a risk or possibility of terminating the pregnancy shall be guilty of unlawful termination of pregnancy.”

Thus, it is a criminal offence to terminate a pregnancy other than for what is provided in law. The presented facts and statistics indicate that against the law and cultural approval, pregnant termination seems to be normalised. It is therefore, the thrust of this study is to explore the socioeconomic reasons behind illegal abortion.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Patriarchy is a social structure or system that has men being superiority over women (Hansjee, 2011). Siegel (2007) argues that the criminalisation of abortion is a telling manifestation of the singular power of patriarchy and the marginal and subordinate status of women as physiological beings who are expected, and required, to bear children in a gendered society. Patriarchy involves organisations, behaviours, thoughts and belief systems that maintain male privilege and power. Thus, the issue of abortion is deeply intertwined with that of gendered roles and gender inequality.

ABORTION AND RELIGION

Religion is rooted in the discourse of pro-life that views the foetus as a human being. This is supported by King David's poetry in Psalms 139:14-16,

"My bones were not hidden from you when I was made in secret when I was woven in the lowest part of the earth. Your eyes saw even the embryo of me, and in your book, all its parts were down in writing".

Jeremiah was a Jewish prophet who stated that God knew him even in the womb (Jeremiah 1:5). This is further supported by the Catholic Church opposing abortion in the name of defending the right to life, beginning and considering the foetus as a human being. However, the research looks into the socio-economic factors that push teenagers to abort.

ABORTION AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS

The fight against abortion has found much space in the human rights discourse. Restricting access to safe abortion violates women's rights,

especially Article 25 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights that states

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services.”

Moreover, in various countries, women’s movements like the feminist movements of the 1960s (notably in France) or other women’s groups have demanded the right to abortion and contraception. Jacquemart, Masclet and Epstein (2017:79) state that women had slogans such as “My body is mine”, “my body, my choice”, “A child when I want, if I want”, and “Let her decide”, thus women defended their right to control their bodies, to enjoy safe sexuality dissociated from procreation, and to decide freely whether to have children or not. Thus, the legalisation of abortion affords women greater control over their reproductive lives, as contraception cannot prevent all unplanned pregnancies.

REASONS WHY TEENAGE GIRLS ABORT

According to Alex and Hammarstron (2004:62), an interview among girls between the ages of 15 and 19 who had aborted was conducted in Sweden revealed that major reasons for abortion were socio-economic situations and whether their partners wanted the child or not. The study also highlighted that the decision for abortion was not done independently but the decision was influenced by friends, partners or family members. However, the focus of this study is to understand the phenomenon of abortion among pregnant teenage girls in Cherima. In South Africa, a triangulated study by Varga (2002) indicated that the choice of abortion was pressure from the reaction of partners. Because the father of the child does not publicly accept that the unborn child is his, and therefore no support from the father, school disruption, financial reasons, family moral standing and the issue of social stigma, a teenager is forced to abort the pregnancy. Furthermore, Harries *et al.* (2007) articulate that a study in Greece reported that social acceptance, financial reasons, absent husband or partner, and religious factors

were reasons for teenage girls to decide to abort. In the Ukraine, a study highlighted that the main reasons for abortion were a result of low income and socio-economic situation; and some of the teenagers lived by themselves (*ibid.*).

A Norwegian study reported that roughly 52.5% of women abort due to financial reasons. The present investigation seeks empirical data on the reasons for abortion in Cherima. In Nigeria, Milton (2001) established that teenagers view abortion as an immediate solution to unplanned pregnancies. Teenagers choose to abort because they do not want pregnancy interferences with schooling, fear of family members knowing, and not knowing the father.

As posited by Kheswa and Takatshana (2014), abortions have existed since time immemorial and girls are subjected to stigmatisation in most societies. Due to fear of stigmatisation from society, women tend to abort for many explanations, ranging from socioeconomic situations, uncommitted partners, authoritarian parents and peer influence to unpreparedness for motherhood (Wahab, and Ajadi, 2009).

CONSEQUENCES OF ABORTION AMONG TEENAGE GIRLS

The World Health Organisation (2004) enunciates that abortion poses a major risk to women's mental health and carries a greater risk of emotional harm than childbirth (Coleman, 2006). Nolen-Hoeksema *et al.* (2008) mention that most women who have aborted suffer from an increased risk of suicide attempts, anxiety, negative social relationships, excessive worry, depression, nightmares and insomnia. Emotional distress such as remorse, guilt become evident (Kheswa, and Takatshana, 2014). In a quantitative study conducted by Wahab, and Ajadi (2009) among undergraduate female students at Lagos University in Nigeria, about 80% of the participants indicated that they had lost their self-esteem and seemed overwhelmed with feelings of regret. As a result, they experienced academic failure, lack of zeal, poor interpersonal relationships and fatigue. Therefore, this study seeks to explore the social consequences of abortion. Kumar, Hessini, and Mitchell (2009) state that abortion is stigmatised because it violates social norms. Frohwirth, *et al.* (2018) advance that religion is a part of the context in that abortion stigma is formed and experienced. Cockrill

and Nack (2013) highlight that religious affiliation expressed internalised stigma more often than non-religiously identified counterparts, especially among women who stated that their friends, family members or communities are religious, and they were afraid to be judged harshly if their abortion were disclosed.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is informed by the theoretical ideas of Symbolic Interactionism by Blumer to understand the reasons teenage girls abort in Cherima. Symbolic interactionist believes that people and the world can be understood only by looking at the human experience (Littlejohn, 1977). It looks at individuals and group meaning-making, focusing on human action instead of large-scale social structures. Under this perspective, a few of the major principles defining human behaviours include individual and the society as inseparable. Under the symbolic interactionism theory, the level of analysis is regarded as micro because it is concentrated only upon the social interaction and how to use symbols to create social life when people come together (Henslin 2010). Gordon (1997) argues that Blumer came up with three core principles to his theory, that is. meaning, language and thought, which lead to conclusions about the creation of a person's self and socialisation into a larger community. The first core principle of meaning states that humans act toward others and things based upon the meanings that they have given to those people or things. Blumer believes that meaning is a condition that emerges because of the interaction of group members and not an intrinsic feature of the object (Aksan *et al.*, 2009). Consequently, meaning is created because of the interaction between people, and meaning allows people to produce some of the facts forming the sensory world. As argued by Reminnick and Segal (2001) Israeli women tended to interpret abortion as a personal failure, whereas Russian immigrants looked upon it as bad luck or a mistake. In this study, society views teenage pregnancy before marriage as deviant behaviour, as one is expected to indulge in sexual activities after marriage.

The second core principle is language. Da Silva (2013) believes that naming assigns meaning, thus naming was the basis for human society and the extent of knowledge. 'Reality' in everyday life is understood using language that occurs through interactions between individuals.

In this study, religious institutions that individuals belong to are against abortion and this causes society to construct the 'meaning' of abortion to be immoral, sinful and murderous. Furthermore, concerning reasons for abortion, abortion attitudes socially construct abortion as 'a woman's problem' and thus placing stigma on teenage girls that have abortions for their reasons. The third core principle is that of thought. Thought modifies each individual's interpretation of symbols. Thought, based on language, is a mental conversation or dialogue that requires role taking or imagining different points of view.

METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a case study as the research design. "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" (Yin, 2012). The study took place in Cherima, Marondera, where high rates of abortion are being perpetuated by pregnant teenage girls due to socio-economic reasons. The study also used a qualitative research design. The targeted population were six teenage girls between the ages of 15 and 19 because abortion is being perpetuated by this age group due to different reasons.

Semi-structured personal interviews were used because the information obtained is based on emotions, feelings, experiences and privileged insights on the causes and consequences of abortion. The research employed thematic analysis as a technique for data analysis. Thematic analysis of data allowed the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the whole contexts, hence making it feasible to determine precisely the relationship between concepts and compare them with the replicated data.

FINDINGS

ABORTION IS CAUSED BY SOCIETAL EXPECTATION OF A GIRL CHILD

People have constructed societal norms and values that a girl child should have a child after marriage. Hence, for the desire to preserve the expected norms, when girls get pregnant outside wedlock, they tend to abort. In this study, most cases of teenage abortion are a result of social factors, for instance, fear of knowing the actual father, fear of

the unknown or being rejected by in-laws. In addition, the findings also argue that society has great influence, in the sense that due to the fear of being discriminated against by society and called by all sorts of names, girls end up aborting as a way of handling the situation. This is supported by data provided by Varga (2002) who states that the main reason for the choice of abortion was because the father of the child would not have publicly accepted the unborn child as his. Family moral standing and the issue of social stigma also play significant roles in the abortion decision-making.

Box 1: Some social reasons

Fear of knowing the actual father

Fear of knowing the real father is revealed to be one of the reasons for aborting. From the semi-structured personal interview, Chipo, an 18-year old, indicated that owing to her principle of dating two guys at the same time, she had to have an abortion as she was not sure who the father of the child was. She said

"I was surprised, shocked, I could not believe it and I became scared of who between my boyfriends was going to accept the pregnancy. The serious problem came after communicating with both men about the pregnancy. They both accepted responsibility. Munashe was not in the country when I broke the news to him, but he was happy that on his return we would work on the marriage rites. I was nervous but also happy at the same time. On the other hand, James also thought of the marriage rites and scan. Because of the fear that the real father was one day going to be revealed, I was left with no option than to abort the pregnancy".

Fear of the unknown

The participants also indicated that they had abortions because of fear of the unknown. Tariro, another 18--year-old participant ,in an semi-structured personal interview, revealed the sole reason she had an abortion was due to fear of the unknown. She claimed that she had had a pregnancy in an immature relationship, barely knowing well the person she was dating. She said,

'When I realised that I was pregnant, I was shocked and I began to ask myself many questions. What if this person is married? What if he regards me as loose for sleeping with him in a two-month old relationship? What if he denies the responsibility? What if his parents do not accept me? On the other hand, I also asked questions on my part. If my stomach grew big, how would I look? Will I be able to carry a child for nine months? Am I ready to become a mother? Where will I get the money for the baby's welfare? What will happen to me during delivery? Because of these and many other questions that I failed to provide answers, I decided to get rid of the pregnancy.

Rejected by the husband's family

During key informant interview, a constable from the Friendly Victim Department mentioned a story of Tambudzai who aborted due to rejection by her husband's family. She came from a poor family, her parents passed away when she was 10 years old and none of her relatives wanted to stay with her. The constable mentioned that Tambudzai survived by begging for food in the streets or doing household chores for people. At 19, Tambudzai got pregnant by her boyfriend, so she was happy as she thought that her life would become better but unfortunately, she was wrong.

Tambudzai went to her husband's place as culture requires. The husband's family members rejected her because she came from a poor family, calling her all sorts of names and sometimes she would go for days without eating. They also succeeded in manipulating the boyfriend to abandon his girlfriend. The girl reportedly could not bear the pain and terminated the pregnancy

Protecting dignity and family values

Data revealed the need to protect dignity and family values as one of the reasons girls abort. During a semi-structured personal interview, 16-year-old Roselyn said,

"Mukomana wandaida nemoyo wangu wose akandirwadzisa kusvika pakuda kuzviuraya" The guy I loved so much broke my heart that I thought of killing myself. I felt worthless and there was no reason for me to be faithful to any guy. I became a new person and would sleep around with different men without protection. My mother was super strict and well-respected in the community and she did not want to be shamed. When I realised that I was pregnant, reality struck, I cried like a baby but I told myself that I was going to keep the pregnancy since it was the only reason for me to survive. But because of the need to protect my mother's dignity and the family name, my mother forced me to abort the pregnancy.

Fear of becoming a single parent

The fear of becoming a single parent, especially when the spouse denies responsibility, results in abortion. The participant indicated that neither boys nor the girls are always ready to assume the responsibilities of being parents. Ruvimbo indicated that she was pressured by her boyfriend to abort, indicating that he was not ready to be a father. The boy rather advised that if she was unable to be a single parent for the child, she had to terminate the pregnancy. The option of single parenting was a very difficult one, so she decided to abort.

Guilty conscience

During a semi-structured personal interview, 19-year-old Stella, a student at a local university, shared her story. Stella had been dating her boyfriend for the past six years and the boyfriend had found a job out of Zimbabwe and he wanted to marry her first before he left. Stella's bride price (*lobola*) was paid in August and her white wedding was to be held in December the same year.

'I stupidly continued an affair with my ex-boyfriend even after my bride price had been paid. I got pregnant with my ex-boyfriend. I lied to my husband that I was pregnant for him. However, conscience haunted me and I ended up terminating the baby'.

Religious reasons

During a key informant interview, Pastor Litiwe, a pastor in Marondera, mentioned that pregnancy outside marriage is highly forbidden in their church. She said that one of her youth members, Natasha, a 17-year-old, aborted because of fear of being labelled and stigmatised. Natasha was the youth secretary, and she was also seen as a mentor to other young girls. Pastor Litiwe said that the rule of the church argues that if one gets pregnant out of wedlock, she would be prohibited from receiving the Holy Communion, and if she held any posts in the church, she would be demoted. She will also be no longer viewed as a youth member, but rather as “*ruwadzano*” (women’s fellowship). Owing to the fear of such labelling and victimisation, Natasha had to terminate the pregnancy.

ABORTION CAUSED BY FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

Money is important for everyday life because without money, it is difficult to survive especially in the Zimbabwean context, where there is hyperinflation. Money is a discourse of abortion due to the lack of money to raise a child and the upkeep of the mother to have a healthy baby. Thus, girls resort to aborting than having a child who will end up without good care. Tambudzai, a participant in a key informant interview, decided to terminate her pregnancy after being rejected by the husband's family and knowing that she was not financially stable to take care of the child. This highlights how financial constraints can push girls to abortion.

Society has created this ‘reality’ that children are expensive, especially the first eight months where clothes are bought every month. Among other things, the need for diapers and supplementary foods, requires a bit of financial stability. Mojapelo-Batka and Schoeman (2003) report that financial circumstances play a key role in the deciding to have an abortion. These findings are also supported by several studies. For instance, Varga (2002) observes that in South Africa, women abort because of financial problems.

Ramakuela *et al.* (2016) argues that financial problems are a challenge, because lack of resources to cover the staggeringly high costs associated with pregnancy, birth and child-rearing, especially if they

do not have medical aid. Rubin (2010) states that teenagers in Europe view abortion as a way of preventing poverty because they are economically disadvantaged. Lack of adequate medical care during pregnancy places a new-born baby at high risk of complications during birth and in early infancy.

DESIRE TO PRESERVE FAMILY STATUS

Symbolic interactionism has maintained that society labels what is right and wrong. In this case, abortion is seen as a taboo because the unborn child is regarded as a human being, thus, it is associated with the issue of pro-life. According to African Traditional beliefs, abortion is highly unacceptable because it is associated with misfortunes in the family or community, hence, when one is known to have carried out an abortion, she is severely punished.

In society, family status is highly respected and people try by all means to make sure that their family name is not tarnished, thus leading to abortion. The discourse of family status argues that families ground in good morals are the ones that are respected in society and are seen as good examples to others. This shows that as much as teenage girls would want to keep the pregnancy, the family plays an important role in keeping it.

FEAR OF BEING A SINGLE PARENT

Society has constructed that the role of a woman is to bear children and a child brings happiness to family members and the community. Within society, a couple that helps each other to take care of the child is something admired by everyone. When teenagers fall pregnant, they also wish that their partners are there during the nurturing and the growing up of the child. It has been observed that after the partner has denied his responsibility, the fear of raising the child on their own lead them to abort.

Trussel, Raymond and Cleland (2016) argue that even in situations involving teens cohabitating with their partners, the outlook for unmarried teens as single mothers is discouraging. For teens in their 20s living with their partners at the time of birth, one-third ended their

relationships within two years. Thus, due to the fear of bearing the costs and pain alone, pregnant teenage girls resort to abortion.

ABORTION RESULTS IN SOCIAL STIGMA

The stigma around abortion is perpetuated at every level in society, that is, by lawmakers, anti-abortion extremists, religious leaders and the media. As society sets meaning to things, it creates attitudes and opinions that influence how society should perform. It shames people who are in need of care into silence, limits the girl's ability to advocate for abortion care as a vital part of health care services allowing social stigma to be tied with the themes of abortion as a moral concern.

The religious perspectives and non-religious people see women who have aborted as murderers and murder is viewed as a sin in the bible. This is supported by the key informant interview with Pastor Litiwe who stated that Natasha aborted due to fear of stigma. Thus, society labels women who have aborted as murderers and not playing the role of a woman in society. Sigcau (2009) articulates that traditional attitude of the 'role of a woman', for example, wives and mothers shaped by society around female fertility, reproduction and abortion, are culturally embedded.

Hence, social discourse speaks of abortion as being 'bad, disgusting and shameful', created by society through social stigma that results in the formation of stereotypes, taking away value and respect from women who have aborted. Mojapelo-Batka and Schoeman (2003) found that women who had abortions feared that society would judge them and, as a result, experienced feelings of shame and embarrassment.

ABORTION RESULTS IN LABELLING

Murder is the "unlawful and deliberate killing of one person by another" (Soanes and Hawker 2006). Pastor Litiwe mentioned that in the church, abortion is viewed as murder and it is not acceptable. She went on to state that,

"the rule of the church argues that if one gets pregnant out of wedlock, she will be stopped from receiving the Holy Communion, and if she had any posts in the church, she would be demoted as one will be viewed as a bad example and she will be no longer viewed as a youth member but rather as "ruwadzano" (women's fellowship).

Thus, the church views a foetus as a human being that also has the right to live and killing the unborn child is regarded as murder and is highly unacceptable by God through the Ten Commandments and one of them states that, "You shall not kill." This argues that people are influenced by religion in the sense that it views abortion as a sin, hence for someone to be acceptable in society, she must follow what the bible says. The unborn child's right to life is preserved and supported by the 'Pro-life' discourse that believes that an individual's genetic makeup is already established at the moment of conception (Jali and Phil, 2001). As argued by the symbolic interactionism theory, people give meanings to things, thus society views the foetus, not as an object, but as a person. Hence, after abortion, teenage girls are labelled as murderous. Therefore, religion plays a major role in understanding abortion as it views it as a sin.

CONCLUSION

Socioeconomic reasons were the major causes of abortion among pregnant teenage girls and, as a result, most participants believed abortion was a justifiable option. The major findings highlighted that abortion is a result of preserving family status, fear of becoming a single parent and rejection by partners' families. Therefore, abortion perpetuated by pregnant teenage girls lead to different consequences of social stigma.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Information dissemination, in schools, hospitals, clinics, police stations and other public places on reproductive health.
- Awareness campaigns on the dangers of abortion.
- Abortion should be allowed to be performed by health practitioners.

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STATUTES

Termination of Pregnancy Act [Chapter 15:10]

The Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act [Chapter 9:23]

United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 25