

The Scourges: Why Abortion Is Even More Morally Serious than Miscarriage

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Several recent papers have suggested that the pro-life view entails a radical, implausible thesis: that miscarriage is the biggest public health crisis in the history of our species and requires radical diversion of funds to combat. In this paper, I clarify the extent of the problem, showing that the number of miscarriages about which we can do anything morally significant is plausibly much lower than previously thought, then describing some of the work already being done on this topic. I then briefly survey a range of reasons why abortion might be thought more serious and more worthy of prevention than miscarriage. Finally, I lay out my central argument: that reflection on the wrongness of killing reveals that the norms for ending life and failing to save life are different, in such a way that could justify the prioritization of anti-abortion advocacy over anti-miscarriage efforts. Such an account can also respond to similar problems posed to the pro-lifer, such as the question of whom to save in a “burning lab” type scenario.

KEYWORDS: abortion, death, miscarriage, respect, wrongness of killing

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, pro-lifers have been criticized for focusing disproportionately on the issue of abortion, while at the same time neglecting the apparently much greater number of deaths from spontaneous abortion (Ord, 2008; Berg, 2017; Sámkulet, 2017). A similar problem is suggested by the scenario which asks us to consider whether we would save multiple embryos or a single child in a burning laboratory—the intuition commonly being that we should save the single child.¹ Different implications might be drawn from this, including that pro-lifers do not really believe that embryos are human beings with a right to life,² or that pro-lifers are more interested in limiting women’s autonomy, or both. In this paper, I marshal a series of arguments to explain why these conclusions are unwarranted. In particular, I suggest that reflection on the wrongness of killing shows that it is largely unrelated to consequences, and even largely unrelated to the badness of death. This furnishes the pro-lifer with a reason to seek the prevention of abortion more urgently than the prevention of miscarriage, and indeed for pro-lifers to preferentially rescue older children over embryos. But, it also supplies a more general reason to think that the distinction between killing and letting die is relevant, and for thinking that the norms shaping behavior in those situations differ.

II. HOW MANY INDUCED ABORTIONS AND MISCARRIAGES ARE THERE?

It is worth briefly reviewing the evidence regarding induced abortion and miscarriage. This does not make a great difference to my central argument, but most authors have noted that even if there are clear reasons to prioritize tackling a lesser number of abortions over a greater number of miscarriages,

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