“Women's Obligation to Motherhood”
A discourse analysis of the anti-abortion debate in Chile

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Abstract

The objective with this study is to locate discourses within the anti-abortion debate in Chile and analyze these. The discourses will be contextualized with a historical perspective and the pro-abortion arguments. Based upon what was encountered during research, two themes selected were The Right to Motherhood and The Right to Life. The two themes were analyzed from a power, gender, class, body and normative lifeline perspective. The conclusion was that the anti-abortion debate in Chile is strongly connected to the discourse on motherhood and the natural body. These two discourses show that the debate in Chile becomes stale and unprogressive while the idea that women only become real women through motherhood exist. Women have an obligation to become mothers in order to receive a higher position within the Chilean society as well as be regarded real women. The conclusion will show that motherhood is a cultural signifier in Chile, and an act where one perform one's gender.
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INTRODUCTION

When revealing the purpose of my trip to Santiago to friends, they did not understand why I would want to write about abortion within the Chilean context. Their reaction fully legitimates my purpose and goal. Obviously this is not something that many do and my hope is to contribute to the debate, regardless how small or large that impact may be.

In Chile, abortion, under any circumstance, is illegal. In 1931 a bill was passed that allowed women to have an abortion if the pregnancy was a risk to their physical or mental health. However, there were conditions, exempli gratia, a woman would need the consent of two doctors in order to have an abortion. This type of procedure is often called “therapeutic abortion” (Casas Becerra, 1997: 29). Although therapeutic abortion was allowed, illegal abortions were still common. Nearly one in four women has had an abortion. Statistics show from the early 1960s that 50 per cent of all pregnancies ended in abortion, and 40 per cent of maternal mortality stemmed from abortion complications (Abortion policies, 2002). This led to a family planning program in the beginning of the 1960s, initiated by the Chilean government in order to lower the costs of hospitalization of women who suffered complications after an abortion (Campbell, 2009: 15). This program was called Chilean Association for Family Protection (CAFP). Thanks to CAFP the distribution of contraceptives to married women started, the maternal mortality dropped significantly, from 118 to 24 per 100,000 live births between 1969-1979 (“Abortion policies”, 2002). In 1989, however, one of Augusto Pinochet's (1973-1990) last decrees was to ban abortion, and since then the procedure in all its forms has been illegal. The law took the form of a change in the constitution; "The unborn child from conception, is a person in the constitutional sense of the term, and therefore holds the right to life." (Tribunal Constitucional, 2008: 128).

President Michele Bachelet (2006-2010) is someone who has been admired and declared a fighter for women's right's in Chile. Many of her decisions during her term as president were related to health, education and addressing discrimination (Brito Peña, 2012: 145). Bachelet's decree was to allow the free distribution of the day-after pill to young women from 14 years of age without parental consent (Brito Peña, 2012: 146). The law was passed in 2006, in the beginning of Bachelet's term. However, in April 2008 the law was declared unconstitutional
since the pills' effect on an egg's ability to attach itself to the mucous membrane could not be proven. The day-after pill needs to be taken within 72 hours after intercourse in order to provide the best chance of not becoming pregnant. Another reason why Bachelet's law was discarded of, was the simple reason that a woman could not know whether or not she was pregnant within the 72 hour window after intercourse; therefore the pill could, hypothetically, be abortive.

I chose to go to Chile because it is one of the few countries in the world where abortion, under any circumstance, is illegal. Many changes concerning abortion are happening in the neighboring countries, despite that the situation in Chile remains unchanged. What interested me most was why abortion is still illegal in one of the most stable economies in South America. The majority of the population is devout Catholic, and the Catholic Church has a large influence over the political arena in Chile. Although Chile is a secular state, where there is a separation of church and state, the right-wing parties are religious. The Christian Democrats are in a coalition with the left-wing parties, which shows the churches influence over the politics in Chile. I wanted to know what the anti-abortion arguments were and how they were portraying women and framing the debate.

1. 1 Objective

I chose to go to Chile because as one of the most developed countries in the region, Chile is still behind in many aspects, mostly concerning those of human rights. I wanted to explore the paradox of a country where it is economically stable but lagging behind in other issues, as well as the influence of the Catholic Church. The objective is to analyze the anti-abortion debate from a gender, power, embodiment and class perspective. I have chosen to focus on two different themes within the debate; *The Right to Life* and *The Right to Motherhood*. The anti-abortion debate will be contextualized with the help of an analysis of the Churches influence and historical background, as well as some pro-abortion arguments. The class perspective will focus mainly on the working class, since in Chile the access to safe illegal abortions is highly dependent on one's economic resources and thus women of the working class are subjugated to major health risks. One's access to sexual education is highly dependent on one's family's
economic situation, schools in poor areas have no way to pay for sexual health education, thus unwanted pregnancies become a large problem within the working class.

1.2 Method
I will use discourse analysis as it is defined by Laclau and Mouffe (Jörgensen & Phillips, 2002: 24). Laclau and Mouffe's understanding of discourse analysis is that through language we access reality and that reality only becomes understandable through discourses. They argue that society is given meaning and structure through discourses (Jörgensen & Phillips, 2002: 25). Laclau and Mouffe argue that discourses are only understandable in relation to each other, they are constantly competing in a struggle for a hegemonic position, which in turn gives the privilege of defining notions and signs. By using discourse analysis while reading my materials, I have localized certain themes, which could also be called nodal points. Throughout my analysis these nodal points will be referred to as themes. According to Laclau and Mouffe, a nodal point is a privileged sign that inhabits a fixed position, forcing the other signs to order themselves after the nodal point. In order to understand discourse's structure, nodal points need to be localized. Within the nodal points there are moments that together with other moments create the nodal points. The meaning of the moments is fixed through the variation that is shared between them (Jörgensen & Phillips, 2002: 26).

1.3 Empiricism
My material mostly consists of statistic reports, previous research on the subject, political science articles, news articles and feminist research on body, gender and power. Other sources include reports from the UN, The Ministry of Health in Chile and academic surveys about sexuality and sexual behavior.

Chile Crece Contigo is an organization funded by the Chilean government. The organization's focus is child protection. It is an anti-abortion organization: two of their television ads and the website will be used in this study. The website provides future parents with information on how to take care of their newborn child, it lists what to eat and not to eat if you are pregnant. It also provides information about the actual birth, what medicines the woman can eat during pregnancy and what happens during the pregnancy to the child and woman.
Apostolic letters written by the late Pope John Paul II and the Vatican are also used as background. Three letters were chosen in order to give some contextualization. All three letters concern women and women's position within the catholic world. They each deal with different areas, one concerns women's position within the Catholic Church, one women's role as working mothers and one letter concerns in which ways women differ from men. The letters are used to give a context to the general catholic understanding of gender roles and expectations of men and women.

The statistical reports, produced by a group of Chilean academics, are written in Spanish. Both of the reports, each over 50 pages long, concern sexual health, the use of contraceptives as well as the use of the day-after pill. The studies deal with age groups, class and geographical location. The studies have, to a large extent been translated into English in order to understand what the different graphs and numbers concern.

Other statistical reports, published by the Ministry of Health in Chile, deal with the number of women hospitalized due to complications from illegal abortions. The numbers are used by the women's organization SERNAM in order to show how large the problem of illegal abortion actually is. The numbers date back to 2004 and the latest year published is 2009. These numbers only concern public hospitals, which in turn is somewhat problematic due to the fact that the middle-class and upper class in Chile usually use private health clinics.

1.4 Previous Research

Previous research has dealt with how certain historical aspects might have influenced the right to abortion in Chile, such as the fact that the country was under a military dictatorship 1973-1990. María Elena Acuña Moenne and Matthew Webb write in their article “Embodying Memory: Women and the Legacy of the Military Government in Chile” about methods and rhetoric tactics used by the Chilean government during the dictatorship in order to control and manipulate the female population. They conclude that many of the tactics that were used during the military regime still influence the Chilean society today.

The dissertation Women's Experiences with Abortion within the Context of Family in Chile: A Qualitative Study (2009) is based on an interview study done by Shannon Campbell. The book deals with the feelings of shame and helplessness of women who have had or tried to
have an abortion, and how these scenarios present themselves within the context of family. The feelings are explored and analyzed through a feminist perspective by Campbell. She interviews 10 different women of various social status and family formation, the study centers around the women's own feelings about their abortions and how, if they were told, the family reacted to their attempted or successful abortions.

There has been some research concerning the meaning of motherhood in Chile. In a large interview study, called “The Meaning of Womanhood in the Neoliberal Age: Class and Age-Based Narratives of Chilean Women” (2006), conducted in southern Chile, Claudia Mora interview's women in different socioeconomic sectors and then compare their different experiences and views on the meaning of motherhood and womanhood.

1.5 Theoretical Concepts
According to Donna Haraway it is important to position yourself in relation to your research (Haraway, 1988: 587). One must be aware that personal experiences influence the way we read and interpret texts and other sources of information. Our personal lives affect our research to a large degree and with awareness that your own position might influence reading of different materials, provides a reflection of your own subjectivity.

As a white, middle-class woman with a university education, I might interpret texts differently than a woman from Chile would. Albeit not being Chilean, provides me with an outsider perspective. I would argue that my outsider perspective is something that will work to my advantage, since it grants me an opportunity to analyze discourses and the debate from different angles.

The perspectives that are used in this study are class, gender, power, body and the normative lifeline. Class is used according to the definition of Beverly Skeggs as she explains Bordieu's class definition. Bordieu defines class as forms of capital, divided into four categories: economic, cultural, social and symbolic (Skeggs, 1999: 20-21). Economic capital refers to one's economic resources, if one has a large income the economic capital is high. I will use cultural capital in reference to motherhood. Cultural capital is based upon positions that according to society are desirable to inhabit. Motherhood in Chile is a cultural signifier that defines one's position in society. If you are not a mother, your cultural capital is lower than the one of a
mother. The definition of social capital is that it is based upon group belonging and social connections, it grows through relationships. Symbolic capital is the sum of the other three capital forms once they have been acknowledged by one's surroundings.

My understanding of gender is that it is a social construction, similar to the theory developed by Judith Butler (Butler, 2005: 45-46). Gender as a social construction means that our biological sex does not dictate how we act or how we behave, certain behaviors are not inextricably liked with the sex of a person, they are a construction of society. Gender and sex will be used as an explanation and reference to one's social gender, where one often is repeating actions in order to perform and confirm one's gender identity (Butler, 2004: 98). The social gender of a person is expected related to one's body, when one is born into a certain sex one is often anticipated to behave and act according to the biological sex, which in turn is inscribed with specific traits.

Concerning the term power, I will examine power and oppression with the help of Michel Foucault. His theory on oppression is highly advantageous in this type of research since it declares that oppression is not something that comes “from above” it is something that can take several different directions and many different forms. It exists all around us and affects everything in our lives, there is no singular source of oppression, everyone of us are oppresses and oppresses in different ways (Foucault, 1978: 93). Foucault writes “Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere” (Foucault, 1978: 93). Foucault defines power not as an institution from which power flows but rather it is something rather like a “complex strategical situation in a particular society” (Foucault, 1978: 93). Power is thus something rather complex and geographical specific, which in turn means that the situation of power in Chile differs from other societies.

According to Elizabeth Grosz, the body is a mass of meat and only becomes something because society makes it that something, gives the body meaning. What a body is, is hard to explain. I will argue that a body is a mere shell and that we as a society give it meaning and power, similar to Grosz definition. We inscribe our beliefs and our systems on the body and warp it into a construction of our own (Grosz, 1994: 141-142). Grosz argues that “every body is marked by the history and specificity of its existence” (Grosz, 1994: 142). This means that the body is not a natural body, but rather a construction of our society. Robyn Longhurst uses Grosz
definition of the body in order to theorize women's pregnant bodies. Longhurst concludes that the pregnant body becomes abject, which in turn means the body is something to fear and is dangerous since it threatens to disturb systems of identity and order (Longhurst, 2001: 6).

*Normative lifeline* is defined as a linear, “normal” way of life. This means that one often follows the same path as others in society do. An example of this is the idea that is shared by many, i.e. that one should study, work, meet someone, marry and have children. The concept of normative lifeline often includes the assumption that one is born heterosexual and therefore this linear lifestyle becomes “normative”. Sara Ahmed argues in her book *Queer Phenomenology* (2006), that our life is filled with choices and paths that we are able to follow but that many often follow a path without question, which in turn legitimizes the path. Throughout the analysis this term will be used in order to describe the assumption that many women want to live a normative life and what happens when a woman strays from that path.

### 1.6 Outline

Chapter 2 will give a short background to the current situation in Chile, following the introduction there will be a short explanation and contextualizing of the terms *gender, class, power* and *embodiment* in relation to the Chilean societal structure. Chapter 3 will in turn examine these four aspects in relation to the two chosen themes; *Right to Life, Right to Motherhood*. It will further explain the connection between the themes and the four chosen aspects. Chapter 4 will contain a summary of the results, followed by a discussion where a conclusion will be reached.
2 “NO NEED TO EAT FOR TWO”

Abortion in Chile today, in 2012, is still illegal in any form. During the left wing president Michele Bachelet's term (2006-2010) there were hopes that some changes concerning women's reproductive rights were coming, however although Bachelet did accomplish many changes during her term as president, she did not speak openly about legalizing abortion. There is a belief that, according to Blofield, this was due to the fact that the left-wing political parties are in a coalition with the christian democrats, and thus issues concerning reproductive rights become problematic for the left (Blofield, 2006: 40).

Chile is a highly religious country where the majority of the population define themselves as catholics. The Catholic Church is a patriarchal institution where men have the highest position, women devoted to the faith and the church can at most be nuns or a reverend mother. Chile is a deeply Catholic country, and the views of the church have, like in many countries with strong religious affiliations, integrated themselves into everyday life. For the purpose of this study, acknowledging the churches influence over the day to day life in Chile is of the highest importance, for it is as much the individuals view as it is the Churches view that are being represented. Currently there is a right-wing government in place Chile and it is important to note that the left-wing parties are in a coalition with the christian democrats. This indicates how the Catholic Church permeate every aspect of the Chilean political arena.

In 2011, Chile Crece Contigo launched an anti-abortion campaign. Included in this campaign were a few television ads where the premise was the same. It shows a young pregnant woman listening to music, her belly is visible and she makes a heart with her hands and places them around her belly button, then the camera zooms in to the baby inside and shows the fetus reaction to the music. The other ad shows a heterosexual couple sitting on a couch, the woman is visibly pregnant and her belly is being caressed by her partner, the camera then zooms into the fetus which reacts to the caress (Gobierno de Chile, 2011). When the ad zooms in on the fictional baby in the womb it is to emphasize a mother's connection to the growing fetus in her belly and also to stress that the baby is a human being with abilities to recognize voices and a developing perceptiveness. The women in these ads look to be in the third trimester of their pregnancy which makes the ad lose its point, abortions are usually not preformed after 18 weeks. Nevertheless, the ads function to point out the potential joy women can feel from having a child.
They want to encourage women to have children as well as use the ads to point out a mother's unfailing connection to her child. Moreover, the ads also make a point of motherhood as something every woman should experience because of the connection between the child and mother. In chapter 3.1 the website and the two television ads will be analyzed and explored.

As one of the leading economies in Latin America, Chile is in the forefront of development, for example the country has the lowest maternal morbidity rate in the region. In contradiction to the low maternal morbidity and mortality rate, over 465 000 women between the ages 20-44 are hospitalized due to complications from illegal abortions, often performed by themselves, a midwife or someone willing to risk the legal repercussions for the right amount of money (Campbell, 2009: SIDA; Ministry of Health, 2009).

2.1 Class and Gender

In order to understand the following analysis of the two themes, the concepts of class, gender, power and embodiment need to be understood in relation to the Chilean context. Following there is an explanation of how these different concepts can be related and understood in relation to different aspects of the Chilean society.

Women within the Chilean society often conform to very traditional roles (Mora, 2006: 49). There is a wide variety of roles that the women can chose from, what these all have in common, or rather what women are encouraged to do in order to fit in and conform to society's wishes, is to become mothers. The women, from different socioeconomic sectors, in Claudia Mora's study, all speak of the expectation that when they become mothers, they become real women. It is an act for them to perform and confirm their own sexual orientation and position in society (Butler, 2004: 3). Butler argues that gender is a social construction and in order for individuals to be understood by each other they adapt behaviors, looks and characteristics that are gendered (Butler, 2004: 3). Motherhood is a signifier for womanhood within the Chilean context and is essential for women's gender identities. They do not see themselves as “whole” women, until they have had children. Within the different socioeconomic groups motherhood plays either a primary or secondary position. Although it might not play a primary role within the higher social ranks, it is still something that women regard as important to their identity and gender. For working class women, their identity is grounded in their daily child-raising activities.
while these tasks conflict with the importance of being independent, educated and working for
the upper class women (Mora, 2006: 49-56).

Bourdieu's definition of class is defined by real social effects and he divides these into four
different types: economic, cultural, social and symbolical (Skeggs, 1999: 20-12). If we apply his
definition of class, we can see that women increase their cultural and social capital by becoming
mothers and conforming to the discourse of motherhood. Their status within the societal
structure is valued higher if they are mothers. Were they to reject motherhood either by refusing
to become pregnant or have an abortion their status and capital worth would instead decrease.

The Chilean society has positioned pregnancy as one of the ultimate markers for women
to inhabit and in order to prove their own position and sexuality. Pregnancy becomes an act that
women use in order to confirm their social gender and through it they obtain control over their
own lifes to some extent (Mora, 2006: 59).

2.2 Power

Power according to Foucault is something that is everywhere and surrounds us all, in relation to
the subject of this study power becomes a clear agent in relation to the Catholic Church and as
well during the exploration if a choice really is a choice.

Foucault states that “[...] according to who is speaking, his position of power, the
institutional context in which he happens to be situated [...]” (Foucault, 1978: 101). It is relevant
to show that when the Pope speaks, it is rather the Catholic faith in general who speaks, id est
more specifically the men within the hierarchy of Catholicism. The Church have both been
praised and criticized throughout the years but the facts remain: it is one of the largest Christian
branches and its influence stretches out into every large international institution since the
Vatican, the seat of the Pope, is its own country. Christianity is an old and large religion, one has
to recognize its agency since it is a part of the international community.

A central power aspect in the debate is whether or not women should have the right to
choose. According to Andrea Smith (2005) there has been a lack of debate and contextualization
around the words “choice” and “right”. Smith writes that it has to do with our understanding of
class and societal structure. She criticizes the framing of abortion as a free choice for women,
because the societal conditions affect and restrain women's abilities to make “free” choices
Shannon Campbell writes that originally abortion was viewed and considered a right, something every one had a claim on regardless of class or societal stance. Over the years, the framing of abortion as a choice has become the preferred rhetoric tactic, not realizing that citing abortion as a choice, connects the choice to economic resources and thus creating a paradigm and hierarchy where some women have more “space” to make those choices (Campbell, 2009: 23). Smith would prefer if the discussion focused on women's right to their own bodies rather than choices. She believes that the abortion debate would gain from focusing on the other aspects such as cultural and social capital as well (Skeggs, 1999: 20-21). By doing so, the discussion would include societal conditions that might force women into having abortions, despite it being illegal in Chile. Smith writes that under the capitalistic system, those with more resources are granted more choices (Smith, 2005: 128). This is something that resonates throughout the Chilean society, women who have better economic resources have the choice to have their abortions under sanitary conditions, or to travel abroad where abortion is legal. To have the economic resources to be able to make a choice also include if the women are deemed to be legitimate choice-makers. Smith continues to argue that the choice paradigm has its consequences, namely, that pro-choice often “advocates frequently take positions that are oppressive to women from marginalized communities” (Smith, 2005: 129). She argues that by focusing on the assumption that women have a choice, women who do not have the economic abilities to raise a child become marginalized and infantilized. By focusing on the choice, no one sees the need of addressing the larger context where women's income and lack of resources are dismissed. What is a choice and is motherhood a choice when there are very few other options? Becoming a mother might not be a choice, when the alternative (having an abortion) is illegal. Framing the abortion debate to mostly focus on the working class and portraying the working class women as victims of complications of illegal abortions is a way to control and exercise power over the debate. Although the numbers concerning abortion rates in the working class speak for themselves, the number of upper class women who have abortions is kept in the dark and is seldom reported. Smith argues that abortion, though possibly a good solution to an individual problem, the procedure is not the only answer to the problem. It is part of a larger gendered discourse where women are not viewed as equally capable of caring for one's family economically or they are not as good workers as men. This is based upon traditional gender roles.
where men and women's characteristics are the opposite of one another, where women are deemed not to be able to make rational decisions simply because they are not men: men are rational creatures where every decision is exceedingly thought through and women are irrational and emotional thus they are impulsive and cannot decide over their own bodies (Hirdman, 2001: 65-69).

These discourses on sex and gender, where women are not deemed good workers simply based on the fact that they are women, are a part of power and its function in a very traditional society. According to Foucault there are certain mechanics of discourses on sex and gender that support the economic and ideological components of power, the point is that these aspects of the pro-choice and pro-life paradigm are such. It is also possible to apply this way of thinking on class, which will help one to see different aspects that both Smith and that the other theorists have missed or not seen: namely the importance of power within this paradigm.

We must not look for who have the power in the order of sexuality (men, adults, parents, doctors) and who is deprived of it (women, adolescents, children, patients); nor for who has the right to know and who is forced to remain ignorant. We must seek rather the pattern of the modifications which the relationships of force imply by the very nature of their process (Foucault, 1978: 99)

I argue that both pro-life and pro-choice have their faults and exert power over the debate and thus forming it into a kind of hierarchy between women, it is also the expression of power in another form. The debate is taking a form where women of the working class are portrayed as needing to be “saved” from unwanted pregnancies since the women in higher socioeconomic sectors can afford to have their abortion abroad. The power aspect here is the working class women are being controlled through their bodies by not allowing them the right to decide for themselves but also the working class is a source of resistance where the discourse on motherhood and the value of it in relation to womanhood might be the most difficult thing to “attack”. There is also power in the aspect that both throughout this study and in many articles the focus has been on the able bodies and rarely mentioning women that have disabilities might view and experience abortion differently.
2.3 Embodiment

In Chile becoming pregnant is a signifier for both fertility, heterosexuality and a transition of becoming a “real woman”. The “objective” is for women to become pregnant, which is interesting since the pregnant body is often viewed as something out of control. Chile Crece Contigo translates to “Chile Grows With You” and the organization is financed by the Chilean government. The organization is anti-abortive and provides prospective mothers with instructions on what to do and not to do during a pregnancy. However, what does the organizations name actually imply? “Chile Grows With You” could mean that the country grows with every pregnancy and thus it grows with you. It could also be interpreted as Chile is the child within the womb and therefore it grows with the woman as the pregnancy progresses. In either case, the organization has implanted Chile in the pregnancies. The future mothers are all of a sudden part of Chile's prosperity, by contributing to the growth of the population. The women are giving birth to a metaphorical Chile. Their bodies have become synonymous with the state and its success. Because of this link between the women and the government it is not strange that the government wants women to have as healthy pregnancies as possible, the government wants the women to produce healthy citizens. The Chilean government has inserted itself within every pregnancy through Chile Crece Contigo.

Robyn Longhurst argues that the pregnant female body is perceived as something that needs to be controlled, since it is constructed as an abject, where it threatens to split itself in to two and leak uncontrollably (Longhurst, 2001: 6). “The pregnant woman can be seen to occupy a borderline stat that disturbs identity, system and order by not respecting borders, positions and rules” (Longhurst, 2001: 6). The body is something that disrupts and threatens the existing system and order of things. It could be seen a paradox that one would want to control the female body through the denial of right to abortions. Because that would leave the body to become “out of control” through an uncontrolled number of pregnancies instead. At the same time, illegalization of abortion could be seen as a method of controlling women's bodies by not allowing them the right to decided over their bodies themselves. This control of the bodies continues throughout the pregnancy through organizations such as Chile Crece Contigo. The organization's website includes information on what an expecting mother should eat and do. Longhurst argues that pregnant women's autonomy over their own bodies is often considered to
be questionable, since the fetus is often treated as a public concern (Longhurst, 2001: 6). Pregnant women are also being controlled, argues Longhurst, by being told what they can or cannot eat, they are subjected to dietary regimes in order to make sure that the fetus is not harmed (Longhurst, 2001: 6). The information is not only available online, but also advertised throughout the subway system in Santiago and on television. The government's control of the female body is not solely contained to hospitals and maternity welfare, it is advertised everywhere.

Power does not control the subject through systems of ideas – ideologies – or through coercive force; rather, it surveys, supervises, observes, measures the body's behavior and interactions with other in order to produce knowledges. (Grosz, 1995: 149)

Through the recommended diets, the government creates an idea of what is good mothering, it does not say that those not following the regime are bad, rather it portrays those who follow it as good. The diets can been seen as a part of a larger system of supervision and thus a part of the larger power instrument. Grosz argues that power, through these different techniques of supervision produce the body. The body becomes a product of power and through this power it evolves into a determinate type of body with specific skills, attributes and meaning, Grosz argues (Grosz, 1995: 149). On the organization's website it says: "No need to eat for two, as it can lead to overweight and create complications. Ideally, eat a balanced and healthy diet." (Chile Crece Contigo, 2012, their emphasis). Here one can see that even the amount of food a woman eats is restricted, although not a must, it reinforces the portrayal of what a good mother is. Yet again this could be seen as a tool to control women's body's, for even an overweight body, like a pregnant one is deemed “out of control” and thus needs to contained. Having an abortion could be seen as a rejection of a social belonging. Nira Yuval Davis (2011) defines belonging in three different steps: “The first facet concerns social locations; the second relates to people’s identifications and emotional attachments to various collectivities and groupings and the third relates to ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others’ belonging/s. These different facets are interrelated, but cannot be reduced to each other.” (Davis,
She argues that the emotional attachment to one's belonging becomes more central when they also become less secure (Davis, 2011: 5). For pregnant Chilean women, the belonging to a social group, usually motherhood, becomes central once they are pregnant. Motherhood is such a valued position to inhabit that having an abortion becomes a clear rejection of it. A pregnant woman's authority over her own body is often limited because the child in her womb becomes a public concern, here the government through the organization has inserted itself into the control of the pregnant women. Their bodies function as an instrument to give birth to the future Chile, if one were to comply with that logic, having an abortion could be seen as a rejection of the country as well as motherhood.
3 CHILE GROWS WITHIN YOU

These two themes were chosen since they both pose a larger question; who has the right to its own life, the woman or the potential fetus? *The Right to Motherhood* explores whether or not motherhood is a right or rather something that women are forced to accept when becoming pregnant, when there are no other choices. *The Right to Life* explores the problematic discussion on whether or not a fetus life is worth more than a living woman's and where life really begins. The two chapters are both extremely paradoxical and deeply problematic because of the ethical and moral issues abortion pose.

3.1 The Right to Life

The Chilean constitution states that life begins at conception and that it is the government's responsibility to protect that life, since every human being have the right to live (Tribunal Constitutional, 2008: 129, Brito Peña, 2012: 155). This is one of the strongest arguments of the anti-abortion movement in Chile. The pro-abortion movement have been asking themselves how to tackle the belief that life begins at conception and not after, for example, 18 weeks of pregnancy? The constitution is said to protect life and *every* human beings right to life. It is the word “every” that have spawned a pro-abortion movement where the focus is on the woman and her right to live. The pro-abortionists have had many “poster-women”\(^1\) that have been forced to give birth to babies that are dead or deformed and with a life-expectancy of 15 minutes, with huge risks to the woman's own life (May, 2011). The pro-abortion groups have been trying to show that the constitution aims to protect *all* life and not only the life of the unborn. In the present situation abortion is illegal in order to protect the unborn fetus, however every pregnancy implicates risks to the woman's life. Were the pregnancy threatens the life of the mother, she would not be allowed to terminate the pregnancy: thus risking both her life and the fetus' life.

A recent decision made by the Constitutional Court in 2008 in Chile, there are several aspects that might help explain why the pro-abortion rhetorics have not been successful. This decision concerned whether or not the day-after pill was in accordance with the constitution. President Michelle Bachelet had, during 2006, decreed that the day-after pill was to be sold at all

\(^1\) “Poster-women” is in this context women who have been forced to give birth to children, whom the doctors have known will not survive once outside the womb. These women have later been asked to speak for the pro-choice movement and be their spokesperson.
pharmacies, be available at all health centers and that it were to be distributed for women older than 14 years, with minors not needing parental consent. The court was left with “reasonable doubt” about if the emergency pill had an abortive effect or not. The pill prohibits ovums to implant and it could be seen as a form of abortion (Brito Peña, 2012: 155). Therefore the court decided that the constitution had an obligation to protect that potential life. One of the magistrates, Magistrate Vodanovic, says the following after the ruling:

If the question about the beginning of life and its protection is an issue strongly—if not totally—influenced by people’s religious, metaphysical, and moral conceptions, the state organs cannot opt to impose a specific moral principle without damaging people’s liberties, depriving people of the right to choose the contraceptive methods they wish. (Translation by Brito Peña, 2012) (Tribunal Constitucional, 2008: 186)

Magistrate Vodanovic does not agree with the ruling since it is based on religious affiliations and is not in accordance with the constitution. In many instances throughout the ruling we can see a complete disregard of women and the woman's body, argues Brito Peña (Brito Peña, 2012: 156). Andrea Dworkin argues that women do not own the same privileges as men, and women do not enjoy the feeling of owning their own bodies or being the masters of themselves to the same extent (Dworkin, 2007: 154). In the court ruling, women who are at the core of the discussion, are not taken into consideration. The tendencies one can detect from the ruling are the same as in the abortion debate, the pro-abortionists work hard to highlight that it is not only about the unborn fetus but also about the woman, while the pro-life groups instead focus on the question “where does life begin?” and that life's right to live. The majority of the population in Chile (67%) (Campbell, 2009: 22) are against legalizing abortion, although some are open to legalizing abortion in the case of rape (which opens up a whole other discussion about rape) however this will not be investigated here.

In Chile the most common decision is to save the fetus, if possible. Women admitted to the hospitals due to complications from an unsafe abortion are under the risk of being reported and prosecuted for manslaughter. During the military regime there were also risks of
mistreatment by the medical personnel if the reason to the woman's hospitalization was an illegal abortion. Acuña Moenne explain that many of the disciplinary actions taken against women who did not uphold their gendered identity are still active in today's Chile (Acuña Moenne, 2005: 157). Women were for a long time perceived as the “guardians of life” which was a large part of their gendered identity. If they did not comply with that epithet, they were to be punished with physical or mental methods, due to the idea of women as self-sacrificing and suffering (Acuña Moenne, 2005: 157). Acuña Moenne writes that throughout the military regime women were viewed as the enemy of Pinochet if they were not contributing to Chile's glory in a way only women can contribute: by having babies. Women who did not comply with this notion or did chose not to have children were said to deserve punishment because of that act of refusal, they became not only an enemy of the state but an enemy of the constitution. (Acuña Moenne, 2005: 158). Since there are still restrictions on birth-control and other types of contraceptives, one could argue that these are methods of controlling women's bodies.

Who assumes the right to control the bodies of women and what does the Chilean female body tell us? Elizabeth Grosz defines the body as a lump of mass without meaning, but it is given meaning by society who inscribes their cultural, historical and sexual values and norms onto the body.

“[... ]disciplinary history, by its habitual patterns of movements, by the corporeal commitment it has undertaken in day-to-day life. It is in no sense a natural body, for it is a culturally, racially, sexually, possible even class distinctive, as it would be if it were clothed” (Grosz, 1995: 142).

Grosz describes that bodies all have traces of history inscribed on them. History is a part of every body and it affects how the body looks and behaves. She argues that bodies are not natural because the bodies have been warped by the construction of society and the norms and discourse that have existed there. Following that argument, I will argue that the female Chilean body has inscriptions of the military regime on it, which might not be visible, but every body show traces of the country's history, it is marked and disciplined like the bodies before it. These inscriptions affect the way the body is perceived and handled. If the traces of the are still there, it means that
the body will still be affected and handle itself in the same way as it did during the military regime. The Chilean female body is not a natural one, it is one warped by colonization and a brutal dictatorship. This contradicts the Catholic Church's view of the body, it argues that the female body becomes natural through giving birth (Vatican, 1995). According to Acuña Moenne, the women of Chile were on their way towards a more liberated society, along with the women of the western world, during the 1960s and the 1970s, but when the military coup took place in 1973, most family planning programs were dismantled and birth-control, yet again, became more restricted (Acuña Moenne, 2005: 155). Since Pinochet's regime women's bodies have been viewed as public property, they have never themselves owned their own bodies. Rather, their mission have been to populate Chile in the most efficient way possible. Women are expected to become mothers, it is part of their linear life. Sara Ahmed writes:

In a way, thinking about the politics of “lifelines” helps us to rethink the relationship between inheritance (the lines that we are given as our point of arrival into familial and social space) and reproduction (the demand that we return the gift of the line by extending that line). (Ahmed, 2006: 17).

Sara Ahmed explains that we can see our life divided up into different lifelines where we always have the choice, conscious or unconscious, to take another path or line than we inherit. What Ahmed describes, is the expectation that we should continue to reproduce heteronormative patterns and lines when we are born into the world. We are often born as a result of a heterosexual encounter therefore we should “repay” by continuing that path. It is not automatic that we reproduce the path we are expected to follow, but there is pressure to do so, Ahmed writes (Ahmed, 2006: 17). We need to see the connection between the expected life women are supposed to live in Chile and the resistance to legalizing abortion. If abortion were to be legalized, women would have the right of not extending that heteronormative line. Not becoming mothers could be seen as an act of not extending the heterosexual line, although having an abortion could be seen as a more conscious act of resistance to that line.

Keeping abortion illegal, could be seen as a way to control the female body, by not allowing women the right to decide over the bodies themselves. I argue that the female body is
not autonomous but instead a part of the Chilean state and government. Acuña Moenne writes it is a way of controlling the female sex and restricting their movement within society but at the same time linking the female body to the success of the Chilean society. If women are having babies, that contributes to the welfare and prosperity of Chile (Acuña Moenne, 2006: 156). This is a sort of institutionalization of the female body, when linking the body to the welfare of the state, but it also connects the body to the possible misfortune of the state as well. The body becomes institutionalized through a wish of trying to control sexuality, since the body and sexuality are connected (though the expression of sexuality is not relevant to the body). By controlling sexuality, one is also controlling the body (Foucault, 1978: 106).

In the Chilean context the female body have been, under a very long time, connected with the state and its welfare. It has become contingent with the country's prosperity and in that way it has become a property of the state, something the Government can control or deny certain things or rights. The body has become a part of the institution that is the Chilean democratic government. Foucault writes that the sex needed (or needs) to be administrated because it needs to be regulated for the good of all and placed within “systems of utility” in order to control it (Foucault, 1978: 24). Since sex is a part of the body, regulation of the sex becomes the regulation of the body, and theses regulations are gendered according to Gayle Rubin. The sex of our body decides what kind of regulations we need to adhere to (Rubin, 1984: 170). The societal structure in Chile is highly influenced by the Catholic Church, and thus it is a more traditional view on family and gender roles that come to light. Women do work, vote and have many opportunities, if they are born within the right socioeconomic sector. In studies on women's views on their gender identity many express a wish to marry and becomes mothers. Mora argues that they often seek to uphold the traditional family structure in order to confirm and prove their own femaleness and womanhood (Mora, 2006: 47).

3.2 The Right to Motherhood
The Church's viewpoint is highly present within the debate and the government's way of operating. What is important to note here, is that in Chile the church is separated from the state. This means that religious beliefs are not allowed to influence laws and governmental work. As previously explained, the Catholic Church has a great influence over the Chilean government.
The Catholic Church cooperates with many right-wing organizations to prevent laws on reproductive rights to pass. It has about 70 active organizations who work continuously on increasing the punishment for having an abortion or performing one, or stopping bills which aim be more lenient in the same questions (Brito Peña, 2012: 153). Despite the formal separation of the Church and the state, there seems in reality to be none at all. The political arena in Chile is extremely influenced by the Church, the right wing parties are religious Christians, and the left wing parties are in a coalition with the Christian Democrats: the church's influence is very palpable. One should consider that Chile has been Catholic since the Spanish colonization the Chile in the 1500s, the country has a long and rich Catholic history. The religion is bound to influence the way people think and act. The Catholic Church has, since the 1960's been very clear of their position on contraceptives and abortion. They believe that life begins at conception, thus abortion equals murder. The framing of the abortion arguments are often framed as either right or wrong, what is morally or ethically right. The pro-life activists often situate their position as morally right and the need to protect the sanctity of life (Smith, 2005: 121). The Vatican writes the following to the Secretary General of Women of the United Nations, Mrs. Gertrude Mongella:

At the same time we must not forget that at the personal level one’s dignity is experienced not as a result of the affirmation of rights on the juridical and international planes, but as the natural consequence of the concrete material, emotional and spiritual care received in the heart of one’s family. No response to women’s issues can ignore women’s role in the family or take lightly the fact that every new life is totally entrusted to the protection and care of the woman carrying it in her womb. In order to respect this natural order of things, it is necessary to counter the misconception that the role of motherhood is oppressive to women, and that a commitment to her family, particularly to her children, prevents a woman from reaching personal fulfillment, and women as a whole from having an influence in society. (Vatican, 1995, their emphasis).
The quote above is a great example of where one needs to read between the lines; first that the Vatican believes there is a misconception about motherhood throughout the non-Catholic world and that women do have influence and importance within society even though they are mothers. The Vatican argues that women do fulfill themselves by becoming mothers and caring for one's family and it is a misconception that women do not find fulfillment within the family context. The Vatican writes “natural order of things”, referring to the woman's role within the family as “natural” and therefore it becomes legitimatized. They construct the heteronormative family as the natural and ideal family. Through the usage of the word “natural” the Vatican is exercising power over the language and actually telling us what “natural” means. It means that those who do not fulfill the requirements of being heterosexual and in want of a family, are unnatural. The Vatican argues that the masculine and feminine were created as opposites in order to complement each other and complete one another, which seems to be what they mean by natural order of things.

The usage of the word “natural” is excluding towards other types of families that might exist within the Catholic context since the word itself legitimatizes and solidifies the notion of the heteronormative family. Through the heterosexual matrix, the binary gender view helps us to understand bodies and the two sexes, according to Butler. Butler argues the matrix is built upon the two sexes thus our understanding of the matrix is dependent upon a common understanding of the sexual differentiation (Butler, 2005: 296). This is visible in the text by the Vatican, where they show us through the word use and the emphasis that they believe that the two sexes were created to desire and complete one another. By stressing the point that women do want to have a family and find their fulfillment within the family, the Vatican portrays a picture of women being created to carry children. The Vatican is speaking of a social pressure to take a certain course in our lives, we are expected to follow these lines of the “natural way of life” (Ahmed, 2006: 17). According to Ahmed we are “pressed into” these lines by the societal discourse, which the

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2 The debate about abortion in Chile is highly centered on family and there is an unwillingness to discuss abortion in a wider context. Not to be compared to other debates around the world there are, nevertheless, similarities to the abortion debate in Spain. In Spain and Chile, the arguments have adapted and taken a new form. Earlier, legal abortion was said to be a key right for women because it gives them control over their own bodies, and now the focus has shifted and the arguments against legal abortion is “a woman's right to motherhood” (Elliott, 2012).
Vatican gives a voice to in this letter. Sometimes people follow a path without knowing it or acknowledging it, and it becomes a way of life without question (Ahmed, 2006: 19). Women are constructed and brought up not to question this pressure, that takes its form of the heterosexual matrix. Women are supposed to desire the male sex and they are supposed to want children and thus become a part of the heteronormative, ideal family that the Vatican promotes. The text by the Vatican highlights the general catholic understanding of life. It is also an exclusion of people that might feel differently about their sexual desires or willingness to have children. By constructing the family in a heteronormative way and referring to it as “natural” is both excluding and dismissive towards people who might want to follow another path. Everyone who do not identify with this are thus unnatural. Were a woman to have an abortion hence rejecting this way of life she would therefore become “unnatural”, according to the Vatican's logic.

The Vatican also emphasizes a woman's duty to protect life. The Vatican equalizes the word duty with natural. The two words become synonymous, since it is not only natural for women to give birth, but also to protect that life. The Vatican tries to emphasize that women have a duty to their natural role as mothers. There is something left unsaid in the sentence “No response to women’s issues can ignore women’s role in the family or take lightly the fact that every new life is totally entrusted to the protection and care of the woman carrying it in her womb” (Vatican, 1995). By structuring the sentence in this way, the Vatican plays on women's consciousness. They write that the “new life is totally entrusted to the protection and care of the woman” and thus implicates it is her responsibility to make sure it does not come to harm. Were she to go forth with an abortion, she would betray that trust, violate the natural order and revolt against her female nature as a protector and life giver. With emphasis on the words “totally entrusted” the Church also make it a vital point in the text. Although the letter is to the women in the UN, there is no mentioning in the letter as to men's role and responsibilities for the unborn child. Does the Vatican believe that it is the woman's responsibility entirely because of her reproductive organs? During the whole year of 2006, 18.667 women had sterilizations while only 75 men did the same (Dides et al, 2008: 49). According to the statistics, the sex that has the most sterilizations is women, clearly this points to something about the view of reproduction and who is deemed responsible. It is not only the duty of the woman not to become pregnant, it will also be her obligation to take care of the child if she were to become pregnant (Campbell, 2009: 67).
What can be seen here is a clear division in gender roles, women are the life vessels, the protectors of life and while the men are not obligated to take responsibility for that life.

The Vatican writes that a woman's dignity is not received from juridicial right, but rather from the emotional and spiritual rewards from caring for ones family (Vatican, 1995). Their binary view of gender and gender roles, becomes clear in this letter. The Vatican is of the persuasion that women should be the primary care giver and the most important task a woman might have is to become a mother and foster future generations. This notion that women's task is to raise the new generation was also shared of the Chilean military regime. Pinochet believed that women's main task were to give birth, and through their reproductive organs they contributed to the Chilean society: Chile's success was directly linked to the population's size, were to birth rate low, it was the women's fault (Acuña Moenne, 2005: 156). This is something that resonates throughout the different socioeconomic sectors (Mora, 2006: 58). It is a discourse throughout the Chilean society; that real womanhood can only be achieved through motherhood.

According to Campbell, most Chilean women do believe that abortion should be illegal. On the other hand some are for legalizing it in the case of rape, but most do not believe that economic shortcomings are good enough reason to have an abortion, despite it being the most common reason (Campbell, 2006: 20). It is deemed irresponsible to have an abortion and blaming it on limited resources or a wish for education is the epitome of selfishness. Growing up in a context where motherhood is important and considered something you must do in order to reach “complete womanhood”. Yet again we can see that Ahmed's theory about reproducing what we inherit is relevant (Ahmed, 2006: 17). Women are pressured into motherhood by the discourse and that one of the few ways to increase their social and cultural capital is by becoming mothers and thus contributing to the welfare of Chile. The women in Shannon Campbell's study speak about the shame after their abortions and that almost no one in their surroundings know what they have done (Campbell, 2009: 52). Motherhood and womanhood are so inextricably linked: you cannot reach complete womanhood without motherhood and motherhood cannot exist without womanhood. These two factors and their link helps us, in relation to the Catholic faith to see a common theme, or discourse, on women and women's gender identity and role. The women themselves say that womanhood cannot be complete without becoming a mother, as does the former Pope: he was striving for women to understand
that motherhood is not oppressive but that it is a natural role given to women through their bodies (Vatican, 1995).

All of these factors work together to create a discourse where motherhood and womanhood is something to be desired and wanted. Therefore having an abortion could be seen as a rejection of motherhood, womanhood and of society's structure. It is a threat to the structures that uphold “given” roles. Having an abortion with these norms surrounding you, will mean a rejection of what a mother should be and in the long term of womanhood. Foucault writes that we have to understand power not as a single source, but rather as a lump of several factors working together to form a system of alliances and enemies. The clashes between them create waves upon still water, these waves then travel and seep through our daily activities and thoughts, and they become discourses and norms that are both consistent and changeable (Foucault, 1978: 93-94). Women have been taught that motherhood is the ultimate confirmation of ones gender and position in society and that being a mother is something good and honorable. “If I am someone who cannot be without doing, then the conditions of my doing are, in part, the conditions of my existence” (Butler, 2004: 3), these women cannot be women without becoming (thus doing) a part of motherhood, the pregnancy becomes an act and performance of ones womanhood and gender. Not only that, it becomes a vital display of one sexuality and conformation to a specific way of life. Through motherhood women produces and reproduces notions of heterosexuality. Women do not exist without being mothers and women, so when confirming both through pregnancy the existence is suddenly palpable to their surroundings.

Adrienne Rich argues that assuming heterosexual identities have been a way for women to survive throughout history (Rich,1980:649). While her article mainly deals with the lesbian existence and continuum, her ideas about assuming a heterosexual way of life as a survival strategy is also plausible in this scenario. Living in a context where motherhood is something you cannot choose or discard, adapting to a heterosexual lifestyle might be one of the few tools women and young girls have to adapt and be accepted, especially if they are young or unmarried. What they do not realize is, according to Ahmed, that when adapting to this linear and heterosexual lifestyle they are treading upon an old path that after a while becomes a part of who they are and thus it becomes normalized, according to Ahmed (Ahmed, 2006: 19). Through the action of becoming a mother women in this context both confirm their own heterosexuality, their
fertility and their gendered role as mothers and care givers. If they are giving up something, say school, in order to have a baby they are also confirming the ideal of the mother as self-sacrificing. This “choice” (it may present itself as a choice although it is not) of becoming mothers over and over again, stabilizes the discourse of motherhood as self-sacrificing and as something women need to do in order to feel fulfilled as women. By walking upon a walked path and not straying from it, women are normalizing the situation.

Foucault writes: “Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it” (Foucault, 1978: 101). Motherhood is a dominating discourse in the Chilean society. Through the works of Campbell and Mora we have been able to expose it and examine it. The discourse is everywhere, it is consuming and powerful but it is also extremely fragile because according to the discourse there is only two types of “good mothers”: the self-sacrificing working class mother and the successful middle/upper class mother. The shaming of women who do have abortions is an expression of the idea what a woman should be in the Chilean society, most teenage girls drop out of school due to pregnancy is both a symptom of lack of contraceptives but also a signifier of what motherhood is.

Throughout this theme the discourse of motherhood has been explored and analyzed. Motherhood as an ideal is deeply influence by the Catholic Church and with the help of Claudia Mora's article it seems to be something that is important to women in all socioeconomic sectors. Motherhood is something that is part of performing ones gender and it is vital to the women's understanding of themselves and fulfilling the idea of what a woman is.
4 Conclusion

Abortion as a subject is often debated but it is also a subject that pushes moral and ethical issues to their tipping point. Because it poses the difficult question on where does life begin and whose life is worth more, the mother or the child? It is difficult to make such a debate justice and it needs to be further explored with a more extensive research, but there are somethings that have come to light throughout this analysis that might help the understanding of the Chilean debate of abortion.

*The Right to Life* explores the notions of the body in relation to the state and the discussion of where life begins and who's life one should prioritize. Throughout the chapter one can see that the body is used as a tool in order to control women as well as binding the female body to become synonymous with the state. The female body is affected by the Chilean history and its restrictions imposed on the women during the military regime under Pinochet. The female body is not a natural one, it is warped by the country's history and which affects the way it handles itself and how it is perceived by society. The body becomes institutionalized when it is connected to the prosperity of the state, thus the body also becomes linked to the misfortune of the state as well. By controlling the female sexuality and restricting women's abilities to have power over their own fertility, the body is through these practices also a controlled instrument of the state.

Throughout the chapter *The Right to Motherhood* the notion and social construction of motherhood has been explored. As an expectation of women in general, motherhood used as a looking glass have helped one to see that to be deemed a “real woman”, women must become mothers in order to be able to successfully perform their gender and complying with the patriarchal structure of Chilean society. Through the influence of the church women's role have been constructed into a selfless and sacrificing human being that only finds personal fulfillment through becoming a mother. Having children has become such an expected act performed by women, that not having children is seen as a rejection of society and one's gender. Motherhood is a way to highlight the gendered discourses that exist in the Chilean society today, it does not only help one to see that the female role as a mother is a social construction but also one that is part of the larger system of patriarchy.
These two themes have been explored and analyzed, the abortion debate in Chile is extremely dependent on its social context and structure. The discourse on motherhood is the most prominent reason as to why abortion is still illegal. The discourse has been built upon religious and moral beliefs of a certain group within the Chilean society. The influences of Christianity is not something to be dismissed, they are relevant and play an important role in the construction of motherhood. With motherhood being a highly valued position, rejecting it through an abortion is a denial of a societal position and ones expected gendered role. Many of the women in Claudia Mora's study express how much motherhood means to them and that in order to become a real woman, one needs to reproduce. This combined with the restriction of the female body reveals an important conclusion. The view of the Catholic Church is a heavy influence on values and norms in Chile. The majority of the population in Chile is Catholic and the Church's influence on policies concerning birth-control is large. There is a connection between the restriction of the female body and the women's own assumption that they need to be mothers in order to prove to themselves that they are women.

Both of themes have their bases in the idea that women need to be mothers. The Right to Motherhood analyzes the discourse on motherhood and the obligation women have to become mothers in order for them to become and be regarded as complete women. Womanhood and motherhood have become inextricably linked to one another thus in order to be viewed as a woman, women need to give birth. The Right to Life both explores how the female body becomes institutionalized through various methods and restrictions of the body, and how the idea of the natural body is connected to motherhood. The natural body is an idea that women only become women through becoming pregnant. Through pregnancy women fulfill their responsibilities and at the same time confirming their own heterosexuality and natural body. I argue that the female body is not a natural one, rather it is a lump of mass that has been warped and inscribed with values and norms that society has constructed. With women's role being so dependent upon them becoming mothers, I argue it is not strange that abortion is not legal in Chile. When the words woman and mother are synonymous, abortion threatens women's chance to become real women. Abortion could be seen as a metaphorical rejection of motherhood and
complete womanhood. With abortion illegal it becomes more difficult for women to reject society's notion of what a woman is.
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