

**YVONNE IVANESCU (4165744)**

**UNDER SUPERVISION OF PROFESSOR ANDREA MARTINEZ**

**BRIDGING THE GAP:  
FEMINIST MOVEMENTS AND THEIR EFFORTS TO ADVANCE  
ABORTION RIGHTS IN CHILE**



**uOttawa**

L'Université canadienne  
Canada's university

**OCTOBER 22ND, 2013**

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
in the partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Arts

School of International Development and Global Studies  
Women's Studies Collaborative Program  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
University of Ottawa

**© YVONNE IVANESCU, OTTAWA, CANADA, 2013**

## Table of Contents

|                                                                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <i>Abstract</i> .....                                                                | iv |
| Acknowledgments.....                                                                 | v  |
| Chapter 1: Introduction.....                                                         | 1  |
| Chapter 2: Reproductive Rights in Latin America and within the Chilean Context ..... | 8  |
| I.    What are Reproductive and Sexual Rights?.....                                  | 8  |
| II.   Abortion: A Synopsis.....                                                      | 12 |
| III.  The Case of Chile.....                                                         | 16 |
| i.   The Catholic Church .....                                                       | 16 |
| ii.  The Pinochet Legacy: A Conservative “Bubble” .....                              | 19 |
| iii.  Compulsory Motherhood: Woman is not Synonymous with Mother .....               | 23 |
| iv.  Feminist Organizations in Chile .....                                           | 31 |
| Chapter 3: The Theoretical Framework.....                                            | 35 |
| I.    The New Generation .....                                                       | 35 |
| i.   The Agenda .....                                                                | 36 |
| ii.  Broken Bridges.....                                                             | 37 |
| iii.  Old vs. New .....                                                              | 39 |
| II.   Theoretical Contributions to the Third Wave Movement.....                      | 40 |
| i.   Intersectionality.....                                                          | 41 |
| ii.  Postcolonial Feminism .....                                                     | 43 |
| iii.  The Reproductive Justice Framework .....                                       | 46 |
| Chapter 4: The Methodological Framework.....                                         | 50 |
| I.    From Theory to a Methodological Framework.....                                 | 51 |
| II.   Defining the “Research Problem”.....                                           | 53 |
| III.  Understanding the Field .....                                                  | 54 |
| IV.   Sampling: Whose Voices Need to be Included.....                                | 58 |
| V.    Ethical framework.....                                                         | 62 |
| VI.   Analysing the Data .....                                                       | 63 |
| Chapter 5: The Challenges of the Chilean Women’s Movement .....                      | 67 |

|                                                                   |     |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| I. The Political Route .....                                      | 68  |
| II. The Third-Wave: A Micro-political Strategy .....              | 71  |
| III. The Limitations of the Movement(s) .....                     | 76  |
| i. Abortion is Murder: Overcoming an Anti-Abortion Rhetoric ..... | 76  |
| ii. Unresolved Tensions.....                                      | 79  |
| A Lack of Mutual Respect.....                                     | 80  |
| The Rejection of Change .....                                     | 82  |
| iii. A Limited Strategy .....                                     | 91  |
| IV. A Strategic Intervention.....                                 | 93  |
| Conclusion .....                                                  | 97  |
| Appendixes .....                                                  | 104 |
| Bibliography .....                                                | 111 |

## *Abstract*

*Chile allowed therapeutic abortion (cases in which the mother's life was in danger) from 1931 until 1989, the last year of the Pinochet military dictatorship. After Pinochet stepped down, Chile underwent a democratic transition in 1990 that was heavily reliant on a moral fundamentalist mentality, primarily influenced by the Catholic Church and conservative political parties. It has been widely argued that after the democratic transition, the previously strong and united women's movement lost much of its visibility and cohesiveness due to its progressive fragmentation. This thesis holds that the women's movement in Chile is not dead, but instead there are numerous small movements that apply different methods in an attempt to change abortion legislation in Chile. Through the dissemination of secondary research and first-person interviews conducted over a period of six months in Chile, the results show that Chilean third-wave feminists have re-shaped the women's movement in an effort to introduce innovative ideas and tactics to advance abortion rights. Nonetheless, these new voices have also created tensions between new and old feminists further dividing the movement and limiting their ability to effect real change in regards to the abortion debate in Chile.*

**KEY WORDS:** *third-wave, abortion debate, generational tensions, reproductive and sexual rights, second wave, Santiago, Chile.*

## Acknowledgments

I remember the first couple of months of my graduate studies when I was faced with the option of writing either a thesis or a major research paper. As I weighed my options, I realized that my passion for reproductive rights, my sense of adventure and yearning to learn about the lived experiences of individuals outside of my personal bubble made the choice quite obvious. This choice led me to a foreign country and although I believed that I was mentally prepared for the trip, I realized that the process of completing my MA thesis was going to be much harder than I had previously expected. In the end, I would not have been able to complete this journey without the aid and support of many different people. First and foremost I am eternally grateful to my parents whose unconditional love and support allowed me to accomplish many of the things that I have achieved in my life. To my father, thank you for being the rock in my life and always pushing me to expand my horizons. You are the reason why I am the person I am today. To my mother, the avid Catholic who from the beginning disagreed with my thesis topic, thank you for looking past your own opinions and helping me through some of the darkest times during this journey.

I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Andrea Martinez, and my thesis committee members, Dr. Angel Foster and Dr. Christine Gervais, for all the patience, support and assistance that they provided during this remarkable journey. Finally, I am grateful to all the Chilean individuals who shared their invaluable stories with me during my time in their country – it is my hope that I retained the integrity of their conversation in my thesis.

## Chapter 1: Introduction

Every year, more than 40 million women worldwide will decide to have an abortion (Guttmacher Institute; 2012). Of those 40 million women, 21.6 million have no other choice but to endure an abortion under unsafe circumstances. After the procedure is finished, an estimated 800,000 women are hospitalized due to complications related to unsafe abortions (Ross, 2004) while 47,000 will die (Culp-Ressler, 2012). In reality, there is no direct correlation between the legal status of abortion and how often it occurs. Some of the highest abortion rates in the world are in Latin America and Africa where the procedure is highly restricted (Guttmacher, 2012). The criminalization of abortion does not stop the procedure from happening, but instead drives it underground where women seek unsafe abortions that can ultimately lead to hospitalization or death. To date, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Malta, Vatican City, the Dominican Republic and Chile have all banned abortions under any circumstances, including to save a pregnant woman's life.

The case of Chile deserves special attention due to the intense internal struggle that the country faces between liberal and conservative ideals. Chileans often refer to their country as two-faced due to the dichotomy of its economic and socio-political views. This is a country that has signed multiple free trade agreements, opening up its borders to the world and yet only legalized divorce in 2004. It is also one of the few countries in the world that is still heavily influenced by the Catholic Church, whose presence can be overwhelmingly felt in many public, private and government institutions. The Catholic Church's advocacy towards strengthening traditional family values has led to a number of conservative policies geared towards limiting

women's reproductive and sexual rights. The most repressive of these is Chile's abortion policy, implemented in 1989, banning abortions under any circumstances. Chile legalized therapeutic abortion<sup>1</sup> from 1931 to 1989. The coup in 1973 replaced President Allende with General Augusto Pinochet. Pinochet tightened the definition of a therapeutic abortion and completely outlawed the procedure in 1989, leaving his mark on Chilean society. The decision to criminalize abortion was facilitated by the Catholic Church, an institution that was fighting hard at the end of the dictatorship to establish itself as a key political powerhouse in the new democratic Chile. During the final days of the Pinochet regime, Bishop Jorge Medina wrote an open letter addressed to the Junta and to Pinochet that urged the dictatorship to overturn therapeutic abortion (Maira, Hurtado & Santana, 2010).

On September 15th, 1989, Article 119 of the Health Code stating that "pregnancy may only be interrupted for therapeutic purposes" was replaced with Law No. 18.826 issued by the military junta. This law stated that "no action may be undertaken with the intent to provoke an abortion" (Kesten & Mora, 2007: 12). The public feared that political dissent would deter the democratic transition. As a result, Law No 18.826 and subsequent laws that limited women's freedoms were passed with little public outcry. Hass (1999) argues that the Catholic Church established itself as a strong political actor in Chile by using the fragility of the democratic

---

<sup>1</sup> Therapeutic abortion was introduced into the Health Code on May 15th, 1931. Chilean women seeking an abortion had to ask the opinion of three doctors or one doctor and two witnesses if the case was urgent. However what constituted a therapeutic abortion at this time is not clearly defined within the literature. In 1967, the text in the law was modified to include specific phrasing stating that a "pregnancy may only be interrupted for therapeutic purposes." The ambiguity of "therapeutic purposes" led to the adoption of a wider interpretation of this law in certain Chilean cities. For example, between the years of 1970 – 72, the Department of Gynaecology and Obstetrics in Hospital Barros Luco in Santiago facilitated the access of voluntary abortion for a variety of reasons. Abortions requested for emotional, cultural, economic and/or mental reasons were all considered valid, because doctors believed that all these reasons placed a woman's life and health in danger (Lira, 2001; 87). The definition of "therapeutic" changed once again, this time interpreted within restrictive and limited parameters, when Dictator Pinochet seized power in 1973.

transition and the fear that it would collapse to push its own agenda. The Church advocated for pro-Catholic traditional family values that would *protect* democracy and warned that immoral acts against natural law (like adultery, sex, abortion and contraceptives) would lead to the destruction of democracy in Chile. For example, the Church issued many open letters to the Chilean public, warning them that a lack of conformity to natural law would bring moral chaos (Maira, Hurtado & Santana, 2010).

In the coming years, the Church's powerful political position granted them control over any discussions surrounding controversial issues such as divorce, reproductive rights and abortion. Pro-abortion bills quickly died in the Senate and anti-abortion<sup>2</sup> supporters were denigrated. Nowadays, Chile has one of the highest abortion rates in Latin America as it is estimated that 40 percent of all pregnancies end in an abortion (Bravo, 2012). The decriminalization of the procedure is still a highly contested subject and recent events show that a compromise between legislators and constituents will probably not be reached in the near future. On April 3rd, 2012 the Chilean Senate rejected three motions that sought to decriminalize abortion under certain circumstances. Project A, which would allow pregnancy termination for therapeutic purposes by medical intervention (by two different doctors), was struck down in a vote of 18 against 15. Project B, which permitted abortion for therapeutic reasons such as fetal malformations, rape and/or to save a woman's life provided that it was within the first 12 weeks of gestation, was struck down in a vote of 22 against 9. Lastly, Project C, which strove to decriminalize abortion for medical reasons in cases of fetal deformities and/or to save a woman's life, was also struck down in a vote of 19 against 12 (Tweedie, 2012). After the vote, Christian

---

<sup>2</sup> Following an interview with a Chilean feminist, I decided to substitute the terms *pro-choice* and *pro-life* with *pro-abortion* and *anti-abortion*. More information on this substitution can be found on page 74.



Larroulet, a government official, stated that “the Senate has made the right decision in protecting the right to life.” He also added that “protecting the right to life has been one of our government’s commitments” (Tweedie, 2012). Along with the rejection of all three motions, law-makers were barred from proposing any new pro-abortion bills and/or motions for an entire year. That timeline has since lapsed in April 2013. In May 2013, armed with their new campaign videos and re-designed website, Movimiento por la Interrupción Legal del Embarazo (MILES) (Movement for the Legal Interruption of a Pregnancy) announced that they would continue the fight and would present the Senate with a project that strives to legalize therapeutic abortion (Miles Chile, 2013). Since April 2013, three different bills have been submitted to the Senate discussing various options for decriminalizing abortion under certain circumstances (“Camara De Diputados De Chile: Proyectos de Ley,” 2013). As of October 2013, these three bills (submitted in April, May and June 2013) were still being discussed within the Senate and there had been no update on their status.

These three separate motions, although rejected, demonstrate that the decriminalization of abortion is an issue within Chile that is not going to disappear anytime soon. It is a subject that many politicians refuse and/or are reluctant to discuss; yet it is a topic that is becoming widely examined within the country and re-introduced within the political sphere by means of motions and bills. In fact, in 2011, a survey conducted by FLACSO-Chile found that 89% of Chilean respondents believed that abortion is a topic that needs to be debated and 64.5% agreed that abortion should be legalized in Chile under specific circumstances (Dides, Benavente & Saez, 2011). These statistics reveal that the Chilean public has become more apt to accept an open debate on the pertinence of the country’s abortion policy. It also demonstrates that there exists a

divide between what the Chilean public desires and what legislators are doing for their constituents. This shift in ideology can be accredited to the Chilean women's movement and numerous feminist academics who have, over the years, researched arguments for the defence of sexual and reproductive rights while continuously advocating for these rights (Dides, 2011). My research specifically seeks to answer two main questions:

1. Firstly, what are feminist organizations doing in an effort to decriminalize abortion within the country?
2. Secondly, what limitations do feminist networks face in influencing public policy? Specifically, how do certain factors; such as gender, class or culture, impact the formation of a strong pro-abortion feminist network?

These issues will be framed within the historical background of the interplay between the Catholic Church, political parties and the Chilean feminist movement since 1989. A historical background of each of these three actors is pertinent because they have all influenced each other throughout the years and are intricately connected. The Church has become so influential “in part because of the cache it earned by protecting human rights and pushing for justice during and after the dictatorship” (qt Lira in Allen, 2012). The Church's role during and after the dictatorship allowed the Catholic Church, as an institution, to establish itself within society and become a strong societal actor. The Church's strong political ties and close affiliation with religious orders (Opus Dei and Legionaries of Christ) has allowed it to continuously convince politicians and government organizations to reject or refuse to engage in discussions around any policies that defy Catholic *traditional* values. For example, the National Office of Women

(SERNAM), a government department established in 1991 (similar to Status of Women in Canada), has a propensity to avoid discussing the topic of reproductive rights and focuses largely on “programs that tend to view women’s needs in crisis situations related to their traditional roles within the family” (“Women’s Reproductive Rights in Chile: A Shadow Report,” 1999: 8-9). Women are seen in terms of their reproductive functions, “in accordance with the government’s traditional view of women” (“Women’s Reproductive Rights in Chile: A Shadow Report,” 1999: 9). Nonetheless, it is important to note that the Catholic Church is not a homogenous entity. As an institution, the Church is often seen as conservative and patriarchal, yet there are also many practicing Catholics and officials, including prominent priests and nuns, that do not follow all of the Church’s teachings. A strong example would be Catholics for Choice, an organization that campaigns for a woman’s legal right to access reproductive and sexual health services, including abortion. Even so, the strong link between political parties and the Catholic Church, as an institution, negatively influences non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and feminist organizations. The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy asserts that “the state establishes a relationship with them (NGOs) as service providers but this conceals that absence of government policies designed to strengthen civil society and the refusal to enter into a dialogue concerning citizen control over criticisms of government policies” (“Women’s Reproductive Rights in Chile: A Shadow Report”, 1999: 6). Feminist organizations working within Chile are often subjected to working closely with government agencies, like SERNAM, greatly hindering their ability to advocate for major legislative changes in reproductive health without risking the chance of severe financial and political repercussions. Furthermore, organizations that refuse cooption face little to no financial support and often are limited in what they can advocate due to the lack of funds. Therefore, this research paper intends to understand the connections between these three

actors (i.e. Catholic Church, political parties and the Chilean feminist movement) in an effort to comprehend the hurdles that feminist organizations must overcome to legislate for decriminalization. In recent years, sexual and reproductive rights, specifically a woman's right to an abortion, have resurfaced regionally and internationally as a vital yet highly contested topic. As increased attention has become focused on reproductive rights, it is necessary to understand the Latin American context before specifically addressing the Chilean situation

## **Chapter 2: Reproductive Rights in Latin America and within the Chilean Context**

Contraceptive remedies and abortion techniques can be dated back to ancient times. Written records of attempts to regulate fertility can be found as early as 1550 B.C. inscribed in ancient Egyptian Ebers Papyrus (Campbell & Potts, 2009). Etienne van de Walle notes that “a concern to avoid an unwanted pregnancy appears to have existed throughout history and among practically all populations, though in various contexts (extra-marital relations, incest, prostitution, marriage) and for various reasons” (2005: 1). Individuals have practiced fertility regulation (through contraceptive methods and abortion) for thousands of years, yet sexual and reproductive rights are still one of the most disputed topics within the world today. The abortion debate includes a mixture of voices that employ ethical, biological, legal, as well as scientific and/or human rights discourse to argue for or against the decriminalization of the procedure. As previously mentioned, Chile is one of the few countries in the world that does not allow abortion under any circumstances. With the intent of developing a better understanding of the Chilean context, this chapter will first provide an analysis of the Latin American debate in regards to sexual and reproductive rights. It will then provide a general introduction of the different façades of abortion before addressing the specific case of Chile.

### **I. What are Reproductive and Sexual Rights?**

Reproductive rights are often seen as an integral part of the development process. In a speech presented at the International Conference on Population and Development on March 5<sup>th</sup>

2013, Michelle Bachelet<sup>3</sup>, the former Executive Director of UN Women, emphasized the correlation between women's empowerment, sexual and reproductive rights and sustainable development (UN Women, 2013). Education, more specifically education in family planning, permits women to control their sexuality, overcome poverty and greatly increase their chances in successfully entering the labor force. As women control their sexual life, waiting and having fewer children, they start to demand for other rights including political and economic rights (Grown, Gupta & Kes, 2005). The Cairo Programme of Action, adopted in 1994, states that **reproductive rights:**

“are the rights of men and women to be informed [about] and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods for regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant” (Cook & Fathalla, 1996: 115).

In Latin America there has been an increased focus on sexual and reproductive rights legislation from both the pro and anti-abortion movements. In fact, the region is known for simultaneously possessing some of the most progressive as well as archaic sexual and reproductive rights policies in the world. Abortion, for example, is offered on request (within a specific time frame) in Cuba, Mexico City, Guyana and Uruguay while on

---

<sup>3</sup> Michelle Bachelet is also the former president of Chile (2006-2010). In 2006, Bachelet created a policy that allowed the morning-after pill (also referred to as emergency contraception or emergency contraceptive pills) to be distributed (for free) in state run hospitals for women over the age of fourteen. In 2008, the “constitutional tribunal banned the free distribution of the morning-after pill in public hospitals or health centres, but not its sale” (May; 2011). In 2010 a law was passed legalizing the distribution of the pill; however a parent or legal guardian must be present if the girl is fourteen years of age or younger.

the other hand, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador and Chile have all severely restricted women's access to the procedure.

The first country to legalize abortion within the region was Cuba. While there is no actual abortion law in Cuba, the practice has been decriminalized since 1965. The procedure is available on request for pregnancies up to ten weeks and can at times be funded by the government (Heredero; 2011). In 2007, Mexico City became the first of the thirty-two Mexican states to legalize abortion on request for pregnancies up to twelve weeks (Paul, 2013). In 2008, the Senate of Uruguay voted in favor of a bill, decriminalizing abortion up to twelve weeks of pregnancy. Although the bill was vetoed by the former Uruguayan president, Tabaré Vázquez, a similar bill was re-introduced in 2012. The legislation was a result of the dedication and advocacy of two Uruguayan woman's organizations, **Mujer y Salud Uruguay** and **Mujer Ahora**, who "used a variety of strategies, such as bringing international reproductive justice experts to educate key legislators, influencing public opinion on abortion through media campaigns, and developing courses for healthcare professionals" (Global Fund for Women, 2012). The bill was approved by the Uruguayan Senate with a 17-to-14 vote, allowing women to have an abortion in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy<sup>4</sup>. Lastly, on August 1st, 2013, four days after Pope Francis left Brazil, President Dilma Rousseff signed into law a measure that would allow health care centers in the country to dispense emergency contraceptive pills to women who have been raped (EWTN, 2013).

---

<sup>4</sup> The legislation further requires that a woman needs to "explain her desire to have an abortion to a panel of at least three people, including a gynaecologist, social worker and mental health professional, who must discuss abortion-related health risks and alternatives including adoption. After meeting with the panel, a woman must then reflect for five days before finally opting to have an abortion" (Romero, 2013)

However, liberalized and progressive legislation does not erase the significant stigma surrounding reproductive and sexual rights, specifically abortion, within this primarily Roman Catholic region. Moreover, the implementation of liberal legislation has also triggered a negative ripple effect. For example, the change in abortion legislation in Mexico City prompted seventeen different Mexican states to make “constitutional amendments to protect *fetal rights* starting at the moment of conception” (Paul, 2013). In addition, a recent study conducted by the Mexico City-based **Group on Reproductive Choice (GIRE)**, found that between 2007 and 2012, 127 women have been prosecuted for aborting their pregnancies in nineteen different Mexican states (Paul, 2012). Other prominent examples include the recent criminalization of abortion in the Dominican Republic (2009) and in Nicaragua (2006) and also the recent 2012 decision of the Honduran Congress to impose criminal punishments on “medical professionals who distribute and sell emergency contraception and any woman who uses or attempts to use the medication to prevent an unintended pregnancy” (Jacobson; 2012). These examples demonstrate that many of the progressive steps taken in this region have been met with conservative and/or religious resistance. Increased resistance and the implementation of draconian measures has also created specific individual cases that have drawn international attention and spurred intense debate on the current law within that state or country. In 2012, a 16 year old girl from the Dominican Republic made international headlines when she died from leukemia complications amid reports that doctors had delayed chemotherapy out of fear that it could terminate her pregnancy (Lupkin, 2012). In Chile, an 11-year old girl named Belen made international headlines in 2013 when it was revealed that she was pregnant after being sexual abused by her mother’s boyfriend for several years (Uriarte,



2013). In truth, numerous problems have arisen in terms of advancing women's rights to reproductive health in this region, but it seems as if the conversation has been started. In the end, progressive legislation in countries like Uruguay and tragic stories that have gained international recognition, such as the case of Belen, may also have a positive ripple effect that could influence conservative legislation within these Latin American countries.

## II. Abortion: A Synopsis

### **Abortion.**

*Definition:* the termination of a pregnancy.

This is the most basic definition of an abortion, yet it is insufficient. An abortion can be either spontaneous or induced. A spontaneous abortion, also known as a miscarriage, is a medical issue as it is primarily due to a health complication, but may have social or psychological consequences for the woman and her family. An induced abortion is more complicated. The decision can stem from personal and/or social problems and the resulting abortion may have social, religious, economic, medical and/or psychological implications for the woman (Barzelatto & Faunes, 2007: 34). Many factors can influence the type of abortion a woman could seek in different countries across the globe. For the specific purpose of this thesis<sup>5</sup>, four main types of abortion will be briefly discussed: legal, therapeutic, unsafe/illegal and safe/illegal abortions.

---

<sup>5</sup> The definitions provided in this section are meant to offer a quick overview of the different types of abortions discussed in this thesis. Although these descriptions are an integral part of the paper, I acknowledge that they only provide a small piece of insight into a very complex issue.

A **legal abortion** is an abortion that is lawful on request with few or no restrictions. In these instances the reason for the abortion is irrelevant. In some cases the only restriction is that a woman must have the procedure within a certain timeframe. After the procedure, clinics may offer referrals to counseling services or medical check-ups to look for potential infections. It is important to note that although a country's law states that abortion is legal, restrictions and access can vary within certain states, provinces and regions. At times, conservative countries choose to limit the grounds in which abortion can be permitted. Some of the more commonly accepted reasons include; saving a pregnant woman's life, in cases of rape or incest, preserving mental health and/or socio-economic reasons. **Therapeutic abortion** is a commonly used term in many different Latin American contexts, including Chile. However, the term itself has no universal definition and the ambiguity of the word "therapeutic" often leads to a variety of interpretations. In April 2013, MILES submitted the "*Proyecto de Ley Final de Aborto Terapéutico*" (final law project for therapeutic abortion) to the Chilean Senate. The draft law seeks to legalize the interruption of a pregnancy for three distinct therapeutic reasons: relevant conditions that endanger a woman's life and health, congenital malformations incompatible with life outside the womb and for sexual assault (MILES, 2013). This definition alone demonstrates the complexity of the words "therapeutic abortion" as many organizations have started to include a variety of reasons, such as in cases of rape and/or incest, within their principal demands. The third type of abortion is an illegal abortion which can be done in a safe and unsafe manner.

An **illegal unsafe abortion** is much different than a safe one. By definition an unsafe abortion it is "a procedure for terminating an unwanted pregnancy either by persons lacking the necessary skills or in an environment lacking the minimal medical standards or both" (Ahman

and Iqbal, 2006: 127). Illegal unsafe abortion methods include voluntary trauma, such as excessive punches to the abdomen, prescription of abortifacients without proper instruction on their use and the dangers associated with these drugs and/or the insertion of physical objects such as needles or sticks in the uterus (Guttmacher Institute, 1996). The insertion of physical objects within the uterus ruptures the membrane protecting the embryo, causing an infection that forces the body to dispel the embryo out of the uterus. Many of these procedures cause incomplete abortions, haemorrhaging and/or infections that will not necessarily kill the woman but may cause irreparable damage (Guttmacher Institute, 1996). In cases of infections, women often fear severe reprehension and as a result may wait until the last minute before seeking medical attention. The reasons for this fear varies but in some countries, like Chile where abortion is illegal, women seeking medical attention for complications due to an unsafe abortion are often harassed by doctors/nurses, refused treatment until a confession is signed and/or arrested after being treated. Affluent and middle-class women take other routes and pay for an **illegal safe abortions**. Although the procedure is still illegal, rich women either choose to travel abroad where the procedure is legal or they pay large amounts of money to doctors in affluent neighbourhoods who perform the procedure in a sterile and safe location.

Medical and surgical abortions are both safe options when conducted by properly trained staff in safe and sterile conditions. A **medical abortion** is only a viable option up to a certain point in a woman's pregnancy, after that time a woman must seek a surgical abortion (Barzelatto & Faúndes, 2007: 46). For the procedure, a medical professional dispenses abortifacient pharmaceutical drugs, depending on the stage of the pregnancy, causing a woman to have an induced abortion. In countries where abortion is clandestine and illegal, women specifically seek

misoprostol, a pharmaceutical drug originally used to prevent gastric ulcers with the side effect of inducing labour in pregnant women (Bravo, 2012). The popularity of misoprostol as an abortifacient also lies in its 90% success rate. Moreover, it can be administered vaginally, rectally, buccally or sublingually (Barzelatto & Faúndes, 2007: 46). When administered buccally or sublingually, misoprostol dissolves completely and cannot be detected by any medical test. Consequently, a doctor is unable to determine whether an abortion has been induced or is spontaneous, thus decreasing the patient's possibility of being reprimanded by hospital staff or arrested. Upon learning that women would purchase the over-the-counter drug to induce labour, many conservative countries have banned the sale of misoprostol in pharmacies. In these countries, misoprostol can be largely found on the black market or on the internet (Allen, 2012).

**Surgical abortions** are procedures that are usually performed seven to fourteen weeks after conception for both induced and spontaneous abortions<sup>6</sup>. Around the world the procedure can be done in a variety of ways, but the three most popular techniques include: D&C (dilation and curettage), D&E (dilation and evacuation) or vacuum aspiration. D&C is a common procedure performed between six to fourteen weeks of pregnancy. During the procedure, a medical professional forces a woman's uterus to dilate and then scrapes and scoops the lining of the uterus to remove the foetus. D&E can be performed after fourteen weeks and applies the same method as D&C except that the woman must be further dilated, thus increasing the risk of complications (Barzelatto & Faúndes, 2007: 44). These methods have become unpopular as professionals have turned to the safer alternative of vacuum aspiration, a common procedure performed roughly between five to twelve weeks of pregnancy. Ultimately, the procedure is quicker, causes less bleeding and is associated with fewer complications and pains than D&C (Barzelatto & Faúndes,

---

<sup>6</sup> The majority of abortions are performed during the first-trimester of a pregnancy, however in specific cases an abortion can be performed in the mid-trimester, which is in-between the fourth and sixth month of a pregnancy (Barzelatto & Faúndes, 2007: 44).

2007: 44). All of these abortion methods are currently being employed in Chile. In fact, access to an abortion does exist in the country, depending on a woman's social class.

### **III. The Case of Chile**

#### **i. The Catholic Church**

The Catholic Church in Chile has experienced many internal divisions over the years. The most notable partition began shortly before the Pinochet coup in 1973. Salvador Allende was named president of Chile in 1970 and began to implement numerous socialist programs. These reforms brought fear to the Catholic Church who believed that Allende's vision of a better Chile included transforming the country into a Marxist society, thus greatly limiting the power of the Church (Hudson, 1994). As a result, numerous bishops and Church leaders supported and helped the legitimization of the military dictatorship and remained faithful supporters of the junta throughout the years. Pinochet's military dictatorship ruled for 17 years, leaving 3,000 dead or missing and 35,000 tortured (May, 2010). The staggering amount of human rights violations perpetrated by the military junta lead many Catholic leaders to distance themselves from the military and create alliances with the progressive left, including women's movements, to lobby against these human rights abuses (Maira, Hurtado & Santana, 2010). Over the years, the Church became a crucial and important defender of human rights, a point that Catholic leaders would later repeat when demanding more power in the democratic transition. In the last years of the Pinochet dictatorship, the Vatican, in an effort to secure more power, appointed many conservative bishops in Chile, thus leading the Church and its supporters away from liberal movements. The Church, as an institution, started to align itself more with the conservative right. According to Lira (2001), since the beginning of the democratic transition, the Catholic Church

has established itself in Chilean society by using guilt and fear (32). Firstly, the Church used its role as a crucial human rights defender during the dictatorship as a way to demand the government's support of the Church's new conservative agenda. This guilt has lead many government leaders, who felt indebted to the Church, to accept the agenda. Secondly, to maintain its control over the Chilean people, Haas (1999) argues that the Church used the fragility of the democratic transition and the fear that it would collapse to push its own agenda. In 1991, the archbishop Carlos Oviedo Cavada issued a pastoral letter aptly named "Morality, Youth and a Permissive Society, an Invitation to a more Evangelical Life." The public letter openly condemned alleged "immoral acts" such as divorce and contraceptives while focusing largely on the youth population. The letter stated that foreign customs had transformed Chilean youth into a hedonistic population and specifically warned Chilean women that their true liberation would only be realized through female modesty in dress, behaviour and language (Lira, 2001: 32). Above all else, the letter heavily criticized abortion stating that individuals not prepared to bear children needed to abstain from sex instead of "murdering the fruit of their loins" (qt Cavara in Lira, 2001: 34). The Chilean community responded positively to the letter and the Vatican decided to launch a plan to strengthen its presence in Chile. In a few shorts years, the bottom line of the Catholic Church, as an institution, changed from a human rights based approach into a moral, traditional and family based approach, supported by two influential religious affiliates: Opus Dei and Legionaries of Christ.

Opus Dei (Latin for "the Work of God") and the Legionaries of Christ are two global conservative Catholic religious orders. Opus Dei is known as a secretive conservative Roman Catholic order that has become influential in "Latin America because of the relationships it has

cultivated in political and business circles” (A Primer on Opus Dei in Latin America, 2011: 1). Opus Dei was recently thrust into the spotlight with the publication of the novel, *the Da Vinci Code*, portraying the order as murderous, evil and secretive. Nonetheless, in their article “A Primer on Opus Dei in Latin America” (2011), the organization Catholics for Choice maintains that this book (and subsequent movie) has inevitably failed to highlight some of the other questionable actions of the order, including their sympathy and support of military regimes, coups and extremely conservative governments (“A Primer on Opus Dei in Latin America,” 2011: 11). In fact, “critics have also said that Opus Dei members were among the first and main administrators of the brutal and oppressive military regime of General Pinochet” (“A Primer on Opus Dei in Latin America,” 2011: 11). Legionaries of Christ was founded in 1941 by Fr. Marcial Maciel Degollado, a Mexican priest who was later accused of sexually abusing minors and allegedly fathering numerous children out of wedlock (Berry, 2009). Similar to Opus Dei, Fr. Degollado wined and dined some of the most powerful and conservative Catholics in the world, including Pope John Paul II, as a way to secure power for his order (Berry, 2009). As of December 2011, the Legionaries of Christ included 920 priests and more than 2,000 religious novices, candidates and minor seminarians in 22 countries (“Who Are We”, 2012). In 2009, due to numerous allegations of fraudulent and illegal behaviour, the Vatican launched an investigation, which led to the dissolution and appropriation of the Legionaries of Christ by the Vatican (Berry, 2009). Ultimately, these faith-based organizations have become more political than religious as Opus Dei and the Legionaries of Christ have primarily recruited elites from the bourgeoisie and forged relationships with rich individuals in positions of power (Berry, 2009). This partnership between religious orders and upper class individuals is clearly noticeable in Chile. Some examples include, the recruitment of rich and powerful business men like Guillermo

Luksic, whose family's net worth in 2013 is US\$17.4 billion dollars ("Iris Fontbona & Family", 2013) and Eliodoro Matte, whose net worth in 2013 was US\$3.7 billion dollars ("Eliodoro Matte", 2013). Another example is Joaquin Lavin, a prominent member of Opus Dei, who not only ran for presidency in 1999, losing by a narrow margin, but is also one of the founders and former owners of La Universidad de Desarrollo. During President Piñera's four year presidency, Joaquin Lavin also served as the Minister of Education, the Minister of Planning and the Minister of Social Development. Another example of the influence of Opus Dei and Legionaries of Christ is the Chilean educational system, as both organizations own and run numerous high schools, colleges, training schools for women, student housing/residences and universities in some of the most affluent neighbourhoods in Santiago. Opus Dei, for example, runs La Universidad de Los Andes and the Legionaries of Christ have established a number of colleges and technical schools, as well as establishing their own university, *Finis Terrae*, in Santiago (Legionarios de Christo; 2012). These examples are meant to highlight the controversial relationship that exists between political parties, the Catholic Church and the religious orders within Chile. These organizations regularly influence each other and the highly conservative rhetoric of the Catholic Church is often regurgitated by conservative politicians who advocate for traditional family values and for the rights of the unborn.

## **ii. The Pinochet Legacy: A Conservative "Bubble"**

In 1988, Chile held a national referendum on whether General Augusto Pinochet would continue his role as leader of Chile for another eight year term. After over 17 years in power, Pinochet lost the plebiscite and stepped down as the leader of Chile. During his rule, the former Dictator devised a plan that allowed him to retain much of his power even after he stepped down.



In 1973, he outlawed all newspapers in Chile except *El Mercurio*, owned by the Edwards family and *La Tercera*, run by the Copesa corporation. During the dictatorship, *El Mercurio* was managed by Agustin Edwards Eastman who, critics claimed, received millions of dollars from the CIA in exchange for his help to overthrow Salvador Allende. Eastman was a Pinochet supporter and in the 1980s transformed *El Mercurio* into an ultraconservative newspaper by appointing two prominent Opus Dei members to the newspaper staff: Juan Pablo Illanes and Joaquin Lavin (“Agustin Edwards Eastman”, 2000). After consolidating his power over the media, Pinochet decreed an amnesty law in April 1978. The law “retroactively exempts a select group of people, usually military leaders and government leaders, from criminal liability for crimes committed” (“Amnesty Law”, n.d.). In 1980, the dictatorship drafted a new Chilean Constitution that granted a large amount of power to the government and military leaders. This version of the Constitution was later amended in 1990 and again in subsequent years (Hudson, 1994). After losing the plebiscite in 1988, Pinochet also negotiated a deal with the incoming government that would allow him to remain the head of the military until 1998, at which time he would be named a Senator for life (“Pinochet’s Chile,” 2000). Even though Pinochet died in 2006, his legacy has been forever encapsulated in the terms “Pinochetismo” (the theory) and “Pinochetista” (the person). The Pinochetismo ideology, adopted by many of the former dictator’s friends, supporters and allies, focuses on the principles of conservatism, authority, law and order and economic freedom (Prudent, 2012).

Since the post-military era, Chile established a multi-party system that has two dominant political coalitions, based on a binomial political system that disadvantages smaller parties. The center-left Concertación coalition consists of Christian Democrats (PDC), the Party for

Democracy (PPD), the Socialist Party (PS) and the Social Radical Democracy Party (PRSD). The right-wing Coalition for Change, established in 2009, houses the Independent Democratic Union (UDI), National Renewal (RN) and the Alliance. The first president of the new democratic Chile was Patricio Aylwin from the PDC, preceded by four other presidents from the left-center. Many of the political parties in the right-wing coalition housed Pinochet supporters and Opus Dei and/or Legionaries of Christ members. In fact, the Independent Democratic Union (UDI), the largest political party in Chile, was established by Jaime Guzman, a close advisor to General Pinochet. During the 1988 plebiscite the UDI supported Pinochet remaining in power (Lees, 2013). Ten years later, when Pinochet was arrested in London (United Kingdom) for murder charges the UDI along with the RN party (including President Sebastián Piñera) urged the U.K. government to return the former dictator to Chile. In 1999, Joaquin Lavín of the UDI party narrowly lost the president elections, Lavín was a strong Pinochet supporter and is a prominent Opus Dei member (“A Primer on Opus Dei in Latin America,” 2011).

Like many countries in the world, Chile does not have distinct lines that separate the country’s public and private life. In some ways, government officials, businesses and the Catholic Church are fused together and create numerous conflicts of interest. In fact, it is a country that has a rich bubble which is almost impenetrable by outsiders. A great example of this bubble is the 2013 Chilean presidential race between the divided daughters of the Pinochet era: Evelyn Matthei (UDI) and Michelle Bachelet (Social Democrat). Both Matthei and Bachelet have known each other since the 1960s when “their fathers, both fighter pilots, were attached to the same military base and the girls were playmates at the same elementary school” (Jarroud & Vergara; 2013). After the 1973 coup the families were divided. Bachelet’s father remained loyal

to Salvador Allende, while General Fernando Matthei became Pinochet's Health Minister and then a member of the ruling military junta. General Bachelet later died in prison "after being tortured by officers at the military school run by Matthei<sup>7</sup>" (Jarroud & Vergara; 2013) while his daughter, Michelle Bachelet, was tortured, jailed and exiled from Chile. While Bachelet was in exile, Evelyn Matthei joined the *Patrulla Joven* (Youth Patrol) of the RN political party in 1988, along with future President of Chile, Sebastián Piñera and future fellow senators Alberto Espina (RN) and Andrés Allamand (RN) (La Tercera, 2013). In addition, in June 2013, Joaquín Lavín (politician and Opus Dei member) unexpectedly resigned as Minister of Social Development and became Matthei's campaign manager (Marinshaw, 2013).

The media is another great example of this bubble as it is largely controlled by the government and the Catholic Church. The two media conglomerates in Chile own 95% of the country's newspapers (Greenslade, 2012) and receive an estimated US\$5 million dollars annually in government subsidies. A Spanish group named *Prisa* owns 60% of open-air broadcast stations and radio owner's work with government prosecutors to create barriers for individuals wishing to start alternative and community radio stations ("Chile," 2012). State-run or state-funded universities like the University of Chile own commercial television channels. The *Luksic* Group, whose family members have ties to the ultra-conservative group *Opus Dei*, acquired a 75% share of *Maxivision* in 1993 (Hudson, 1994). Finally, the current President of Chile was both a business man, he owned 100% of *Chilevision* (a television channel broadcasted nationwide) and was politician for the RN political party at the same time (Losada, 2012). Furthermore, this bubble has consistently clashed with any liberal rhetoric that does not align

---

<sup>7</sup> General Matthei later denied any prior knowledge and/or any involvement in the torture of Gen. Bachelet (Jarroud & Vergara; 2013)

with conservative Christian morals. In 1996, for example, the newspaper *El Mercurio* published an article named “*La nueva educación sexual del Estado*” (the new sexual education of the state) in protest of the Conversation Workshops on Emotion and Sexuality (JOCAS) program that sought to “impart knowledge about emotion and sexuality, and to open and strengthen dialogue on these issues among young people, families and teachers, with support from the educational and broader community” (Guzman & Seibert, 2010: 12). The article was accompanied by a photo of two young students holding condoms that they, according to the note published underneath the photo, had received from a facility that was participating in the JOCAS program (Lira, 2001: 72). After the publication of the article, the conservative outcry was instant and the program was severely condemned. However, several reports later revealed that the condoms were given to the students by the photographer of the *El Mercurio* article and were not provided by JOCAS (Lira, 2001: 73). These examples just begin to scratch the surface of the complexities and connections between the government, large businesses (such as the media) and the Catholic Church. Regrettably, these groups often reject liberal rhetoric while focusing on maintaining the status quo, including a patriarchal division of gender roles.

### **iii. Compulsory Motherhood: Woman is not Synonymous with Mother**

To understand the reasoning behind the current state of women’s rights in Chile, it is first essential to understand the root of the problem. Latin American countries have often struggled with a very patriarchal structure of gender roles based on the idea of biological essentialism/determinism. Biological essentialism is the belief that people are defined by their genetic makeup, including race and sex. It is believed that our behaviours and preferences are biologically pre-determined (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 2008). As a

result, gender is constructed in binary terms: male and female. Males, it is argued, are strong, masculine and are construed as “bread winners” and the head of the household. Women are constructed as timid beings that have predetermined roles as caregivers, mothers and wives. Religious and civil authorities often control the regulation of these binary sex categories (Ross, 2011: 28). Women, represented as mothers and wives, are often subjected to tight controls over their reproductive freedoms because of these limited definitions of essentialist female roles. Patriarchy or male authority has prevailed and has been supported with arguments of divine origin or the will of God (Ross, 2011). In September 1995, Pope John Paul II presented a speech at the International Women’s Conference in Beijing that employed a language predominately based around the idea of the woman as a mother and care-giver. He argued that the highest expression of the “feminine genius” is Mary, the Mother of Jesus Christ. Women are seen as obedient; they are destined to be wives and mothers and are principally put on this earth to use their compassion (a female characteristic) to serve others (Paul II, 1995). The Catholic Church in Chile has consistently rectified patriarchal notions of the essentialist binary construction of gender with arguments of divine origin. Over the years, the Church has been joined by Center-Right political parties, politicians and interest groups (Legionaries of Christ and Opus Dei) in its attack on anyone that tried to question traditional family values.

Machismo, Catholicism and conservatism simmer at the core of modern Chilean society (Hellerstein, 2013). This ideological cocktail has created a society that places a strong emphasis on traditional pro-family values based on biological essentialism. Motherhood is, at times, seen as the essential function of a woman. Politicians often reiterate this sentiment in public statements and through the creation of pro-life policies and programs, like CEAAM, a

telephone hotline that “supports” pregnant women so that they can opt for life (Nelsen, 2013). This hotline was started by the Chilean Women’s Ministry (SERNAM) and during its inauguration, the Minister of SERNAM, Carolina Schmidt, publicly stated that “maternity, one of the most satisfactory life experiences of a woman, can go through difficult and desperate times” (Nelsen, 2013). Although motherhood is exalted in Chile, the information and support that these pro-life programs or initiatives promise to provide can be limited and quite superficial. In the article, “Taking Calls on Abortion, and Risks, in Chile,” journalist Aaron Nelson (2013) called the phone number provided on the CEAAM website five different times over the course of a week. The organization never answered the phone. In the end, there is a huge difference between compulsory and voluntary motherhood, the former is a phenomenon currently plaguing Chile, as women are offered relatively no information or support before, during or after a pregnancy. As a result, Chile has one of the highest teen pregnancy rates in the world, “with over 15 percent of all births corresponding to adolescent mothers” (“World Report 2011: Chile”; 2011) The rate of teenage pregnancies in Chile is increasing annually, as each year, approximately 24,000 young women (under 19) become pregnant, of which 53% drop out of school. The proportion of young parents in lower socio-economic areas is 22 times higher than in Santiago’s richest districts (Articulación Feminista por la Libertad de Decidir, 2012). There are three main reasons that explain this occurrence. Firstly, the country’s largely inadequate sexual education programs conducted in primary and secondary schools (Latin American and Caribbean Women’s Health Network, 2010: 6). In January 2010, Law 20.418 on Fertility Regulation was passed. The law states that sexual education must be incorporated in secondary schools, with a specific focus on information and methods of contraception (Latin American and Caribbean Women’s Health Network, 2010). However, sexual education is still taught as part of biology

and natural sciences classes, excluding “information about the emotional aspects of sex or birth control” (“Conservative Chile Will Begin Teaching Sex Education in Schools,” 2011). After the introduction of this new law regarding fertility regulation, the government granted school officials the power to choose the direction of their sexual education (Sex Ed) classes. As a result, sexual and reproductive classes were often focusing on virginity, abstinence and the negative effects of sex, while reinforcing the biological essentialist notion of gender roles. One school even labelled lesbianism and homosexuality as a “sexual identity disorder” (Articulación Feminista por la Libertad de Decidir, 2012: 6). The lack of information about sexuality and contraceptive methods means that a woman who hasn’t received the proper education is more likely to either not use protection or use it erroneously, causing it to fail. Furthermore, a large percentage of men (63.4%) refuse to use a condom, believing that it takes away from the romantic pleasure of sex, and often forbid their partner from using contraceptives as they deem that birth control pills will trigger infidelity (Lira, 2001: 39). Other men believe that the responsibility to protect oneself against pregnancy falls solely on the woman (Barzelatto & Faúndes, 2007: 80). Younger girls are also regularly led to believe that they cannot become pregnant if they perform certain actions before and/or after sex to “cleanse” themselves. Prosalud Chile, a non-profit sexual health organization, tries to debunk sex myths by including a list of false statements on their website that have been used by Chilean males to females to persuade them to have sexual relations. The list includes outrageous statements like “if you urinate after sex, you lower your chances of being impregnated,” “if it’s your first time, there is no risk of becoming pregnant,” “using two condoms at once makes sex more safe” and “oral sex has no risks” (“Todo sobre la píldora del día despues,” 2013). These statements alone can attest to the enormous lack of sexual information available to young women in Chile.

The second reason for the high prevalence of teen pregnancy is a lack of access to modern contraceptive methods. The minimum wage in Chile is around CL\$200,000 per month (less than CAD\$450). Chileans often work for CAD\$2 dollars an hour while a small pack of condoms in the supermarket is around CAD\$5. This means a pack of four condoms equals to 2.5 hours of work. Many women also are unable to access contraceptives or are denied access to contraceptives such as the morning after pill by their doctors or pharmacists. Although emergency contraception is legal under Law 20.418, many municipal health clinics refuse to distribute it on moral grounds (Articulación Feminista por la Libertad de Decidir, 2012: 9). The third and last reason is the cultural acceptance of traditional gender roles which drives many young women in poorer areas to intentionally fall pregnant. In a way the birth of a baby validates their life, making them feel like a woman who is loved and who is needed (Lira, 2001: 55).

Even today, anti-abortion advocates still employ a campaign that portrays women primarily as mothers. President Sebastian Piñera's acceptance of the International Protect Life Award elicited praise from individuals who proclaimed that the country was not only protecting the unborn, but also mothers. Since his entry into office, Piñera launched two different campaigns, the "Committed to Life" program and the "The Chile Grows with You" advertising campaign. The advertising campaign, paid for by the Chilean government, has two distinct commercials. Each commercial first features a woman and then cuts to portray the unborn foetus within her womb that is reacting to the different actions of the mother. In the first commercial, the foetus can hear the music the woman is listening to, while in the second clip, it feels the husband press on the mother's pregnant belly. The mother then states "my child hears and



experiences the world just as I do. We're connected." An announcer then states "an invitation from the government to protect children" (Hoffman, 2010). These arguments rely primarily on the patriarchal notion that women should be seen as mothers. Just as Pope John Paul II claimed that perfection lay with Mary Mother God, this argument is consistently repeated in discourse against abortion. Instead, women are seen as mothers and are denied their right to choose. Anti-abortion advocates are also heavily reliant on the recent 2010 study conducted by Dr. Elard Koch, a Chilean medical doctor, whose "preliminary study shows, maternal mortality in Chile declined over the last century regardless of whether abortion was legal or illegal" (Ertelt, 2011).

Chilean anti-abortion activists often state that "we need to protect the unborn and the mother," a justification that largely ignores the fact that the criminalization of abortion has killed both unborn children and women in Chile. The primary argument used by anti-abortion advocates in Chile is to point out that the country has experienced a decrease in maternal mortality. These statistics can be attributed to the use of antibiotics by illegal abortion providers and the recent increased availability of misoprostol. Maternal mortality rates may have decreased, but unsafe abortions are still relatively common within the country. It is estimated that there are around 160,000 abortions performed in Chile every year (Bravo, 2012). Yet, in the past 10 years, Chile has undergone cultural transformations that have created a favourable climate for discussing sexuality (Guzman & Seibert, 2009: 31). The issues of sex and reproduction have become less taboo as the discussion is more ingrained into society. The fifth National Youth Survey (INJUV 2007) specified that traditional patterns of behaviour are changing. Furthermore, "acceptance of premarital relations, as well as of contraception both within and outside marriage, has also increased to 90%" (Guzman & Seibert, 2006: 5). Over the years, Chilean women have

started to challenge anti-abortion discourse that paints them as “care-givers” and “mothers.” Furthermore, Chile’s overall birth rate has sharply declined; the current national birth rate is 1.87 per woman (“The World Factbook”, 2013). In a recent FLASCO Chile study, a group of Chileans were presented with various definitions of an abortion. The study found that 86% of Chileans agreed with the statement “abortion is murder” while only 39% agree that “abortion is a woman’s human right” (Benavente, Dides, Moran & Saez, 2010: 47). Hitherto, despite an array of different opinions regarding the specific circumstances for decriminalization, the study did show that an alarming 86.6% of Chileans surveyed believed that abortion was a serious problem within their country, while 59% considered that the issue needed to be discussed (Benavente, Dides, Moran & Saez, 2010: 53; 40).

Notwithstanding the side of the abortion debate, access to the procedure exists in Chile but primarily depends on a person’s social class<sup>8</sup>. White upper/middle-class and rich Chilean women buy plane tickets to the United States or opt to pay large sums of money to specialized doctors that can perform the procedure. A safe illegal abortion will cost a Chilean woman about the same price as a Louis Vuitton purse<sup>9</sup> (Vidaurreazaga, 2012: 204). In reality, 8 out of 10 urban women with money seek safe illegal abortions in comparison to 1 in every 20 poor rural women and 2 in every 10 poor urban women who seek the same type of abortion (Vidaurreazaga, 2012: 205). Those women who cannot afford a visit to a doctor’s office or a plane ticket must either pool their money to purchase misoprostol and/or undergo an unsafe abortion. Due to lack of

---

<sup>8</sup> Chile has one of the largest gaps between rich and poor in the world, as one out of five Chileans (3.17 million) live in poverty. Social class, gender and ethnicity are interrelated as the poorest individuals living in Chile are often aboriginals and/or migrant workers from neighboring countries like Peru and/or Bolivia. For example, a recent study has shown that Araucanía (a region primarily inhabited by Mapuche aboriginal groups) is one of the poorest regions in Chile, with an income of less than a third of the national average and a poverty rate estimated at 23% (Unhappy New Year, 2013).

<sup>9</sup> The cheapest Louis Vuitton can be purchased at around US\$1,000

funds, the procedure has primarily become a poor person problem. Furthermore, the decision to undergo the procedure can be influenced by extenuating circumstances, like family pressure and/or the threat of being fired. Claudia Lagos Lira (2001) recounts a story of Nataly Catalan, a 15 year old girl who became pregnant in 2000. At the time she was attending the Catholic Blan Canas institute. When news broke that Nataly was pregnant, she was expelled from her school. Unfortunately, she wasn't the only one; in the past, the school had expelled at least 7 other girls who had become pregnant (Lira, 2001: 63). These women frequently must choose between keeping their baby or continuing with their studies and/or jobs. In defiance of the law<sup>10</sup>, many Chilean employers have fired pregnant employees while schools that haven't expelled their pregnant students often require these girls to complete several criteria before being accepted back into the institution (Articulación Feminista por la Libertad de Decidir, 2012). Once the decision is made, a woman not only risks maternal morbidity that can leave her with severe health complications and/or death (Guttmacher Institute, 1996) but also the possibility of being sent to prison. This "fear of being reported can be life-threatening, its consequences range from a dangerous delay in going to the hospital, to flight, to suicide" (The Open Forum on Reproductive Health and Rights, 1998: 53). Many women wait until their condition worsens before seeking medical help because they are regularly faced with extreme discrimination once they are admitted into the hospital. In the past, women and health care staff have stated that, at times, questioning can resemble a police investigation. Some doctors and hospital staff have refused to treat women before they "confessed" about their abortion and would then report them to the police. Midwives, lacking proper evidence such as a confession, would also report women to the police if they believed that these women had undergone an abortion (The Open Forum on

---

<sup>10</sup> Chile has many laws protecting the right of pregnant women, such as Act 20545, in force since October 2011 that modifies legislation on Maternity Protection and adds Parental Postnatal Leave.

Reproductive Health and Rights, 1998: 53). Women admitted to the hospital were treated like prisoners instead of patients. Hospital staff would treat them reluctantly and then refused to discharge them. Other times police officers would be waiting outside patient rooms until discharge papers were signed so as to directly take these recovering women to prison (The Open Forum on Reproductive Health and Rights, 1998: 53). Court records demonstrate that a large number of these women, accused of abortion, lacked any defense council (The Open Forum on Reproductive Health and Rights, 1998: 59). Women who were incarcerated had a specific pattern; they were poor, largely illiterate and worked as house wives or in low-skilled jobs (Lira, 2001: 40). These examples demonstrate that the topic of abortion is much more complex than the argument of whether it should be legal or not. Nevertheless, since the start of the millennium, liberalized attitudes have gained a voice within the country. Many feminist pro-abortion ones have surfaced and implemented campaigns and projects to fight for the decriminalization of abortion.

#### **iv. Feminist Organizations in Chile**

Chilean women's groups and feminists from different social and economic backgrounds played an important role during the repressive 17 years of Pinochet's dictatorship. In fact, "much of the popular participation and protest that emerged under authoritarianism was led by women" (Franceschet, 2003: 10). The movement was joined by numerous other human rights organizations and religious institutions, including some representatives from the Catholic Church, to fight against the abuses perpetrated by the military regime. The fall of the dictatorship and the transition to democracy significantly debilitated this movement. Active feminists were either co-opted by the new government and lost their distinctive voice (Maria & Moenne, 2005:

159), remained autonomous yet would avoid controversial ideas that could possibly destabilize Chile's first democratic government (Htun, 2003, 166) and/or left the movement all together after the goal of democracy was completed. As democracy progressed, the women's movement "suffered from a lack of visibility and cohesiveness" (Floyd, 2013:2). In comparison, the Catholic Church, as an institution, and the conservative right became strong political actors, advocating and lobbying for socially conservative policies that supported pro-family values.

During the years that followed the democratic transition, when women did decide to challenge the status quo about reproductive rights, they were often reprimanded and disparaged. For example, in 1991 an Abortion Bill was presented to the Senate (Blofield & Haas, 2005). The bill was supported by "a group of deputies from the Socialist and Democratic (PPD) parties and led by parliamentarian Adriana Muñoz," (Htun, 1999: 166). The bill received no political support and Muñoz was vilified for supporting it. The media the dubbed her the "baby killer." She subsequently lost the parliamentary elections in 1993. In that same year, two nurse-midwives, trained in abortion techniques, were reported to the police and arrested for providing the service within the country. At the time, not one feminist organization publicly stood by them (Maria, Hurtado & Santana, 2010). In 1994, the conservative-right launched a campaign to further penalize abortion in Chile. Hernan Larrain (UDI) presented a bill that "would create incentives for women to help the police apprehend abortion practitioners by granting them a reduction in sentence" (Htun, 1999: 147). The bill also suggested changing the definition of abortion from "crime against public morality" to "homicide" (Htun, 1999: 147). In 1998, the bill was narrowly defeated with 15 votes against, 13 votes for and 8 abstentions (Lira, 2001: 47). The hard-lined bill was meant to deter women from seeking abortions and sparked a controversial conversation

within the government. Numerous conservative politicians denounced abortions because they claimed that all women decided, responsibly and freely, to become pregnant (Lira, 2001: 38). These types of misguided comments are not an anomaly in most countries. In truth, farfetched and uninformed comments have been used against any topic that threatens to harm the patriarchal balance in Chile. The conservative-right has created a community of fear, where individuals are afraid to speak up publically against these human rights violations.<sup>11</sup> Yet, the 21<sup>st</sup> century marked a shift in ideology as liberal ideas started to trickle down into the mainstream, changing the Chilean social environment. Examples include the 2006 election of a woman president, Michelle Bachelet, the legalization of divorce in 2004, the legalization of emergency contraception, although still not widely available<sup>12</sup> in pharmacies and in doctor's offices in 2010, and the massive student protests over the last three years as Generation Y (GenY)<sup>13</sup> demands for its right to education.

Guzman and Seibert (2009) assert that women have begun to act in a way to change the structures of the Church to include their demands for equality and autonomy. Women are recognizing that “failures to provide adequate contraception and abortion as aspects of compulsory motherhood and motherhood as it is institutionalized under patriarchy as one of the bases of women's subordination (Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 2005: 66). In addition, recent polls have demonstrated that the Chilean population is ready to discuss the

---

<sup>11</sup> Lesbians and Feminists for the Right to Information, a Chilean pro-abortion organization has been sued three times while another pro-abortion organization called CUDS was also recently sued by the conservative association; *Idea and Country*. The conservative association called CUDS a “criminal organization” because it “works to promote radical cultural change to emancipate humanity.” (Information Group on Reproductive Choice, 2012)

<sup>12</sup> There have been reports that adolescents have been denied emergency contraceptive pills in municipal health clinics. In addition, some pharmacists and doctors have denied prescriptions due to their moral convictions about the pill, which they deem to be abortifacient.

<sup>13</sup> According to Business Dictionary.com Generation Y (GenY) individuals born during the 1980s and early 1990s. They are referred to as “eco boomers” are they are the children of the “baby boomers.” GenY individuals are known as the internet generation attributed to their advanced knowledge and use of technology.

practicality of the country's abortion policy. Many Chilean women have increasingly become active in feminist networks that openly reject anti-abortion discourse and replace it with their own. For example in 2011, ACTION and La Morada, two Chilean non-governmental women's organizations, launched the "I have a right to choose" campaign that seeks to raise awareness and support for the decriminalization of therapeutic abortion (Walters, 2011). Unfortunately, these organizations have not been able to create a unified and visible women's network in order to effectively influence abortion legislation within Chile.

## **Chapter 3: The Theoretical Framework**

Similar to many feminist movements across the globe, the Chilean feminist network has undergone an evolution with the introduction of a third wave discourse aimed at providing a new understanding of framing gender relations that “arose out of a critique of the second wave” (Huffman & Mann, 2005, 56). The formation of this new wave has been aided by contributions from numerous theoretical frameworks. Even though both Huffman and Mann’s (2005) analysis of the third wave feminist movement is historically specific to the United States, many of their main arguments can be readily applied to the Chilean feminist movement. Therefore, to understand the intricate relationship between the numerous organizations located in Chile, this chapter will highlight the different features of this new generational feminist discourse and, in particular, the ways in which feminist post-colonial theories fused with an intersectional approach and a reproductive justice framework have shaped the third wave movement within this Latin American country.

### **I. The New Generation**

Generational feminists are often in their 20s to 30s and self-identity as either “third-wave” or “next-generation” feminists (Mack-Canty, 2004: 159). These are the women who grew up with the topic of feminism already introduced into their lives largely due to the efforts of their second-wave foremothers. Amber E Kinser defines “third wave” as an “era of feminism rooted in and shaped by the mid 80’s-new millennium political climate” while “second-wave” suggests the “era of feminism rooted in and shaped by the 1960s-1980s political climate” (2004: 132). Second-wave feminism was and still is a world-wide movement of individuals that broadened



the feminist debate to include topics about sexuality, family, reproductive rights, abortion and equality in the workplace. Throughout the years the movement has made great strides for women's rights through their support of crucial issues such as the legalization of abortion and the establishment of numerous feminist organizations that continue to fund projects and educate society about women's rights. "As the second wave of feminism progressed, however, lesbians, women of color and third-world women began asserting their voices into the debate, arguing that their social locations provided them with different vantage points and different conceptions of themselves other than those being articulated by white, middle-class feminists" (Fraser and Nicholson 1990: 33).

#### **i. The Agenda**

The emergence of new voices has prompted the creation of a third wave consisting of a group of individuals who were the first generation of individuals for whom feminism was intertwined in the fabric of their lives (Kinser, 2004: 134). Third-wave feminists "define themselves first in term of what they are not, namely they reject feminism of the second wave, claiming that it reflects almost exclusively the perspectives and values of white, middle-class, heterosexual women who define themselves primarily as oppressed victims of patriarchy." (Hallstein, Shugart and Waggoner: 2001: 194-5). This new generation often rejects collectivity altogether, embracing "politics of difference and an individualistic sense of empowerment" (Purvis, 2004: 98), and have been known to embed themselves in popular culture. Patricia Mohammed (2003) argues that this wave appears to be "more diffused, less programmatically organized and at present, less confrontational than the first and second wave" (14). Third wave individuals are more adept to embrace multiculturalism, focusing on difference. They are a media-savvy

generation, known to use technologies to voice their opinions<sup>14</sup> and prefer “localized, mini narratives over theory” which include “contradictions, uncertainties and dilemmas they face in their everyday lives” (Huffman & Mann: 2005: 70). In short, third wavers are much less rigid in defining feminism, more inclusive than their foremothers<sup>15</sup> in particular to women of color and the LGBT community, and are often more creative in parlaying their ideas to the general public through the creation of blogs and zines. However, these differences between generations, specifically the third generations focus on personal narratives over theory, have created tensions between old and new.

## ii. Broken Bridges

The third wave generational feminist movement is not incompatible with its predecessor, but its attempt to open up and broaden feminist discourse has been met with “condescension, controversy and rather hostile critiques from their second wave sisters” (Huffman & Mann: 2005: 70). In her book, “Not My Mother’s Sister,” Henry (2004) provides the two sides of the debate. Firstly, she asserts that these younger feminists have identified with their second-wave foremothers, but wished to establish a new subjectivity that would be progressive and inclusive while at the same time detaching them from the past. Yet, through the establishment of this movement, Henry (2004) disputes that these younger women often have oversimplified the generational conflict and do not truly value what their foremothers have accomplished over the

---

<sup>14</sup> Examples of American young feminists creating new spaces for feminist dialogue include the popular feminist blogs, Jezebel and Feministing. According to their respective websites, Feministing “exists to provide a platform for feminist and pro-feminist writing, to connect feminists online and off, and to encourage activism” while Jezebel is a feminist blog aimed at women’s interests, under the tagline: *Celebrity, Sex, Fashion* for women. Similar to their feminist counterparts in the United States, young Chilean feminists have also launched their own campaigns and websites in an effort to create new spaces for discussions and advocacy. For example, *Feministas Feas (literally, Ugly Feminists)*, is a group of young individuals aimed at creating a safe, inviting and warm space for Chilean women (and men) who want to learn more about feminism.

<sup>15</sup> The criticisms of this point will be debated later in this paper.

years. Second-wavers criticize the newer generation in focusing on personal identity issues instead of collective political action. In her article, “Feminism’s generational wars,” author and feminist, Katha Pollitt (2010) discusses the immense gap between these generations calling attention to younger feminist’s use of “teeny-bopper” words like “awesome” and labeling themselves as “chicks.” She expresses her discontent with their obsessions of pop-culture and celebrities whilst focusing on identity issues like body image instead of fighting for political and economic rights. She also finds fault with the use of “choice” where “anything a woman wants to do is sacrosanct, including stripping, prostitution and porn, which are simultaneously obscurely troubling and perfectly OK!” (Pollit, 2010). Nonetheless, Pollitt (2010) agrees that despite their so-called faults, younger feminists have branched out to become active participating feminists in different and unique ways; they volunteer, stage protests, write books and create thought-provoking feminist blogs. But as third-wave feminists struggle to gain visibility and power in society, their second-wave foremothers are often reluctant to pass on the proverbial torch. Younger feminists are often denied positions of power or silenced due to their lack of experience in the feminist movement. In a response to the controversial article published by Susan Faludi (2010), Amanda Marcotte stated:

“I think the causes are more mundane than dramatic differences in outlook between generations. I think women are basically like men have always been. We struggle for power.....because we struggle for power...Older people are worried, for good reasons, that our ageist society will push them out. Older people, for less honorable reasons, think they should be able to rest on their laurels a little bit and dismiss the opinions of younger people, who they see as less experienced and therefore uninteresting. Young people can be stubborn and not willing to learn from the

experiences of their elders. Everyone's self-interest gets in the way of communication" (qt Marcotte in Bojar, 2010).

Kinser (2003) affirms that a young woman's feminist identity is "further shaped by the second wave's response to the third wave" (135). As young third wave feminists are trying to find their voice and place within feminism in today's society, the second wavers are "struggling with these entrances into feminist space" (Kisner, 2003: 135). As a result, this outsider position has prompted these new feminists to re-invent the wheel so as to be able to situate themselves in positions of power and voice their opinions to a greater audience. Nevertheless, in light of the claims that the third-wave movement is not a distinct entity but a continuity of the first and second-wave movement, critics argue that this generational conflict is also an old phenomenon.

### iii. Old vs. New

Leilta J. Rupp in her article "Is Feminism the Province of Old (or Middle-Aged) Women?" retells a remark made by Lillian H Kerr to Alice Paul in 1956 about the young generation of feminists during this period of time. Kerr stated that these young women were "hopeless, (...) not interested in anything but cosmetics, TV and modern amusements" (cited Rupp in Mack-Canty, 2004: 168). This statement is echoed half a century later by second-wave feminists who claim that third-wavers are preoccupied with the same frivolities. Purvis (2004:108) claims that throughout history a new wave of feminism has always been met with critiques and distrust against the younger women that are members of that movement. Nonetheless, the author cites numerous second-wavers, like Gloria Steinem, who believe that it

has become imperative to “decompartmentalize or build bridges”, so as adopt a “dialogic approach to difference” (qt Steinem in Purvis, 2004: 101). “If difference is not tolerated, feminisms replicate dominant power” (Purvis, 2003:103) and feminists are spending more time than necessary arguing about the existence of this third-wave and the differences between waves (Kisner, 2003: 136). This increased second wave criticism of the younger generation has unearthed “feelings of condescension and exclusion, experienced by women of color and ethnicity here and abroad, and now felt by a new generation” which has sparked the decentring of the second-wave (Huffman & Mann, 2005: 70). In its re-definition of feminism the third-wave movement has thus relied on critical theoretical contributions such as postcolonial theory, intersectionality and reproductive justice theory to re-position and empower their members in an effort to create a more democratic and inclusive group.

## **II. Theoretical Contributions to the Third Wave Movement**

The third-wave feminist movement claims to have “broadened” the term feminist to include a variety of voices and opinions that included women, men, transsexuals, lesbians and homosexuals. Kisner (2003) argues that these third-wavers are “better at pluralism than their second-wave foresters were,” (139) as they cast “a wider feminist net that is even more welcoming of difference and contradictions” (139). Whereas second-wave feminists looked towards assuming “a universalization of their experiences as ‘women’ experience’ ” (Mack-Canty, 2004: 157), third-wave feminists continuously seek to “embrace hybridity, contradiction and multiple identities” (Aronson, 2003:905). Consequently, according to Mack-Canty (2004), the third-wave movement has chosen different theoretical frameworks, such as postcolonial feminist thought to complement its foundational ideas (158). The author argues that “today’s

feminists commonly speak to the intersectionality of various "isms" with sexism (Cohn et al. 1997), recognize the social constructedness of categories (qt Malson et al. In Mack-Canty, 2004: 158), question the related notions of dualism and hierarchy (qt Plumwood in Mack-Canty, 2004: 158), and work to further develop theories from women's situated and embodied perspectives (qt Arneil in Mack-Canty, 2004: 158). The following sections will address the ways in which the third-wave movement has embraced the notion of intersectionality to create a more inclusive feminist discourse.

### **i. Intersectionality**

The term intersectionality emerged from critical race studies and was coined by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw who wished to “underscore the ‘multidimensionality’ of marginalized subjects' lived experiences” (qt Crenshaw in Nash, 2008: 1). Patricia Hill Collins, another prominent feminist scholar, defines intersectionality as “the focal point where two (or more) exceptionally powerful and prevalent systems of oppression come together (qt Hill in McCarthy, 2009). Understood as a “matrix of domination,” the intersectional perspective moves away from simply analyzing social categories such as race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and class (among others), towards a comprehensive analysis of the “interlocking (rather than simple additive) axes of individual, group, and systemic levels of domination” (Clark, 1994: 27).

The third-wave assertion that the movement has created a more inclusive feminism has been met with many critiques. Many argue that the third-wave movement style of feminism is neither new nor unique. Jennifer Purvis (2004) quotes Lisa Maria Hogeland who maintains that the “in-your-face activist style of Riot Grrrl and other young(er) feminists is neither unique nor

specific to a younger generation of feminists” as it “bears, in fact, quite marked similarities to some early second-wave activities” (106). Hogeland also states that the claim that all second-wave feminists were middle-class white women tends to ignore the contributions of women of color in the 1970s and also the “stunning numbers of working-class women enmeshed in educational upward mobility that were central to the feminist movement” (qt Hogeland in Purvis, 2004: 107). Kinser (2003) adds that the “intersection between race and feminism is not an exclusively third-wave phenomenon” and “this intersection has been a recurrent theme in the feminist movement, before and throughout both first and second waves” (141). Critics argue that these voices were present within the first and second waves, but that their participation was not fully realized, prompting them to form an original discourse. For instance, Huffman & Mann (2005) contend that women of color and ethnicity were the first to, not only provide a critique of the second-wave, but were also the first to label the movement the “third wave” (59). This new direction of feminism was specifically focused on difference, deconstructing and decentering the previous dominant discourse established by the second wave (Huffman & Mann, 2005: 57).

The third wave feminist movement has used the idea of intersectionality to deconstruct the essentialist representation of “a woman.” The second-wave mentality of “sisterhood,” although meant to unify the women’s movement has instead “proved to be a painful source of factionalization” (Huffman & Mann, 2005: 59). This homogenization of the feminist struggle has been “based on a false sense of commonality of oppressions, interests and struggles” (36). Through the rejection of this essentialist definition of woman, third-wave feminists have strived to not only highlight external forms of oppression but “also to examine forms of oppressions and discrimination that they themselves have internalized” (Huffman & Mann, 2005: 60). More so

than the first and second wave generations, these young(er) feminists seek to embrace difference and multiculturalism within the movement, while also embracing topics related to sexuality. They expanded “the notion of the intersectionality of sexism with race, class, and heterosexuality to include a wider, potentially unending assortment of embodied positions, attitudes, and locations, as they articulate their theoretical and experiential commonalities and differences” (qt Siegal in Mack-Canty, 2004: 160). As a result “they promote a feminism, that is more inclusive of a profusion of gendered subjects, like butch, femme, transsexuals and transgendered people” (Huffman & Mann, 2005: 72)<sup>16</sup>. In addition to intersectionality, third wavers have applied other aspects of postcolonial feminism to “extend the analysis of the intersection of sexism and multicultural identity formation, to include the negative effects of Western colonialism that still exist today” (qt Schutt: in Mack-Canty, 2004: 165).

## **ii. Postcolonial Feminism**

The demand for a woman’s right to an abortion is based on the mantra “the personal is political.” This slogan was later adopted by radical feminists, many of whom were part of the second-wave feminist movement. Radical feminists focus on disseminating the binary conceptualizations of the private/public dichotomy and question the links between the “micro-politics of everyday life and the macro-political analysis of capitalist patriarchy” (Maira, Hurtado and Santana, 2010: 21). The problem with radical feminism is that it advocates that the root of women’s oppression is solely caused by a male-dominated patriarchal society, fixated on the universality of male supremacy. This theory defines patriarchy, capitalism and imperialism

---

<sup>16</sup> Huffman & Mann (2005) mention that second-wavers reject this inclusion of gendered subjects and theories such as queer theory, because they believe that these topics are another guise of patriarchy (qt Jefferys in Huffman & Mann, 2005: 72)



simply as expressions of innate male aggressiveness (Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 2005: 64). Nevertheless, throughout the years numerous feminists, like Chandra Mohanty, called "for the recognition of the differing meanings for feminism in non-Western cultures" (quoted in Mack-Canty, 2004: 164). Louise Racine states that "a postcolonial feminist epistemology not only focuses on patriarchy as a source of oppression, but also examines how social inequalities are inscribed with historical, political, social, cultural and economic contexts (2011: 18).

Western agendas have at times ignored or forgotten to include Southern voices, leading many women to succumb to the "ventriloquist's fantasy," which Hawkesworth (2006) defines as a white Western voice forced upon a silenced subaltern subject (124). The assumption that feminism can be described with only one voice, primarily a Western voice is, at best, problematic. Mohanty (2003) believes that legal, economic, religious and familial structures are seen and treated as phenomena judged by the Western standard (40). This mentality triggers an ethnocentric universality. The image of the average Third world woman is adopted when women are placed within structures that are defined as "underdeveloped," thus transforming the "oppressed woman" into the "oppressed Third World woman." The category of the oppressed woman is created through gender differences, while the oppressed Third World woman has the additional attribute of the "Third World Difference" (Mohanty, 2003: 40). Third World women are seen as inferior to their Western feminist counterparts. Instead of being agents of their own development; they are seen as weak, uneducated, inferior, family-oriented and traditional. This homogenization of the Third World woman ignores the woman as an individual. Western women

then act in a paternalistic manner and transform the Third World woman into a victim that needs to be saved.

In earlier literature, much of the distinction was the West versus the non-West. However, the introduction of a globalized world and the adoption of a capitalist global economy have transformed the division between the North and South from a mainly geographical location into a metaphorical characteristic (Mohanty, 2003:505). To elaborate Mohanty (2003: 505) quotes Arif Dirlik in stating that in today's global world "*North* refers to the pathways of transnational capital and the *South* to the marginalized poor of the world regardless of geographical distinction. Disguised as globalization, Western ideologies have succeeded in penetrating various countries across the globe. This infiltration of ideologies, such as capitalism, has promoted the creation of specific social groups within state boundaries that designate citizens as privileged or "the other." Mohanty (2003) advocates for the use of the terms *One-Third World* versus *Two-Thirds World*, instead of terms like *Western*, *Third World* and *North/South* so as to "move away from misleading geographical and ideological binarisms" (506). She states that these designations;

"Draw attention to the continuities as well as the discontinuities between the haves and have-nots within the boundaries of nations and between nations and indigenous communities. This designation also highlights the fluidity and power of global forces that situated communities of people as social majorities/minorities in disparate form. *One-Third/Two-Third* is a non-essentialist categorization, but it incorporates an analysis of power and agency that is crucial." (Mohanty: 2003: 506)

Although the author believes that these terms do not address the history of colonization, such language does demonstrate that globalization has created divisions within nations whereas some individuals have adopted a Western capitalist ideological lens. This lens can also lead feminists to adopt a Westernized paternalistic mentality that robs women or the “have-nots” within that country of their agency through the act of victimization. Mack-Canty (2004: 164) believes that generational and youth cultures feminisms that have integrated in the third-wave are more able to over-come these divisions and this Western capitalist ideological lens because “the ages, and frequently the “color,” of these feminists mesh with so many of the “two-thirds world” girls and women who are being brutalized by the capitalist global economy in sweatshops, the maid trade, and the sex trade and may serve as a catalyst that evokes their empathy and action.”

This evolution of feminism through the inclusion of the third-wave has allowed for a deeper criticism and analysis in overcoming capitalism, as well as the binary dichotomy of male (powerful) versus woman (powerless), and the construction of the essentialist other, a Third world backward, traditional and ignorant woman, posited against a superior and modern Western ideology (Mohanty 2003: 38). In addition, this evolution has sparked a movement that has questioned the feminist reproductive rights movement and their limiting binary construction of the anti-abortion and pro-abortion paradigm.

### **iii. The Reproductive Justice Framework**

The Reproductive Justice Framework is an intersectional and inclusive framework that seeks to analyze how reproductive rights are interrelated to other issues that women face in their

communities, like racism and/or poverty. Reproductive Justice may be defined with the Pro-Choice Public Education Project as:

A “social justice activism that focuses on the complete physical, mental, spiritual, political, economic, and social well-being of women and girls, and believes that reproductive justice will be achieved when women and girls have the economic, social and political power and resources to make healthy decisions about our bodies, sexuality and reproduction for ourselves, our families and our communities in all areas of our lives” (“Reproductive Health Rights, and Justice Glossary”; 2013).

Women advocating for a reproductive justice framework maintain that fighting for the freedom of choice is not enough. The reproductive justice framework was formed due to the lack of diversity within the pro-abortion movement. This group aimed to include voices that were in the minority, such as women of color, transgendered individuals and young women, who were often not heard in “spaces where sexual and reproductive health and rights are addressed” (Sistersong; 2013). A woman’s “reproductive destiny is linked directly to the conditions in her community and these conditions are not just a matter of individual choice and access.” (Sistersong; 2013). This framework represents a generation of women who believe that the right to an abortion is simply not enough and demand that all women, regardless of their ethnicity, class or sexual preference, are able to make decisions on all aspects of their sexual and reproductive lives. In her article “Beyond Pro-Choice Versus Pro-Life: Women of Color and Reproductive Justice,” Andrea Smith (2005) states that “the pro-life and pro-choice paradigm for understanding reproductive rights is a model that marginalizes women of color, poor women, women with disabilities and women from other marginalized communities” (119). Smith provides three

strong arguments that embody the basic principles of the reproductive justice framework, which can be easily applied to the Chilean context. Firstly, in a capitalist system, choice is directly correlated to a person's possession of resources; women who possess more resources are often afforded more choices. Consequently, the choice paradigm, specifically the woman's choice to have a baby or not, does not address the larger societal context (Smith, 2005: 129). Secondly, Smith questions the pro-choice movement's insistence on a woman's "choice" to contraceptives, citing the examples of the "dubious safety record of Norplant and Depo-Provera" (2005:130). Norplant was taken off of the shelves in the United States due to its negative side-effects while early tests of Depo-Provera showed elevated cancer rates in dogs and increased birth defects in humans (Smith, 2005: 130). Thirdly, Smith critiques the pro-choice movement's stark division between their self-appointed political friends and enemies, stating that the pro-choice and pro-life movement cannot be that easily divisible.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, the issue of reproductive health can be separated into two columns: the haves and the have-nots. Decriminalizing abortion would be a first step but the reproductive justice framework approach would argue that it cannot be the ultimate goal. The abortion and contraceptive debate is important but the overwhelming focus on academic jargon can result in the neglect of the real-life experiences of these young women. Decriminalization of abortion does not automatically change the reality of women within Chile and does not erase discrimination, sexism and/or classism. Legislation changes do not alter societal norms. Abortion can be legalized, but if the term itself continues to be a taboo subject, women of lower economic classes would continue to be disadvantaged through a lack of access

---

<sup>17</sup> Smith (2005) provides an example of a self-identified pro-life organization in the United States called the *North Baton Rouge Women's Health Center*. The organization provides literacy programs, primary health care, vocational training and pregnancy services. One of the organization's representatives states that "we cannot encourage women to have babies and then continue their dependency on the system. We can't leave them without the resources to care for their children and then say 'Praise the Lord, we saved a baby!'" (qt Blunt in Smith, 2005: 133).

to the procedure,<sup>18</sup> contraceptives<sup>19</sup> and essential reproductive information.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, similar to the reproductive justice movement that originated in the United States, the third-wave feminist movement in Chile has adopted many of the same ideals and goals of its Western counterpart. As stated by Mack-Canty (2004) generational and youth culture feminists are often more relatable with women of the two-thirds world. This phenomenon is also seen in Chile where third-wave feminists have adopted a reproductive justice approach in advocating for more than just legal decriminalization but also for social decriminalization, access and counseling services.

---

<sup>18</sup> Chile has a public and private health system. The public health care facilities are often under-staffed and under-resourced, thus prolonging wait times for procedures and surgeries.

<sup>19</sup> A prime example is the legalization of the morning after pill (also known as emergency contraceptive pills or emergency contraception). The pill itself can be legally distributed but many municipalities and pharmacies have refused to sell it due to moral grounds.

<sup>20</sup> As mentioned earlier, tests in the United States outlined the possible harmful effects of Depo-Provera. Nonetheless, a recent article in Terra, a Chilean online news site, quotes a recent study in the United States outlining some of the positive effects of the contraceptive drug (Terra, 2013). Furthermore, Norplant is still available in Chile.

## Chapter 4: The Methodological Framework

My research strives to assess the ways in which feminist organizations have attempted to advance abortion rights within Chile and their limitations. It is impossible to define the Chilean feminism network as a homogenous group of women with a shared oppression. In fact, there are multiple feminist organizations within the country that are drawing on their own experiences when addressing the issue of abortion. Within Chile, there are feminists of different socio-economic status, feminists who choose or to refuse to work with the state, academic organizations, political parties and/or other social organizations, and feminists that prefer to focus their agenda on either therapeutic or full legalization of abortion. As a Canadian woman with European roots, I possessed a limited amount of first-hand knowledge about the intricacies of the feminist network within Chile and as a feminist researcher, my research objectives reflected my own person subjectivities (Jaggar, 2008: 196). Moreover, I had never been to Chile or another Latin American country before, nor had I previously interacted with Chilean feminist organizations. Until my arrival in Chile, most of my opinions and research objectives were drawn from secondary research.

As a Westerner, I understood that power imbalances exist between myself and the individuals whom I wished to interview in Chile. As Wolf eloquently states “the most central dilemma for contemporary feminists in field work, from which other contradictions are derived, is power and the unequal hierarchies or levels of control that are often maintained, perpetuated, created and re-created during and after the field research” (Wolf, 1996, 2). These types of power structures can become apparent through power exerted during the research process, power

differences due to the different positions of the interviewees and the possibility of power exerted post-fieldwork through the writing process (Wolf, 1996: 2). In this chapter, I wish to outline the ways in which I attempted to overcome the process of implicating myself in the Self/Other dichotomy on the one hand, and describe the methods that I applied during my research process on the other one.

## **I. From Theory to a Methodological Framework**

Just like Alice in Wonderland, I wanted to fall down the rabbit hole. I acknowledge that I had, as a feminist scholar, research objectives created by my preconceived notions, which in turn were shaped by my own subjectivities. These objectives were also formed through the ideas and arguments presented within the secondary research that I had read beforehand. Consequently, I decided to book a ticket to Santiago with no plan as a way to broaden my horizon about the topic. I wanted to let my environment and my interviewees guide me in my search for answers. As a result, I believed that spontaneity in my field work would allow for a profound understanding of the problem that my thesis wished to understand. Before even setting foot on Chilean soil, I decided that I would adopt an exploratory feminist research approach, applying in-depth semi-directive interviews. I believed that this method would encourage individuals to “explain how they viewed their circumstances, to define issues in their own terms, to identify processes leading to different outcomes and to interpret the meaning of their lives to the researcher, rather than merely identifying the outcomes” (Cuadraz & Uttal 1999:160). I had written a proposal outlining my limited preconceived ideas of the feminist movement in Chile, but wanted to follow a grounded theory approach so as to discover new topics and ideas from the collection of data that I would later analyze.



Whilst still in Canada, I had hoped that my interactions and conversations with women's organizations prior to my interviews would broaden my mind about the workings of the Chilean network. Chandra Mohanty (2003: 46) argues that feminist discourse must reject monolithic categorizations of women in discourses of globalization as it "circumscribes ideas about experience, agency and struggle." Instead, feminist methodologies should "read up the ladder of privilege" (Mohanty, 2003: 231), whereas the researchers position themselves first and foremost within marginalized communities. Mohanty believes that "this particular marginalized location makes the politics of knowledge and the power investments visible so that we can then engage in work to transform the use and abuse of power" (Mohanty, 2003: 231). The criminalization of abortion within Chile has primarily affected individuals of lower socio-economic status. Chilean women who seek out unsafe abortions are primarily poorer women who are not mentally, physically and/or economically ready to raise a child. Statistically, most of these individuals are young women with little to no education and who have had previous children ("Nuevo Debate sobre el Aborto", 2012). Therefore, I wanted to start my research with them. As Harding explains, marginalized communities learn the dominant viewpoint, but also are better positioned to see its limitations (qt Harding in Holland & Ramazanoglu, 2002: 50-51). By starting at the bottom of the proverbial ladder, I wanted to take into account the multiple voices that are present within the feminist network and try to understand the limitations. Although I wished to read up the ladder of privilege, I was nonetheless adamant in employing an explanatory research approach whereas I would formulate a posterior hypothesis with the analysis of data to be collected through my experience within the country.

## II. Defining the “Research Problem”

My research question on the women’s movement in Chile and its limitations is a product of my own experiences and ideologies. I was aware that my presence in Chile would instantly define me as the outsider or the “gringa” who is trying to understand the complexities of the movement within a completely different context than that of her own. My academic training has taught me about the dangers of perpetuating the Self/Other dichotomy, whereas the Western feminist researcher gives a voice to the Third World Woman. In an effort to minimize the possible hegemonic and disempowering construction of the “other” I applied two methods. Firstly, I drafted a research problem that was quite open-ended, allowing for an aspect of discovery. I intended to “enter the field with no preconceptions or structuring of the data, including sampling groups” (Cuadraz & Uttal, 1999: 166). My research questions also followed a semi-structured format to allow for new themes and topics to be addressed. Secondly, as the outsider with little preconceptions of the feminist network in Chile, I wanted to become the informed researcher. Subsequently, I decided to step back and become an observer for over two months before starting my research. This also allowed me to learn about Chilean politics, cultural practices and perfect my Spanish skills.

As a result, in May 2012, I decided to embark on an extended trip to Santiago to first position myself as the observer to develop a deeper first-hand understanding about the country, politics, feminist organizations and the topic of abortion. I chose Santiago as my home-base as it is the capital city of Chile and houses the largest aggregation of Chileans, as approximately five million individuals live in this metropolitan city. Most organizations and government agencies are therefore located within the capital. I had arrived in Chile with no prior connections; I had to

start from scratch. I was not affiliated with any university or organization and I decided to Google search women's organizations in an effort to find out more about the movement in Chile. I anticipated that my foreigner status would initially create barriers between myself and the individuals that I wished to interview, but I was determined to start my work in the field. Clifford (1990 in Wolf, 1996:36) asks us: "what constitutes the field and where does it begins and ends?" Before leaving for Santiago, I believed that the field would be an even platform, made up of women's organizations working towards decriminalizing abortion. But my preconceived perception of the field changed once I arrived in Chile, prompting me to realize the vast differences between women's organizations advocating for abortion rights in Chile. The field was separated into the public and underground, both divided by a stark and large chasm.

### **III. Understanding the Field**

As stated previously, I had envisioned that marginalized communities, specifically poor women who were most affected by the abortion law, would be my point of departure in understanding the feminist movement within the country. Yet, this scenario changed once I had started to live in Chile and began to seek out individuals who worked within the feminist movement. Chilean women most affected by the abortion law were often not found in the movement. Instead, interactions and research unearthed that certain parts of the women's movement in Chile were more apt to exchange (or communicate) with these poorer individuals than others. Thusly, my intent to read up the ladder of privilege was still a focus of my research, but the group of women had changed slightly, specifically once I had discovered that the field had two distinct parts.

Individuals in the public eye were the easiest to contact. They were often middle to upper class University educated women who had a basic, if not advanced, knowledge of English. These were the women who often worked in politics or prestigious universities and at times would receive funding for their campaigns, projects or organizations. This field was similar to the academic field that I was accustomed to back in Canada; these women in fact made me feel closer to home. The public “experts” of abortion activism in Chile are few but extremely accessible. They are important public figures that have made appearances on television, written books and articles, travelled to different academic institutions overseas and have fostered relationships with other public figures and politicians. Their public support of the decriminalization of abortion, whether therapeutic or full legalization, has afforded them the ability to meet with foreigners, without much fear, anxiety or stress, and speak openly about their opinions on the topic. In fact, many of them received me in their offices with open arms and had no reservations in speaking about their vast knowledge on the topic. My experience was infinitely different when I tried to access the second field: the underground movement. Many of these underground organizations, such as the Abortion Hotline, are often known publicly, but unlike many established NGOs, they do not have an official office location or phone number while the constituents of the group are relatively unknown and their names are rarely published online. This movement largely consists of younger individuals that self-identify as feminists. These individuals hold full-time jobs but take extra time out of their already busy schedules to volunteer their time to pro-abortion organizations. In comparison to the public figures, they work in a secretive manner, most of their projects and campaigns are not politically based but grassroots orientated, with an emphasis on helping poor women. This focus means that they often provide services that could be seen as illegal and are at risk of getting sued and or

arrested<sup>21</sup>. The underground movement also boasts a variety of individuals who identify as feminists; from men, homosexuals, lesbians, students and/or workers. As previously mentioned, in order to keep their identities secret, many members cover their faces during protests, refuse to publish their names or identities online and are hesitant to speak publicly about their affiliation with their organizations. My position as an outsider also meant that many of these women and men were not particularly eager to speak with me as they had a lot to lose. For example, two underground organizations, Coordinadora Universitaria por la Diversidad Sexual (University Collective for Sexual Dissidence)(CUDS) and Feministas y Lesbianas por el Derecho de Decidir (Feminist and Lesbians for the Right to Decide) have been sued in the past. These women (and men) have to “live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more, and so do their families and communities (Smith, 1999:137). However, they were the individuals I was most excited to interview. Unfortunately, without prior connections in the Chilean feminist movement, I had to work backwards. I started building bonds of trusts with public feminists with the intent to eventually speak with these marginalized and underground communities. I wished to speak to these grassroots feminists so as to learn their perspective of the dominant viewpoint, and whether it was different from those women who were in the public eye. I wanted to see all sides of the debate regarding the effectiveness of the women’s movement in the country and also its limitations (qt Harding in Holland & Ramazanoglu, 2002: 50-51).

I started to reach out to a number of feminist organizations through email in an effort to learn about meetings, protests and/or conferences that were taking place in the city. As a

---

<sup>21</sup> The Abortion Hotline, for example, operates in a legally grey area. Their actions are “technically” lawful only if they adhere to a very strict set of rules, such as refraining from talking in the first person. In reality, they could be detained for simply saying the wrong thing, which would be seen as helping women obtain an illegal procedure (Hellerstein, 2013).

Westerner, I was baffled with the shortage of social media presence of many of these organizations as they often lacked proper information, email addresses and/or were not updated regularly. At times individuals would take two or more weeks to answer my emails, often citing their busy schedule as a deterrent from meeting with me. The first ones that decided to speak with me were the prominent public figures who answered my emails promptly and welcomed me into their office with no issues. Many of them had travelled to Canada before and some had even met with my supervisor. No prior plan or connections placed me at a disadvantage, so I applied snowball sampling in the hopes that these public women would have connections with the underground. Time passed and it became clear that many of these second-wave feminists had little to no contact with their younger counterparts. I started to learn that similar to the generational rift between feminists in Western countries, the Chilean women's network was experiencing internal struggles. My observer status granted me an invitation to a third-wave feminist meeting held in September 2012, three months after I arrived in Chile. The feeling of being an outsider was overwhelming. It was the first time that I noticed the distinct network bubbles; both public and underground movements were small but they were a tight-knit group of individuals and a foreigner was an obvious addition. At the meeting, I was also granted the opportunity to experience the generational rift first-hand. The meeting consisted of mainly younger men and women, two or three older females and two Westerners. At the end of the presentation, the two older women continuously raised their hands to heavily criticize the younger women and their campaigns, leading to frustration and increased tension in the room. After the arguments had subsided, I decided to speak with the other Westerner who agreed to meet with me later on in the week for an interview. My first contact with the underground was memorable as it demonstrated the harsh dichotomy between the two movements. While the

public figures spoke about the political dimensions of the abortion debate within Chile, many of the underground feminists had a more personal connection with the subject. They often shared stories about the harsh realities of abortion activism and many had joined the movement primarily because of their personal experiences or the experiences of their friends and/or family. They joined because their friends had either performed an illegal abortion or undergone one. Nonetheless, regardless of whether they are part of the underground or public movement, many of these individuals have risked alienating friends/family, losing their job, being sued and/or going to jail for participating in pro-abortion campaigns and projects. Therefore, the field had become a space in which I had to carefully manoeuvre.

#### **IV. Sampling: Whose Voices Need to be Included**

After spending my first couple of weeks in Chile familiarizing myself with my surroundings and the Spanish language, I started to try and disseminate the field and the type of sampling I would apply. Cuadraz & Uttal (1999) argue that the “more common practice for in-depth interviewing is to study small homogenous samples in order achieve an in-depth understanding of particular lived experiences” (162). The feminist movement, specifically focused on reproductive and sexual rights, consists of a small group of individuals and through grounded theory I decided to “collect data from small, non-random samples identified through purposive sampling” (Cuadraz & Uttal, 1999: 163). Regardless of whether these women were part of the underground or the public, they all advocate for the same cause and therefore share a common experience: the Chilean woman’s right to safe, affordable and legal access to abortion.

The cultural differences and the effort to build a bond of trust lead me to spend many more months in Chile than I had previously intended. My first ticket was booked for two months, which was extended to December 2012, at which point I went home briefly and returned to Chile in January 2013 for another five months. My time spent in Chile was elongated primarily due to the difficulty for an outsider to enter the underground feminist movement. In fact, a recent *New York Times* article about one of the underground groups (Lesbians and Feminists for the Right to Decide) reiterates my point by stating that their interviewee Angela Erpel, a volunteer from the group's Abortion Hotline, was "the only volunteer willing to go on the record about her work with the hot line, and even she is usually circumspect about it" (Nelsen, 2013). The article also shows a picture of five other volunteers who wear masks to conceal their identities (Nelsen, 2013). These risks have created an underground movement that is very tight and therefore not open to inviting new members. The fear of "the outsider" led many Chileans to first send out initial emails asking other women if they would be interested in speaking with me. An email, with their name and full email address, was sent to me only after they agreed to meet with me. Nevertheless, the relationships I forged with the initial group of women allowed me to develop bonds of trust that were beneficial in creating connections between myself and other underground Chilean feminists. This bond of trust was also crucial in creating a safe space so that individuals I interviewed would feel more at ease when discussing their affiliation with abortion activism within the country.

During the period of September to January 2013, I conducted 16 interviews (11 in Spanish and 5 in English), in an effort to have an even amount of public and underground interviewees for a more robust perspective of the current situation in Chile. All but two



individuals were either working or living in Santiago de Chile, the other two participants were from the city of Valparaiso. Firstly, I sent individuals a quick e-mail introducing myself and the research objectives. If the individual was interested in participating in my research project, I sent her/him an Invitation to Participate letter<sup>22</sup> (which was translated into Spanish) via email and/or handed it to them during the interview. Individual interviews were around 45 to 60 minutes in length where participants were asked to respond to approximately ten open-ended questions in English, Spanish or a mixture of the two languages. Once I started to transcribe each interview into a Word document, I typed out the conversation in the original language of the interview and only translated sentences that would later be used as a quotation in the thesis. I would also like to acknowledge the limitations and implications of my interview data. Although I spent twelve months in Chile and took extra Spanish classes in June 2012, I still do not consider myself to be completely fluent in Spanish. However, when translating quotations from Spanish to English, I drew upon my knowledge of the Spanish language with the addition of proper resources, like dictionaries and a thesaurus, to ensure that the translation occurred properly and accurately in order to respect the participant's word. For participants for whom English was not their first language, I decided against correcting grammatical mistakes in order to preserve the ideas that the participant was trying to convey. The interview guide was previously approved by the University of Ottawa Ethics Board. Before each interview, all participants were asked to sign a consent form stating that all information collected during the interview would remain strictly confidential and would only be used by the primary investigator and the research supervisor. In order to ensure anonymity when quoting the participants, I used pseudonyms to link data to

---

<sup>22</sup> See appendix #3 and #4 for the English versions of the Invitation to Participate and the Informed Consent forms in English.

participant identities and removed any identifying characteristics from the context of the quotes. I also informed each individual that the final product would be published online.

The sample included individuals either working or volunteering for women's organizations, such as La Punta de La Lengua, MILES, Corporación Humanas, Articulación for la Derecho de Decidir, CUDS and Feminists and Lesbians for the Right to Decide as well as prominent academics and outsiders who provided a different perspective of the movement. The interviewees are of various ages, social and religious backgrounds; they are academics, students, blue-collar workers, former government officials and/or volunteers. All the interviewees were middle to upper class individuals, two of whom were males. Among the male participants, one is a Chilean that was living in the United States, when he decided to film a documentary about abortion in Chile. Another is a Chilean professor with a background in reproductive and sexual rights in Chile who works on the topic of sexual diversity, specifically the LGBT movement

These individuals are part of two selective groups (second and third wave) with particular experiences and connections within the women's movement, specifically in the struggle to change abortion legislation within Chile. Notwithstanding the arguments and divisions between them, all these individuals are passionate and committed to influencing change within the country. Many of these interviewees are not paid to be a part of their prospective organizations, donating their time and effort on top of their other commitments, such as family and/or full-time jobs. Despite the lack of public and financial support, they have worked endlessly to advocate and work towards reproductive and sexual rights for all women within the country.

## V. Ethical framework

I received my ethics approval certificate on September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012. Before my departure, I prepared a thorough ethics statement that encompassed all of the questions that I wished to ask each individual about their participation within the movement. My interview questions allowed me to outline the methods that I would be using and provided a general interview guide with domains of inquiry. The semi-structured format of my interview questions also allowed individuals to introduce new themes and topics about the issue. As stated in my ethics application, before my departure I was aware that many activists and academics are often motivated to participate in movements because of their personal experiences with abortion and/or the experiences of their friends and family. I believed that this was a possibility, but it was highly unlikely that these women would reveal their personal abortion experiences to me during the interview process. Throughout my whole experience in Chile, my primary focus was not to discuss the personal experiences of women who have undergone abortion procedures. Instead, it was largely centered on the methods employed by feminist organizations and their limitations when advocating for abortion rights in Chile. As outlined in my ethics proposal, all data collected will be kept for five years following the completion of the project in a USB key and will be under lock. When I crossed international borders, from Chile to Canada, the data was stored securely on a laptop that was locked in a piece of carry-on luggage placed underneath my seat for the entirety of the flight. Once I landed in Canada all the information was transferred from my luggage to a locked storage unit in Mississauga. After the five year conservation period all paper documents will be shredded, and information stored on the USB will be completely deleted.

The foreseen benefit for individuals' participation in this study is to be able to express their opinions and contribute to the growing debate on the decriminalization of abortion. In the end, I plan on sharing my findings and initiate a post-thesis dialogue with the participants of my study. I hope that sharing my work with them will provide them an outsider perspective on the topic of feminist movements and their efforts to advance abortion rights in Chile. This research may also be able to help organizations in providing information on their advocacy strategies and may demonstrate the ways in which some organizations may be excluding certain voices. This may lead to organizations creating partnerships or cooperating more firmly with each other to create a stronger pro-choice network.

## **VI.   Analysing the Data**

For the purpose of this research, I applied a grounded theory methodology to analyze and organize the data collected during my time in Chile. Glaser and Strauss (1967) believe that the aim of grounded theory is to generate or discover a theory “from data systematically obtained from social research (2). Thus, the basic idea of the approach is “to read (and re-read) a textual database (such as a corpus of field notes) and “discover” or label variables (called categories, concepts and properties) and their interrelationships” (Borgatti, 1996). Grounded theory was the ideal methodology for my research process as it allowed for the exploration “of integral social relationships and the behavior of groups where there has been little exploration of the contextual factors that affect individual’s lives (qt Crooks in Claman, 2013). The primary data collection method that I used was in-depth interviews coupled with observation methods, leading me to conduct theoretical sampling in an effort to find a distinct theory. Theoretical sampling is “the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and

analyses his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop theory as it emerges (Glaser and Strauss 1967: 45). Initial data collection allowed for the discovery of some key concepts, including the Chilean feminist generational gap. A number of themes and topics were consistently repeated during the interview process and as a result, I decided to apply theoretical sampling to generate more data to either confirm or refute the categories that had been discovered. I would also like to acknowledge that sixteen interviews, while substantial, is not a full representative sample. Therefore, my corresponding claims, while informative and indicative of many complex realities within Chile's feminist movements cannot be widely generalized. I also acknowledge that many feminist groups and key actors, such as women from marginalized communities or feminist nuns, were not represented among my interview participants. Thus, my conclusions are indicative of, and limited to, the opinions of those represented in my study. I would also like to note that I limited my sampling to sixteen individuals because I believed that I had reached theoretical saturation. Glaser explains that "once a category is saturated it is not necessary to theoretically sample anymore to collect data for incident comparisons. And of course, once many interrelated categories of a GT are saturated, theoretical completeness is achieved for the particular research' (Glaser, 2001, p.192)

After completing and transcribing all the interviews, in either Spanish or English, I started my analysis by employing three distinct grounded theory methods: open, axial and selective coding. As a Spanish and English speaker, I listened, typed and edited all the interviews that I conducted. After I had finished with all 16 recordings, I applied open coding as a "part of the analysis concerned with identifying, naming, categorizing and describing phenomena found in the text" (Borgatti, 1996.). I read and re-read the text of all the interviews in an effort to find

abstract categories, which I noted in a Word document. Secondly, I used axial coding which is “the process of relating codes (categories and properties) to each other, via a combination of inductive and deductive thinking” (Borgatti 1996). In the Word document I started to search for common themes and topics addressed by each of the interviewees, which resulted in a number of common threads. The key points were marked with a series of codes, which were extracted from the text that I then grouped into similar concepts in order to make them more workable. These concepts lead to the formation of categories that were the basis of the creation of a theory. Lastly, I applied selective coding, a “process of choosing one category to be the core category and relating all other categories to that category” (Borgetti, 1996.). The core category is one of the most important aspects of grounded theory as “the generation of theory occurs around a *core* category. Without a core category an effort of grounded theory will drift in relevancy and workability” (Glaser, 1978: 93). Throughout my analysis, I had noticed several new themes that were addressed that I had previously not anticipated. However the generational gap and its negative impact on the development of a strong Chilean women’s movement was the one topic that was mentioned in depth by each interviewee. This generational gap, a theme I previously had not even considered, transformed into the core category of my thesis and theoretical framework, becoming the “driver that impels the story forward” (Borgatti, 1996).

Through the research process, I have realized that I am accountable to the women and men I have interviewed. As a feminist researcher I continuously strive to reflect critically on my assumptions and weaknesses so that I can improve myself. While re-telling the narratives of these strong individuals to a broader audience, my hope is that their stories will uncover lessons learned that can be used by women fighting for reproductive justice in other countries of the

world. The topic of reproductive and sexual rights is a highly debatable subject within South America. As some countries have moved forward in legalizing abortion, such as Uruguay, others have regressed with the introduction of more repressive abortion legislation. The debate is a worldwide phenomenon as each country and their constituents address this issue in many different ways. My research is not intended to “teach” the Chilean movement about their shortfalls or weaknesses. It is mostly a learning experience for a young Western feminist yearning to better understand reproductive and sexual rights outside of the Western bubble. This experience was not only humbling, but taught me to critically question my assumptions, while pushing me to deconstruct my own ideological walls. In the end, this qualitative study allowed me to seriously assess my own position as a feminist researcher who at times engages in a process of “othering.” Nonetheless, it has also granted me the tools to understand my unequal position as a researcher and surpass many of these obstacles through methodologies and ethics of doing work within the field.

## Chapter 5: The Challenges of the Chilean Women's Movement

Chile does not have one united strong women's movement(s); instead there exists many different and often separate movements that have mobilized around specific interest areas (Floyd; 2013: 1), one of which is the topic of abortion. Over the years women's movements in Chile have experienced an evolution with the inclusion of new liberal ideas and also new voices as GenY individuals have started to actively participate within feminism. This movement(s)<sup>23</sup> has either chosen to include reproductive rights discourse as one aspect of their organization or dedicate all their time and effort specifically to the topic of abortion. The amount of individuals that are part of an organization dedicated solely to the topic of sexual and reproductive rights is nominal, yet still powerful. Organizations like Movimiento por la Interrupción Legal del Embarazo (Movement for the Legal Interruption of a Pregnancy)(MILES), the Articulación por el Derecho de Decidir (Organization for the Right to Decide), Coordinadora Universitaria por la Diversidad Sexual(University Collective for Sexual Dissidence)(CUDS) and Feministas y Lesbianas por el Derecho de Decidir (Feminists and Lesbians for the Right to Decide) have all made important strides in creating a favourable atmosphere for the discussion and advancement of abortion legislation within the country. Many of these organizations are also relatively new, as they were founded in the last five years, and often do not function in the same manner as a registered non-governmental organization (NGO). Most of these organizations do not have an official office while their goals, objectives and strategies are highly dependant on funding and free time, since many members are volunteers and also hold full-time jobs. A member of CUDS shares this sentiment, further adding "I think the problem at CUDS is that we all work too much.

---

<sup>23</sup> Similar to Gina Floyd (2013) I will refer to the feminist movements in Chile as "movement(s)" to demonstrate the ambiguity of the feminist situation in the country.



This is an extra activity. It's hard, sometimes I have all these emails and I don't have that much time. There are no local funds to fund this sort of activism; I do not think that there are any funds here.”

A variety of factors, such as lack of time and money, have deterred the movement from influencing profound changes in abortion legislation. This immense struggle has become even more precarious as activists must not only overcome the influence of the conservative pro-family rhetoric, but also the growing fragmentation that is consuming its own movement. Through the analysis of personal interviews with second and third-wave feminist from different organizations, this chapter will examine distinct approaches undertaken by each generational wave in addressing reproductive and sexual rights in Chile, as well as the limitations that the movement faces in influencing abortion legislation.

## **I. The Political Route**

Each generational wave has followed its own proper path and employed different strategies in an attempt to decriminalize abortion in Chile. Many second-wavers<sup>24</sup> who have been part of the women's movement(s) for many years, have opted to apply a political strategy when fighting to change abortion legislation. One of the most influential of these organizations has been MILES; a network<sup>25</sup> of groups that advocate for the decriminalization of abortion in three

---

<sup>24</sup> I would like to add there are some younger generation organizations, such as Corporación Humanas, that are more politically-inclined in their campaign strategies. Notwithstanding, the majority of abortion specific organizations that are politically focused are either run by or primarily consist of second-wave feminists who are largely focused on working on a politically level.

<sup>25</sup> Some of the organizations part of this network include: Chilean Association for Family Protection (APROFA), Catholics for a Free Choice CDD Chile, Corporación La Morada, Forum Health and Sexual and Reproductive Rights Movement of Homosexual Integration and Liberation (MOVILH), Observatory on Gender and Equity, NGO

specific cases: when a woman's life is at risk, in cases of rape and in cases of fetal deformity. The group works both with the public and political arena, leading public debates on the issue and lobbying the government. MILES has fostered numerous connections with politicians, presented motions in the Senate and worked with various individuals such as medical doctors, in an effort to establish a strong legal, bio-ethical and scientific argument to support the legalization of therapeutic abortion. Claudia Dides, a member of MILES, holds that "the organization has been able to succeed where many have failed; we create alliances with new actors, doctors, men, presidential candidates, deputies and senators from various political parties while also fostering connections with national and international networks." In 2013 the organization launched a campaign to present a new motion to the Chilean Senate in an attempt to reintroduce the idea of legalizing therapeutic abortion.<sup>26</sup> Another prominent pro-abortion<sup>27</sup> organization is the Articulación. Maira, a second-wave feminist, states that the Articulación "is one of the few feminist organizations that takes its fight to the streets. We create conversational campaigns so that people can speak more openly about abortion." Along with a social aspect, the Articulación also works on a political level. In 2012, the organization was able to obtain funding from UN Women to send two of their members to the 53rd session of CEDAW held in Geneva, Switzerland. Her colleague Bea from the Articulación was sent to the meeting to provide comments on the Chilean report. Bea states:

---

Action, Party for Democracy (PPD), Socialist Party (PS), Progressive Party (PRO), Women's Health Network Latin American and Caribbean (LACWHN).

<sup>26</sup> In April 2012, after all three motions to legalize therapeutic abortion were rejected; a one year ban was introduced restricting any new laws or motions to be presented to the Senate about abortion.

<sup>27</sup> When asked whether there is a strong pro-choice / pro-life network in Chile, Maira answered "I believe that the divisions of pro-Choice / pro-Life are very gringo in a sense. I think in Latin America denomination forms of the struggle for abortion is very different, because our reality is different too. In addition, there is a political background that eventually pro-life groups have usurped the notion of life and therefore all that opposes their speech has a sense of death. Rather what we say is that they are not pro-life, but are pro-death for women. As a result, for reasons having to do with the reality of the continent and for political reasons, I do not move personally with the ideas of pro-choice or pro-life." Due to the explanation provided by Maira, this thesis has largely avoided using the terms pro-life / pro-choice and instead replaced these terms with pro-abortion / anti-abortion.

“When Chile ratified CEDAW it vowed to send a report about the situation of women in Chile. The official action report to CEDAW was very optimistic and very out of touch with reality. Other organizations can send their shadow report. We mostly read the Chilean report and brought to light certain problems. We were there to talk face-to-face with the commissioners.”

Another prominent second-waver, known as one of Chile’s abortion experts, is Lidia Casas, a lawyer and researcher at the Human Rights Center of the School of Law at La Universidad Diego Portales. Similar to many Chilean second-wavers, Casas started her career working in a grassroots organization before entering into the political side of the abortion debate. Since beginning her career in the field of sexual and reproductive rights, Lidia Casas has participated in the legal defence of emergency contraception and has also helped women who have been criminally prosecuted for violating Chile’s abortion law.

But the political involvement of second-wavers within the topic of abortion is fairly recent and many of these organizations, such as MILES, were created within the last five years. Casas believes that this increased involvement in the topic of abortion is primarily due to the litigation of emergency contraception within Chile, thus allowing the topic of abortion to slowly come out of the closet in the mid-2000s. Furthermore, as the older generation becomes more politically active, the younger generation has become more and more sceptical about the effectiveness of a political strategy. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the political route undertaken by many of these second-wavers is also strongly reliant on the ruling political party. To pass any legislation in Chile, there needs to be political will not only from the president but

also from various ministers and political leaders that are willing to publicly support and voice their opinions about the issue. Unfortunately, the 2010 election of the National Renewal party, a conservative political party, and a leader<sup>28</sup> unwilling to discuss the possibility of any pro-abortion legislation have created an unfavourable political environment to discuss the possibility of decriminalizing abortion. This situation may change with the possible election of Michelle Bachelet in the 2013 presidential race, creating a more favourable political climate to discuss abortion. Nevertheless, the lack of advancement in abortion legislation within the last twenty years has also prompted a new generation of feminists to enter into the activism scene whose campaign priorities and strategies signal a radical departure from the feminist methods applied by second-wavers, often devoid of any political involvement.

## **II. The Third-Wave: A Micro-political Strategy**

Alongside many Latin American countries, Chile has its own abortion hotline, established in 2009, that operates every evening, Monday to Friday, from 7 p.m to 11 p.m. and provides women with information about how to obtain an abortion. Unlike their second-wave counterparts, who have undertaken a political route to decriminalize abortion within the country, third-wave feminists have no interest in influencing or changing abortion legislation. In the last twenty four years, the subject of abortion in Chile has failed to capture the attention of politicians. There has been no political will to change the abortion status within the country but as Anne, a member of the Abortion Hotline who immigrated to Chile from the United States,

---

<sup>28</sup> In 2011 three bills proposing to legalize “therapeutic abortion” were approved by the Chilean Senate’s health committee in a 3-2 vote. However, the president of the National Renovation Party, Carlos Larraín, stated that the President “gave his assurance that if the abortion bills were approved, under any name, he would veto it” (Hoffman, 2011).

points out, women need abortions now. Many of these new grassroots organizations<sup>29</sup> have emerged due to their discontent with the strategies of the past. Their interest in helping women, primarily those within marginalized communities, has also lead them to reject the idea of political participation in favour of a more social approach. These collectives are much different than their predecessors and are often coined as “radical<sup>30</sup>” feminists, risk-takers, tech-savvy, through their use of ICTS like Twitter and Facebook, and also inclusive and multicultural. Naomi, a second-wave feminist and former member of MEMCH, who has been able to integrate herself in the third-wave movement<sup>31</sup>, explains that this network of small feminist collectives has become micro-political. These individuals do not want to waste their energy fighting a system that is not likely to change. Many shun the political system as Rocío, a third-wave feminist and journalism student, explains that “getting politically involved in Chile is very hard and forces individuals to waste their time, energy and their limited resources.” Their micro-mentality introduces a creative and different approach that Anne believes “forms a voice that is distinct from that crowd and that drives Chileans to critically question the idea of abortion by initiating an open debate on the issue.” The message that these young feminists seek to solve is simple: women need help now and there is no time to waste.

The Abortion Hotline is run by Lesbians and Feminists for the Right to Information. This group of individuals tries to reach marginalized women not only through their hotline, but also through workshops, publicity campaigns and their print manual that explains the proper

---

<sup>29</sup> It is also important to note that while many of the members of this groups are younger feminists, some second-wave feminists have also integrated themselves within this new movement

<sup>30</sup> The point that the third-wave generation is too radical for their second-wave counterparts is explained in detail later on in this paper.

<sup>31</sup> Although Naomi is a second-wave feminist, she realizes the importance of the third-wave movement and has allied herself with many third-wave organizations. She is the individual that connected me with volunteers at CUDS.

administration of misoprostol. The organization has a largely online presence, but decided to expand in hopes of reaching women that might not necessarily have access to the internet and/or a computer. Anne explains that they want to reach these women in two ways: workshops and the manual.

“The manual, specifically, we are going to try and give it to a lot of different organizations that work with women or community libraries and so hopefully we will be able to reach different groups of women. The workshops as well. The workshops have been directed at women who work with other women, that was the easiest way...we have a bigger impact that way. For example, in one of the workshops a woman came who worked with migrant workers and hopefully that will be a way to reach at least the migrant workers that she works with.”

The hotline works closely with CUDS, which started as an LGBT organization for lesbian/gay rights and now focuses on sexual dissidence from a queer perspective. In 2012, the organization launched an abortion campaign called “*Dona por un aborto ilegal*” (Donation for an Illegal Abortion) in response to the government’s refusal to even discuss the possibility of legalizing therapeutic abortion. CUDS created an ironic campaign to spark debate in the public arena<sup>32</sup>. Layla, a young member of CUDS, who also teaches gender studies classes at a prominent University in Chile, states:

“The campaign is called ‘For a Better Life, Donate for an Illegal Abortion,’ and the icon is also a foetus. It was kind of re-appropriating the foetus which is always the icon for pro-life people. Why can we not use the foetus as a pro-choice icon? And so it’s also confusing, some people see

---

<sup>32</sup> See Appendix #1 for an example of the CUDS logo taken from the CUDS official website.

it and they wouldn't really understand are you pro-life or pro-choice...what is this? So then we also made this webpage called "Donate for an Illegal Abortion" where people would actually donate and then the idea was to somehow make the debate be possible in the public spaces. So, we made t-shirts with the campaign and there are little stickers, the typical when you give money and they give you these stickers on the clothes to make an intervention in the streets and talk to people with this icon, would you like to donate for an illegal abortion?"

In conjecture with other collectives, like "*Huelga de Vientres*" (Strike of the Stomach) and "*Punta de la Lengua*" (Point of the Tongue), these feminist organizations aim to educate women about their body and their human rights while deconstructing the idea of traditional sexuality. Huelga de Vientres, for example, believes that a person cannot speak about abortion decriminalization without addressing patriarchy and the capitalist government systems. Along with launching their own information booklet called "*Mi Cuerpo, Mi Primera Lucha*" (My Body, My First Fight), that addresses patriarchy, abortion and contraception, they organize workshops that are focused on pleasure, care and sexual freedom ("*Mi Cuerpo, Mi Primera Lucha*", 2012: 4). Other organizations take a riskier approach, such as a small organization outside of Santiago that personally gives out misoprostol. A member of the group explains,

"We give the misoprostol and it is usually a friend of a friend that we go and meet with them to give them the pill. There is a lot of risk – normally it is someone that we know. We do not charge them but we can tell them; *'if you want to give a donation than you can give us CLP\$40,000, the price of the pill'*. We wanted to create a telephone number but we realized that it was too dangerous. Our organization reaches more poor women because we have a large network of women that work directly with poor women and if someone goes to them and we know them then they can ask us for the pill."

In the end, the bottom-line of many of these collectives is to get information directly to women, whilst also addressing the reality of the situation in Chile which is simply that changing legislation is not sufficient.

In this way, many third-wavers employ a reproductive justice approach as they believe that decriminalization of abortion does not directly translate to access, nor does it secure any rights for individuals who have been repetitive disadvantaged by the dominant discourse. An examination of Project A, introduced in April 2012 to the Chilean Senate, revealed that the project sought to legalize therapeutic abortion by medical intervention. Medical intervention meant that two different doctors would decide whether or not a woman deserved to undergo an abortion. Daniela a feminist part of *La Punta de la Lengua*, believes

“Decriminalization will only make the procedure public and available in private clinics for a lot of money. In short all that will change will be the legal status and the procedure will continue to be out of reach to those individuals that cannot afford to pay for an abortion.”

Maira agrees and believes that if abortion legislation is passed, than the subsequent laws put into place would be “ridiculous.” In response, many third-wave organizations have adopted a reproductive justice approach and started to discuss and demand more than just legal decriminalization. The Abortion Hotline, for example, talks about the social decriminalization of the word “abortion” and the certain connotations that surround the term. Anne states that “the Abortion Hotline works on these issues because decriminalization does not translate into access.” Daniela also works with an organization that focuses on mental health services for women who



have gone through rape, abortion or other traumatic experiences so that they can talk in a non-judgemental and safe space. Nonetheless, the efforts and innovations of the third-wave movement does not translate into the disappearance of the old second-wave feminists, but has created an environment consisting of a variety of voices that are not always compatible with each other.

### **III. The Limitations of the Movement(s)**

The women's movement has been at a disadvantage since the beginning of the democratic transition primarily due to the overwhelming strong pro-family rhetoric of the conservative right. Blofield (2001, 2006) argues that one of the main reasons why Chilean feminist organizations have failed to effectively mobilize against restrictive abortion policy is the movement's lack of access to resources readily available to the Catholic Church and conservative elites. The Catholic Church and its affiliates have formed tight networks with conservative elites to construct an influential web of individuals who are extremely powerful and wealthy. Nonetheless, the movement's lack of public visibility and doubts of its existence (Franceschet, 2003:10) can be attributed only partly to the conservative Goliath that has subsumed most of the movement's demands. As these individuals fight against the overwhelming powerful conservative rhetoric present in the country, they are also confronted with overcoming internal distrust, fear, disrespect and conflicting strategies in an attempt to unite a debilitated and fragmented group of individuals.

#### **i. Abortion is Murder: Overcoming an Anti-Abortion Rhetoric**

Although in recent years, the Catholic Church in Chile has lost much of its power due to the numerous scandals associated with the institution<sup>33</sup>, their conservative pro-family discourse has become culturally accepted in Chile as a societal norm and as a result, is one of the biggest limitations that the feminist movement in Chile must overcome. Since the dictatorship, the Chilean political agenda has predominately focused on the country's economic expansion with little concern about social growth. As Chile grew into one of the most economically powerful countries within Latin America, their social policies reflected a biological essentialist mentality, primarily focused on a patriarchal notion of family and binary sex categories. The idea of a unified citizenship, developed during the Pinochet dictatorship, had transformed into an "everyone for themselves" mentality. Isabella, a journalist and a professor who specializes in reproductive and sexual rights in Chile, believes that "this transformation was primarily led by the Concertación government, who created a Chilean society more preoccupied with the private – the family – instead of the social, community or collective." This focus on the private life has stalled the evolution of women's rights legislation in the country. Today, Chilean women are still represented as mothers; and as a result, reproductive and sexual rights are not recognized as a basic human right and an abortion is seen as an act of murder. Isabella explains that "using a sexual and reproductive rights angle when discussing abortion is not very effective because these rights are not recognized in Chile as basic human rights." For her part, Maira believes that "the conservative right has succeeded in creating a complex ideological cocktail." Isabella explains that Christian values are so prevalent in Chilean society that even though individuals may not self-identify as Catholic or religious, they will often believe in these values without question, including the notion that abortion is murder. Anne states that "people are raised to think that

---

<sup>33</sup> Many interviewees expressed their opinion that the Church has lost much of its power in recent years due to these scandals, such as recent stories about priest pedophilia.

abortion is a sin and they won't change their mind unless they have a reason to." This pro-family/anti-abortion discourse is a part of life in Chile. Doctors have been known to refer to the fetus as "your child," while government officials continuously insist, through campaigns and funding, that giving birth to an unwanted baby is much nobler than undergoing an abortion<sup>34</sup>. Layla recounts her experience working with sexual and reproductive rights in poor rural areas where she discovered the intensity of this ideological cocktail and its possible negative effects:

"It was a program done by some NGO and I would talk about different ways of being a woman. When we talked about abortion, I had to make a self-criticism because for them being a mother is so important. To them it means that they are brave and courageous because they did not abort. And then I understood that if I said that they could have a better life without so many children, that it was a violent thing to say. For them it was a reason of pride that even though they were so poor they could still provide for their family. Girls think that women who have abortions are cowards or just horny girls."

This cultural acceptance can also be attributed to a lack of debate and/or discussion about the subject of abortion. During their "*Dona por un aborto ilegal*" campaign, members part the organization took to the streets in an attempt to collect money and engage the public in an open dialogue about women's rights and abortion. The response was varied, but interestingly enough Layla noticed that there were instances where a short dialogue resulted in a change in the dominant discourse of an individual on the street.

---

<sup>34</sup> In 2013, the former Presidential candidate, Sebastian Allamand (RN), proposed a monthly monetary bonus for young adolescent women (until the age of 19) who opted to give birth to their babies instead of choosing an abortion.

“They really haven’t thought about it so we asked: what if someone was raped? And they think about it and agreed that it was ok. This is exactly why we need a public debate.”

Oscar, a professor of Public Affairs and Sociology, also agrees that once a conversation is started about abortion and the different causes, it can lead to a rupture in a person’s belief system. In the last couple of years, cultural perceptions of abortion have indeed changed. Yet, the women’s movements’ attempt to bring this topic to the public eye and engage in an open public and/or political debate has largely been unsuccessful, partly due to the overwhelming presence of the anti-abortion movement. These conservative individuals have access to media outlets, politicians and funding, thus granting them the ability to control and manipulate the dominant logic and silence the under resourced and weakened women’s movement(s). The anti-abortion movement is only part of the problem, as these organizations have long had a history of unresolved internal tensions that has stalled the growth of the movement(s).

## **ii. Unresolved Tensions**

The first interviews that I was able to obtain in Chile were with the public figures who were comfortable in discussing their ideas and opinions about the current reality of abortion within Chile. Many of these individuals were part of the public eye, writing articles, books or appearing on television to voice their discontent with the abortion legislation within the country. They were also the first individuals to address the idea of a generational rift within the movement(s), agreeing that the movement(s) has many unresolved issues that need to be solved before moving forward. Yet, when I asked if they had any connections with these younger feminists, I was frequently met with a pause. One prominent older feminist deemed that it was

hard to work with younger feminists because they were “very loose in regards to organization” and “sporadic, because they do not seem to be very consistent” while another believed that the problem rested on the fact that “the younger generation has an illusion of equality that is not real.” On the other hand, the third-wave feminists also shared their own opinions about the older generation, often repeating words like *inclusive*, *fear*, *power* and the lack of *trust* and *respect*. Interviews with the older generation also incited different opinions as many second-wavers described their younger counter-parts as *disrespectful*, *unorganized* and *irresponsible*.

### A Lack of Mutual Respect

I personally experienced the precarious relationship between the movement(s) when I attended a meeting in September 2012, held by The Abortion Hotline, CUDS and Huelga de Vientres. The event aimed to bring awareness to the different campaigns launched by each organization. A volunteer from MILES had also confirmed her participation but failed to show up to the event. Even though the MILES representative later personally told me that she was sick and could not attend the meeting, Anne, one of the organizers, stated that “we invite them to the forum, but they never show up and they never contacted us afterwards.” The event was filled with younger feminists and exactly two older generational feminists who, at the end of the event, posed questions to the organizations about their campaigns and ideas. However, Anne, added that she was pleasantly “shocked” that these older feminists attended the event because she explained “we always invite everyone, even the older feminists, but they never attend.” After the questions had been posed, one of the older feminists shared that her organization was holding a protest at noon on September 28<sup>th</sup>, the Global Day for Action for Accessible, Legal and Safe

Abortion. The announcement caused tensions in the room as all three organizers of the event were also holding their own event that same day in the evening. Anne later shared:

“Part of the problem of having the event at noon is that most people work at noon but a lot of women from the older groups, they work for their feminist organizations, and they are employees. If you work for a feminist organization you can ask for an hour off at the middle of the day to go to this kind of event, but I can’t do that. That is why we have our event at 6pm in the afternoon because that’s the time people could go. We could go and meet with them and argue all these things but I do not see it going anywhere. All the interaction I have had with the older feminist have been like that, they really want younger women to participate but they want younger women to participate on their terms.”

The lack of respect was a subject that was habitually repeated by many of the younger generational feminists when discussing their relationship with the older generations. MILES’s failure to contact the organizing committee of their absence and the announcement of the older feminist’s September 28<sup>th</sup> protest are just two examples of the large generational disconnect felt between the two sides of the movement. But this type of phenomenon has been a reoccurring issue, as Bea notes:

“We have a serious issue of treatment and mistreatment in the feminist movement. We are all activists, it is all volunteer work. I am not getting richer. I do catering. That is my job. Feminism is my passion; I expect to be well-treated. When you feel mistreated, you get angry at the little things and you have no patience and no understanding.”

This lack of respect is, however, not one-sided. While GenY feminists have accused the older women of disrespect, Bea added that after the decision to exclude men from the November 2012 meeting, numerous CUDS members reacted in an impertinent manner.

“It was a lack of professionalism from CUDS. No, after the things I have read on Facebook, I do not like them. Truly aggressive. I hate seeing feminists attacking other feminists. I have to recognize that they take risks and are very vocal about what they are doing. But what they did was very foul.”

Much of the anger and resentment felt between movements can be attributed to the lack of acceptance of each wave’s strategies. The third-wave wants to break with past feminist traditions while older feminists are uncomfortable with the third-wave feminist movement and their often more radical notions of change.

### **The Rejection of Change**

The third-wave younger generational feminist movement in Chile emerged with a whole different mindset than their predecessors when establishing their own feminist associations and strategies. They have grown up in a different period of time which has shaped the way in which they view the world. Like many other third-wave feminists, these young Chilean individuals have often rejected the feminist ideologies of their second wave. Lydia, a prominent second-wave pro-abortion advocate, explains that these second-wavers just “keep on doing the same thing they know how to do for the last 30 years.” Alternatively, the GenY feminists seek to redefine the idea of feminism, which includes a wider analysis that includes more than

patriarchy. Many also self-identify as anti-capitalist, a position that Rocío argues “offends the older feminists who feel attacked as they have often worked within the capitalist system.” As stated above, the re-definition of feminism includes the introduction of various voices and theoretical frameworks, in an effort to spark an evolution of the movement(s). Men and the LGBT community have become actively involved in the feminist movement(s) and new ideas, like intersectionality, post-colonial feminist thought and queer theory, have been introduced into the dominant discourse. This influx of thoughts, bodies and ideas has reinforced divisions between the waves, as older generational feminists are reluctant to embrace this transformation creating an impasse for future discussion and collaborations.

### *Multitude of Voices*

The third-wave feminist movement in Chile has welcomed a variety of voices and opinions into their organizations; including women, men, transsexuals, lesbians and homosexuals. In Chile, the universalization of a woman’s experience coupled with the second-wave feminist’s preoccupation with patriarchy (as the root of women’s oppression) has become an insufficient argument to address the multiplicity of voices that have surfaced within the movement(s). Anne notes

“I think the younger feminist movement is much more open to the LGBT community. All those groups that I just named<sup>35</sup>, I cannot think of any woman who is part of those groups that is a lesbian for example. They are all straight, middle class, professional, college educated whereas the younger feminist movements, it is much more diverse and inclusive. There are a lot of

---

<sup>35</sup> Earlier in the interview, Anne (off the record) mentioned a number of organizations that are run primarily by the older second-wave generation of Chilean feminists.



students for example, who are trying to finish their thesis. A lot more people who are lesbians, transsexual and/or bisexual. We have a lot of working class women; the hotline has more “professional” individuals.”

Along with the LGBT community, a vast amount of men have entered into the movement and self-identify as feminists. Their inclusion has been welcomed by many younger feminists because as Bea outlines “that it is more pragmatic because we need all hands on deck to help and fight this fight. So they should be included because we are outnumbered!” Nonetheless, their inclusion has triggered the opposite response within some of the circles of older second wave women. Enrique, a Chilean male who conducted various interviews for his Master’s thesis on abortion, notes “once in a while you get to see the more hardcore feminists, the second-wave but I could be wrong, the older ones. They tend to be overzealous about a man’s involvement.” Layla mirrors this sentiment when speaking about CUDS, which is largely made up of gay men. “Many people are mad at CUDS” she says “because they feel like the organization is appropriating something that belongs to them.” The second-wave discontent with the inclusion of male voices into the feminist movement became glaringly obvious during the November 2012 encounter when an un-democratic decision was taken to exclude men from the encounter.

The November 2012 feminist meeting was held outside of Santiago in an attempt to bring women and feminists together. The theme of the encounter was feminist diversity and the idea of the meeting was to organize all the different feminist groups to launch a discussion on concrete solutions to strengthen the feminist movement(s) within Chile. Layla and another member of CUDS submitted an application to host a table about post-feminism. She was to speak about post-colonialism while her colleague, Felipe, would talk about queer theory. The former received

an acceptance letter while the latter was rejected. Apparently, the encounter was only for women. Layla holds:

“We were shocked and sad. And then we said we have to do something make some kind of statement and we wrote something together all of us and made it public. We made a critique about biological determinism. If feminism is about criticizing this biological determinism and then this happens. I was reading about bell hooks and how she said that feminism is for everybody and we can’t fight sexism only with women.”

Contrarily, Maira defends the decision to prohibit male involvement as she believes the inclusion of different individuals and ideas, like sexual diversity, have often taken precedence over the struggle against patriarchy. This mentality is problematic, as Maira states that “patriarchy is the point of our fight” and adding too many ideas and voices can dilute the principle message. María, a young activist from the feminist organization Corporación Humanas, echoes this idea stating that the reason older feminists may have shied away from the inclusion of sexual diversity in feminism could be political as these issues could occupy the feminist agenda. “For example,” she says “there is the issue of a trans-person being raped, and this is more important and more shocking than a woman who is asking for the same pay as a man. So I think some feminists who resist the entrance of the sexual diversity movement, it is basically also a political calculation, rather than a prejudice.” Older feminists argue for the focus to be principally on patriarchy, while younger feminists argue that difference and deconstruction also need to be included within the debate, resulting in two sides unwilling to concede to the other. Both sides hold valid points; nonetheless, history has shown that both sides are reluctant to participate in an open debate.

The decision to omit men from the November 2012 event was not unanimous. The World March for Women was part of the organizing committee but ending up leaving due to the conflict of male participation. Anne explains “at some point a group of the second-wave feminists started to push for the exclusion of men from the meeting and when our group was not present, they voted on it and made the decision, without our participation, that men could not enter the meeting.” In an effort to rectify this injustice, the representative from the World March of Women tried for weeks to solve the dilemma in a democratic manner. After continuous attempts of reaching a fair decision had failed, the group decided to leave the organizing committee. These second-wave feminists have years of experience and knowledge, yet have, at times, acted in a closed manner unwilling to, as Enrique affirms, “compromise on their ‘values’”. They all have their own ideas but no one is willing to give up on those ideas and work together.”

### *Unwilling to Concede*

As mentioned earlier, Layla teaches graduate gender classes and notes that many of the leaders in her department are focused primarily on second-wave feminism. She explains that they often “believe that they are the only ones who can talk about it. But the good thing about feminism is the diversity and all the controversies and debates. That’s the richness of the feminism.” As younger feminists fight to create new spaces for different feminisms in Chile, one of the largest limitations for the advancement of the movement(s) is the paternalistic attitude of the older feminists who are not only unwilling to compromise but refuse to create spaces for their younger counterparts. In the past, these GenY individuals sought to become partners with the older generation feminists but found that many of their counterparts wanted them to work under

instead of with them. Bea explains her experience in an organization run by many second-wave feminists. Whenever she has an idea she has to carefully choose who to speak with, so that she can be taken seriously. She adds “sometimes, older women, who have more knowledge and contacts, think that these things that they gave to other people are a gift, if they like and they can take it away if they want.” Numerous third-wave interviewees shared their frustration with this mentality as their participation within feminist groups is often on a volunteer basis. Bea adds “feminism is my passion so I do not want to be babied or “mentored”. I am a volunteer and I demand respect.” The second-wavers have always held positions of power within the movement, and one of the reasons that interviewees believe that they are unwilling to compromise is that they feel that any compromise would undermine their power.

Naomi states that “they do not want to lose their hegemonic power, so they usually have an authoritarian reaction because they feel attacked by younger women.” Daniela believes that “the older feminists are scared to lose their power that they think they earned,” while another prominent academic believes that it is an ego and leadership struggle and recounts an experience watching a protest where the older feminists did not allow the younger generation to march front and center. Enrique takes another approach and explains that “maybe old feminists are not ego-centric but this is a result of patriarchy. They have been part of the marginal society all these years and they do not want to give up the single spot that they have achieved. They take this spot for themselves in society just so that they can survive.” Coca, a feminist from Valparaíso, shares that this reluctance to change and to yield their power is also seen in cities outside of Santiago. “In Valparaíso” she explains “for the March 8<sup>th</sup> protest we always come together to the same place and sometimes young women come with new ideas. But the old women do not want to

hear new ideas because they do not want to change.” This struggle to hold onto their power has also lead many feminists to reject ideas that may cost them their positions, thus limiting their ability to create fresh strategies that surpass the status-quo, rendering them almost invisible.

### *Challenging the Status-Quo*

In the past, second-wavers have demonstrated that they have feared change and rejected many different and often controversial ideas that went against the status-quo, principally if challenging the status-quo meant losing their positions of power. Daniela recounts a meeting with older feminists in the town of BíoBío, who feared that any racial changes could trigger a police intervention that would take away the accreditation of their non-governmental organization. This fear led many individuals to accept certain ideas and strategies when it was convenient and they had nothing to lose. In 2009, when the Concertación government, after nineteen years in office, was replaced by the conservative National Renewal (RN) party many of these women who feared for their political positions found themselves out of their ruling political party. As a result, these women, some of whom refused to discuss the subject of abortion in the past, joined the struggle for women’s equality, including the fight to change abortion legislation. Anne notes that almost six years ago, organizations like MILES and/or the Articulación did not exist as many of the women that make up these groups were currently working for the Concertación. Anne says:

“All of these women that were part of the Concertacion and did not work on abortion for 20 years now that they are not working for the Concertacion, they now want to work with the issue. So at that point MILES appeared and other groups started to work more actively on the issue”.

Furthermore, Daniela is critical of two specific feminists whose fear drove them to ignore the issues in favour of power. She specifically references a woman who is now part of a pro-abortion organization that in the past was a powerful strategic political figure that looked after her own interests when she passed on the opportunity to present the topic of abortion in front of Parliament. Her anger can be felt in her words as Daniela explains “this is a horrible woman. She had a huge position of power and she was looking after herself because she did not want to lose her position.” Today both of these former political employees are avid supporters of free and legal abortion and refuse to work with other organizations that do not follow their motto of “free, legal and safe abortion for all.” This fastidious mentality has signaled only a slight deviation from the status quo and an open rejection of anything they deem to be too radical, including the small grassroots organization risky strategies and campaign ideas.

On September 28<sup>th</sup> both sides of the movement held their respective protests for the Global Day for Action for Accessible, Legal and Safe Abortion. The second-wavers avoided controversy as they stood with signs and handed out pamphlets while the younger generation employed a much different strategy. The protest was organized in the evening by the Abortion Hotline. Members of the hotline sent out an email to all their contacts, inviting them to the protest. That evening, I walked to the meeting point only to be met with a group of masked individuals carrying signs that advocated for the legalization of abortion. Within 10 minutes of my arrival, a specific group of women started to strip down to their underwear. After removing everything but their underwear and the black Xs that covered their breasts, they proceeded to put red paint in between their legs to signify blood. Then the group started

their protest which ended in front of the Cathedral in Plaza de Armas<sup>36</sup> in protest of the Church's control over a woman's reproductive and sexual rights<sup>37</sup>. At the end of the protest, I asked one of the members of the Abortion Hotline who these individuals were; they replied that they didn't even know. In one day, I witnessed two different strategies that demonstrated the stark difference between the campaign tactics that each side employed.

In order to effect change within their country, Chilean third-wavers have resorted to different and often controversial campaign strategies. Along with their shocking protest, the Abortion Hotline, for example, has been sued on three different occasions by anti-abortion organizations. In all three instances, the charges were dropped, but volunteers working for the hotline are aware that their participation might land them in jail. Layla talks about a pro-abortion video that CUDS uploaded on VIMEO and was subsequently taken down almost immediately. "When I was looking at the comments of the video," she shares, "the comments were at times scary and threatening from many pro-life individuals." Anne believes that these often radical tactics have dissuaded many second-wave individuals from working with younger feminists.

"Groups that work in decriminalization tend to see us as being too radical. They are kind of scared to work with us. Because we have been sued three times and CUDS was just sued recently. They do not want to be associated with us because they think that our position is too radical."

---

<sup>36</sup> Plaza de Armas is the famous central plaza in Santiago de Chile

<sup>37</sup> Please see Appendix #2 for a photo that I took personally when I attended the September 28<sup>th</sup> protest in 2012.

This reluctance to work together has also created an atmosphere of mistrust where, as Bea notes, “no one wants to go on the streets and protest because they are afraid that if they go out there then they will be left out in the cold by their feminist brethren.” This reluctance can at times be understandable, especially for second-wavers who have opted to pursue a political strategy in an effort to advance abortion legislation. As previously stated, to change legislation these individuals have to forge relationships with various political leaders who are willing to support and publicly voice their opinions about decriminalizing the procedure. Older feminists may be hesitant to work with third-wavers and their radical strategies because it could provoke rifts or tensions between the politicians and the second-wave feminists. Abortion is already an extremely sensitive subject in Chile and as a result extremely liberal or “radical” strategies may further dissuade politicians from supporting or aligning themselves with certain ideals or organizations. In the end, some older feminists have proven that they are unwilling to compromise on their ideals and values, while the GenY feminists are content in working by themselves with marginalized communities. As each side follows its own path, often working in opposite directions, Chilean feminists limit their already finite resources and also hinder their ability to effect real change in regards to reproductive and sexual rights.

### **iii. A Limited Strategy**

Consensus is hard to reach in any large group of individuals. In its absence, individuals may apply different strategies to move forward, like compromising on key ideas. Unfortunately, the lack of trust between feminist members in Chilean organizations has resulted in pockets of individuals that refuse to explore other avenues to unite the movement. It is clear that both sides



occupy integral parts of the movement, as one side boasts an impressive amount of political connections and the other has succeeded in forging relationships with the public and marginalized communities. Separated by differences, bickering and tensions, the movement(s) has become glaringly incomplete. Lydia believes that younger feminists are building a strong constituency on the margins but with no political structure, while the older generation is engaged with the political structure but has not built a constituency. Each movement lacks what the other has, but their internal struggles and tensions have severely limited the movement's ability to set forth a decisive strategy or an agenda on how to amend legislation on abortion. Along with their disagreement on working with the public or political sphere, the movement(s) has also argued on the terms of legalization.

Feminists who advocate for therapeutic or full-decriminalization have inevitably put themselves in antagonizing positions. One side argues for a pragmatic step-by-step approach, while the other argues that if therapeutic abortion is to be legalized than it would be harder to advocate for decriminalization in the future. Maira is part of an organization that supports full decriminalization and explains that if therapeutic abortion legislation is passed, than the actual laws would be too restrictive; "the strategy needs to be revised because the cost is very high. If we discuss therapeutic abortion we are doing a great favour to patriarchy. Therapeutic abortion is not the point of our struggle." This division in ideology has also lead many women's organizations to distance themselves from groups working to legalize therapeutic abortion. Bea revealed that the Articulación had the opportunity to work with MILES in April 2012 when the three motions were presented in Congress. The Articulación refused their offer.

“I think it was a huge mistake not to join. There are two ideas that are fighting against each other: let’s build from little, therapeutic abortion and then legalize and second if we ask a little than we get nothing. Both are good ideas. But I think if MILES was getting coverage and support, you go and stand with them.”

The step-by-step approach is arguably more realistic as full decriminalization is a taboo subject that does not have political or public support. Critics argue that not only is this “all or nothing” mentality unrealistic, but it may also be hurting their cause. A prominent Chilean academic argues that this lack of a rational strategy has caused full decriminalization groups to commit grave errors. “Conservatives do not want therapeutic abortion because they believe that it will open the gates to full decriminalization. In April 2012, women went to Congress and started shouting ‘aborto abierto’ (open abortion), which just reinforced the conservative argument.”

The movement(s) preoccupation with their own values and ideas is a limiting strategy. Instead of accepting each other’s differences, it is this difference that divides and deters the construction of a collective conscience. María notes that there are diverse opinions in the group, but that feminists do not support each other’s paths. Instead they try to invalidate each other. As each side holds an invaluable piece of the puzzle, the goal should be to establish strategies that complement each other. Yet, due to these ideological differences, there is no common goal or agenda shared between feminists.

#### **IV. A Strategic Intervention**

“Feminists are not very good at explaining what they want” asserts Enrique. “What do they want? I am not really sure to be honest. They are partly responsible for how they are seen; they have not crafted a good strategy on how to evolve into the culture.” Overcoming divisions due to terms of legalization, political versus public engagement, and a generational gap has prevented the movement from establishing a common feminist strategy or agenda. Daniela believes that feminists need to recognize their differences and work together on what they agree on, instead of shutting down if they don’t agree with each other’s ideologies. Naomi believes that the problem is that feminists cannot live in a peaceful co-existence, because they do not work together or support each other. This lack of trust within the movement has deterred massive mobilization. Oscar argues that the women’s movement(s) has no media presence and thus no influence. He compares it with the gay movement in Chile and critiques women for their lack of massive mobilization to create public debate on the issue. Bea believes that the lack of mobilization is caused by trust issues; no one wants to go to the streets and protest because they are afraid that nobody will not show up to support them.

Before a common strategy or agenda can be created, feminists need to discuss and overcome the different divisions that exist within the movement. Isabella concludes that “to change things and make a strong feminist network, there needs to be a calm conversation. We need to develop the capacity to have dialogue and see the reality in Chile – build a strategy mentality.” Another example of lack of dialogue between organizations happened with the World March of Women approximately two years ago, when they were part of the organizing committee of the Women’s Day March. The World March of Women was part of the declaration committee and wrote a statement that criticized the Concertación government. Unfortunately,

older feminist groups that were well connected with the Concertacion politicians deleted all the criticisms without informing the rest of the group. Undemocratic decisions and the choice to omit men in the November 2012 meeting convinced many third-wave organizations to either skip the meeting or stage a protest outside the event. But throughout all this drama, the question still remains: what does this movement(s) want? Some fight for therapeutic abortion; others advocate for full decriminalization, while some believe that both these options are insufficient. There are feminists who believe that groups need to fight for social and legal decriminalization while also discussing issues of access. As previously mentioned grassroots organizations often do not see the point of political engagement as experience has shown that there is no political will to decriminalize abortion in the near future. On the other hand, some academics and activists believe that a public and a political strategy need to complement each other. María agrees that the movement's strategy needs to include both mobilization and a political strategy while Daniela notes that focusing on street activism yields a low impact, and seems like a lost battle.

Divergences like these have happened within every movement no matter the cause or the location. Feminism is not a homogenous entity and has always included a variety of voices and ideas. The women's movement(s) in Chile is at a great disadvantage because their fight is against a conservative monster that has taken control of the mainstream. Their anti-abortion counterparts, who possess enormous political, public and financial support, have launched an attack on sexual and reproductive rights. Yet, instead of finding a common ground and accepting each other's differences, María argues that individuals within the movement(s) constantly try to invalidate each other. They need strategies that complement each other, common goals and long-term political strategies, working past their differences to find similarities.

In the end, the Chilean movement(s) has separated into two distinct entities. The second-wave feminists have opted to follow tradition while the introduction of the younger third wave feminist generation has introduced new, innovative and often radical ideas in an effort to change the abortion reality in Chile. Their introduction includes a reinvention of the traditional definition of feminism. This redefinition includes theoretical frameworks such as postcolonial feminism, intersectionality and reproductive justice. Their rejection of the notion of an essentialist woman, their acceptance of difference and multiculturalism through their inclusion of a variety of voices and their attempt to broaden the abortion debate, through the discussion of issues such as access and social decriminalization, has triggered a break from traditional feminist history. Nonetheless, their attempt to create a new feminist approach has triggered tensions between young and old, as the older second-wave feminists are reluctant to forgo their positions of power. This feminist tug-of-war has resulted in a movement(s) that has become increasingly preoccupied with its internal struggles instead of working towards the goal of decriminalizing abortion. At the moment the movement(s) still has no decisive strategy to change the abortion reality in Chile. Ultimately, this inability to work past their differences is unfortunate, as all the individuals that I interviewed expressed the same desire: access to safe and free abortion for all Chilean women.

## Conclusion

Controversies related to sexual and reproductive rights are not limited to the region of Latin America. Globally, there has been an increased interest in sexual and reproductive rights legislation from both pro and anti-abortion movements. In 2011 the United States enacted 162 provisions relating to reproductive rights and sexual health. Of those 162 provisions, 49% were new laws that sought to restrict access to abortion services (Gold & Nash, 2011). Just across the border, in 2012, Motion 312 was introduced in the Parliament of Canada by Conservative MP Stephen Woodworth. This motion asks the Parliamentary Committee to re-examine the definition of “human being” in the Criminal Code. This review could lead to a new definition, which would grant legal personhood to fetuses and therefore would re-criminalize abortion within Canada<sup>38</sup> (Payton, 2012). Internationally, Anand Grover, the United Nations Special Rapporteur of the Human Rights Council presented a report on the right to health to the UN General Assembly. The report focused largely on sexual and reproductive rights and included a specific recommendation calling for the decriminalization of abortion worldwide. The backlash was instant. While many countries praised the report, others fervently fought back (Grover, 2011). Nonetheless, as conservatives introduce anti-abortion bills and laws, further restricting services to reproductive health, the pro-abortion movement is also fighting back. Specifically the recent death of Savita Halappanavar has created an international conversation on the negative effects of restricting women’s access to reproductive health services, like abortion. Savita, an Indian dentist, died in October 2012 after being refused an abortion in Galway, Ireland (Taggart, 2012). The subsequent criticism of the country’s restrictive abortion policy prompted the Irish government to introduce new abortion legislation in the country, slated to be introduced this

---

<sup>38</sup> In September 2012 the Motion was voted down in the House of Commons with a vote of 203 to 91 (Kirkup, 2012)

summer (Smith-Spark & Taggart, 2013). Chile has also undergone recent international criticism for refusing to allow an eleven year old girl to undergo an abortion. In a TV interview the girl publicly stated that she would keep the baby and likened her future child with a doll. President Piñera later applauded Belen's courage and stated "she surprised us all with words showing depth and maturity when she said that, despite the pain caused by the man who raped her, she wanted to have and take care of her baby" (Hellerstein, 2013).

"In a country where using tampons rather than sanitary towels is considered 'slutty' because of their invasive nature, it is easy to imagine many women balking at the idea of having to ask their GP or pharmacist for contraception" maintains Ellen Jones, the author of the articles, *Chile's Black-Market Abortion*. This quote reveals that the topic of abortion is much more complex than the argument of whether it should be legal or not. An analysis of feminist networks and the ways in which they campaign for the decriminalization of abortion encompasses different layers. It must incorporate patriarchal oppression, but also focus on culture, history, religion and tradition and how networks are using these issues in framing the ways in which they are advocating for legislative changes. Furthermore, it also must question how these layers (culture, history, religions etc.) are creating solidarity and/or dissociation between feminist organizations. Since the start of the democratic transition in 1991, over 13 different bills for the decriminalization of abortion were presented and rejected ("Camara De Diputados De Chile: Consulta Legislativa," 2011). Twenty four years after legislation restricting abortion was passed, the procedure is still considered a felony and is punishable with 541 days to ten years in prison. At the moment, Chile (along with Peru) is one of the countries in Latin America with the highest abortion rates (Allen, 2012). Since the beginning of the democratic transition, the Catholic Church has established itself as a political powerhouse within Chile. To maintain its control over

the state, the institution used different tactics such as guilt/fear and forging strong connections with the conservative right. Many actors part of the reproductive and sexual rights movement in Chile have singled out the Catholic Church, as the biggest obstacle in changing abortion legislation in the country. Gina Floyd (2013) states that this partly due to the “parliamentarians for life” that consist of 61 out of the 120 deputies in the Senate who “have signed a declaration in which they promise to reject any project of law which accepts any type of abortive practice” (12). Though it is hard to deny the Church’s and conservative right’s influence on the dominant discourse, their participation in the debate is only one side of the problem.

Many Chileans have increasingly become active in feminist networks that openly reject pro-abortion discourse and replace it with their own. Chilean women have acted to change their subordination to a hierarchical male order, and are therefore challenging the notions of the gender binary. The liberalized attitude recently adopted in Chile can be credited to women within the country who have been fighting to overcome male rule, and specifically male control over their own sexuality. Today, it is more politically correct to speak of women’s movements than a woman’s network, as different groups have started to mobilize around specific areas. The failures of past campaigns and the lack of political will have lead a new generation of feminists to enter into the field, armed with an arsenal of innovative ideas to face the current situation. Analogous to the feminist movement across the globe, this younger generation, often labelled as a third-wave movement, has evolved past an analysis that deems patriarchy as the primary point of departure when addressing women’s rights.

Through the application of critical theoretical frameworks, such as a post-colonialism, which complement the third wave movement, these younger generations are unwilling to wait



until politicians change the abortion reality, and instead are using innovative methods to advance reproductive and sexual rights in the country. Unlike many of their predecessors, the movement has succeeded in including a multiplicity of voices within their ranks which commonly include men and the LGBT community. Other accomplishments include the use of information and communication technologies and new media spaces in an effort to build a constituency that is outside of the margins, from an intersectional analysis critical of the global capitalist system. Their lack of political connections also signals a renewed focus on women in marginalized communities most affected by the current legislation and a broader agenda focussing not only on legal decriminalization of abortion, but also on related issues such as access and social decriminalization. Yet, as many older feminists have applauded the new efforts of this younger generation, others have become critical and dismissive.

The internal tensions that have arisen, coupled with a broad agenda whereas each group has chosen to focus on a distinct entity within the abortion debate, has deeply debilitated the women's movement. The overall strategy to advance reproductive rights in the country has been overshadowed by arguments that include: whether men should or should not be part of the movement, or whether political engagement is even worth their effort. In my time in Chile, I often heard about the conservative Goliath that conquered the dominant discourse advocating for the right of the child. But what I noticed was the absence of a public presence of the movement. September 28<sup>th</sup> marked the Global Day for Action for Accessible, Legal and Safe Abortion and the tensions between movements meant that both sides decided to organize their own protests. The events were held in the same place but at different times. The older generation stood with signs and handed out pamphlets, while the younger generation's protest employed a shock

strategy. The protest was organized in the evening by the Abortion Hotline and members of the hotline sent out an email out to all their contacts. The protests on September 28<sup>th</sup>, for example, demonstrate two different sides of the spectrum, yet still completely limiting strategies. Unless someone has walked by the protests, she/he would have never known that something had happened on that day; there was no coverage of the event on TV, newspapers or even radio. They both had little to no impact.

In an effort to finally decriminalize abortion, the second and third wavers are applying vastly different methods. The second-wave feminists have decided to undertake a political route where they often work or forge relationships with politicians to try and get them to join the fight to decriminalize abortion under certain circumstances. This route however largely depends on the political party in office and these feminist have been somewhat inactive in recent years due to the conservative pro-life political party that has been in power since 2010. This inactivity may change with the probable election of Michele Bachelet in the November 2013 presidential elections. Conversely, the third way does not wish to work within the political structure and has adopted a micro-political strategy. Many of these third-wavers have no interest in changing current abortion legislation. Instead they work directly with women, often applying a sexual reproductive justice framework that demands more than just legal decriminalization. Some underground organizations call for social decriminalization, access, workshops or even providing mental health services for women who have undergone abortions. Ultimately, these movements face two large limitations when trying to influence public policy. First they must try and overcome the prominent anti-abortion rhetoric found in Chile and the country's cultural acceptance of traditional gender roles. Secondly and more importantly, Chilean feminist

movements need to stop dividing themselves and start to work together. After conducting my research, I would often question their overall strategy. Did they want therapeutic decriminalization, full decriminalization, or did they reject the political aspect of the issue all together? Their lack of a cohesive strategy and internal struggles has prompted a stand-still as each group is pursuing its own path without much solidarity between associations. As noted by one of the interviewees, “it’s like they want to die with it, it almost seems like martyrdom. I am willing to die for my beliefs. But I think you are willing to kill for your beliefs because it is killing some people in some ways”. The movements in Chile have indeed tried to bridge the generational gap with various feminist meetings aimed at initiating an open and honest conversation between the groups. But instead of starting anew, the past keeps getting dredged up at every encounter, sparking arguments instead of discussions about future strategies. What is most important is that each individual must put its preconceived notions of the other aside to at least start a conversation. The older generation needs to realize that the younger generation will ultimately be its successor. Consequently, the former should treat these feminists as their equals and not their understudies when sharing their invaluable experience. On the other hand, the younger generation must refrain from expecting the older generation to act in paternalistic manner and keep trying to include them in their movement(s). Though it is a difficult task, each step towards uniting this movement(s) is another step towards implementing an effective strategy to finally decriminalize abortion within Chile.

Even though when I wrote this thesis I often found myself confused about what it is that these movements wanted to accomplish, I do believe that this papers succeeded in providing a strong analysis of the current situation in Chile. One of the strengths of this paper included the

sixteen interviews that encompassed conversations with both underground/third wavers and also prominent academics and professionals, some of which are seen as “experts” in the field of sexual and reproductive rights. Unfortunately, on the other side, the biggest limitation of this paper was the lack of a conversation with women from marginalized communities. Although the underground movement does have connections with them, they are often seen as being part of the Chilean elite, more so than part of these marginalized communities. My lack of time and connections hindered my ability to reach out to these women so that I could discuss the ways in which this abortion policy affects them and what they are doing to change their currently reality within their own communities. In the end, I plan on sharing my findings with the individuals that were part of my study with the aim to provide them an outsider perspective on the extremely important topic of feminist movements and their efforts to advance abortion rights in Chile.

## Appendixes



*Appendix 1:* The CUDS campaign idea. The sign says “For a better life, donate for an illegal abortion.” The photo was taken from the organization’s website.

-----



*Appendix 2:* The September 28<sup>th</sup> protest staged by the younger third wave feminists. The group of individuals that provided the shock and awe aspect of the protest are from an unknown organization. I personally took the photo when I attended the protest on September 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012.

### *Appendix 3: Informed Consent Forms (English)*

#### **Annex B: Informed Consent Form (Short)**



**Université d'Ottawa | University of Ottawa**

Faculté des sciences sociales | Faculty of Social Sciences

École de développement international et mondialisation | School of International  
Development and Global Studies

Yvonne Ivanescu

Master's candidate, University of Ottawa, School of International Development and Globalization

Supervisor:

Dr. Andrea Martinez

Full Professor, University of Ottawa, Institute of Women's Studies

#### **Informed Consent for Interview Participation for:**

#### ***The Power of Solidarity: Feminist Movements and their Effort to Advance Abortion Policies in Chile***

I, \_\_\_\_\_, am invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Yvonne Ivanescu and supervised by Professor Andrea Martinez. The purpose of this study is to analyze the ways in which feminist organizations are choosing to advocate for legislative changes in Chilean abortion policies, through campaigns, projects and advocacy. It will also address the limitations that these feminist networks face in their struggle to influence public policy. In effect, it will analyze these networks and incorporate the multiple voices within Chile that generate different claims to knowledge. Interviews with key informants such as academics and civil society actors are held to gather in-depth perspectives on the role and dynamics of these organizations in the context of the Chilean abortion debates.

My participation, which consists of one approximately 30 minute interview in Spanish or English, is entirely voluntary. I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be destroyed. The discussion will be recorded to ensure high data quality unless I request otherwise.

**Should I accept to be recorded during the interview, I may initial here: \_\_\_\_\_**

My participation in this study will entail that I speak openly about my own political viewpoints on a topic that is controversial. Nonetheless, the researcher will ensure that any risk is minimized by meeting in a safe, quiet but public space like my office, a room at the *Universidad de Chile campus* or a café and she will take every precaution necessary to keep my personal information confidential and secured, both in Chile and in Canada. If granted permission I understand that I will be named in the final report. Anonymity can also be granted through the use of pseudonyms or coding. If I choose to remain anonymous, only the student researcher and supervisor will know who the informants are.

The data collected, which includes both hard copy and electronic data (such as tape recordings of interviews), will be kept in either a locked filing cabinet or in a password locked computer at all times. All the data will be held for a period of 3 years after the completion of the research project and only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the data.

**Should I prefer anonymity, I may initial here: \_\_\_\_\_**

My participation in this interview will allow me to express my opinion on an important subject in Chile. My opinion will contribute to the growing discourse on alternative reproductive and sexual health policies in Chile. I will also be provided with a copy of the final report by email

I, \_\_\_\_\_, agree to participate in the above research study conducted by **Yvonne Ivanescu** from the School of International Development and Global Studies, University of Ottawa, under the supervision of Professor Andrea Martinez.

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or his supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa.

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: *(Signature)*

Date: *(Date)*

Researcher's signature: *(Signature)*

Date: *(Date)*

#### *Appendix 4: Invitation to Participate*



Université d'Ottawa | University of Ottawa

Faculté des sciences sociales | Faculty of Social Sciences

École de développement international et mondialisation | School of International  
Development and Global Studies

#### Annex A: Invitation to Participate

Yvonne Ivanescu

Master's candidate, University of Ottawa, International Development and Globalization

Supervisor:

Dr. Andrea Martinez

Full Professor, University of Ottawa, Institute of Women's Studies

#### **Invitation to Participate in a Research Project on:**

*The Power of Solidarity: Feminist Movements and their Effort to Advance Abortion Policies in Chile*

Dear \_\_\_\_\_,

My name is Yvonne Ivanescu and I am a Master's candidate at the University of Ottawa in Ottawa, Canada. You are invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by myself and supervised by Professor Andrea Martinez.

The purpose of this study is to analyze the ways in which feminist organizations are choosing to advocate for legislative changes in Chilean abortion policies, through campaigns, projects and advocacy. It will also address the limitations that these feminist networks face in their struggle to influence public policy. In effect, it will analyze these networks and incorporate the multiple voices within Chile that generate different claims to knowledge.

To anchor my research, I wish to hold interviews with key informants such as academics and civil society actors to gather in-depth perspectives on the role and dynamics of these organizations in the context of the Chilean abortion debate. Your participation is entirely voluntary and what you tell me will remain confidential. Your name will not be used in any way, without your written consent. Furthermore, any information provided will always be kept in a secure location.

To participate in an interview (approx 45-60 min); please send me a quick email so that we can organize a meeting at your earliest convenience. This interview may be conducted in either English and/or Spanish

Thank you for your time,

Yvonne Ivanescu



## ***Appendix 5: Interview Guide (English)***

### **INTERVIEW GUIDES**

These are questions that I have separated in five distinct groups. Please note that due to the similarities between organizations, some of the questions are repeated.

**Feminist organizations (1)** – this includes any organization (including those within the MILES network) that advocate for therapeutic abortion, in cases of fetal deformity, rape and to save a pregnant woman's life.

1. Could you tell me a little bit more about your organization and your position?
2. What kind of campaigns has your organization spearheaded in regards to decriminalizing abortion? What are some of the lessons learned from past campaigns and what new initiatives are you trying to introduce? For example, have you included men and women and/or how have you used social media to spread awareness.
3. What has been the public response to your organization's campaigns/strategies through financial support, attendance to events and/or membership?
4. As an organization, you advocate for therapeutic abortion. Are there reasons why your organization has not chosen to campaign for full-legalization?
5. Do you work with organizations that push for full legalization on any campaigns/projects? Why or why not?
6. Do you have many connections with other feminist organizations (local and national) and what have been some of the benefits?
7. What do you think is the biggest limitation that your organization faces? Are there internal divisions/challenges within your organization?
8. Do you think that there exists a strong pro-choice feminist network within Chile? Why or why not?
  - a. If no, what do you think that these organizations should do differently to be able to form a stronger and unified network?

**Feminist organizations (2)** – this includes all organizations that advocate for the legalization of abortion past therapeutic abortion. In cases of full legalization women can demand an abortion under any circumstance.

1. Could you tell me a little bit more about your organization?
2. What kind of campaigns has your organization spearheaded in regards to legalizing abortion? What are some of the lessons learned from past campaigns and what new initiatives are you trying to incorporate? For example, have you included men and women and/or how have you used social media to spread awareness.
3. What has been the public response to your organization's campaigns/strategies through financial support, attendance to events and/or membership?

4. As an organization, you advocate for full-legalization, not just therapeutic abortion. This would mean that abortion would be legal under any circumstances. What are the reasons behind this decision?
5. Do you work with organizations that campaign for the legalization of therapeutic abortion on any campaigns/projects? Why or why not?
6. Chile is known to have large class divisions between the upper/middle and lower classes. Do you believe that women of lower socio-economic status are accurately represented within pro-choice organizations?
7. What do you think is the biggest limitation that your organization faces? Are there internal divisions/challenges within your organization?
8. Do you think that there exists a strong pro-choice feminist network within Chile? Why or why not?
  - a. If no, what do you think that these organizations should do differently to be able to form a stronger and unified network?

**Religious Institutions** – this includes religious organizations that are pro-choice, such as Catholic for Choice, but also includes religious officials (like nuns) that work with feminist organizations to change the abortion laws within Chile.

1. The Catholic Church, as an institution, states that abortion is a mortal sin. Nonetheless, you have decided to reject this notion and self-identify as pro-choice. Could you tell me a little bit about why you have taken this decision?
2. As a practicing Catholic and/or religious official do you openly discuss your pro-choice position? Why/why not?
3. What are some external challenges (local/national) that you face in implementing the ultimate goal for policy/legislative changes?
4. Have you been part of any campaigns or efforts to try to include and/or educate conservative members of the Church in regards to de-criminalizing abortion?
5. Have you worked on any pro-choice projects/campaigns with feminist organizations? If yes, what projects/campaigns?
6. Do you think that there exists a strong feminist network within Chile; specifically do you think that factors such as class, culture, religion and/or ethnicity have a positive and/or negative impact on the formation of a strong pro-choice feminist network?
  - a. If no, what do you think that these organizations should do differently to be able to form a stronger network?
  - b. Chile is known to have large class divisions between the upper/middle and lower classes. Do you believe that women of lower socio-economic status are accurately represented within pro-choice organizations?

**Academics** – this includes professors and/or individuals that work in Universities within Santiago and in nearby cities.

1. Could you please introduce yourself, where you work and how you have been involved in the abortion debate in Chile.
2. As an academic, what are the biggest challenges that you face when trying to advocate for de-criminalization?

3. Three motions to decriminalize abortion have been recently rejected, even though there was overwhelming public support for these bills. Therefore there seems to be a gap between what legislators are doing and what the public wants. Why do you think government officials refuse or are reluctant to have an open abortion debate? Do you think that this gap can be closed? Why or why not?
4. What kind of role does the Catholic Church play in this abortion debate? Many Catholics, for example nuns, have started to work with pro-choice organizations, do you think it could be possible to include and/or educate conservative Catholic individuals about the benefits of de-criminalizing abortion?
5. What are some internal divisions/challenges within feminist organizations that might deter the establishment of a strong pro-choice feminist network?
6. What do you think that these organizations should do differently to be able to form a stronger and unified network?
7. What are some external challenges (local/national) that they face in implementing their ultimate goal for policy/legislative changes.
8. Why do you think that all efforts thus far to legalize abortion have proved to be unsuccessful? What do you think should be done differently?
9. Do you see abortion becoming decriminalized in the near future? Why or why not?

**Government officials** – this includes government officials that have worked with organizations or have openly advocated for the decriminalization of abortion policies

1. Could you please introduce yourself, where you work and how you have been involved in the abortion debate in Chile.
2. Three motions to de-criminalize abortion have been recently rejected, even though there was overwhelming public support for these bills. Therefore, there seems to be a gap between what legislators are doing and what the public wants. Why do you think government officials refuse or are reluctant to have an open abortion debate?
3. As a government official what are the biggest limitations that you face when trying to advocate for de-criminalization?
4. Do you think that there exists a strong pro-choice feminist network within Chile? Why or why not
  - a. If no, what do you think that these organizations should do differently to be able to form a stronger network?
5. Do you see abortion becoming de-criminalized in the near future? Why or why not?

## Bibliography

- Ahman, E., and Iqbal S. (2006). Contraceptive Use, Fertility, and Unsafe Abortion in Developing Countries. *The European Journal of Contraception and Reproductive Health Care*, 11(2), 126-31.
- Allen, George. (2012, March 1). Abortion in Chile. *GringoLandiaSantiago*. Retrieved from <http://www.gringolandiasantiago.com/2012/03/01/abortion-in-chile/>.
- Agustin Edwards Eastman. (2000). *Memoria Viva*. Retrieved from [http://www.memoriaviva.com/Complices/edwards\\_agustin\\_el\\_mercurio.htm](http://www.memoriaviva.com/Complices/edwards_agustin_el_mercurio.htm)
- Amnesty Law. (n.d). *Global Legal Resources*. Retrieved from <http://www.hg.org/amnesty.html>
- Anderson, S. (2010, January 11). Crucial Debate for the Chilean Presidential Run-off between Piñera and Frei. *MercoPress*. Retrieved from <http://en.mercopress.com/2010/01/11/crucial-debate-for-the-chilean-presidential-run-off-between-piera-and-frei>
- A Primer on Opus Dei in Latin America. (2011). *Opposition Notes*. Washington, DC: Catholics for Choice, 1-27. Retrieved from <http://www.catholicsforchoice.org/oppositionwatch/documents/OpusDeiinLatinAmerica.pdf>
- Aronson, P. (2003). Feminists or "Postfeminists?": Young Women's Attitudes toward Feminism and Gender Relations. *Gender and Society*, 17(6), 903-922. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3594676?uid=3737784&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21102033798283>
- Articulación Feminista por la Libertad de Decidir. (2012). *Chile: Briefing to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women*. Presented at the 53<sup>rd</sup> session of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, Geneva, Switzerland. 2-17.
- Bachelet, M. (2013, March). Reclaiming Public Spaces for the Empowerment of Women and Girls. Speech presented Deliotte, New York, NY. Retrived from <http://www.unwomen.org/category/speeches/>
- Barzelatto, J. & Faúndes, A. (2007). *El drama del aborto: En busca de un consenso*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Bassett, L. (2013, January 24). New Mexico Bill Would Criminalize Abortions After Rape as 'Tampering With Evidence.' *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/24/new-mexico-abortion-bill\\_n\\_2541894.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/01/24/new-mexico-abortion-bill_n_2541894.html)

- Benavente, C., Dides, C. & Saez, I.A. (2010). *Dinámicas Políticas Sobre Aborto en Latinoamérica: Estudios de Casos*. Santiago, Chile: FLASCO-Chile
- Benavente, C., Dides, C., Moran, J.M. & Saez, I.A. (2010). *Estudios de Opinión Pública Sobre Aborto y Derechos Sexuales Reproductivos en Brasil, Chile, México Y Nicaragua*. Santiago, Chile: FLASCO-Chile.
- Berry, J. (2009, July 19). Vatican Investigates Legionaries of Christ. *Global Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/italy/090717/vatican-investigates-legionaries-christ>
- Blofield, M, and Haas L. (2005). Defining a Democracy: Reforming the Laws on Women's Rights in Chile, 1990-2002. *Latin American Politics* 47(3). 35-68.
- Blofield, M. (2001). The Politics of Moral Sin: a Study of Abortion and Divorce in Catholic Chile since 1990"" *University of Northern Carolina at Chapel Hill*. FLASCO-Chile. Retrieved from <http://www.unc.edu/~blofield/Flasco%20publication.pdf>
- Blofield, M. (2006). *The Politics of Moral Sin: Abortion and Divorce in Spain, Chile and Argentina*. New York: Routledge.
- Boloy, V. (2012, May 2). El aborto en Cuba: un problema legal más que religioso. *Cubonet*. Retrieved from <http://www.cubonet.org/otros/el-aborto-en-cuba-un-problema-legal-mas-que-religioso/>
- Bojar, K. (2010, October 6). Susan Faludi's: "American Electra: Feminism's Ritual Matricide: An old feminist's response." *The Next Stage: Women and Retirement*. Retrieved from: <http://www.the-next-stage.com/2010/10/susan-faludisamerican-electra-feminisms.html>
- Borgatti, St. (n.d.). Introduction to Grounded Theory. *Analytic Technologies*. Retrieved from <http://www.analytictech.com/mb870/introtogt.htm>
- Bravo, S. (2012, April 9). Aborto E Hipocresía. *El Morrocotudo*. Retrieved from <http://www.elmorrocotudo.cl/node/41233>.
- Calman, L. (2013). What is Grounded Theory? *The University of Manchester, School of Nursing, Midwifery and Social Work*. Retrieved from <http://www.methods.manchester.ac.uk/events/whatis/gt.pdf>
- Cámara De Diputados De Chile: Consulta Legislativa. (2011). *Honorable Cámara De Diputados – Chile*. Retrieved from [http://www.camara.cl/pley/pley\\_buscador.aspx?prmBuscar=aborto.com](http://www.camara.cl/pley/pley_buscador.aspx?prmBuscar=aborto.com)
- Chile. (2012). *Freedom House: Freedom of the Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2012/chile>

- Chile: 2,000 Students Demand Sex Education in School. (2010, December 8). The Latin American and Caribbean Women's Health Network. Retrieved from [http://www.reddesalud.org/news/act1\\_int.php?id=200](http://www.reddesalud.org/news/act1_int.php?id=200)
- Chile Abortion Laws: Senate Blocks Bills Lifting Ban on Abortions. (2012, March 4). *The Huffington Post*. Retrieved from [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/04/05/chile-abortion-laws-bills-lifting-ban-blocked\\_n\\_1406606.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/04/05/chile-abortion-laws-bills-lifting-ban-blocked_n_1406606.html)
- Clark, G. (1994). *Onions Are My Husband: Survival and Accumulation by West African Market Women*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cibotti, A. (2011, September 23) Therapeutic Abortion: Reinstating Reproductive Rights Talks in Chile. *I Love Chile*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilovechile.cl/2011/09/23/therapeutic-abortion-reinstating-reproductive-rights-talks-chile/32441>
- Conservative Chile Will Begin Teaching Sex Education in Schools. (2011, March 21). *Latino Daily News*. Retrieved from <http://www.hispanicallyspeakingnews.com/latino-daily-news/details/conservative-chile-will-begin-teaching-sex-education-in-schools/6240/>
- Cook, R.J., Fathalla, M.F. (1996). Advancing Reproductive Rights Beyond Cairo and Beijing. *International Family Planning Perspectives*, 22 (3), 115–121. doi:10.2307/2950752. JSTOR 2950752.
- Craine, P. (2011, September 23). Confirmed: Harper Tories Award \$6 Million Grant to International Planned Parenthood. *LifeSiteNews.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/confirmed-harper-tories-award-6-million-grant-to-international-planned-pare>
- Culp-Ressler, T. (2012, October 4). 47,000 Women Die Each Year from Unsafe Abortions. *Think Progress*. Retrieved from <http://thinkprogress.org/health/2012/10/04/963901/47000-women-die-each-year-from-unsafe-abortions/?mobile=nc>
- Dandavati, A.G. (1996). *The Women's Movement and the Transition to Democracy in Chile*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Daudelin, J. & Hewitt W.E. (1995). Churches and Politics in Latin America: Catholicism at the Crossroads. *Third World Quarterly* 16(2), 221-36.
- Darity, W. (2008). Biological Determinism. *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Detroit, Michigan: Macmillan.

- "Determinism, Biological." (2008) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Retrieved from [http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Biological\\_determinism.aspx](http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Biological_determinism.aspx)
- Dides, C. (2011, January 24). The Debate on Legal Abortion in Chile for Three Grounds after 22 Years of Democracy. *Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights*. Retrieved from <http://wgnrr.org/?q=blog/11/debate-legal-abortion-chile-three-grounds-after-22-years-democracy>
- Eliodoro, Matte. (2013, March). *Forbes*. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/profile/eliodoro-matte/>
- Engaging Men and Boys in SRHR and HIV/AIDS.(2011) *International Planned Parenthood Federation*. Retrieved from <http://www.ippf.org/en/Whatwedo/Access/Engaging+men+and+boys+in+SRHR+and+HI+VAIDS.htm>
- Ertelt, S. (2011, May 19) WHA Told Maternal Mortality Not Improved by Legalizing Abortion. *LifeNews.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.lifenews.com/2011/05/19/wha-told-maternal-mortality-not-improved-by-legalizing-abortion/>.
- Faludi, S. (2010, October). American Electra. Feminism's Ritual Matricide. *Harper's Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://susanfaludi.com/americanelectra.pdf>
- Floyd, Gina (2013). Sexual and Reproductive Rights; the state of the Chilean women's movement(s). 3<sup>rd</sup> *European Conference on Gender and Politics*.
- Franceschet, S. (2003). State Feminism and Women's Movements: The Impact of Chile's Servicio Nacional De La Mujer on Women's Activism. *Latin American Research Review* 38(1), 9-40.
- Fraser, N., & Linda N. (1990). Social Criticism Without Philosophy: An Encounter Between Feminism and Postmodernism. In *Feminism/postmodernism*, 19-38. New York: Routledge.
- Gaag, N. (2011) *Because I Am a Girl: The State of the World's Girls 2011: So What About Boys?* London: Plan International.
- Glaser, B. G. (2001). The Grounded Theory Perspective: Conceptualization contrasted with description. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for qualitative research. Hawthorne, NY: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Global Fund for Women. (2012). *Top 10 Wins for Women's Movements*. Retrieved from <http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/impact/top-10-wins-for-womens-movements>

- Gold, R., & Nash, E. (2011) States Enact Record Number of Abortion Restrictions in First Half of 2011. *RH Reality Check | Reproductive Health Information, News, Commentary and Community*.  
<http://www.rhrealitycheck.org/blog/2011/07/13/states-enact-record-number-abortion-restrictions-first-half-2011>
- Goodstein, L. (2009, February 3). Catholic Order Jolted by Reports that its Founder Lead a Double Life. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from  
[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/04/us/04legion.html?\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/04/us/04legion.html?_r=1)
- Greenslade, R. (2012, March 9). Chile is 'losing battle for press freedom.' *The Guardian*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/greenslade/2012/mar/09/press-freedom-chile>
- Grossi, J.R. (2003). COMISION NACIONAL DEL XVII CENSO DE POBLACION. *Instituto Nacional De Estadísticas De Chile*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.ine.cl/cd2002/sintesisencensal.pdf>
- Grover, Anand. (2011) Right of Everyone to the Enjoyment of the Highest Attainable Standard of Physical and Mental Health. Rep. 2011. *United Nations General Assembly*. Retrieved from  
[http://www.un.org/ga/search/view\\_doc.asp?symbol=A/66/254](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/66/254)
- Grown, C., Gupta G.R., and Kes, A. (2005). Taking Action: Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women. *UN Millennium Project*. The United Nations. Retrieved from [http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/reports/tf\\_gender.htm](http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/reports/tf_gender.htm).
- Guion, P. (2012, February 4). Chile propose new law to increase females in the workforce. *Santiago Times*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.santiagotimes.cl/chile/human-rights-a-law/23356-chile-proposes-new-law-to-increase-females-in-the-workforce>
- Guzman, V., & Seibert, U. (2011). The Churches and Gender Equality in Chile. *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development*.  
<http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/0/7C5D4183C4B9F6FDC1257753002AE7AD?OpenDocument>.
- Guttmacher Institute, (2006, December). *An Overview of Clandestine Abortion in Latin America*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.guttmacher.org/in-the-know/abortion.html>
- Guttmacher Institute, (2012, January). *Facts on Induced Abortion Worldwide*. Retrieved from [http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb\\_IAW.html](http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb_IAW.html)



- Haas, L. (1999). The Catholic Church in Chile. *Latin American Religion in Motion*. New York: Routledge, 43-66.
- Hallstein, D.L., Shugard, H.A., & Waggoner, C.E. (2001). Mediating Third-Wave Feminism: Appropriation as Postmodern Media Practice. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 18(2), 194-210. Retrieved from <http://www.csun.edu/~vcspc00g/301/mediating3rdwavefem-csmc.pdf>
- Hellerstein, E. (2013, July 29). "I Think She Could Have Died." *Salon*. Retrieved from [http://www.salon.com/2013/07/29/the\\_worst\\_country\\_in\\_the\\_americas\\_on\\_womens\\_rights/](http://www.salon.com/2013/07/29/the_worst_country_in_the_americas_on_womens_rights/)
- Henry, A. (2004). *Not My Mother's Sister: Generational Conflict and Third-Wave Feminism*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Herederó, L. (2011, March 10). Cuba: Cuando el aborto es una alternativa al método anticonceptivo. *BBC Mundo, Cuba*. Retrieved from [http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2011/03/110119\\_cuba\\_aborto\\_salud\\_lh.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2011/03/110119_cuba_aborto_salud_lh.shtml)
- Hoffman, M. (2010, December 7). "New Video Shows Chile's Defense of Life Doesn't Stop with Trapped Miners." *LifeSiteNews.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/new-video-shows-chiles-defense-of-life-doesnt-stop-with-trapped-miners/>.
- Hoffman, M. (2011, September 15). Chilean President Promises to Veto Therapeutic Abortion Bills. *LifesiteNews.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/chilean-president-promises-to-veto-therapeutic-abortion-bills/>
- Holguin, G.C., & Uttal, L. (1999) Intersectionality and In-Depth Interviews: Methodological Strategies for Analyzing Race, Class and Gender. *Race, Gender & Class*, 6(3), 158-186.
- Holland, J. & Ramazanoglu C. (2002). From truth/reality to knowledge/power: taking a feminist standpoint, *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*. London: Sage.
- Htun, M. (2003). *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP
- Hudson, R.A. (1994). Chile: A Country Study. Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress. Retrieved from <http://countrystudies.us/chile/>
- Huffman D., & Mann, S. (2005). The Decentering of Second Wave Feminism and the Rise of the Third Wave. *Science and Society*, 69(1), 56-91. doi: 10.1521/iso.69.1.56.56799

- Hunter College Women's Studies Collective. (2005) *Women's Realities, Women's Choices: an Introduction to Women's Studies*. New York, NY: Oxford UP.
- Information Group on Reproductive Choice. (2012, October 30). Donation for an Illegal Abortion. Retrieved from <http://giremexico.tumblr.com/post/35355930259/donate-for-an-illegal-abortion>
- Iris Fontbona & Family. (2013, March). *Forbes*. Retrieved from <http://www.forbes.com/profile/iris-fontbona/>
- Jacobson, J. (2012, February 14). Honduran Supreme Court Upholds Most Sweeping Ban on Emergency Contraception Anywhere. *RH Reality Check*. Retrieved from <http://rhrealitycheck.org/article/2012/02/14/honduran-supreme-court-upholds-complete-ban-on-emergency-contraception-0/>
- Jaggard, Alison M. (2008) *Just Methods: An Interdisciplinary Feminist Reader*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Jarroud, M & Vergara, E (2013, July 27). Women with bitter past run for Chile's presidency. *Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.utsandiego.com/news/2013/jul/27/women-with-bitter-past-run-for-chiles-presidency/all/?print>
- Jones, E. (2011, April 14) Chile's Black-Market Abortions. *Pulsamerica*. Retrieved from <http://www.pulsamerica.co.uk/2011/04/14/chile%E2%80%99s-black-market-abortion/?reload>
- Kaplan, T. (2004). *Taking Back the Streets: Women, Youth, and Direct Democracy*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Kesten, C.M & Mora, F.B. (2007, July 1). Maternal Mortality: Women's Lives in the Balance. *Women's Health Journal*, 3(4), 1-20.
- Kinser, A.E. (2004). Negotiating Spaces For/Through Third-Wave Feminism. *NWSA Journal*, 16(3), 124-153. Doi: 10.1353/nwsa.2004.0075
- Kirkup, K. (2012, September 26). Controversial abortion motion defeated. *Toronto Sun*. Retrieved from <http://www.torontosun.com/2012/09/26/controversial-abortion-motion-defeated>
- Lees, K. (2013, March 29). Bachelet enters Chilean presidential race as top contender. *Suffragio*. Retrieved on <http://suffragio.org/2013/03/29/bachelet-enters-chilean-presidential-race-as-top-contender/>

- Legionarios de Cristo (2012). *Chile*. Retrieved from <http://www.legionariesofchrist.org/articulos/tema2.phtml?s=1&id=15640&seccion=238&categoria=844&te=691&ci=854&width=&width=1280&height=960&width=1280&height=960&width=1280&height=960>
- Lira, C.L. (2001). *Aborto en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Losada, M. (2012). The Chilean Student Movement of 2011: Camila Vallejo and the media. *Jump Cut: A Review of Contemporary Media*, 54. Retrieved from <http://www.ejumpcut.org/currentissue/LosadaChile/text.html>
- Los secretos de la orden favorita de los ricos en Chile. (2008, November 27). *The Clinic*. Retrieved from <http://www.theclinic.cl/2008/11/27/los-secretos-de-la-orden-favorita-de-los-ricos-en-chile/>
- Lupkin, S. (2012, August 21). Teen at Center of Abortion Debate Dies After Chemo Delay. *ABC News*. Retrieved from <http://abcnews.go.com/Health/pregnant-dominican-teen-center-abortion-debate-dies-delayed/story?id=17044066>
- Mack-Canty, C. (2004). Third-Wave Feminism and the Need to Reweave the Nature/Culture Duality. *NWSA Journal*, 16(3), 154-179. Doi: 10.1353/nwsa.2004.0077
- Maira G., Hurtado, J., Santana, P. (2010). Feminist Positions on Abortion on Chile. *Women's Health Journal*, 20-37.
- Manning, Katie. (2011) Chile: With Therapeutic Abortion Up for Vote, Chile Is Pro-Tweet Global Voices. *Global Voices / Mi Voz*. Retrieved from <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2011/10/03/chile-with-therapeutic-abortion-up-for-vote-chile-is-pro-tweet> .
- Marinshaw, D. (2013, June 8). Ministers Lavín and Cruz-Coke “Abandon Ship.” *I Love Chile*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilovechile.cl/2013/06/08/ministers-lavn-cruzcoke-abandon-ship/87427>
- May, C. (2011, February 23). Chile: Where Abortion Isn't an Option. *The Guardian*. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/feb/23/chile-abortion-catholic-church>.
- McCarthy, A. (2009, October 12). The Intersectional Feminist: An Introduction. *Girl with Pen*. Retrieved from <http://thesocietypages.org/girlwpn/2009/10/12/the-intersectional-feminist-an-introduction/>

- McDonough, K. (2013, April 1). North Dakota and Arkansas gear up for legal challenges to extreme abortion laws. *Salon*. Retrieved from [http://www.salon.com/2013/04/01/north\\_dakota\\_and\\_arkansas\\_gear\\_up\\_for\\_legal\\_challenges\\_to\\_extreme\\_abortion\\_laws/](http://www.salon.com/2013/04/01/north_dakota_and_arkansas_gear_up_for_legal_challenges_to_extreme_abortion_laws/)
- Meritan, C. (2013, May 17). Gay Flag Raised in Santiago for International Day Against Homophobia. *I Love Chile*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilovechile.cl/2013/05/17/gay-flag-raised-santiago-international-day-homophobia/86147>
- Miles Chile. (2013, March). Proyecto Ley Aborto Terapéutico. *Miles Chile*. Retrieved from <http://www.mileschile.cl/propuesta-de-ley/>
- Moenne, A., & Maria, E. (2005). Embodying Memory: Women and the Legacy of the Military Government in Chile. *Feminist Review*, 79, 150 -161.
- Mohammed, P. (2003). Like Sugar in Coffee: Third Wave Feminism and the Caribbean. *Social and Economic Studies*, 52(3), 5-30. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/27865339?uid=3737784&uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21102033630213>
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. (2003). *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Zazxdscx Practicing Solidarity*. Durham: Duke UP.
- Montes, R. (2013, July 22). Chile's conservative coalition finds itself divided over presidential contender. *El Pais*. Retrieved from [http://elpais.com/elpais/2013/07/22/inenglish/1374508647\\_104967.html](http://elpais.com/elpais/2013/07/22/inenglish/1374508647_104967.html)
- Murphy, K. (2013, April 6). Kansas set to enact life-starts-“at fertilization” abortion law. *Thomson Reuters*. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/06/us-usa-kansas-abortion-idUSBRE93501220130406>
- Nash, J.C. (2008). Re-Thinking Intersectionality. *Feminist Review* 89. 1-15. doi:10.1057/fr.2008.4
- Nelsen, A. (2013, January 3). Taking Calls on Abortion, and Risks, in Chile. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.newyorktimes.com/2013/01/04/world/americas/in-chile-abortion-hot-line-is-in-legal-gray-area.html?pagewanted=all>
- "Nuevo Debate Sobre El Aborto." (2012). *Gran Logia De Chile*. Retrieved from <http://www.granlogia.cl/gabinete-de-gran-maestro/noticias/344-nuevo-debate-sobre-el-aborto.html>

- Paul, K. (2013, May 30). The Criminalization of Abortion Continues in Mexico. *Ms. Blog Magazine*. Retrieved from:  
<http://msmagazine.com/blog/2013/05/30/the-criminalization-of-abortion-continues-in-mexico/>
- Paul II, J. (1995). Letter to Women for Beijing Conference. Speech. Beijing Women's Conference. China, Beijing. *The Vatican*.  
[http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_paul\\_ii/letters/documents/hf\\_jpii\\_let\\_29061995\\_women\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/letters/documents/hf_jpii_let_29061995_women_en.html).
- Paulic, M. (2013, January 22). Rate of femicides in Chile down by 38 percent in 2012. *Santiago Times*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.santiagotimes.cl/chile/human-rights-a-law/25634-rate-of-femicides-in-chile-down-by-38-percent-in-2012>
- Payton, L. (2012, April 25). Abortion Rights Debate Spurred by MP's Motion. *CBCnews*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/story/2012/04/25/pol-abortion-stephen-woodworth-motion.html>.
- Pinochet's Chile (2000). *Washington Post Online*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/pinochet/overview.htm>
- Pollit, K. (2010, October 6). Feminism's Generation Wars. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/cifamerica/2010/oct/06/feminism-gender1>
- Potts, M, Campbell, M. (2009). History of Contraception. *The Global Library of Women's Medicine*. DOI 10.3843/GLOWM.10376
- Purvis, J. (2004). Grrls and Women Togehter in the Third Wave: Embracing the Challenged of Intergenerational Feminism. *NWSA Journal*, 16(3), 93-123. Retrieved from  
<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/4317083?uid=3737784&uid=2134&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21102033630213>
- Racine, L. (2011). The Impact of Race, Gender, and Class in Postcolonial Feminist Fieldwork: A Retrospective Critique of Methodological Dilemmas. *Aporia*, 3(1), 15-27. Retrieved from: [http://www.oa.uottawa.ca/journals/aporia/articles/2011\\_01/racine.pdf](http://www.oa.uottawa.ca/journals/aporia/articles/2011_01/racine.pdf)
- Red Salud Mujeres Chile. (2009). *Abortion Hotline Launch in Chile Supported by Women on Waves*. *Women on Waves*. Retrieved from  
<http://www.womenonwaves.org/article-1950-en.html> .
- Reproductive Health Rights, and Justice Glossary (2013). *The Pro-Choice Public Education Project*. Retrieve from  
<http://www.protectchoice.org/section.php?id=32#reproductivejustice>

- Romero, S. (2012, October 17). Uruguay Senate Approves First-Trimester Abortions. *New York Times*. Retrieved from [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/18/world/americas/uruguay-senate-approves-first-trimester-abortions.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/18/world/americas/uruguay-senate-approves-first-trimester-abortions.html?_r=0)
- Ross, J. (2004, November 28). Illegal Abortions Rampant in Latin America. *Women's ENews*. Retrieved from <http://www.womensenews.org/story/the-world/041128/illegal-abortion-rampant-latin-america>
- Ross, K.E. (2011) *The Vagina Dialogues: Essentialist and Constructionist Views of Female Sexuality in Contemporary Feminist Theology*. Thesis. University of Dayton, OhioLINK ETD Center. Retrieved from <http://etd.ohiolink.edu/send-pdf.cgi/Ross%20Karen.pdf?dayton1304106635>
- Sistersong (2013). Why is Reproductive Justice Important for Women of Color? *Sistersong*. Retrieved from [http://www.sistersong.net/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=141&Itemid=81](http://www.sistersong.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=141&Itemid=81)
- Silveria, A. (2010, December 17). Therapeutic Abortion Proposal Causes Controversy in Chilean Legislature. *Santiago Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.santiagotimes.cl/chile/health-and-environment/20393-therapeutic-abortion-proposal-causes-controversy-in-chilean-legislature>
- Smith, A. (1995). Beyond Pro-Choice Versus Pro-Life: Women of Color and Reproductive Justice. *NWSA Journal* 17(1), 119-140. Retrieved from <http://web.clark.edu/ssendak/WS%20Web%20Stuff/Readings/Beyond%20Pro-Choice%20Versus%20Pro-Life.pdf>
- Smith L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London, England: Zed Books
- Smith-Spark, L. & Taggart, P. (2013, April 8). Husband testified his wife died after abortion was denied in Ireland. *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/08/world/europe/ireland-abortion-controversy/index.html>
- Taggart, P. (2012, November 15). Woman's death prompts abortion debate in Ireland. *CNN*. Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/2012/11/14/world/europe/ireland-abortion-controversy>
- The Open Form on Reproductive Health and Rights. (1998). *Women Behind Bars. Chile's Abortion Laws: A Human Rights Analysis*. New York, NY: The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy.

- The World Factbook. (2013). *Central Intelligence Agency*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2127rank.html>
- Todo sobre la pildora del día después. (2013, January 11). *Prosalud Chile*. Retrieved from <http://prosaludchile.blogspot.ca/2013/01/todo-sobre-la-pildora-del-dia-despues.html>
- Tory backbencher's abortion motion defeated 203-91 despite support from high-profile MPs including Jason Kenney. (2012, September 26). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://news.nationalpost.com/2012/09/26/tory-backbenchers-abortion-motion-defeated-203-91-despite-support-from-several-high-profile-mps/>
- Tweedie, M. (2012, April 10). Senate Rejects Bills to Legalize Abortion. *I Love Chile*. Retrieved From <http://www.ilovechile.cl/2012/04/10/senate-rejects-bill-legalize-abortion/52829>
- Unhappy New Year. (2013, January 10). *The Economist*. Retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/blogs/americasview/2013/01/indigenous-rights-chile>
- Van De Walle, É. (2005) Birth Prevention before the Era of Modern Contraception. *Population & Societies* 418, 1-4. Retrieved from [http://www.ined.fr/fichier/t\\_telechargement/36873/telechargement\\_fichier\\_en\\_popand.soc.english.418.pdf](http://www.ined.fr/fichier/t_telechargement/36873/telechargement_fichier_en_popand.soc.english.418.pdf).
- Vidaurreaza, T. (2009). Aborto en Chile: ¿Usas cartera Louis Vuitton o bolsa plástica? *Nomadas: Revista del Centro de Estudios de Género y Cultura de América Latina*, 10, 204-206. Retrieved from <http://www.revistas.uchile.cl/index.php/NO/article/viewFile/15146/15562>.
- Walters, Rosaline. (2011, January 11) Chile: NGOs Launch Campaign for Abortion Rights | The Argentina Independent. *The Argentina Independent*. <http://www.argentinaindependent.com/currentaffairs/newsfromlatinamerica/chilean-ngos-launch-campaign-for-abortion-rights/>.
- Who are We. (2012). *Legionaries of Christ*. Retrieved from <http://www.legionariesofchrist.org/eng/articulos/seccion.phtml?se=238&width=1152&height=864&width=1152&height=864&width=1366&height=768>
- Wolf, D.L. (1996). Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork. *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*, Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 1-55.
- Women's Rights in Chile: A Shadow Report. (1999). *Reproductive Health Matters*. New York: The Center for Reproductive Law and Policy. 1-24. Retrieved from <http://reproductiverights.org/sites/crr.civactions.net/files/documents/Chile%20CEDAW%201999.pdf>
- World Report 2011: Chile. (2011). *Human Rights Watch*. Retrieved from <http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2011/chile>