

Visual Representations of Abortion Online

Kaitlyn O'Hagan, Hunter College

Word Count: 4227

VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ABORTION ONLINE

Though *Roe v. Wade* legalized abortion in 1973, it remains the most visible and controversial women's health issue in the United States. The reaction of antiabortion activists to *Roe v. Wade* was not to give up, but to turn to "a more long-term ideological struggle over the symbolic meanings of fetuses, dead or alive," as Rosalind Pollack Petchesky wrote in her 1987 article "Fetal Images: The Power of Visual Culture in the Politics of Reproduction." In the twenty-five years since this classic article was written, it seems little has changed. Antiabortion activists continue to dominate the visual discourse on abortion with propaganda that consists largely of fetal images. Despite a robust feminist presence online, Petchesky's words, written before the popular Internet, continue to ring true: "prochoice advocates have all too readily ceded the visual terrain" (Petchesky 1987:264). Petchesky's article is the first in a strong tradition of feminist scholarship examining the visual representation of abortion and highlighting the social and political repercussions of these visual representations. However, given the high numbers of Americans who seek information, including medical information, online, there is a need to deal specifically with the way new media affects the creation, dissemination and consumption of images associated with abortion. By examining the visual representations of abortion online, this paper seeks to bring to light the missing and misinformation that exists among these images—both fetal and other—and point to a need for accurate (if not positive) images and symbols of abortion.

BACKGROUND

The focus on the visual is especially important in a society so dependent upon images; Western scientific and philosophical traditions have privileged the visual as the

primary means of knowledge (Petchesky 1987:275). As the literature by Petchesky (1987) and the scholars who have written after her has well established, the association of fetal images with abortion has “played a crucial role in [the] erasure of women’s bodies” (Stabile 1992:180). This erasure—which often goes unquestioned—sets the stage for assumptions and rhetoric that have come to define the contemporary abortion debate. The falsely assumed objectivity of sonograms helps to create fetal personhood (or at least patienthood), as well as a conflict between the fetus and female body (Petchesky 1987:271). Within this constructed conflict, pregnant women are ascribed certain reproductive responsibilities—namely, to put the fetus first—the opposite of having an abortion. The threat of abortion is seen as not only a threat to the individual fetus, but as a larger social threat as the visual culture of abortion has “repressive reverberations in the legal and medical management of women’s bodies” (Stabile 1992:181).

The first fetal images are usually identified as those published in the June 1962 issue of *Life*, which featured pictures of a fetus at various stages of development—always “solitary, dangling in the air (or its sac) with nothing to connect it to any life-support system” (Petchesky 1987:268). Feminist scholars have called images of the fetus isolated from the female body “astronaut, extraterrestrial, or aquatic entity” (Stabile 1992:181). Stabile (1992:185), in her article “Shooting the mother: fetal photography and the politics of disappearance” also scrutinizes these images, and notes that by reading the text captions carefully, the reader would discover that all but the cover photo are in fact, autopsied embryos—thus, the attempt to simulate the “life” of the fetus as autonomous from the female body is “ironically—death.” Most readers of the images, however, are unlikely to take up such textual scrutiny.

Stabile (1992) compares this 1962 spread to the August 1990 issue of *Life*, which depicts a 7-week-old fetus on the cover. In the time between these two issues, the legalization of abortion changed the way the female body is represented. The earlier issue of *Life* refers to the absent female body as “the mother;” her womb is a “tranquil and cozy environment” for the fetus—which the magazine refers to as “a parasite” (Stabile, 186). In the later issue, however, the female body has been erased not only visually but also textually, along with the maternal environment. While the earlier issue of *Life* created a problematic erasure, the latter issue now also points to a conflict between woman and fetus.

The removal of the woman’s body and the conflict between woman and fetus can also be seen in *The Silent Scream*, an antiabortion propaganda film examined by Petchesky (1987). Occasional scenes of an abortion clinic operating table are the only view of the pregnant woman in the film. More importantly, Petchesky’s (1987) analysis also points to the way in which such visual representations of abortion contribute to creating fetal personhood/patienthood. The abortion itself is depicted as the violent destruction of the fetus through both the images on screen—the frantic, rapid movements of a fetus in response to the suction cannula—and the narration—the suction cannula is a “lethal weapon” while the fetus is “the living unborn child,” “a human being” (Petchesky 1987:266). *The Silent Scream* claims to capture a live abortion “from the victims vantage point” (Petchesky 1987:266). This claim is clearly a false one, not simply due to the fact that there is no evidence that the abortion depicted is actually happening, but also because the point of view is of neither the fetus, mother, or doctor, but the camera capturing the abortion on film (Petchesky 1987:270). Indeed, though the film is

presented as medical evidence, Petchesky (1987) clearly establishes it as cultural representation: an antiabortion advocate presented as an objective medical professional narrates the film; the only other sound is ominous music. In addition, the medical information presented by the film was rebutted by medical experts, the *New York Times* and Planned Parenthood:

At twelve weeks the fetus has no cerebral cortex to receive pain impulses . . . fetal movements at this stage are reflexive and without purpose . . . the image of rapid frantic movement was undoubtedly caused by speeding up the film . . . the size of the image we see on the screen, along with the model that is continually displayed in front of the screen is nearly twice the size of a normal twelve-week fetus (Petchesky 1987:267).

Such feminist criticism of the film's "visual distortions and verbal fraud" however, cannot counter the film's "ideological power" (Petchesky 1987:267). This power stems from the false belief in photographic objectivity when in fact, images are "heavily constructed...grounded in a context of historical and cultural meanings" (Petchesky 1987:269). This may be especially true for images presented as medical evidence, like *The Silent Scream*; Petchesky (1987:268) writes that there was an "acceptance of the image [of a fetus in *The Silent Scream*] itself as an accurate representation of a real fetus." This then allows for acceptance of the identity of the fetus as depicted by the film—a conscious being that can feel pain. The film prompts an easy but fallacious assumption that because the fetus looks like a baby, it is one.

The conflation of "fetus" with "baby" can be traced to the 1962 *Life*, which refers to the fetus as a "baby" in all of the captions (Petchesky 1987:268). The use of such language is an early example of the way visual images are used to support the ascription of patienthood and/or personhood to the fetus. Yet it extends to obstetrics, historically male-dominated, which has found in the sonogram a new tool to control pregnancy using

science and technology. When obstetricians use the sonogram without medical benefit to the patient—that is, the pregnant woman--“the fetus, through visualization, is being treated as a patient already” (Petchesky 1987:273). Yet ultrasound imaging is experienced by many women as empowering, giving them control over their bodies and their pregnancies. Viewed this way, the sonogram can be seen as part of the tradition of women demanding, or at least welcoming, reproductive-related technologies. However, as Petchesky (1987:280) astutely points out, “women may see in fetal images what they are told they ought to see.” In addition, the way a woman views fetal images differs depending on her social and biological circumstances (Petchesky 1987:280). The power of these images is not located in the sonograms themselves but in the emotion and consciousness of the viewer (Palmer 2009:185). While the complex relationship between women and fetal images might be illuminated by women’s individual stories and struggles, such stories are criticized and/or censored when the fetus “is (mis)read and thereby constituted as the thing it signifies—baby” (Hartouni 1992:145).

The false conflation of knowing with seeing has been furthered by scientific advances that allow for three- and four-dimensional ultrasounds (Palmer 2009). These new images, paired with the current trend to deconstruct traditional modes of expertise, breeds a false expectation that a lay audience is able to read these new 3D images as well as expert. Yet an expert is necessary to interpret these ultrasound images, as people falsely construct a belief—that the fetus is conscious, and therefore, a baby—that is in no way supported by the clinical information can be obtained from such images (Palmer 2009). This is not to reify science as objective and rational in opposition to public perceptions, but to point out that the interpretation of such images has created another

relevant subject to the issue of abortion, what Palmer calls a citizen voyeur: “a concerned citizen who has a right and a duty to know the facts and to form an opinion on the morality of the issue” (Palmer 2009:174). The citizen voyeur is yet another manifestation of the “moral panic [that] has been produced around the pregnant body” (Stabile 1992:194). Fetal images are not just private sonogram photos “for the baby album” but also represent the “public fetus,” a moral abstraction (Petchesky 1987:273).

The literature that exists also suggests that fetal images cannot be successfully appropriated; because of the meaning that fetal images have been coded with, their use is situated in the context of the contemporary abortion debate. In analyzing the 1991 short film *S'Aline's Solution*, which claims to affirm a “prochoice” position, Hartouni (1992) argues that the use of the same visual and rhetorical strategies used by prolife advocates—a seven-week-old fetus depicted fifteen times its actual size, the violent and traumatic impression created by the organization and rapid presentation of strange images—means the film’s message can easily be interpreted as antiabortion despite its supposed intentions. Though *S'Aline's Solution* doesn’t make the false claim that it is a medical document as *The Silent Scream* does, the fetal images used give the film “an aura of medical authority . . . and lends it credibility” (Hartouni 1992:140).

The contemporary culture of abortion is embedded in fetal images even when they are not used in the specific context of abortion. In a 1991 advertisement for a Volvo, which depicts a fetus and the text “IS SOMETHING INSIDE TELLING YOU TO BUY A VOLVO?,” the problematic conceptual creations of the fetal images are perpetuated (Taylor 1992:68). The ad uses the fetus to signify an endangered being in need of parental protection, drawing on the idea that the because of abortion the womb is an

unsafe space. It also implies that a pregnant woman's first commitment is to the safety of her fetus contributing "to the conceptual establishment of the fetus as an independent being—and to the bifurcation of the pregnant woman into woman-and-fetus, a relationship which is then understood in terms of models drawn from American society" (Taylor 1992:78). Fetal images were also used in antismoking public health campaigns in the 1980s (but whose materials were found hanging in doctor's offices years later) aimed at pregnant women. The messages put forth by these campaigns have been critiqued for reinforcing "fetal-centric medical, social and moral expectations of women's reproductive responsibilities" (Oaks 2000:63). The advertisements that were part of these campaigns supported the creation and cultivation of the citizen voyeur by implicitly urging all viewers "to increase social pressure on pregnant women not to smoke" (Oaks 2000:88). They further drew on the construction of the mother-and-fetus in conflict by portraying women who smoke as bad mothers (Oaks 2000:100). Illustrations that were part of these campaigns invoke the personhood/patienthood of the fetus: they look unrealistically like infants and further personify fetuses by giving them thoughts and speech. The strategy of "explaining to women what their babies-to-be are thinking, feeling, and even saying is jarringly similar to that advanced by antiabortion activists," however, this is not to "imply a conscious antiabortion discourses on fetal life and gender roles" (Oaks 2000:76;92). Rather, it highlights how deeply embedded antiabortion discourse is embedded in society, especially fetal images, and the way in which such discourses are continuously perpetuated even outside of specific context of abortion.

This literature discussed thus far establishes the importance of examining the visual representation of abortion as they point to the way such images pervade the public

consciousness and affect the legal, medical, and ethical debates surrounding abortion—and perhaps the decisions of individual women as well. However, there are gaps in the research done on the visual representation of abortion. All of the research focuses most heavily or exclusively on fetal images, especially sonograms. In addition, none of articles deal specifically with the way new media affects the dissemination and consumption of images associated with abortion. For some of the articles, this has to do with when they were published. It also almost certainly has to do with the fact that Internet studies is still a new and evolving field. Yet the role new media plays in the visual representation of abortion warrants examination. Of the 59% of the American adult population that is online, 80% uses the Internet to get health information—women more so than men. This number has grown consistently over the past decade, and will probably continue to grow along with the percentage of the population that is online. Though there isn't quantitative data about the number of people who turn to the Internet for information about abortion (perhaps an area for further research) 19% of internet users look online for information about pregnancy and childbirth; 24% of female internet users and 31% of internet users between ages of 18 and 33 (though it is not clear if survey respondents would have categorized “abortion” with “pregnancy and childbirth”) (Fox, 2011).

Looking at these gaps in the research, this paper seeks to make cautious claims about the visual representation of abortion online and, more importantly, point to areas for further research based on these preliminary findings. When someone turns to the Internet—which research shows is an increasingly common source of medical information—for an answer to the question “What does an abortion look like?” what does she find?

METHODOLOGY

There is surprisingly little writing on the methodology of Internet studies, and “there is not, as of yet, a well-developed sociological method for studying patterned human behavior involving the Internet” (Daniels 2009:195). Consulting some of the limited guidance available (Daniels 2009; Jones 1999; Weare and Lin 2000), the methodology used to find widespread abortion-related images online was designed specifically for this paper. The Google Image search engine was used to find the images, as Google is the most widely used search engine (in fact, it is the most widely used website). There are significant limitations when using search engines as a sampling method—most obviously that “the WWW is not consistently and universally catalogued” (Weare and Lin 2000:278). Using a search engine skews the samples to the more heavily trafficked parts of the Web, which is appropriate given that this paper seeks to examine the most viewed visual representations of abortion. However, the sample is also biased by the unreported rules that search engines use to include and rank results. Ultimately, the convenience and logic of using search engine sampling is believed, in this case, to outweigh these limitations.

The term “abortion” was selected because it is the simplest search term a user searching for a visual representation of abortion would use. Only the first fifteen images that appeared in the results of each search were included in this analysis. The decision to look at only the first fifteen images was based solely on convenience and resources. The search was conducted on December 13, 2012. The images were numbered 1 to 15 based on their place in the search results. All of the images, as well as the hyperlinks to the images and their host websites at the time of the search, are included in the appendix.

RESULTS

Of the fifteen images, two were excluded from analysis due to their particular relevance to current events—Figure 6, which depicts the front page of a newspaper after the death of Savita Halappanavar in Ireland, which her husband alleges was due to the fact that the hospital denied her an abortion, and Figure 13, which depicts a political cartoon about recent Republican presidential nominee and Governor Mitt Romney. This does, however, point to the continued controversial nature and politicization of abortion.

Of the remaining thirteen images, three of the images are medical diagrams—Figure 2, 3 and 15. In addition, Figure 5 is an outdated medical illustration, Figure 4 is a diagram clearly mimicking the form of a medical illustration (though not so well that it could deceive a viewer into believing it was an actual medical illustration), and Figure 8 depicts the purportedly scientifically accurate fetus dolls often carried and distributed by antiabortion activists. This reflects to the continued power that medical images have as they are assumed to be credible and authentic, leading to the false conflation of seeing with knowing.

Five of the thirteen images are clearly antiabortion—Figure 1, 4, 8, 12 and 14, and one is clearly prochoice—Figure 9. The remaining seven images have no obvious intentional propagandist message regarding abortion. However, when turning to the website sources of these images, there is a clear bias—ten of the thirteen images are on antiabortion websites (Figure 2 and 7 are from the same website), including two of the three medical diagrams (Figure 2 and 3) and the three outdated and pseudo medical images (Figure 4, 5 and 8). Of the remaining three images that are not from an antiabortion website (Figure 9, 11 and 15), one is clearly grounded in antiabortion

rhetoric; Figure 11 is a comic strip that equates abortion with murder—though perhaps not intentionally antiabortion, it draws on and perpetuates antiabortion discourse.

The inclusion of such antiabortion rhetoric is not unique to Figure 11. All thirteen images included literal text to help provide context for the images. In Figure 1, the fetus is referred to as a “citizen” and in Figure 4 and 14 fetuses are referred to as babies. In addition, the images perpetuate the erasure of the female body. Though the medical diagrams understandably are focused on the uterus, of the three actual photographs, two depict a male hand: in Figure 8 holding fetus dolls and in Figure 12 holding a live fetus (whether or not it is *alive* however, is unclear). The third photograph, Figure 14, juxtaposes women with an antiabortion protest sign that reads “ABORTION KILLS BABIES AND HURTS WOMEN” with a young infant’s face. Unsurprisingly, the only image to include the female body in relation to the fetus she carries is the prochoice infographic, Figure 9. This collection of thirteen images also indicates that the fetus continues to dominate the visual landscape when it comes to abortion—as a fetus is the focus of nine of the thirteen images (the exceptions are Figure 9, 10, 11 and 14, though a fetus/fetuses are included in the illustrations in Figure 9 and 10). Ultimately, it seems that when someone turns to the Internet for information about abortion—specifically, visual information—it seems they encounter the ideologically loaded, pseudo-scientific images that have been carefully deconstructed by feminist scholars but continue to persist in the public consciousness.

Given the Internet’s ever changing and evolving nature, this is a simple attempt at descriptive research. A more thorough study might consider more frequent searches and more search terms over a longer period of time to ensure consistency, as well as consider

a greater number of images. In addition, other forms of text beyond still images must be examined as well—especially given “the intermingling of textual, video, graphic and audio information on the WWW” (Weare and Lin 2002:273). The importance of video specifically has been well established by the literature considered in this paper such as Petchesky’s (1987) discussion of *The Silent Scream* and Hartouni’s (1992) analysis of *S’Aline’s Solution*; though other examples may have gone unmentioned they abound (for example, Palmer (2009) discusses *My Foetus*, a British documentary that films an abortion procedure at seven weeks’ gestation by the manual vacuum aspiration method, and shows the products of another abortion—the first time an abortion was shown on British television). Indeed, this paper was inspired after a viewing of the 1974 film *Taking Our Bodies Back*, which depicts a woman having an abortion. In contrast, the current Planned Parenthood video on their website about in-clinic abortion (http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=hHo3ZSu0ViA) doesn’t even include a medical illustration of the procedure.

The decision to look solely at online images should not imply a “false dichotomy between the Internet and offline interactions” but rather should be understood as a result of the resources available and a targeted attempt to address a gap in current literature (Daniels 2009:198-9). Further research into this area should take into account how the online experience of visual representations of abortion “is at all times tethered in some fashion to off-line experience” (Jones 1999:xii). In this vein, the most important gap in this research is that it doesn’t consider how people create, find and interpret the visual information that has been described. Though speculations can be made about how this information is interpreted and used, further research needs to consider the Web user, and

how people find, read and interpret the visual representations of abortion online (Daniels, 199).

CONCLUSION

In the 1970s and 80s, feminists fought to create and disseminate reliable information about women's bodies and women's health issues—including abortion. Despite the potential for the Internet to have continued to and further disseminate such information, and especially given the robust online presence of feminism, it is surprising that images associated with abortion don't provide this kind of reliable medical information. Given the importance of the visual in our society—especially when it comes to activism, as “a single image can capture the hearts and minds of the broader public and come to symbolize a movement,” it is important to both acknowledge and correct the gap in the visual representation of abortion online (Rohling and Klein 2012: 172).

Redefining abortion visually is not an easy task, as fetal images have now dominated the discourse for decades. Just as “media professionals have had time to develop conventions for visually presenting different kinds of issue events,” it might take time for (Rohlinger and Klein 2012:173). Feminists have to fight against the conventions that exist—both online and off. Though they have attempted to do so via scholarly deconstruction of the visual representation of abortion, “the positive claims of photography [are] not easily overcome by language” (Taylor 1992:75). It is time for feminists to heed a twenty-five year old call: “we must create new images that recontextualize the fetus, that place it back into the uterus, and the uterus back into the woman's body, and her body back into its social space” (Petchesky 1987:287).

REFERENCES

- Daniels, Jessie. 2009. "Methodology Appendix: On the Craft of Sociology in the Digital Era." Pp. 195-206 in *Cyber Racism: White Supremacy Online and the New Attack on Civil Rights*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Fox, Susannah. 2011. "Health Topics." Pew Internet & American Life Project. February 1, 2011. <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/HealthTopics.aspx>.
- Hartouni, Valerie. 1992. "Fetal Exposures: Abortion Politics and the Optics of Allusion." *Camera Obscura* 10:130-149. doi: 10.1215/02705346-10-2_29-130.
- Oaks, Laury. 2000. "Smoke-Filled Wombs and Fragile Fetuses: The Social Politics of Fetal Representation." *Signs* 26(1):63-108. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3175381>.
- Palmer, Julie. 2009. "Seeing and knowing : Ultrasound images in the contemporary abortion debate." *Feminist Theory* 10(2):173-189. doi: 10.1177/1464700109104923.
- Petchesky, Rosalind Pollack. 1987. "Fetal Images: The Power of Visual Culture in the Politics of Reproduction." *Feminist Studies* 13(2):263-292. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177802>.
- Rohlinger, Deana A. and Jesse Klein. 2012. "Visual Landscapes the Abortion Issue." *American Behavioral Scientist* 56(2):172-188. doi: 10.1177/0002764211419487.
- Stabile, Carol A. 1992. "Shooting the Mother: Fetal Photography and the Politics of Disappearance." *Camera Obscura* 10:178-205. doi: 10.1215/02705346-10-1_28-178.

- Taylor, Janelle S. 1992. "The Public Fetus and the Family Car: From Abortion Politics to a Volvo Advertisement." *Public Culture* 4(2):67-80. doi: 10.1215/08992363-4-2-67.
- Weare, Christopher and Wan-Ying Lin. 2000. "Content Analysis of the World Wide Web : Opportunities and Challenges." *Social Science Computer Review* 18:272-292. doi: 10.1177/089443930001800304.

APPENDIX

FIGURE 1

Photo: <http://amightywind.com/abortionf/abortion05.jpg>

Website: <http://amightywind.com/abortion/pleaseno.htm>



What a proud society we are: Killing our most defenseless citizens in the name of a woman's right to choose.

FIGURE 2

Photo: <http://www.abort73.com/preview/images/techniques/suction/01.jpg>

Website: http://www.abort73.com/abortion/abortion_techniques/

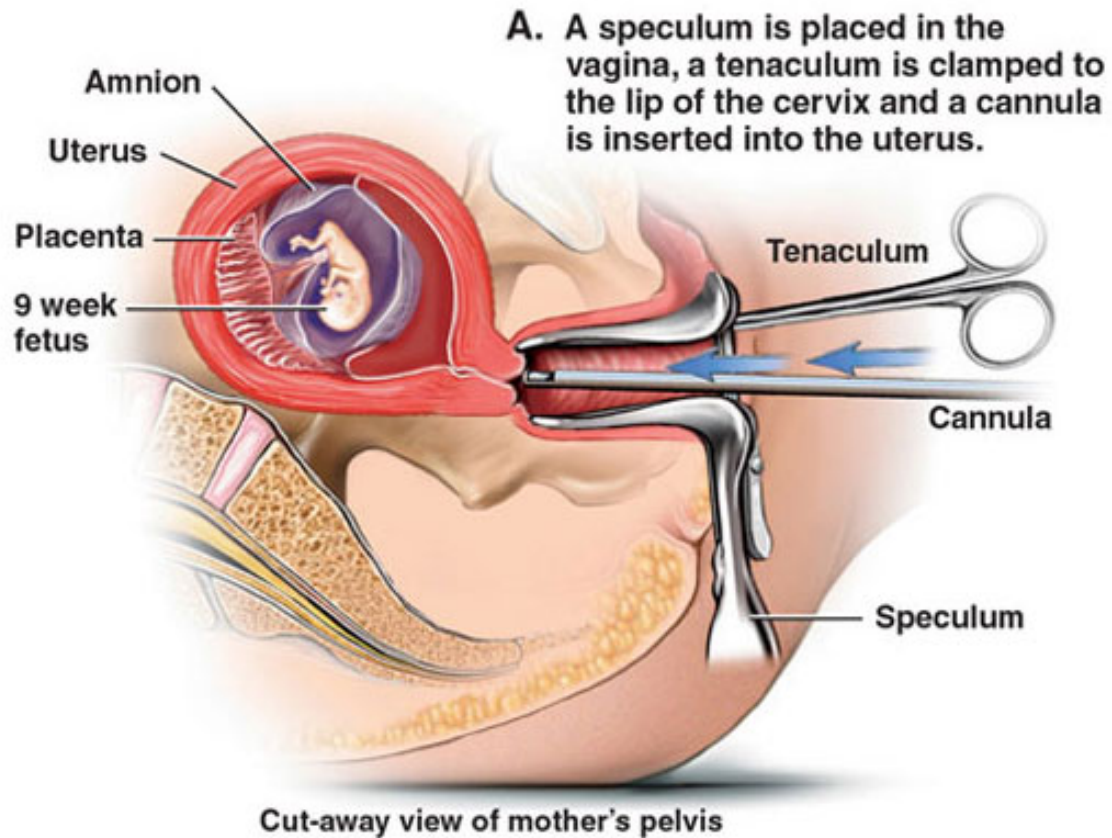


FIGURE 3

Photo: <http://clinicquotes.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/de.jpg>
 Website: <http://clinicquotes.com/an-abortion-doctor-describes-a-de/>

Dilation and Evacuation Abortion (D&E) of a 23 Week Old Fetus

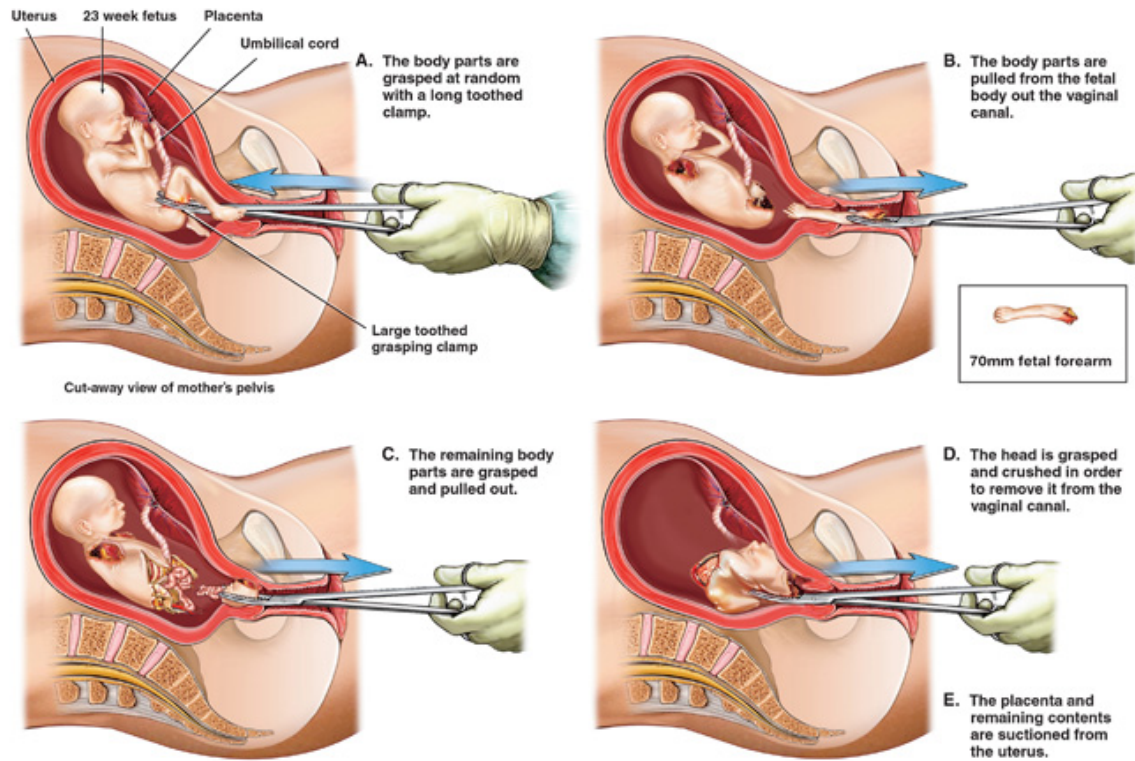
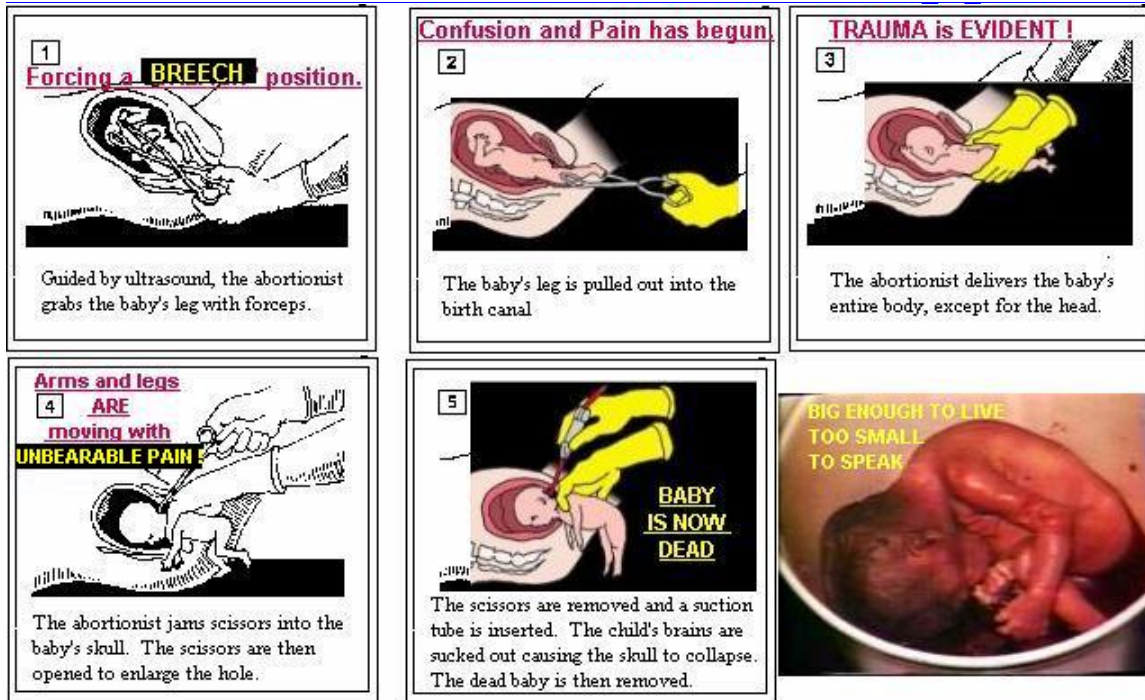


FIGURE 4

Photo: http://www.jesus-is-savior.com/Evils%20in%20America/Abortion%20is%20Murder/partial_birth_abortion.jpg

Website: http://www.jesus-is-savior.com/Evils%20in%20America/Abortion%20is%20Murder/horror_of_abortion.htm



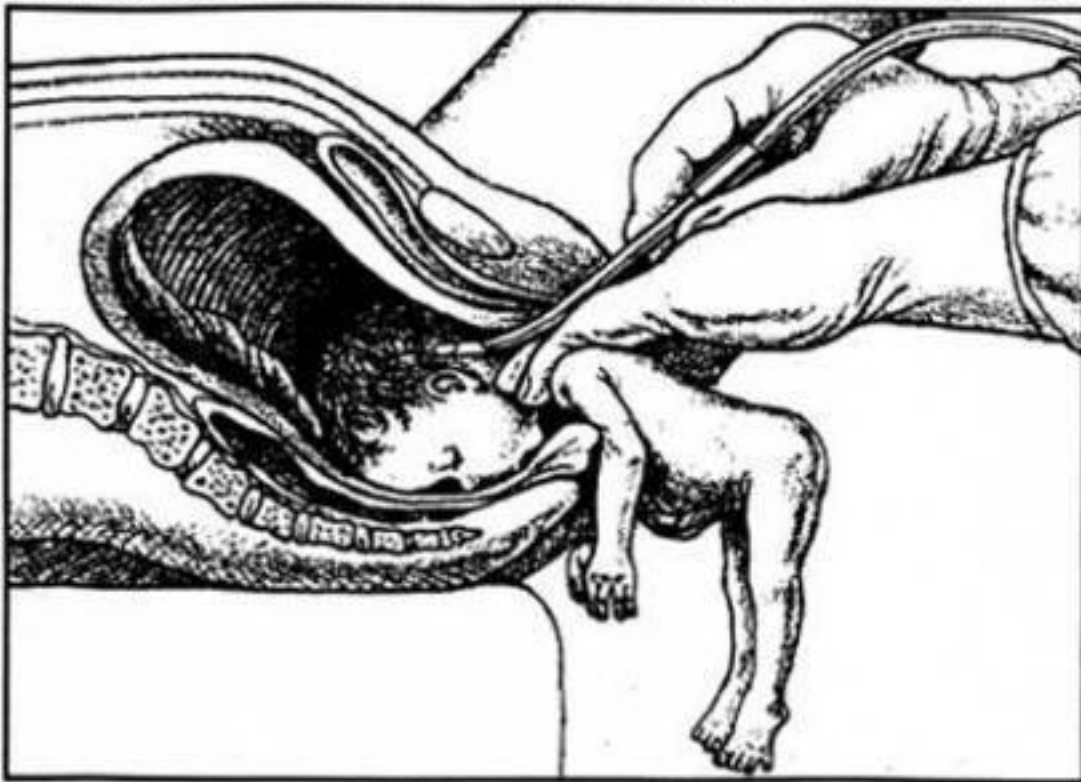
PARTIAL BIRTH ABORTION

FIGURE 5

Photo: http://www.truthnet.org/abortion/Partial-Birth_Abortion1.jpg

Website: <http://truthnet.org/index.php/abortion-info>

Late Second and Third Trimester Partial Birth Abortion



The surgeon pulls the fetus into the breech position. He forces scissors into the skull, removes them and inserts a suction catheter through which he suctions out the skull contents.

FIGURE 7

Photo: <http://www.abort73.com/preview/images/techniques/suction/02.jpg>

Website: http://www.abort73.com/abortion/abortion_techniques/

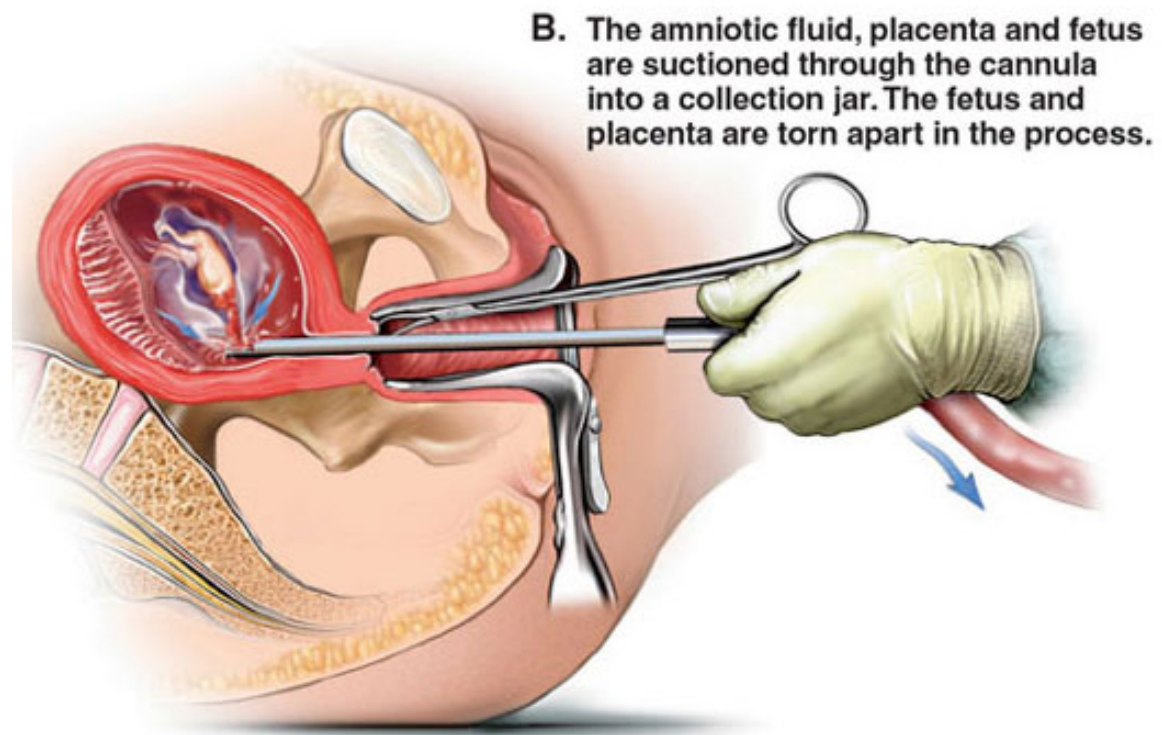


FIGURE 8

Photo: <http://www.inspirationfalls.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/abortion-concepts.jpg>

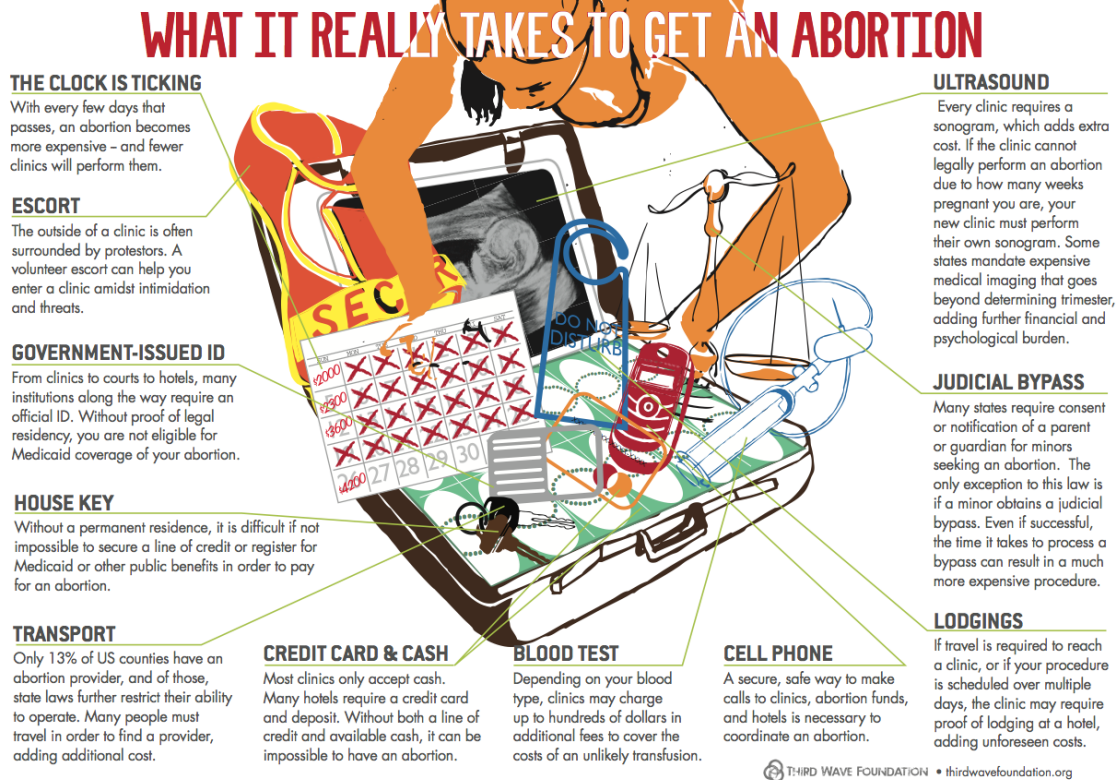
Website: <http://www.inspirationfalls.com/abortion-quotes/abortion-concepts/>



FIGURE 9

Photo: http://thumbnails.visually.netdna-cdn.com/what-it-really-takes-to-get-an-abortion_50290cf2680eb.png

Website: <http://visual.ly/what-it-really-takes-get-abortion>



Abortion never happens in isolation. This graphic calls attention to the barriers to obtaining an abortion that are overshadowed in current debates. For low-income and no-income young people, getting an abortion is a frantic race against time, and is complicated by limited access to money, safety, shelter, transportation, and documentation. Abortion funds can only address some of these concerns. Our advocacy will be most effective when we understand abortion access as a matter of gender, economic, racial, and social justice.

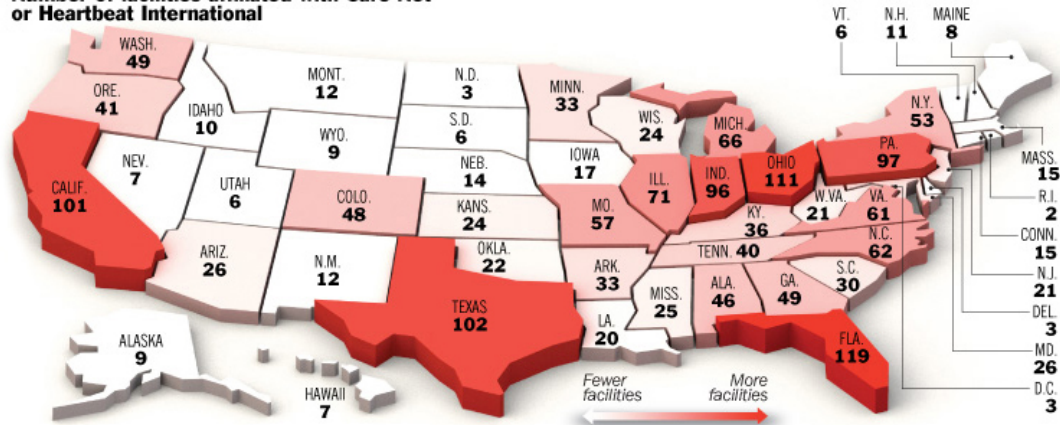
FIGURE 10

Photo: http://img.timeinc.net/time/2007/abortions/images/abortion_page1.jpg

Website: <http://thegospelcoalition.org/blogs/justintaylor/category/abortion/>

Abortion providers in the U.S. **1,819**
 Crisis pregnancy centers **Care Net** **Heartbeat International** **Others (estimated)** **2,300**

Number of facilities affiliated with Care Net or Heartbeat International



Abortions per 1,000 women ages 15-44*

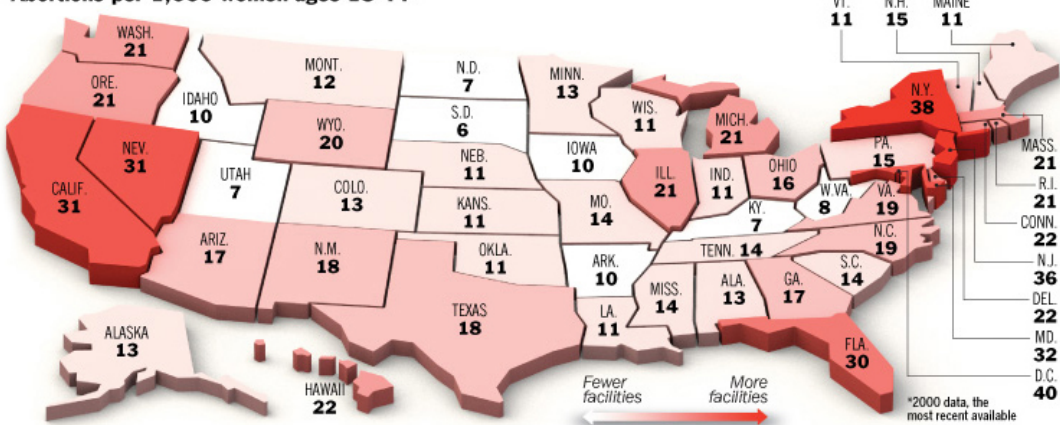


FIGURE 11

Photo: http://nini-chan.com/comics/2009-11-10-ninichan7_family_abortion.jpg

Website: <http://nini-chan.com/?p=17>



FIGURE 12

Photo: <http://www.bible.ca/abortion-einstein.jpg>

Website: <http://www.bible.ca/s-Abortion.htm>



*There are two ways to live your life.
One is as though nothing is a miracle.
The other is as though everything is a miracle.*

Albert Einstein (1879-1955)

www.bible.ca

FIGURE 13

Photo: <http://img.allvoices.com/thumbs/image/609/609/94425996-romney-and-abortion.jpg>

Website: <http://www.allvoices.com/cartoons/c/94425996-romney-and-abortion>



FIGURE 14

Photo: http://media.salon.com/2011/07/sex_selection_is_wrong_but_abortion_isnt.jpg

Website: http://www.salon.com/2011/07/01/abortion_sex_selection_debate/



FIGURE 15

Photo: http://www.medicallook.com/diseases_images/abortion.jpg
Website: http://www.medicallook.com/Birth_control/Abortion.html

