

## **Cultures of Abortion and the Female Fetish: Popular Culture, Abortion, and Political Imagery in post 9-11 America**

**Key words: abortion, feminism, access, women's rights, popular culture**

In 2013 Democratic Texas senator Wendy Davis made national headlines with her eleven hour filibuster to delay the passage of a Texas bill dismantling abortion clinics, and as such, access throughout the state. Among the many points of the law, part of it stated that the Morning After Pill must be administered by a doctor and all abortions must be performed within an ambulatory care facility (i.e. a full-fledged hospital). Davis's stand is certainly not the longest filibuster in history, but its purpose captures the essence of the moment aptly. The *Roe v Wade* decision theoretically protected a woman's right to an abortion, but it did not mandate access. Thus, in a de facto grassroots manner local and state legislatures are aggressively finding creative ways to dismantle not only *Roe v Wade* but women's choices in general.<sup>1</sup> As abortion rights are being legally chipped away in the United States, Hollywood has emerged as a platform for the vocalization of concern. Contemporary films such as *Revolutionary Road* (2008), *The Cider House Rules* (1999), and *Vera Drake* (2004), among others, are increasingly challenging the erosion of abortion rights in the United States by conveying the horrors and social, racial, and sexual injustices of the criminal period. Of course, alongside these proponents of abortion arises the denunciation of the act with flicks like *October Baby* (2011).

These films, primarily set in the post-World War II period (but before Roe 1973), serve as forms of protest reminding audiences of life during the illegal period. In

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<sup>1</sup> At the time of writing, this debate was still winding in the courts with an October 2014 ruling allowing Texas to shut down clinics. All but seven would close. See "Texas Abortion Laws," Planned Parenthood Center for Choice. Planned Parenthood, 2014. <http://www.plannedparenthood.org/planned-parenthood-center-for-choice/texas-abortion-laws>.

*Revolutionary Road* the abortion subject takes on the form of suicide, the loss of a dreamer, and the imagery of abortion is juxtaposed against the backdrop the traditional and ideal family. While the movies here show a counter to illegal access, clips of fetuses with an overlapped laughing baby infiltrating television shows (one example, the closing credits of *The Drew Carey Show* in the 1990s) permeate with a clear message of pro-life. Thus, this discursive debate demands a critical examination as the access and defining of women's bodies remains a topic at large with legislative mandates serving as portals of fetish desire and regulation.

Post 9-11 aggressive political campaigns have bounced through legislative halls, circumventing women's rights. Most notably, conservative politics have targeted abortion clinics and the Morning After Pill, and other venues of political strife have surfaced with the 2014 US Supreme Court Decision allowing employers to choose female employees birth control methods (*Burwell v Hobby Lobby*). Other continued assaults on women pertain to the failed Equal Pay Act, as Republican and conservative members of Congress continue to hold it at bay citing undue burden and unnecessary need as the 1963 Equal Pay Act made accords for fair pay and wages. Though, women still earn seven-seven cents to the male dollar, on average, and by and large women are still expected to take time off work for child rearing needs (Sommers 2010 and Paycheck Fairness Act). Men taking time is still considered an exception to the rule. Amongst these stereotypes and red taped walls, this concerted age of a prolonged war on terror the conservative strains demanding war are also making continued efforts to return the home front to the idealized time of harmony and a centralized family unit. This Golden Age, per se, of the Second World War and Post War era has long passed. Yet, legislation removing a

woman's power to access medical procedures, choose aspects of her own medical care, and compete equally with men for wages is not standing alone. The Golden Age also served as the last generation before the illegal period ended, and as such this vintage imagery invokes notions of not only grander but simpler times. These images, and pervasive designs, have manifested via popular culture and—as I would say—stem from political aspirations throughout the country.

Though—in the wake of the Tea Party's 2008 rise and the election of candidates publically and in written form against the advancement of women (one such example is former Governor Robert McDonnell in Virginia)—movies like *October Baby* reinforce these notions of conservative Republican Motherhood whereas women remain vital to the home and devoid of public space.<sup>2</sup> In *October Baby* the premise rests on young Hannah. She's a quirky nineteen year old, with an artsy side, who totes around a leather journal oozing of teen drama. Yes, the typical “my life is awful, I feel so alone, what is the meaning of life” type goo. Yet, after passing out on stage, during opening night of a play, the following scenes quickly lead up to her learning that A) she was adopted and B) she was the survivor of a failed abortion attempt. Here, in her doctor's office, with her mostly silent mother and domineering surgeon father by her side, Hannah learns that her emotional thoughts, those of typical teen angst, are believed to be a direct result of her “traumatic birth.” More medication is added to her daily list, and off she goes in a teary haste to grapple with the news that she's not only adopted but a nearly aborted fetus.

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<sup>2</sup> Two years before his first election, and two decades before he became governor, Robert F. McDonnell submitted his MA Thesis to Regent University in Virginia Beach. The document hoisted in the evangelical school's library provides a lustrous ninety-three pages denouncing working women and feminists, while laying out an aggressive plan to legislate women's rights back into the home and out of the public sphere. Aside from calling them detrimental to the family, and chastising a 1972 Supreme Court decision providing birth control to unmarried couples, he sought legislation for ten of the policy goals within that thesis during his fourteen years in the General Assembly. Amy Gardner, “VA Candidate McDonnell Says Views Changed Since He Wrote Thesis,” *Washington Post*. Online Edition. 30 August 2009. Accessed 5 October 2014.

In the thrust of this story the problem lies in how the saga is presented. Distinct color and class lines arise, particularly on the ideal of the white, Christian, middle class family. Yet, a subtle feature—just beneath the obvious layers—arises from the locale of the story. Arkansas is Hannah’s home. Where was she born? Mobile, Alabama. Thus, elements of southern reconstruction arise with the implied notion that the south harbors happy families, love, and community. Popular movies like *Sweet Home Alabama* directly show this mindset, with Melanie—the lead character—having married her high school beau on the wings of being pregnant. She miscarries, they dissolve, and she runs to New York to live her dream of becoming a fashion designer. Long story short, her beau would never divorce her, they reunite when she seeks his signature so she can remarry (a Yankee and politician’s son to boot), she then stands up her fiancé at the alter once learning she never signed the forms (convenient . . . at the alter), and . . . lo-and-behold they reunite, have a baby, and live happily ever after. The stories of these movies are different, but the premise is the same. Marriage, babies, and the south bread happy and healthy homes.

Back to Hannah’s miracle of survival. As she flees on a spring break trip, to New Orleans with a stop in Mobile, she finds the clinic of her birth closed and encounters the nurse who was by her birth-mother’s side. The nurse, not white, tells the tale of “remembering her mother” and that Hannah favors her. The whole story reeks of redemption . . . The added scenario of her twin brother, who died four months later having never left the hospital (and he was born devoid of an arm), brings the fetus out of the womb into a metaphorical space of personhood. This notion is becoming more common in the current rhetoric.

The creation of the fetuses as a person creates an obvious divisionary line to invoke—even silently—abortion as not a choice but an act of destruction. This act of destruction counters the current pregnancy culture . . . a culture not only celebrating birth but capitalizing on it with posed photos—almost like glamour shots of pregnancy—and other must have consumables like showers, pregnancy boutiques, and a pregnancy class for everything from how to get pregnant, pregnant yoga, to the how tos of nursery design. The fetal image, made crisper and in color via technology, extends this culture. But, just as classic gender binaries expect a women to, say, wear a dress and heels and a man a suit this modern gender periphery merges the ability and act of having a baby into a mandated category of social acceptance. Women opting out of pregnancy do more than circumvent this category. Just as shock therapy treated “depressed” and “despondent” women during the illegal abortion era, the modern shock therapy to cure abortion thoughts utilized the fetal image like a shock treatment. Forcing women to view ultrasounds before abortions is little more than an attempt to humanize the fetus, enforce guilt and social conception, and force an unwanted pregnancy. Twenty-two US states currently require women to undergo and *view* an ultrasound, but . . . in an ironic twist studies are showing that ultrasound observation is not deterring abortions (Mahony 2014).<sup>3</sup> Yet, factors have still been won.

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<sup>3</sup> Since the mid 1990s state legislation has attempted to usurp the choice instituted with *Roe v Wade*. Currently, twelve states require counseling or written material on accessing ultrasounds, twenty-three states regulate ultrasounds by providers, three states regulate an abortion provider perform, show, and describe the ultrasound image, nine state states demand the provider to offer to show the image to the woman, nine states require the image offered to be shown if performed as part of the preparation for an abortion, and five states state that a woman merely be allows to see her ultrasound if she requests one. “Requirements for Ultrasound,” *State Policies in Brief*, The Guttmacher Institute, 1 October 2014.

Why? This act is two fold: it serves to conceptualize and makes the fetus into a tangible whole and it capitalizes upon health care technology creating the ultrasound a commodity. Money is made via the purchase of this procedure, and the test causes clinics reliant upon donations and federal aide to be weaker financially as costs for services increase. Moreover, the fetus—framed as a photo of an unborn—elevates to a cultural icon. The fetus must be saved and nourished, just like boys are sent packages when fighting war. Here, the war is at home—literally and figuratively—as the possibly of future soldiers and mothers is squandered via medical procedure (Petchesky 1987, 281 and Babic 2012). Protection of every aspect of parenting is the norm, the high tech ultrasound on part of the diagram, and the celebration and joy of the unborn can not risk being tamed. Allowing abortion, letting women freely choose without emotional speed bumps and visual cues to block interaction, poses a threat to the idealistic and fetishized familial cultural myth. Thus, the rising cost of health care forces clinics to close, by default preventing abortions.<sup>4</sup> Uses of fetal images rely on emotional and scientific arguments attempting to place the fetus into a range of personhood. The viewing of the ultrasound, the printable (and tangible) photo from the procedure, hearing the baby’s heartbeat . . . these are all “biological realities” of fetal life, and by extension they humanize a fetus. Pregnant women are taught how to feel and act in regards to these igniters, with those who do not engage in the expected manner becoming outsiders of their own gender. They are acting outside the periphery of acceptable society, which threatens the home

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<sup>4</sup> The expansive, and perhaps pervasive, nature of modern medicine is also elevating pregnancy past the point of creating life to the point of hysteria and uncontrolled capitalism. Patricia Volk gives a telling opinion piece about the expanding nature of modern medicine, the fears instilled with the possibility of alerting parents to potential birth defects, lifesaving in womb surgeries, etc. The unspoken aspect of this piece is that those with health insurance and upwardly mobile middle-class means can afford these luxuries. Moreover, these are wanted pregnancies . . . a key difference from state laws mandating women not only have ultrasounds but view them. Patricia Volk, “The T.M.I. Pregnancy,” Opinion Pages, *New York Times*, online edition. 4 June 2014. [http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/06/04/the-t-m-i-pregnancy/?\\_php=true&\\_type=blogs&\\_r=0](http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/06/04/the-t-m-i-pregnancy/?_php=true&_type=blogs&_r=0)

(Oaks 2000, 74-5). These fetuses are then treated like babies, no matter the gestational stage. By design a woman's choice has been eroded through social pressure and medical technology.

This act of prevention circumvents the law because edict says they have to be performed, but the guidelines . . . well, they are vague. The law never says "safety" measures can not be installed. This prevention also falls, firmly, within the visual imagery and cues for holistic family values. The dominant imagery for pregnancy induces fairy princesses, sugared coated plums, and a seemingly all around level of bliss. Yet, literature and studies are growing in evidence that A) pregnancy does suck and B) pregnancy itself is a pain inducing, often nightmare flaring, just shy of a year of one's life.<sup>5</sup> Yes, just like happy images of abortion oppose the public's conception, the real image of pregnancy confounds us to a point of disbelief. Underneath it all, the image of making a life seeps through these edges as the dominant force. Though, the making of a life is a rabbit-hole within itself. Here, the question of viability is not the issue—as, well, with every new medical advance fetuses become viable at shorter and shorter weeks creating a continual debate on the matter. Here, constituting a life derives from what makes a person whole. Is it family? Is it love? Ideally, the pro-life rhetoric tells us that the option for life is better than none, adoption is always an option, and the cliché accounts of famous, wealthy, entrepreneurs like Steve Jobs elevate the messages with tangible proof of the greatness one's unborn baby could become. Of course, aside from oodles of wealth, Jobs is a par perfect candidate for the debate . . . he was born in the 1950s—the Golden Age—and during the illegal period. Jobs, most certainly, represents

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<sup>5</sup> A quick Google search provides popular titles to books, blogs, and articles. The book *Pregnancy Sucks: What To Do When Your Miracle Makes you Miserable* by Joanne Kimes tops the list.

what could have been.<sup>6</sup> Jobs's birth parents were both educated, and his adoptive family instilled education values in him (mind-you, he later dropped out of school). Thus, not every child has the mental moxi to be Jobs, but . . . on that same note saying two simpleton parents should abort is not the answer either. Instead, legality says it is a woman's choice. Social mindset, now, varies on choice to "let's make the right choice."

Making this right choice takes us back to the elongated story of Hannah. Her birth mother did not want her, and "did what she did." In the story, as the aged mixed-race nurse tells it, Hannah's birth mother insisted she needed to get an education and make something of herself. She does. She becomes . . . wait for it . . . a lawyer. She appears poised, cold, and a classic type A personality. Though, in a brief flirtation of holistic happy families, we see her toe-headed young daughter and attractive husband. The ideal family arises from this sorted tale. Though, the clear—and resilient—message permeates the air like a thick jelly. The woman's body is still mandated and regulated. As Susan Bordo states, "female bodies become docile bodies—bodies whose forces and energies are habituated to external regulation, subjection, transformation, 'improvement'" (Bordo 1997, 91). This body is the social marker—its control largely outside of female hands. The womb stands as an extended space for the nation and women are social derelict who do not produce and there is nothing to uphold the national ideal without little minions. Sending boys to war, rearing strong men are all part of the default narrative . . . Republican Motherhood then instills a must for producing babies. By this logic every child is of service to the nation . . . and the choice of abortion threatens this mob mindset

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<sup>6</sup> The subject of Jobs's birth, bi-racial heritage, and life have been subject of many debates. *The Telegraph* Steve Jobs: adopted child who never met his biological father. See : "Steve Jobs: adopted child who never met his biological father," *The Telegraph*, online edition. 6 October 2011. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/steve-jobs/8811345/Steve-Jobs-adopted-child-who-never-met-his-biological-father.html>.



as it leaves opportunity to make choices against “the right one.” Thus, just as Hollywood shows concern for the re-illegalization of abortion avenues presenting the so-called need to have every baby arise in the visual and gender debate.

This argument, though, stretches beyond the basics of gender alone. The female’s body, a long source of fetish desire, serves as the womb for society. Her harboring of life allows for civilization to grow, and the fates of kin, class, and even the nation could be put into jeopardy. This so-called “national threat” stood to prevent the birth of boys to defend borders, fill plants with factory hands, produce young minds to later lead, and of course—birth future mothers (Stormer 2000, 109-117). Though, the debate still remains largely male in the public’s mind, as pop culture maintains a shame window for women obtaining abortions. Women seeking abortions, even those of medical necessity, have somehow failed themselves. Her body, a mirror of US cultural values, portrays beauty and desire—symbolic of the prosperity of the nation—while also symbolizing honor and purity.<sup>7</sup> Once a woman allows herself to become pregnant, in the rhetoric here, she is marred if she chooses to not have the baby. Yet, the noble abortion for medical cause is the story most palatable with the social mind. Wendy Davis, that famed Texas Senator and champion of women’s rights, has released details of her two abortions in a tell-all tale preceding her bid for Texas’s governor’s seat. In the current political climate, she took a big gamble. Though, her revealing personal account reinforces the notion of acceptable verses pleasurable abortions. Pleasurable . . . those being for personal choice, of those

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<sup>7</sup> See Joan Jacobs Brumberg’s *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls* (New York: Random House), 1997 for a more detailed discussion on the imagery and sexualized national desire of American girls. Also see my own piece for comparative discussions on national identity and desire. Babic, “Eastern Eyes for Western Goods, Western Eyes for Eastern Markets: Consumer Goods, Popular Culture, and National Identity,” in *The Transnational Turn in American Studies: Turkey and the United States*. Tanfer Emin Tunc and Bahar Gursel, editors. Peter Lang, 2012: 253-270.

women choosing to end a pregnancy not for medical need but personal desire, strength, and mobility. Thirty percent of American women will have an abortion by age 45 (Shire 2014). Thus, judging of women for medical choices remains harsh, as in this case a woman without a child mars the expectations and confines of her gender.

Even pro-choice movies like *The Cider House Rules* engage with these gendered boundaries of control and acceptance. The 1999 movie is slightly before our time period, but its establishment and place within the discourse make it a must for our discussion as it creates a safety zone, if you may, for justifying abortion. St. Cloud's orphanage, in Maine, frames its illegal acts as a choice of "helping" or not (via abortion). The sad, poetic story of an unwanted orphan boy whom no-one wanted frames this story. Well, in reality, Dr. Lynch wanted him. In a story with odd and grandiose turns, the doctor raised young Homer as his right hand. Of course, the unspoken truth is an orphanage in rural Maine wasn't going to attract scores of attention . . . and as for the abortions, as the nurses at the home said "even then girls who come back for abortion after abortion . . . it's better than another unwanted orphan." At points it is alluded that the doctor aborted some babies without consent, on girls who returned with more than one unwanted baby. Through all of this the movie keeps its somber nature, and the scene when Homer learns of what he is disposing in the fire (he opens a white, metal pot) relies upon implied fetus knowledge. Here, without directly showing the viewer what lies within the parcel the fetus resonates in the imaginative screen. This cultural icon brings us to the edge of our comfort zone.

This pro-abortive movie even takes means to uphold conventional social mores. The nurses, and doctor, remark that these girls have no choice, scenes of poor, ill kempt

pregnant girls fill the abortion scenes, and the final two scenes of abortions still serve a moralistic purpose. Homer assists the doctor on Candy's abortion. She's a young, pretty blonde dating a GI. He's home to help on the apple farm, but he's due to ship out soon (as he's volunteered to fly the Burma Pass). The three hit it off, Candy has her procedure, and Homer finally leaves home with them. He sets sail, and ends up learning the ropes at the apple farm. Him and Candy then undertake an affair, while John is off to fight. During the course, comments are made about Candy being loose and fast. Thus, her abortion—let alone later affair with the assistant—are justified as she is “just one of those girls.” The last abortive scene forces Homer to change his stance, as he is opposed (having made comments he's glad he did not end up in the incinerator), as a young female, migrant farm worker finds herself in the family way. But, the real turn of the story here is not that Rose is pregnant. Instead, Homer takes an act of kindness on this young, black girl as the father of her baby is her own father. So, does Homer embrace abortion's positive impacts? Does he bring us a happy image of abortion? No. Instead, Homer serves the cause as a necessary measure to an unfortunate circumstance. It is all very unhappy.

About the time Homer comes to terms with performing abortions, we learn that John is injured (he's paralyzed from the waist down—another moralistic dagger at his and Candy's abortion) and Dr. Lynch has died (actually he overdosed on ether). Homer, then, returns to the orphanage, to run it as a trained MD (with fake credentials made by Lynch), to continue the tradition of helping young girls. Set firmly within the illegal period, Homer's takeover of the orphanage sets another public note. He, a doctor without formal training, performs abortions, births, and so forth as, well, finding cohorts in this

era was not simple or welcomed. Hinting, or asking, could very well get you fired or blackballed. Homer become the orphans savior. In his coming of age moment, of sorts, he regulated to continue the orphanage's savior. In his coming of age moment, of sorts, he regulate to continuing to "aide" girls. The female staff members of the home deferred to him—even with his absence of formal training—as his gender and medical title make him a default leader. In contrast, Hannah—whose story is billed as a coming of age film—finds her place within the family, subservient and mindful to her god-fearing father.

These characters compare to the dark, almost sad, image of abortion in modern film. Two long-standing and popular medical dramas both deal with abortion and paint it with expected colors. Abby—a nurse from *ER*—was a divorcee and alcoholic post her teenage abortion. Sam, a nurse she shared the moment with, had a baby as a teen. Sam's story said that she waited too long to do anything about it, but . . . "she couldn't imagine life without her son." On *Grey's Anatomy*, Christina is—well—a Type A, cold natured, driven personality. She has an abortion, after having an ectopic pregnancy, and being jilted at the altar.<sup>8</sup> Her character is already dark, and twisted, and post abortion her marriage collapses. Again, the image implying that something is wrong with a woman who aborts permeates. In a more candy-colored popular culture image, *Sex and the City* dealt with 2.5 abortions. There, Carrie had one in college from her boyfriend who worked at radio shack (a blatant reference to the abortion in *Fast Times at Ridgemont High*) and Sam had one. Miranda, though, fails to have the abortion as she got pregnant from sympathy sex after Steve had a bout with testicular cancer. Her pregnancy

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<sup>8</sup> A different discussion could certainly arise from this episode in that the character had the abortion on prime-time television. She didn't miscarry, or have it off film . . .

defied odds, making her decline on an abortion even more prophetic. Carrie and Sam . . . they fall into the “something is wrong with you” as Sam is a sex fiend and Carrie is a woman near living in her own shoe. Both are high end narcissists.

The modern rabbit hole of pop culture abortions does not stay within these stereotypical bounds either. In the AMC and Netflix series *The Killing* the lead female, Detective Linden, seeks a morning after pill. Yet, the juicy story of Linden and this pill fall into two of our imaginative and subversive categories. First, Linden—with a son of her own—is a deeply, and tragically, twisted soul who grew up in the foster system. The closest mother figure she has is her case worker. In her adulthood, she struggles and often outright fails at relationships, and in season two loses custody of her son. This aspect of Linden firmly places her in the damaged category of abortion seekers. Though, the finally of season three had Linden kill her captain, in a rash moment, as she discovered he was the serial killer keeping the city on the edge of fear. How does the morning after pill fit in here? They had been having an affair. Indeed, Linden’s quest for the morning after pill is justified, per se, as producing a killer’s baby goes against the traditional bounds of morality. Though, she is not without shame. The male pharmacist acts the part of a paternal sword holder, as he tells Linden to stop yelling—when she is not—and belittles her for seeking the pill. As she leaves, she turns and asks he if get enjoys degrading women who seeking the morning after pill, and she exclaims it is not his business but her right. The second category of Linden’s abortion falls into the moral lines argument. None-the-less, the use of the morning after pill in screen reminds the viewer that our abortions are not hidden anymore, they are legal, and women have options outside of dangerous, unregulated, and deadly methods.

Throughout the illegal period a constant theme shows girls dead: crochet hooks, the suicide in *Revolutionary Road* . . . of course, these dead females serve a multiplicity of purposes. They show the horrors of the illegal era, with questionable to no access, and . . . they show the image that “something is wrong” with these women choosing abortions. In the legal era, the underlying emotion of sadness overtakes the woman. Of course, as with every topic of intense debate, the legal era films also distort and manipulate the image. With *October Baby*, Hannah and her brother—those survivors of a failed abortion—were born the day after the attempt and at 24 weeks. Yes, 24 weeks makes six months . . . this abortion then falls into the third trimester category, which is illegal under the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban, third trimester laws, **and** Alabama has the post 20 week rule (Guttmacher Institute August 2014). Thus, the message and logic of this propaganda fall within a pragmatic category of distortion. This message also lands into the category of illegal again, as in 2009 Dr. George Tiller was killed for performing late term abortions (in Kansas). Since, only four doctors publically admit doing so (Caldwell 2013).

Finally, *Vera Drake* provides the look into the world of women, again during the illegal era, aiding women to seek abortions. This movie captures the debate at its core?: Should women engage in this discussion and aide one another with control over their own body? The women’s body still remains in the metaphorical hands of largely male MDs, screenwriters, and legislators. Her pregnancy is a fetish—as the dream state for it cultivates a culture of children and babies—and a woman who circumvents social requisite and uses her body without producing a child stands at odds with social norms. These visual cues, on both sides of the debate, are still serving as mandates of social

conform as each one still portrays the damaged women who does not have children, chooses abortion, and redefines social rule for her own desires. Vera, a devoted mother and wife, breaks social mores by not only stepping outside her working class status to aide women (wealthy and poor), but she steals away in the night to aide women in making their own choices under the heavy hand of legislation prohibiting pregnancy termination.

In each of these stories women having abortions are framed as having something wrong with them and being so-called deviants. Moreover, with the exception of the case of in cents, these women aslo pay a social cost . . . a lingering sese of loss (Hannah's mother), karmic payout with carrying for a paralyzed man (Candy), and the loss of her family's/children's trust (Vera). The stigma and shame are still propagated with conservative veins enlarging to remove access and choice. These films remind us of the damage done during the illegal era, yet . . . the dichotomy remains. Allow women the choice or force expectations of familial duties and desires upon them.

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