“The woman has to pay her sin”
- The conditions for a policy change in the abortion legislation in Chile
Abstract
The research question in this study is assessing the conditions for policy change regarding the abortion legislation in Chile. This was executed by conducting semi-structured interviews, with informants of a broad range of knowledge, and collecting written sources, with a particular focus on the abortion legislation in Chile, through a two-month minor field study in Chile, funded by Sida, in 2015. For this study, an analytical framework was created by combining Kingdon’s theory of Policy Window and Htun’s research regarding gender policy change in Latin America; the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy-, the social support- and the political support criterion. The analytical framework was used to examine the conditions for Michelle Bachelet’s policy proposal from January of 2015, which would decriminalize abortion in three instances; (1) when the women’s life was at risk, (2) when a fetus would not be viable outside the womb and, (3) in the case of rape.

The study showed that the conditions are favorable for a policy change in the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy- and the social support criterion. The favorable conditions are due to the issue of abortion in all three instances, being perceived as recognized by both the public and the political elite; the issue having a strong public support and a unified and strong issue network promoting a legislative change. The main difference between the conditions of the three policy proposals could be found in the political support criterion, where the issue of abortion in the case of a non-viable fetus or rape could possibly not pass, as a consequence of a fragmentation within the government and the decreasing public support for the Bachelet administration.
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1. Introduction

Few would deny the fact that questions regarding gender issues and women’s rights have grown in importance over recent years. As an example, in July of 2010, the United Nations General Assembly decided to create a new institution, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, also called UN Women, which would focus on gender equality and the empowerment of women all over the world. The creation of a new institution with the sole purpose of empowering women’s position and rights globally could be seen as a step toward a more gender equal world. Although significant progress has been made, there are still gender inequalities that remain deeply rooted in all societies (UN Women, 2016).

As Dwayer Gunn explains in his article from 2012, the focus regarding gender issues are seemingly different in between the more economically developed countries and the less developed countries. While developed countries discuss issues such as salary differences between the sexes, developing countries focus on issues such as violence against women and the right to abortion (Gunn, 2012). According to professor Victor Bulmer-Thomas, Latin America could be described as something between the high-income countries of North America and Western Europe and the poorest countries of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, in regards to indicators such as gross domestic product (GDP) and gross national product (GNP) (Bulmer-Thomas, 2003, p.5).

Although most countries in Latin America could be seen as developing states, at least one exception could be found in the case of Chile. The acceptance of Chile as an OECD member could be seen as an international recognition of decades of democratic progress and strong economic growth (OECD, 2010), which has resulted in a substantial decrease of poverty in the country. The Chilean government has also shown ambition in establishing new institutions to fulfill its commitments with regards to human rights (UD, 2012, p.1).

Even though Chile has gone through economic and social development in recent years, a report made by the Swedish ministry of foreign affairs criticizes Chile regarding some aspects of human rights, among other things for its total criminalization of abortion (UD, 2012, p. 15). The United Nations has at several times criticized Chile for its strict abortion laws and in 2014 the Human Rights Committee (CCPR) expressed its concern for Chile’s abortion laws and high rates of backstreet abortion, which according to the committees report has led to a high number of maternal deaths (CCPR, 2014).

Chile is one out of seven countries in Latin America that has a total ban on abortion, the other six being: Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Suriname.
(Guttmacher Institute, 2015). The abortion prohibition in Chile dates back to 1989 when Augusto Pinochet approved the repeal of therapeutic abortion, which had existed since 1931 (Dides, 2012).

What makes the case of Chile special is not only its recent economic and social growth, but also the fact that the country is led by a female president, Michelle Bachelet. Apart from being a trained pediatrician (Worth & Schlesinger, 2007, p.14), she has also served as the first Executive Director of UN Women (UN Women, 2013) and is in fact using her own political capital to push the abortion legislation forward. Since the abortion prohibition in Chile was implemented, there had up until 2015, been a total of fifteen bills seeking to legalize abortion in the country (Blair, 2015). Most recently, in April of 2012, the Chilean Senate voted against the proposed bills which would have liberalized abortion in three instances; (1) when the woman’s life was at risk, (2) when a fetus would not be viable outside the womb and, (3) in the case of rape. All three proposed bills where voted against with a minor majority and the question is once again up for discussion in the senate after the re-election of Michelle Bachelet as the president of Chile (Dides & Maulhardt, 2015).

After Michelle Bachelet’s first term as president of Chile, her approval rate reached 84% (Rawlings, 2013). Expectations were therefore high regarding what Michelle Bachelet would accomplish during her second time as President, and changing the abortion legislation has become one of the Bachelet’s administrations reform promises. In January 2015, Bachelet introduced a bill that could, if it passes, decriminalize abortion in the same three instances as in the proposed bill from 2012 (Marty, 2015). Many political representatives have previously voted against the policy when it was presented as a package. This time, however, the three instances will be discussed and voted on as three separate issues, in order to improve the possibility for progress (El Dinamo, 2015).

1.1 Purpose of thesis and the research question

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the conditions for a passing of Michelle Bachelet’s proposed bill of January of 2015 concerning a change in the abortion legislation in Chile. The study will be based on previous research aimed at explaining the conditions required for a policy change. Furthermore, this study aspires to create an analytical framework which could be used to examine the prospects for a policy change regarding gender legislation in different contexts. The research question for this study is:

*What are the current conditions for a policy change regarding the abortion legislation in Chile?*
1.2 Limitations

This study focuses on the conditions of the proposed bill of January of 2015, and not on the final result, that is, if the bill passes or not.

1.3 Outline

In chapter two, the theoretical and analytical frameworks of this investigation are presented. Chapter three outlines the method for the thesis and the material used. An explanation of how the informants were selected and how the interviews were conducted is also included in the chapter. The fourth chapter includes a short historical background to the abortion debate in Chile, and a presentation of the Chilean political system. In chapter five, the empirical results are presented through four conditions, which is the analytical framework of the study; the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy-, the social support- and the political support criterion. The sixth chapter consists of a conclusion. The two last chapters are the reference list and the appendix.

2. Theoretical framework

Since the purpose of this study is to investigate the potential for a policy change in the abortion legislation in Chile throughout 2015, the theoretical foundation for the study will be based on theories explaining the conditions required for policy change.

John W. Kingdon’s (1995) theory of Policy Window, also known as Agenda Setting theory (AST), is one of the most prominent theories regarding the policy process. It is focused on explaining the potential for a proposed bill to pass, through three streams; the problem stream, the policy stream and the political stream. For a policy to pass, the three streams have to be aligned, which would imply the right conditions for a policy change.

Mala Htun’s (2003) research regarding gender policy change in Latin America, from her book Sex and the State, will also be included in this study. Her investigation is focused on explaining the relationships between different actors in the policy process and how they affect each other in regards to legislative change in a Latin American context. Htun acknowledges four variables as important in the success of a gender policy in Latin America; issue differences, issue networks, state institutions and church-state institutions.

The reason for choosing these theoretical frameworks for my study are that they, in combination with each other, give a more complete analytical foundation because of their different foci. Both theories show how certain factors affect the final outcome of a policy process, although
they base it on different aspects. The theory of Policy Window gives a more general approach to the policy process and the potential for a legislative change, while Htun’s research is more focused on the relationship between actors and institutions regarding gender policy change from a Latin American outlook.

This section will begin with a more in-depth presentation of Kingdon’s theory of Policy Window and Htun’s research as presented in her book *Sex and the State*, and will conclude with a presentation of the analytical framework that is based on these two theories.

### 2.1 Kingdon’s theory of Policy Window

The Policy Window theory was first developed by Kingdon, in 1970s, as an attempt to explain how certain issues emerged on the political agenda. According to Kingdon, traditionally, the focus of many scholars was not to study the process behind decisions, instead scholars often focused on the implementation of decisions and how issues were decided. In his research, Kingdon followed the rise and fall of certain items on the agenda and studied why some items on the agenda are successful while others are neglected (Kingdon, 1995, p. xi). The focal point in Kingdon’s theory is what he identifies as the three streams in the policy process; the problem stream, the policy stream, and the political stream. (Kingdon, 1995, p. 168)

The problem stream is focused on how different problems get recognized and how different conditions come to be defined as problems. According to Kingdon: ”..important people in and around government could attend to a long list of problems” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 90), but the fact is that just a few of these problems get the attention of these important people. What factors contribute to some problems getting more attention than others? Occasionally it is because of systematic indicators. These indicators are often encountered by various governmental and non-governmental agencies monitoring different parts of society. At other times a problem could get attention by an unforeseen event, or even feedback from an existing governmental program which has shown disadvantageous results (Kingdon, 1995, p. 90f).

The recognition, or the attention, of a problem is often not enough to place the problem on the political agenda, the problem has to be perceived as solvable with clear alternatives (Kingdon, 1995, p. 114f). Thus, the second stream, the policy stream, is focused on if a solution to the problem is available (Kingdon, 1995, p. 19f). Kingdon describes the selection process behind a policy proposal as a ”policy primeval soup”, where ideas on how to solve a problem are many and often float around, but viable solutions to a problem often take time to develop (Kingdon, 1995, p.
According to Kingdon, the policy process develops when advocates for a certain proposal arises, he calls them "policy entrepreneurs". The proposal then modifies and is reconsidered by a large number of participants, who are, as Kingdon calls it "softened up" to the proposed idea. (Kingdon, 1995, p. 143f).

Finally, the political stream focuses on if the policymakers have the opportunity and the intention to change a policy. Factors that affect the political stream according to Kingdon are change in the "national mood, election results, changes of administration, changes of ideological or partisan distribution in Congress, and interest groups pressure campaigns" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 162f). The politicians’ perception of "national mood" does not necessarily consist of the mass public, it is rather a combination of attitudes of various groups in society (Kingdon, 1995, p. 162).

These three streams are, according to Kingdon, independent from each other; whenever the stream of problems, policies and politics come together at the same time, they create what Kingdon calls a window of opportunity. This window is only open for a short amount of time where advocates for different solutions to problems have the opportunity to lobby and push on their own policy proposals. With the following metaphor, Kingdon describes how policy advocates should act to affect and in the end change the policy process: ".. people who are trying to advocate change are like surfers waiting for the big wave. You get out there, you have to be ready to go, you have to be ready to paddle. If you are not ready to paddle when the big wave comes along you’re not going to ride it in" (Kingdon, 1995, p. 165). Therefore the right conditions must be in place for a policy window to happen and the advocates have to be prepared to act fast when the policy window opens, in order to create the best conditions for a successful policy change.

2.2 Htun’s "Sex and the State"

Htun’s research regarding Latin American gender policy reforms has been highly influential in discussions of gender laws in Latin America. In her study, Htun uses a comparative historical approach to explain differences in gender policy change between three Latin American countries; Chile, Argentina and Brazil, from early 1960s until the end of the 1990s. Some policy issues result in a completely polarized debate, where principled beliefs, perception of the world and even religious and ethical traditions clash. On the contrary, there are policy issues which provoke less debate, and are more focused on details. According to Htun, gender issues are often categorized by the first option, especially topics such as abortion often leads to strong opinions and disagreements. As Htun phrases it: "..abortion is one of the most thorny policy problems faced by modern
democracies. Few other issues provoke comparable moral outrage and political polarization” (Htun, 2003, p. 142). Based on the study, Htun identifies some key variables for policy changes in gender rights in Latin America, these are: issue differences, issue networks, state institutions, and church-state relations.

According to Htun, most scholars have the tendency not to make any distinctions between gender issues, instead they are almost viewed as if they all face the same challenges. With the term issue differences, Htun tries to explain the importance of separating between gender issues, because different gender issues generate different types of politics. (Htun, 2003, p. 13f).

Issue networks was originally coined by Hugh Heclo to describe specialized groups in society who possessed expert knowledge in different policy issues. These networks involve people from different levels, such as interest groups and experts in the particular fields (Htun, 2003, p. 15). According to Htun, her study emphasizes on the concept of issue network, which she describes as elite coalitions of people involved in the policy process. These coalitions function as catalysts for policy reforms, and they are ”..inspired by ideas of modernity, equality and liberty; changes in other countries, and international treaties” (Htun, 2003, p. 5). Htun describes these issue networks as key advocates for the gender rights reforms by mobilizing public opinion and consequently putting these reforms onto the political agenda (Htun, 2003, p.15).

Although issue networks are central actors in the reformation of gender rights, it is also necessary that elite issue networks, such as policymakers, are able to hook into state institutions. Htun explains that to be able to understand political reform, one has to understand the fit between elite issue networks and the state. It is therefore important to examine how the governing institutions and the political systems work, because they ultimately form the relationship between political actors and the prospects for a policy change (Htun, 2003, p. 17).

Htun’s fourth and final variable concerns the relationship between the Church and the state. The Roman Catholic ethics have historically been a major influence in the process of gender policy reforms in Latin America, as a result of the Catholic Church being a powerful actor in the region. The relationship between the Church and the state has at various times shifted, mainly because of the transitions between military rule and democracy in many Latin American countries. The shift has become significant for the Church’s influence on gender policy issues. During periods of Church-state cooperation, state leaders have had no interest in opposing the Church because of the benefits of gaining the Church’s political support. At other times, the relationship between the national government and the Church has been in discordance, which has made it possible for liberal
issue networks to oppose the Church and consequently produce a shift in the gender rights legislation. Therefore the cracks in the relationship between the state and the Church could produce a window of opportunity for a policy change in gender issues, despite the Church’s historical power and strong opposition (Htun, 2003, p. 22-24).

2.3 Analytical Framework - Categorization of material

In this study I have constructed a framework for categorizing the conditions in which the policy process in Chile is in, with regards to Bachelet’s proposed bill from January of 2015. The conditions and indicators to these conditions have been constructed through a combination of the two theoretical frameworks created by Kingdon and Htun. Since this specific study requires a theory which focuses on the conditions of a policy change, but also considers the specific conditions that are connected to the complexity of gender policy change in a Latin American context, a combination between the two theories is ideal. This combination creates a more complete analytical framework to this specific issue, and is based on four conditions; the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy-, the social support-, and the political support criterion. The indicators created for this study could not be identified as giving a full description of the conditions in regards to a policy change, although the indicators are selected on the basis of giving an extensive descriptions of the conditions in this specific case.

The criterion of problem recognition is a combination of Kingdon’s problem stream and Htun’s issue differences. The focus of both these variables are that the first step towards policy change is for the issue to be recognized and distinguished from other issues by both the public and the political elite. The existence of real-life cases that illustrates the problem, might improve the conditions for certain issues to both get attention and, in the longer term, gather public support for the policy. A national agency for gender issues enhances the possibility for distinguishing between different gender issues, since resources are invested into a state institution which focuses exclusively on issues related to gender and women.

The criterion of policy advocacy is a combination of Kingdon’s policy stream and Htun’s issue network. These variables aim at explaining the importance of different actors in the process of creating a policy change. The policy which is presented has to be perceived as having a clear solution. Therefore the existence of both strong issue networks and policy entrepreneurs are essential for a policy to survive. Impeding factors for a policy change could be the presence of well
established competing alternatives regarding the issue, a strong network contesting the policy proposal, as well as, an ambiguity towards the terminology used to describe the problem.

The criterion of social support is a combination of Kingdon’s political stream and Htun’s church-state relations. The focus of these variables are the public’s opinion on the issue and also the position of important actors, such as the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church, as relevant for evaluating the conditions and the possibility of a policy change. Htun’s research focuses solely on the relationship between the state and the Catholic Church. However, the increasing number of members of the Evangelical Church in Chile, and the fact that 15% of the current Chilean society identifies itself as part of the Evangelical Church (Nationalencyklopedin, 2016), makes them a relevant factor in assessing the conditions for a policy change. Therefore, the focus in this study will be on the relationships between the Chilean society and the Catholic Church as well as the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Their ability to influence the public in for example gender issues, is connected to their position in society. It is therefore relevant to evaluate their position and how the Chilean society perceives the churches.

Finally, the criterion of political support is a combination of Kingdon’s political stream and Htun’s state institutions. What connects these two variables is their focus on the importance of different political figures, their political capital and how they are fundamental in the process behind a policy change. The feasibility to advance in different policies is possibly facilitated by the actors supporting a policy change being unified and strong, while the actors opposing the change being fragmented and weak. The relationship between these political actors is of relevance, for example as Htun describes in her research, the Church has at times been an influent political actor in Latin America, especially in affecting political decisions regarding gender policies.

Chart 1. Analytical Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Indicators of condition</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The problem recognition criterion</td>
<td>• The issue is recognized by the public</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Real-life cases that illustrate the issue have received the public’s attention</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The existence of a national agency for gender issues</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Different gender issues are discussed by political elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The policy advocacy criterion</td>
<td>• The existence of policy entrepreneurs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The existence of issue network pro-choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The strength of issue network pro-life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Competing alternative for the policy is constructed and presented</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Consensus among actors regarding terminology used to address the issue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Method

This thesis is a qualitative case study based on a two-month field study in Chile during 2015, funded by a Minor Field Study Scholarship from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). The material for the study is mainly accumulated through fourteen semi-structured interviews with different informants. Additional to the interviews, the study will be based on various kinds of sources; such as newspapers, reports, legal documents, publications from organizations and previous academic research in the field.

As Bryman (2008) states qualitative research is more focused on the underlying meaning of words, rather than numbers. He furthermore discusses a number of additional differences between quantitative and qualitative research. Among other things, he mentions that qualitative researchers focus on the process and development of social phenomena, of understanding behaviors, values, opinions, and on achieving rich and intricate data, while researchers with a quantitative aim strive to obtain more hard reliable facts which often give a more static view of the study object and allows the study to be replicated (Bryman, 2008, p. 371f). Although quantitative research has its advantages, the purpose of this study is of a more qualitative nature, since the research question requires an in-depth and complex answer. The possibility to gain more in-depth information regarding the informant’s own perceptions is the main reason for choosing qualitative method in this study.

3.1 Material

The material analyzed in this study derives from semi-structured interviews and a collection of written sources which in different ways concerns gender issues in general and in Latin America.
specifically, with a particular focus on the abortion legislation in Chile historically and in present
time. The reason for using informants as a source of information in this study, is the fact that the
policy process, regarding Michelle Bachelet’s policy proposal from January of 2015, is currently
ongoing. Therefore, information regarding the conditions must be gathered by interviewing people
involved or with knowledge in the policy process since the specific policy process is currently
unexplored.

The reason for combining interviews with written sources is that the issue of abortion is, as
Htun states, one of the most complex and politically polarizing problems in a modern democracy
(Htun, 2003, p. 142). Therefore, only relaying on subjective statements from the informants could
be misleading, since many of the informants already have a strong personal interest and position in
the question. The written material is thus used in a complementary manner, where the focus has
been to determine historical and factual information.

According to Rathbun (2008), conducting interviews is an underused method in political
science due to a number of critical reasons; for example, that it is often difficult to gain access to
elite informants, that it is time consuming, often costly to accomplish and that informants often
have an underlying interest which could affect the outcome of the study. Rathbun maintains that
conducting interviews is the best suited method for obtaining information on the way human beings
intentionally strive to change their environment based upon their personal cognition and motivation
(Rathbun, 2008, p. 690).

3.2 Interview design
This section will focus on explaining the selection of the informants and the interview structure.

3.2.1 Selecting informants
The research question in this particular study concerns the condition for a successful or
unsuccessful passing of the proposed abortion bill in Chile. In order to conduct this investigation,
informants are needed that represent a broad spectra of opinions, ideas and motivations. The
selected informants are chosen on the basis of being experts on the subject of abortion and gender;
representatives from a pro-choice or pro-life organization; representatives of different political-
ideological tendencies and representing either the Catholic or the Evangelical Church.

The chosen informants are important actors in the policy process and their insights and
statements provide valuable indicators for evaluating the conditions for the proposed bill. According
to the theoretical framework of this study, actors from different positions within society affect the outcome of a policy. For example, Htun refers to actors within issue networks, state and church institutions, while Kingdon describes the various actors, both within and surrounding the government, as involved in forming the three streams of the policy process.

Most of the informants were accessed directly by phone or email correspondence, although some were contacted by the so called snowball sampling. The snowball, or chain-referral, sampling method involves the selection of an initial set of relevant informants, and then requesting that they suggest potential subjects who could be of relevance for the study (Tansey, 2007, p. 18). Each interview ended with two questions; firstly, if the informant could point out the most relevant actors in the issue of abortion in Chile, and secondly, if they had the possibility to contact these actors. This facilitated the possibility to gain key informants to the study, since I both gained knowledge in who the informants assessed as important for my study, and thereafter a possible contact to interview these key actors. According to Tansey, the method of snowball sampling could lead to informants ”suggesting others who share similar characteristics or the same outlook” (Tansey, 2007, p. 18), since they are able to chose subjectively. Therefore it is important to have a sufficiently diverse set of initial informants to assure that the sample is unbiased and balanced. Although there are some disadvantages with snowball sampling, it is a particularly good method for gaining access to elite people in political science (Tansey, 2007, p. 18f).

3.2.2 Interview structure

The interviews in this study used a semi-structured design, which is a method where the questions and themes are constructed prior to the actual interview. What is special in this method is the fact that it creates the possibility of being flexible in regards to the order the questions are asked and how they are formulated. Also it gives the possibility to ask follow-up questions, which in some cases creates the opportunity to obtain more in-depth and detailed answers (Bryman, 2008, p. 414f). This is well-suited to this study, since it is of a qualitative nature and therefore not dependent on quantifiable data, but rather requires the possibility to gather more profound information about the informants own perceptions and opinions.

4. Background

To be able to understand the abortion legislation debate in Chile one has to put it into its historical context. The aim of this section is thus to provide a background to the issue of abortion and briefly
present the features that make the case of Chile extreme. Thereafter a short presentation of the Chilean political system is presented to understand the political institutions behind the policy process.

4.1 The issue of abortion in Chile

According to Htun, Chile has the most conservative and restrictive laws on gender in Latin America (Htun, 2003, p. 172), although this has not always been the case. In 1931 President Carlos Ibañez made some reforms to the Health Code, which included the legalization of therapeutic abortion. What the term "therapeutic" meant was not clearly defined, but it was commonly presumed to function as a medical procedure in case of serious risk for the mother or the child. The law did not change in 60 years, until dictator Augusto Pinochet’s departure from power, when he removed the Health Code’s article legalizing therapeutic abortion replacing it with: "It is prohibited to carry out any action whose objective is to provoke an abortion" (Htun, 2003, p. 165).

25 years have passed since Chile became a democracy and still the law from 1989 remains the same. On the 4th of April of 2012 the abortion issue was for the first time discussed in the Chilean Senate since Pinochet prohibited therapeutic abortion. Since then, there have been several attempts to introduce policy proposals, which would in some way alter the current legislation (Dides & Maulhardt, 2015).

In July 2013, the abortion debate intensified in Chile with the news of an eleven-year-old girl becoming pregnant after being raped by her stepfather (Lopez, 2013). Sebastian Piñera, the president of Chile at the time, commended the child for her maturity in her decision to keep the baby (Stocker, 2013). The statement infused an already intense debate. The case led to both national and international discussions about the abortion ban in Chile, and in January 2015 the newly elected president of Chile, Michelle Bachelet, introduced a bill that could decriminalize abortion in three instances (Marty, 2015).

4.2 Chile’s political system

As Liesl Haas states in her book Feminist Policymaking in Chile (2010): "Any attempt to evaluate the opportunities for progressive policymaking on women’s rights in Chile must situate the analysis within the context of the institutional constraints on policymaking endemic to the Chilean political system" (Haas, 2010, p. 53). Therefore, a presentation of the current political system, which
includes the political parties and the legislative structure, is required in order to understand the complexity of the policy process behind a potential change in the abortion legislation in Chile.

4.2.1 Political parties in Chile

As a consequence of the 1980 electoral law, which established a binomial system, the Chilean parties have been compelled to create broad electoral coalitions with parties that in other circumstances would not collaborate. Traditionally, Chile has been divided into three different political-ideological tendencies; Left, Center and Right. According to Haas the parties representing these three political ideologies could be described as being strained by the binomial system, creating two political coalitions accommodating the three tendencies (Haas, 2010, p. 55f).

Although the political landscape, with the creation and splits of political parties, has at various times changed since the restoration of democracy in the country, there have been two coalitions that have dominated the presidential seat during the last twenty years. The coalition of the Left-Center parties called Nueva Mayoría, consisting of eight parties, for instance Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Partido Socialista de Chile, Partido Comunista de Chile and Partido por la Democracia; and the right-center coalition Alianza, consisting of four parties, including Renovación Nacional and Unión Demócrata Independiente (Bunker, 2013).

The ideological differences within the coalitions have made it difficult for the parties to find common ground and negotiate in order to create stability in the alliances. Particularly the Center-Left parties have had difficulties to find consensus in regards to social matters, which include traditional women’s issues, such as abortion. The reason for the difficulties lies in the fact that the parties which could be categorized as more Left, such as Partido Socialista de Chile and Partido Comunista de Chile, have had difficulties to negotiate with Partido Demócrata Cristiano, as a result of ideological differences and the splits within Partido Demócrata Cristiano in regards to gender issues (Haas, 2010, p. 55f).

4.3.2 The legislative system in Chile

According to the Chilean Constitution the President of Chile has the executive power, as well as being the Head of the State and the Head of the Government. Furthermore, the President of Chile has the possibility to take part of the legislative system since, together with the members of the congress, the President have the legal right to propose new legislation. Although the President has the possibility to propose changes in Chilean law, the legislative power is exercised by the congress,
which consist of a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate, since Chile has a Bicameral parliament. The Chamber of Deputies consist of 120 members elected by direct vote, representing 60 constituencies. These members are elected for a mandate period of four years. The Senate is constituted by 38 members, each Senator is elected for an eight-year period by direct vote (Landguiden, 2015).

A policy process is initiated by either a member of the Congress or the President of Chile. After a bill is proposed, it is processed by a committee from the originating chamber. Thereafter, a voting is held, where the bill is either rejected, sent back to the committee for alterations or is approved. In the case of a rejection, the bill is dropped, although under certain conditions, the President has the possibility to insist on a continued policy process for a bill that the President him-/herself has introduced. If approved, the bill is sent to the other chamber, also called the revising/reviewing chamber, where the same process is repeated. Provided that the bill is approved in the second chamber, the bill is sent to the President, where it could be either authorized or vetoed, both in parts or as a whole. In the case of the President using his/her veto, the Congress has the ability to object the President’s decision with the majority of two thirds of the votes. Assuming that the proposed bill receives two thirds of the votes in the Congress, it is thereafter sent back to the president for publication (MINEDUC, 2016).

A fundamental difference between a proposed law written by a member of Congress or Senate and the President is, according to article 74 in the Chilean Constitution, the fact that the President can demand that the discussion and voting of certain issues are limited to the maximum duration of thirty days (Constitution de Chile, 2016). In the case of the proposed abortion law in the three instances, the President could therefore demand a quicker process, since the bill originates from the President.

5. Empirical result and analysis

This section will contain the empirical results and analysis of each of the three proposed legislative changes, which are (1) abortion in the case of the mother’s life being at risk, (2) abortion in the case of non-viability of the fetus and (3) abortion in the case of rape. The empirical results from the interviews and additional sources will thereafter be categorized through the four conditions of the analytical framework; the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy-, the social support-, and the political support criterion. These will first be presented and analyzed individually to get a more in-depth understanding of the conditions of each proposal, since each criterion focuses on different
aspects of the policy process. The end of this section will contain a combined discussion where the four conditions of the three policy proposals will be further examined in relation to each other.

5.1 The problem recognition criterion

Chart 2. Analytical Framework: The problem recognition criterion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Indicators of condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The problem recognition criterion</td>
<td>• The issue is recognized by the public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Real-life cases that illustrates the issue have received the public’s attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The existence of a national agency for gender issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Different gender issues are discussed by political elite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As earlier mentioned, the first step in a policy process is that the issue has to be recognized as an actual problem by the public, in order to gain enough support to succeed. It is also important that the issue can be distinguished from other similar issues. According to a study made by the Guttmacher Institute, there is a lack of knowledge among the Chilean population regarding the consequences of induced abortion, which "prevents a fully informed debate on the impact of clandestine abortion on Chilean women and families” (Guttmacher Institute, 2016, p.3). This lack of knowledge is especially clear in the more impoverished part of the population, where the study shows that poor women are more likely to be prosecuted for having or assisting in an induced abortion. National police reports show that between 2003 and 2012, 3570 women and 975 men have been prosecuted (Guttmacher Institute, 2016, p.2).

According to another study, conducted by Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 11% of the respondents are unsure of the meaning of the concept of "abortion" and many confuses this concept with the concept of "contraception". 62% of the respondents having difficulties to assess the concept are women (Mifsud, 2015). This lack of knowledge, especially in the more impoverished sectors of the Chilean society, might ultimately affect the policy’s possibility to pass. Even though this could be interpreted as an indication of the issue not being recognized by the Chilean population, the majority of the informants in this study expressed the opposite opinion, that is, that the issue is recognized by the public. For example, Liliana Salazar Arredondo, Professor in Sociology and Gender Studies at Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (UAHC), explained that various public opinion polls clearly show that the Chilean society recognizes and demands a legislative change, especially in the three instances that are being discussed (Salazar Arredondo, 2015-06-03).
The exposure of real-life cases are sometimes crucial for different issues to gain attention, they become catalysts in the policy process. In the case of abortion when the mother’s life is at risk there are various well-documented stories of women losing, or almost losing, their life during a pregnancy, as a result of the current legislation. The case of the 36-year-old health reporter Paola Dragnic, who almost lost her life during a problematic pregnancy, recently gained special attention in Chile, possibly as a consequence of her profession. Four months into her pregnancy it was discovered that she suffered from triploidy, a genetic disorder that in the worst case would lead to her death. This gave her the option of either dying in Chile, or traveling to a country where abortion is legal, to have a procedure that would ultimately save her life. At the last moment, a medical intervention was made which included an abortion (Dragnic, 2015). The significance of this and other cases might be difficult to measure, but since this case gained attention after Bachelet’s proposed legislation, it might have some impact on the policy process.

In the case of abortion when carrying a non-viable fetus, there are various cases of women who have been obligated to carry out a pregnancy with a child that is unable to live outside of the uterus, often as a consequence of genetic defects. For example the case of Mónica Perez, a well-known journalist in Chile, who had to carry a non-viable fetus for five months before she could acquire any medical assistance. The reason was that for her to receive any medical attention, her fetus had to first have died naturally inside her uterus. She explained that the experience had been tremendously painful, but that she was humble to the fact that she had the resources to be able to go to a psychiatrist and deal with her loss (Publimetro, 2012), something that indicates that she perceives the issue of abortion in the case of non-viability of the fetus as connected to economic resources.

There are various cases that illustrates the fundamental problems of the current legislation in regards to abortion in the case of rape. As mentioned earlier, the case of an eleven-year-old girl becoming pregnant after being raped by her stepfather, gained both national and international attention. The President of Chile, at the time, commended the child for her maturity in keeping her baby (Stocker, 2013), which illustrates the stance in the issue among a part of the Chilean society. The fact that the case of the 11-year-old gained both attention and criticism, towards the law and the President’s statement, could also imply that real-life cases are important in creating public recognition of certain issues.

The existence of a national agency for gender issues could be an indication that certain gender related problems are receiving more attention, since the state is investing resources in an
institution solely focusing on gender related matters, thereby rendering them a higher status. It could also mean that different gender issues are being distinguished as separate and individual entities by political elite. Chile has since 1991 had a National Women's Service, called Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM), with the aim at promoting equality between men and women in the Chilean society (Drake & Jaksic, 1999, p. 421). As the third legislative change during Michelle Bachelet’s second term as President she reconstructed the National Women's Service to a higher institutional level by creating the Ministry of Women and Gender Equality (SERNAM, 2016).

According to Claudia Sarmiento Ramírez, Director of the legal reforms unit at SERNAM, several gender issues are being discussed at the moment in Chile. For example, inter-familiar violence, the economic autonomy of women, the political representation of women and issues regarding women’s sexual and reproductive rights (Sarmiento Ramírez, 2015-06-24). This could be interpreted as if the current Chilean government has the ambition to give issues related to gender a higher status and that they are making an effort in distinguishing between different gender issues, something that would probably facilitate a potential policy change.

5.2 The policy advocacy criterion

Chart 3. Analytical Framework: The policy advocacy criterion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Indicators of condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The policy advocacy criterion</td>
<td>• The existence of policy entrepreneurs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The existence of issue network pro-choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The existence of issue network pro-life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Competing alternative for the policy is constructed and presented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Consensus among actors regarding terminology used to address the issue</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To be able to analyze this criterion, the concepts of issue network and policy entrepreneurs have to be further explained in the context of the Chilean abortion debate. Policy entrepreneurs is a concept created by Kingdon to describe the fundamental advocates for a certain proposal. In this case one could identify Michelle Bachelet, the President of Chile, as the primary policy entrepreneur, since she is the one proposing the legislative change. She has at various times declared the importance of a policy change, and to legalize abortion in the three instances has become one of the Bachelet’s administrations reform promises (Marty, 2015). The fact that the President actually proposed the policy change gives it political capital and the possibility to be prioritized, and thereby voted within thirty days if the President believes that it would be beneficial. Furthermore, in the case of a
rejection of the bill, the President has, under some conditions, the possibility to insist on continuing the policy process (MINEDUC, 2016). The fact that proposals suggested by the President has an improved possibility of succeeding, is supported by Sarmiento Ramírez, from SERNAM, who states that:

"The executives [the President] have way more technical capacity to instal projects, they have a number of lawyers that can take time to look into a project and then present it having considered all theoretical background, [...] and also the possibility of having it as an urgency, that will make it go faster" (Sarmiento Ramírez, 2015-06-24).

The fact that the President is supporting the policy change in the three instances can thus facilitate the process, in the sense that she has certain legislative instruments at her disposal to adjust the development of the policy to her preference. Having the President presenting the policy could therefore be seen as a golden opportunity to achieve a successful policy change, an opportunity that the pro-choice movement in Chile have not had before.

Issue network is a concept created by Htun and is described as "elite coalitions of lawyers, feminist activist, doctors, legislators, and state officials - in bringing about policy change” (Htun, 2003, p.5). In the case of Chile, pro-choice organizations such as Miles, Articulación Feminista por la Libertad de Decidir (AFLD) and Humanas would be categorized as part of the issue network promoting a policy change. People such as Claudia Sarmiento Ramírez, from SERNAM, Anita Román Morra, from Colegio de Matronas, Karol Aída Cariola Oliva, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile, and Michelle Bachelet, President of Chile, could also be categorized as part of the issue network promoting a legislative change in the question of abortion. A problem facing this issue network is the fact that there is no consensus among these actors in regards to their ambition, since organizations such as Humanas and AFLD are demanding a more radical policy, while the organization Miles is fully committed to this policy process. This is a problem which the issue network opposed to the policy change does not have to face since it is fully committed to keeping the current legislation.

Although the concept of issue network is mostly applied to a group of organizations and individuals that are trying to achieve a policy change, it can also be used in describing a group that is trying to preserve the status quo, and is thereby against a policy change. In the case of abortion in Chile one could identify Ena Von Baer, Senator of the Republic of Chile, Rosario Lagos, Executive Director of the pro-life organization ”Siempre por la Vida”, as part of the issue network opposed to a policy change. Both issue networks could in this instance be described as strong, although the
different levels of ambition within the pro-choice issue network could be interpreted as harmful to the policy process, since it creates a divide within the group.

Another important indicator to assess the conditions of a policy process is the existence of competing alternatives for the policy. In the case of various alternatives, the probability of a policy passing diminishes. Kingdon calls it a "policy primeval soup", where different alternatives are competing for attention and acceptance (Kingdon, 1995, p. 116f). In this case, no other alternatives are currently competing with Bachelet’s proposal. Elsa Walker Echenique, Assistant Director of the legal reforms unit at SERNAM, explained that the parliamentary opposition had, previously to the current policy proposal, presented a project focused on "forced accompaniment" of the pregnant woman, rather than abortion. She mentioned that it is the only project which could be seen as contesting the current policy proposal, although she did not perceive it as a real competition since it had not gained enough support. Walker Echenique explained that she thought that this project was interesting, since it clearly illustrated the position of the parliamentary opposition in the issue (Walker Echenique, 2015-06-24).

The final indicator, in the policy advocacy criterion, for assessing the conditions of the policy process, is the question if there is a consensus among actors regarding the terminology used to address the issue. There are many opinions about how one should address different topics, and how one should denominate different phenomena. The three policy proposals are often referred to as "therapeutic abortion", and are often described as connected to different medical conditions, such as affecting the mother’s and fetus’s physical and psychological health (Casey, 2016). Among the informants the opinions surrounding the specific concept of “therapeutic abortion” is diverse. For example, Senator von Baer explained that she perceived the concept of “therapeutic abortion” as being irrelevant in the case of the three policy proposals. She further explained that in the case of a mother’s health being at risk she would receive the medical assistance she required, while the other two instances could not, to her opinion, be denominated as "therapeutic":

"What happens is that therapeutic abortion is a thing that does not exist, that is, what is a therapeutic abortion? We really wonder, what is a therapeutic abortion? […] When it comes to a mother, who is ill with cancer, chemotherapy is applied in Chile although that will affect the fetus.” (von Baer, 2015-06-17).
On the other side, Sarmiento Ramírez, from SERNAM, questioned the use of the concept of "pro-aborto", which would translate to "pro-abortion", which is the term referring to the "pro-choice" movement in Chile. She explained that she believed that the expression was wrongly used since no organizations are supporting abortion, rather they are supporting the idea of women having a choice of "deciding over their own fate". She suggested the use of concepts such as "pro-derecho de la mujer", which would translate to "pro-rights of women", and the more English inspired "pro-opción", which would translate to "pro-choice" (Sarmiento Ramírez, 2015-06-24).

These two cases shows an ambiguity towards the denomination of some of the basic concepts surrounding abortion in Chile. This could possibly affect the policy process since the terminology is often important, especially when discussing the topic. If the political actors are in discord about the terminology, this could thereby harm the debate since the actors might be discussing the same aspects of an issue, but using different concepts to describe it.

### 5.3 The social support criterion

#### Chart 4. Analytical Framework: The social support criterion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Indicators of condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The social support criterion</td>
<td>• Public opinion regarding the issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Catholic Church’s position in the abortion issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Catholic Church’s position in the Chilean society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Evangelical Church’s position in the abortion issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Evangelical Church’s position in the Chilean society</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to encuesta Cadem, a recurrent public opinion poll in Chile, there is a clear majority supporting the idea of a legislative change in the case of the mother’s life being at risk. Between February 13th 2014 and March 24th 2016 the public support varied between 74% and 82% (Plaza Pública Cadem, 2016). This view was supported by the informants, since the majority agreed with the idea that the Chilean society wanted a policy change in this instance. Senator von Baer, who is one of the most influent pro-life representatives in Chilean society, even explained that it was not even an issue, that:

"Today in Chile, if there is a mother who is at risk of losing her life and the medical treatment that can be applied would affect the fetus, that medical treatment is applied. In fact, it is obvious because if the mother does not survive, the fetus would probably not survive either" (von Baer, 2015-06-17).
This statement indicates that even the strongest opponents to a policy change partly agrees with the perception of "abortion", or some kind of medical intervention, in the case of a mother’s life being at risk. Although the informant never stated that she agreed with a policy change, and even expressed the opinion that an abortion in this case is "an irrelevant discussion" (Baer, 2015-06-17), one could interpret her as accepting towards the policy change.

According to the same public opinion poll, there is a high support towards a policy change in the case of non-viability of the fetus and in the case of rape, although the support is slightly lower in both instances. In the case of non-viability of the fetus between 70% and 76% of the Chilean population supported a policy change. This clearly indicates that a large majority of the population supports the change in this instance, although the support is lower than in the case of abortion in saving the women’s life. Finally, the public support for a policy change in the case of rape varied between 69% and 79% (Plaza Pública Cedem, 2016), which indicates, that a large majority of the Chilean society also supports a legislative change in the case of rape.

The position of the Catholic Church, and its ability to influence the society, is connected to its legitimacy in the eyes of the Chilean people. The Catholic Church’s position in the abortion issue and its position in Chilean society, are two important indicators in assessing the conditions for a gender policy change. According to Htun, the Catholic Church has consistently been a major influence in the gender rights legislation in Latin America, and especially in Chile. The Catholic Church has historically had a strong position against more liberal and progressive gender laws, particularly in legislation concerning divorce and abortion (Htun, 2003, p. 22). According to Tony Mifsud, Priest in the Catholic Church and Professor of Moral Theology and Director of the Ethics Department at Universidad de Alberto Hurtado, the Catholic Church morally accepts medical interventions in the case of a mother’s life being at risk. However, it is against any kind of abortion or medical intervention in the case of non-viability of the fetus or rape. He further explained this statement by emphasizing the Church’s perception of life and stating that the Catholic Church perceives the human life as sacred (Mifsud, 2015-07-03).

The strong ties between the Catholic Church and the Chilean state is linked to the fact that the Church was a major actor in the struggle against the military rule in Chile and during the consolidation of democratic rule after the overthrow of Pinochet’s dictatorship in 1989. This cooperation between the Church and the state gave the Church the possibility to influence public policies, a clout that was used when the Church for example opposed the democratic government’s
plan to legalize divorce and abortion in the late 1990’s (Htun, 2003, p.8). Chile finally legalized the right to divorce in 2004, after a more than a century long struggle (Ross, 2004). The fact that a policy change regarding divorce took over a century to become reality, could be an indication of the strong influence that the Catholic Church has in the Chilean society, but it could also be illustrating the fact that even though the Church certainly decelerated the policy process, it could not completely stop the policy passing through both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

Although the informants agreed that the Catholic Church has historically had an influential position in Chilean Society, most informants also suggested that the Church’s power is diminishing as a consequence of the various cases of abuses that have been exposed. For example, cases of pedophilia and sexual assaults from Catholic priests have affected the public’s opinion and thereby challenged their legitimacy. Mifsud further explained the Catholic Church’s position in Chilean society by stating:

"Today in Chile, the Church has lost much credibility as an institution […] especially in sexual matters, they have lost a lot of credibility" (Mifsud, 2015-07-03).

The fact that the Catholic Church has been losing legitimacy in the Chilean society, especially in issues of sexual and reproductive rights, could indicate favorable conditions for a policy change. A weak Catholic Church could therefore facilitate a policy process which would legalize abortion in all three instances.

The position of the Evangelical Church, and its ability to influence the society, is connected to its legitimacy in the Chilean society. Although the Evangelical Church has historically not had as much influence as the Catholic Church in the Chilean society, its increasing number of members makes it relevant in assessing the conditions for abortion. Izani Bruch, Bishop President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chile, explained her personal opinion by stating:

"I totally agree with the project. […] I think that abortion should not be penalized under any circumstances and of course under the three causes that are presented in the project" (Bruch, 2015-07-02).
This clearly indicates that at least parts of the Evangelical Church has a different position than the Catholic Church, by having a more liberal view on abortion. Bruch also explained that her position was based on her ideas on justice and safety, she stated:

“I think the current law is a law that encourages clandestine abortion, where women have to risk their lives. […] we also know that if you have the resources in Chile you can do abortions safely, and if you do not have it you will have to do it anywhere and thereby risking your life and your health” (Bruch, 2015-07-02).

This clearly indicates two things, firstly the fact that she perceives that the issue of abortion creates a divide between people with resources and people without, which clarifies the idea that abortion in Chile is an issue of economic class and wealth. Secondly, she perceives the issue of abortion as a question of health and security, rather than a moral question. This is an interesting factor since religious representatives are often perceived as focusing on moral rules and ethics, rather than health and personal security, which are concepts that are more commonly associated with professions such as doctors or nurses.

Since the Evangelical Church consist of different orientations, opinions might differ within the Church. Senator von Baer identified herself as of the Evangelical Church, and mentioned that her position could be described as the same as the Evangelical Church, which is a position strongly against abortion. Although she did not mention what orientation of the Evangelical Church she was part of, the simple fact that she described a part of the Church as being strongly against abortion indicates a divide within the Evangelical Church. This could be interpreted as a fragmentation inside the Church, which might be both a disadvantage or an advantage for the policy process, depending on which position that dominates the debate within the Church.

The Evangelical Church’s ability to influence the public, in for example gender policies, is connected to its position in society, how it chooses to prioritize the issue and what strategy it uses. As earlier mentioned, the Evangelical Church is less influential in the Chilean society than the Catholic Church, since it has less supporters. It is difficult to estimate its power in the question of abortion, since the correlation between the position of the Evangelical Church and public policies is less well documented. When it comes to how the Evangelical Lutheran Church prioritizes the issue, Izani Bruch explained that she believes that it is important to recognize the separation between the state and the Church and that even though the Evangelical Lutheran Church has a position, she
believes that it is important not to impose its position on the Chilean society. Bruch also made it clear that the issue of abortion is not one of her Church’s main focuses, even though ”all kinds of injustices” (Bruch, 2015-07-02) are a priority for the Church. The strategy used by the Church is therefore limited to only giving its opinion when ”asked to do so” (Bruch, 2015-07-02). This restricts the Evangelical Lutheran Church’s possibility to affect the debate since it has a passive position.

The apparent weakend position of the Catholic Church, as well as a fragmented and a relatively weak position of the Evangelical Church could signify an opportunity for the pro-choice movement to advance in the question of abortion and consequently produce a shift in the gender rights legislation in Chile.

5.4 The political support criterion

Chart 5. Analytical Framework: The political support criterion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Indicators of condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The political support criterion</td>
<td>• The position of the government&lt;br&gt;• The government unified in its position&lt;br&gt;• Public support of the government&lt;br&gt;• The position of the parliamentary opposition&lt;br&gt;• The parliamentary opposition unified in its position&lt;br&gt;• The relationship between pro-choice organizations and the government&lt;br&gt;• The relationship between pro-life organization and the government&lt;br&gt;• The relationship between the Catholic Church and government&lt;br&gt;• The relationship between the Evangelical Church and government</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The position of the government, how unified it could be described to be and the public support of the government are important indicators in assessing the conditions for a policy proposal. In the case of abortion when the mother’s life is at risk, one could describe the government’s position as quite clear and unified - they support the policy proposal. Cariola Oliva, Member of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile, described the government as especially unified in the case of the mother’s life being at risk. She clarified that her party, Partido Comunista de Chile, which is one of the parties creating Nueva Mayoría, has a unified position supporting the policy proposal in all three instances (Cariola Oliva, 2015-06-30).

When investigating the government’s position in the issue of abortion in the case of non-viability of the fetus, several different positions within the current government concerning the
policy proposal emerged, which indicates that the government is not fully unified in the issue. In the interview with Salazar Arredondo, she pointed out the divide within Partido Demócrata Cristiano as the fundamental obstacle inside of the current government, in affecting the conditions for a successful policy change (Salazar Arredondo, 2015-06-03). In July of 2015, Partido Demócrata Cristiano, publicly stated their uncertainty towards parts of the policy proposal, focusing on abortion in the case of non-viability of the fetus and rape. The vice-president of the party and Member of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile, Matías Walker, confirmed the divide by stating that:

"There is a majority feeling among legislators DC [Demócrata Cristiano] that the project has an imbalance, it does not incorporate positive state actions that encourage women to choose life" (Canales, 2015).

In the same statement, it was announced that only four out of twenty-one members of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile from that party would approve the policy in its current formulation. Walker explained the party’s uncertainty regarding abortion in the case of non-viability of the fetus, by stating that the party demanded that the policymakers "clarified the concept of inviable fetus and incorporated the father’s consent" (Canales, 2015). The fact that Partido Demócrata Cristiano, is the second largest party in Chile and also the largest party in the government coalition, contribute to illustrate the large divide between the governing parties. This could be damaging for the policy process, especially in the second and third proposal, where the governing parties either have to try to find a solution to accommodate the party’s input, or ignore it and possibly lose the votes in the Chamber of Deputies.

Furthermore, Walker stated that abortion in the case of rape is "even more complex" than abortion in the case of a non-viable fetus, and that some of the three cases "could be in danger of being rejected" (Canales, 2015). This indicates that abortion in the case of a non-viable fetus and in the case of rape a is especially polarizing within Partido Demócrata Cristiano.

*The public support for Bachelet* has decreased dramatically since her reelection, and in 2015 her public support rating was at an all-time low, with her rating dropping to 20% (Reuters, 2016). This decrease could slow down, or even fully halt the policy process, since the abortion policy is a polarizing and a highly sensitive issue. Bachelet would therefore need strong support to be able to pass the policy proposal, while low public support could harm her own political capital, and consequently harm the possibility for her to fulfill her reform promises.
In the case of the parliamentary opposition, their position could be described as strongly opposing the policy change, although in the interview with von Baer, she confessed that "there are different positions within the right on these issues" (von Baer, 2015-06-17). Von Baer clarified that her party, Unión Demócrata Independiente, "always have had the same position" (von Baer, 2015-06-17) in regards to the abortion legislation, which is full opposition to any kind of policy change. These statements clearly illustrate that even though the parliamentary opposition is mostly against a policy change, there are people within the group with a different opinion, which indicates that the opposition might be slightly fragmented. The fact that Evelyn Matthei, a Senator from the same party as von Baer, recently positioned herself as being in favor of a policy change in regards to abortion in the three instances, illustrates not only a fragmented parliamentary opposition, but also a divide within Unión Demócrata Independiente. Matthei states that "I loathe that in a situation where a women’s life could be in danger, the state by law has the ability to decide. This is an issue of moral sense that each family has to deal with” (La Tercera, 2012).

The relationship between the government and different organizations or/and institutions could be perceived as relevant, since a good relationship could imply that the organization or/and institution has the possibility to influence the government directly. In this case, the focus will be on the relationship between the government and pro-choice as well as pro-life organizations and different religious institutions. In the case of pro-choice organizations, the representatives from the three different pro-choice movements, Miles, AFLD and Humanas, recognized a good relationship with the current government. Cariola, from PCCh, described the relationship with pro-choice organizations as "very strong" (Cariola Oliva, 2015-06-30).

In the case of pro-life organizations, Cariola described a completely different relationship, an almost non-existent one. This idea was also verified by Rosario Lagos, from "Siempre por la Vida”, who stated that "we have no relationship. We have never had a relationship with any government” (Lagos, 2015-06-26).

The relationship between different religious institutions and the government was also described as mostly formal, especially with Bachelet’s administration. Salazar Arredondo, stated that:

"The current administration of government only maintains diplomatic and formal relations with the Catholic Church, it has no influence on the current coalition” (Salazar Arredondo, 2015-06-03).
This statement indicates that there is a mostly formal, or diplomatic, relationship between the government and the Catholic Church, which probably also displays the relationship between the government and the Evangelical Church, since the Catholic Church traditionally always have had a more significant relationship with the Chilean government.

5.5 Combined analysis

The study showed that the conditions could be perceived as favorable for a policy change, especially in the case of the mother’s life being at risk. The favorable conditions are mainly due to the issue of abortion being perceived as recognized by both the public and the political elite; the issue having a strong public support and a unified issue network promoting a legislative change.

When comparing the four conditions for the three policy proposals, I noticed that the conditions in regards to the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy- and the social support criterion could be perceived as favorable towards a policy change in all three instances. In the criterion of problem recognition, all three proposals are seemingly well-recognized in the Chilean society, possibly as a consequence of various well-documented cases that has enabled the issue to receive attention. Some lack of knowledge, often among the more impoverished part of the population, must however be taken into account, especially since a lot of evidence is pointing to the fact that the abortion issue in Chile is connected to economic resources. The existence of a national agency for gender issues, and the fact that various gender issues are being discussed in Chile could be seen as positive indicators for a policy change.

In regards to the conditions of a policy change within the policy advocacy criterion, both the policy entrepreneur and the issue networks investigated in this study are the same in all three instances. This means that the struggle is similar in all the three policies. The main issue among the issue network fighting for a policy change is the fact that they are divided in their final aim, while some are fighting for a policy change in these three instances, others are hoping for a more radical abortion legislation. Since there is no competing alternative in this case, the current policy proposal is gaining full attention, which could be seen as a positive step towards a policy change. Regarding the terminology consensus among political actors, there are various concepts that are not clearly defined, such as ”therapeutic abortion” and ”pro-abortion”. Although it is difficult to assess the importance of terminology consensus, one could assume that it could be harmful to the policy process since it confuses the debate and makes it even more difficult to reach unanimity among political actors.
The public opinion polls and the fact that most informants were quite unanimous in considering that the public wanted a policy change in these three instances, suggest that the Chilean people are requesting a policy change. The weakened position of the Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church could be seen as significant since the Church historically always has had a strong influence in the Chilean society, especially in the case of public policies. The fact that the public is supporting the policy and that the Churches’ influence is diminishing, could be seen as a golden opportunity for the pro-choice movement to achieve their goal of a policy change.

The main difference between the three policy proposals can be found in the political support criterion. Although the public is requiring a policy change in the issue of abortion, the political institutions are less keen to make that change. Possibly the biggest obstacle to achieve a policy change is the division within the current government. The fragmentation in regards to abortion in the case of non-viability of the fetus and rape is especially polarizing, since the largest party of Nueva Mayoria is publicly opposing the policy change in these instances. This indicator could be seen as particularly important, in combination with the fact that the Bachelet administration is losing public support. The low support for the Bachelet administration is affecting her political capital, and thereby damaging the possibility for this dividing issue to pass the Chilean legislative system, which in itself could be seen as an impediment. The Chilean binomial system could hinder the process since the policies have to gain majority in two different votings, firstly in the Chamber of Deputies and secondly in the Senate. This creates an aggravating policy process, which could ultimately stop the policy from passing.

The parliamentary opposition could be identified as much more unified in their position against the policy proposal, in comparison to the government, although some opposition within the parliamentary opposition has been identified. The significance of the relationship between the government and different organizations and institutions could be seen as important, although it is difficult to assess their possibility to influence the policymakers and the politicians.

As a final reflection in the abortion debate, I would like to focus on the fact that a policy change regarding these three specific instances is probable, but a more radical abortion legislation would be highly unlikely, at least in a near future. The reason is that abortion is still perceived as a women’s responsibility and the Chilean population is against a more liberal abortion legislation. Public opinion polls show that only between 13% to 20% of Chileans believes that abortion is acceptable in the case of the mother having economic difficulties to maintain a child (Cedem, 2016). This is connected with the view that if a woman becomes pregnant by being careless, it is her
own fault, which implies that the Chilean society still perceives a pregnancy as the responsibility of the woman and in the case of a woman becoming pregnant unwillingly, "the woman has to pay her sin" (Lamadrid, 2015-06-05).

6. Conclusion

The research question in this study was assessing the conditions for a policy change regarding the abortion legislation in Chile. This was accomplished by conducting semi-structured interviews, with informants of a broad range of knowledge, and collecting written sources, which in different ways relates to gender issues in general and in Latin America, during a two-month minor field study in Chile, funded by Sida, in 2015.

The study showed that the conditions are favorable for a policy change in the problem recognition-, the policy advocacy- and the social support criterion; this indicates that the issue is recognized by the public and the political elite, as well as having a strong support among the public and policy advocates. The main difference between the three policy proposals could be found in the political support criterion, where the issue of abortion in the case of a non-viable fetus or rape could possibly not pass, as a consequence of a fragmentation within the government and the low public support for the Bachelet administration.

To conclude, I would like to acknowledge the fact that assessing the conditions for policy change in the issue of abortion in Chile is difficult, since the question is both complex and polarizing. The fact that there are conditions which are favorable, especially in the policy of abortion in the case of a mother’s life being at risk, suggest that a policy change is possible in at least some of the instances. The strong public support and the fact that both pro-choice organizations and the President of Chile is strongly supporting the policy change could indicate a positive outcome in the issue of abortion in all of the three instances.

7. Future research

Hopefully this study could be seen as a further step towards trying to comprehend the complexity regarding gender policy change in a Latin American context. The importance of media have not been the main focus in this specific study, however, its influence was considered when creating the the problem recognition criterion, in the indicator: "real-life cases that illustrate the issue have received the public’s attention”. A study aimed at examining how media portrays the abortion issue in Chile could thereby contribute to a further understanding of the conditions of the issue.
Furthermore, a study with different indicators than those selected in this study could contribute to even more comprehension of the conditions regarding an abortion policy change in Chile, as well as, in other contexts.
8. Reference list


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XhHwIib0TmBLYGh9i0OUA1MCduoxrRpe1tg5CPy1gaYN4jnb8JOMKek4 [2015-05-20]


Appendix A: The informants of the study

Lamadrid, Silvia. Professor at Universidad de Chile in Sociology. Santiago de Chile: 2015-06-05.
Román Morra, Anita. National Executive Director for Colegio de Matronas de Chile (College of Midwives of Chile). Santiago de Chile: 2015-07-01.
Salazar Arredondo, Liliana. Professor at Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (UAHC) in Sociology and Gender. Santiago de Chile: 2015-06-03.
Sarmiento Ramírez, Claudia, Director of the legal reforms unit at SERNAM. Santiago de Chile: 2015-06-24.
Walker Echenique, Elsa, Vice Director of the legal reforms unit at SERNAM. Santiago de Chile: 2015-06-24.

Political representatives

Cariola Oliva, Karol Aída. Member of the Chamber of Deputies of Chile, Partido Comunista de Chile (PCCh). Valparaiso: 2015-06-30.

Representatives from a pro-choice or pro-life organization

Lagos, Rosario. Executive Director of ”Siempre por la Vida”. Santiago de Chile: 2015-06-26.

Representing the Catholic or the Evangelical Church

Bruch, Izani. Bishop President of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Chile. Santiago de Chile: 2015-07-02.
Mifsud, Tony. Priest in the Catholic Church, Professor of Moral Theology and Director of the Ethics Department at the University of Alberto Hurtado. Santiago de Chile: 2015-07-03.
Appendix B: The questionnaire in English

Experts on the subject of abortion and gender

- Can you tell me about yourself and describe the work you do?
- For how long have you worked with gender related issues?
- What is your personal opinion regarding the abortion legislation in Chile?
- Do you think that your opinion is similar or different to the opinion of the Chilean society in general?
- Do you believe that the current law could lead to any consequences?
  - And if that is the case, how?
- Any unforeseen events/situations that you believe have influenced the current abortion debate?
- How would you rank Bachelet’s proposed abortion law in her political agenda?
- Are there any other policy proposals to the current abortion legislation in Chile?
- Is the current administration unified in its position?
- Are there any particular challenges that the current administration is facing in the issue of therapeutic abortion?
  - Inside the current government?
  - Outside the current government?
- What gender issues are discussed in Chile today?
  - How are they discussed?
  - Do you believe they face the same challenges?
- Would you describe the organizations of pro-choice as united?
- Would you describe the organizations of pro-life as united?
- Do you think that current party coalitions have had any significance in the legislative process of abortion in Chile?
  - How?
- Do you think that the current legislative system has had any significance in the process of abortion in Chile?
  - How?
- How would you describe the relationship in between the Church and the state in Chile?
  - Has it changed?
  - How?
- How would you describe the relationship between the Church and women’s organizations in Chile?
- How would you describe the relationship between the current administration and the Church?
- In the Chilean society, what position do you believe the Church has?
- Who would you describe as the principle actor/s in the debate regarding the proposed abortion bill in Chile?
  - Possibility to contact these or other important actors?
- Is there anything you would like to add to the interview?

Representatives from a pro-choice or pro-life organization
- Can you tell me about yourself and describe the work you do in your organization?
- What is the position of your organization regarding the abortion legislation in the three instances?
  - Abortion in general?
- Do you think that your opinion is similar or different to the opinion of the Chilean society in general?
- When did the organization start working with the issue of abortion?
- What is the long-term aim of your organization?
  - How does your organization work to achieve your goals?
- Does your organization recognize any consequences with the current law?
- Does your organization use specific strategies to influence the political agenda?
  - If that is the case, how?
- Would you describe your strategy as successful?
- What is the relationship between your organization and the current government?
  - Has it always been the same or has it changed lately?
- Has your organization gained support from any political party?
  - How?
- Has the organization been criticized by any political party?
  - How?
- What are the problems related to women discussed in Chile today?
  - How are they treated?
  - Do they they face the same challenges?
- How do you think the relationship between your organization and other organizations, fighting for the same goals, is?
  - National and international?
- Does your organization coordinate with other organizations?
- If so, how?
- Do you think current coalitions of political parties have had some effect on the process on the issue of therapeutic abortion?
  - How?
- Do you think that the current legal system has had some effect on the political process on the issue of therapeutic abortion?
- How would you describe the current state institutions regarding the abortion law?
- Do you think this issue has affected the current policy process in any way?
- How would you describe the position of the Church in this issue?
- Do you think the Church has influenced the issue?
  - If that is the case, how?
- How is the relationship between your organization with the Church?
- Who would you describe as the principle actor/s in the debate regarding the proposed abortion bill in Chile?
  - Possibility to contact these or other important actors?
- Is there anything you would like to add to the interview?

Political representatives
- Can you tell me about yourself and describe the work you do in your party?
- What is your personal opinion regarding the proposed abortion legislation in the three instances?
  - What is the your position of abortion in general?
- Would you say that your position is the same as you party?
- Would you say that your party’s position is unified or divided?
- Do you think that your opinion is similar or different to the opinion of the society in general?
- How would you describe the relationship between the current administration and the pro-choice movement?
- How would you describe the relationship between the current administration and the pro-life movement?
- Why do you believe that the law that prohibits abortion in all instances still exists?
- Would you describe the political elite as unified or divided?
- How would you define the current women’s movement in Chile?
- Does your party work with any other gender related issues?
- Would you say that there are differences between these issues in regards to their challenges?
What has been your party’s position in the question of abortion historically?
Why do you believe that your party has had that position?
How would you describe the relationship between your party and the Catholic Church?
How would you describe the relationship between your party and the Evangelical Church?
Who would you describe as the principle actor/s in the debate regarding the proposed abortion bill in Chile?
  - Possibility to contact these or other important actors?
  - Is there anything you would like to add to the interview?

Representing the Catholic or the Evangelical Church
- Can you tell me about yourself and describe the work you do in your Church?
- What is your position in regards to Bachelet’s proposed legislation which would legalize abortion in three cases?
- What is the Church’s position in regards to Bachelet’s proposed legislation which would legalize abortion in three cases?
- What is the Church’s position of abortion in general?
- Do you believe that the Church’s opinion reflects the society in general?
- Has the Church received any support from any political parties in the question of abortion?
- Has the Church received any support from any person in the Senate or Chamber of Deputies?
  - How has the support been expressed?
- Has the Church received any criticism from any person in the Senate or Chamber of Deputies?
  - How has the person/s obstructed/influenced the Church’s work?
- Has the Church tried to influence policy-makers in the question?
  - If it is the case, what strategies have they used?
- Would you perceive the abortion as a gender issue?
  - Why?
- What position does the church have in the question?
- Would you describe the Church as unified or divided in the question?
- Has fractions of the Church expressed another position in the question of abortion?
- Has the Church initiated any collaborations with organizations in the question of abortion?
- Has the Church initiated collaborations with other Churches in the question of abortion?
- How would you describe the relationship between the Church and the state?
- How would you describe the relationship between the Church and the current government?
- Has the relationship changed recently?
  - If that is the case, how and why?
- Who would you describe as the principle actor/s in the debate regarding the proposed abortion bill in Chile?
  - Possibility to contact these or other important actors?
- Is there anything you would like to add to the interview?

Appendix C: Cuestionario en Español (The questionnaire in Spanish)

Expertos en género y el tema del aborto

- ¿Puede contarme un poco de usted y sobre el trabajo que hace?
- ¿Durante cuánto tiempo ha trabajado con temas relacionados con género?
- ¿Cuál es su opinión personal con respecto a la legislación sobre el aborto en Chile?
- ¿Usted piensa que su opinión es semejante a la opinión de la sociedad en general?
- ¿Qué consecuencias tiene la ley actual?
- ¿Reconoce usted algún evento o situación que puede haber influido el debate sobre el aborto en Chile?
- ¿Cómo calificaría usted la ley del aborto propuesta por la Presidenta Bachelet en su agenda política?
- ¿Existen otras alternativas a la legislación sobre el aborto en Chile?
- ¿Está la actual administración unida en esa posición?
- ¿Enfrenta la actual administración algunos problemas particulares en el tema del aborto terapéutico?
  - ¿Dentro del actual gobierno?
  - ¿Fuera del gobierno?
- ¿Cuáles son los problemas relacionados con la mujer que se discuten hoy en día en Chile?
  - ¿Cómo se tratan?
  - ¿Se enfrentan a los mismos retos?
- ¿Podría describir a los grupos pro-aborto como unidos?
- ¿Podría describir a los grupos pro-vida como unidos?
- ¿Cree usted que las actuales coaliciones de partidos políticos han tenido algún significado en el proceso legislativo del aborto en Chile?
  - Si ese es el caso, ¿De qué forma?
- ¿Cree usted que el actual sistema legislativo ha tenido algún significado en el proceso sobre el aborto en Chile?
  - Si ese es el caso, ¿De qué forma?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted la relación entre la iglesia y el estado en Chile?
  - ¿Si ha cambiado? ¿De qué forma?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted la relación entre la iglesia y las organizaciones de mujeres en Chile?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted la relación entre el movimiento de mujeres en general y la iglesia?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted la relación entre la actual administración y la iglesia?
- ¿A quienes nombraría como los principales personajes en el debate sobre la propuesta de ley del aborto terapéutico en Chile?
  - ¿Tiene posibilidades de contactar a las personas que menciono?
  - ¿Hay algo que le gustaría añadir a la entrevista?

Representante de organización pro-aborto o pro-vida
- ¿Puede contarme un poco de usted y sobre el trabajo que realiza su organización?
- ¿Cuál es la opinión de su organización con respecto a la legislación sobre el aborto en las tres causales en Chile?
- ¿Cuál es su opinión sobre el aborto en general?
- ¿Usted piensa que su opinión es semejante a la opinión de la sociedad en general?
- ¿Cuando comenzó la organización a trabajar con el tema del aborto?
- ¿Cuál es el objetivo de largo plazo de la organización?
  - ¿Cómo trabajan para cumplir vuestro objetivo?
- ¿Reconoce su organización algunas consecuencias con la ley actual?
- ¿Utiliza su organización estrategias específicas para influir en la agenda política?
  - Si ese es el caso, ¿cómo?
- ¿Describiría usted vuestra estrategia como exitosa?
- ¿Cuál es la relación entre su organización y el gobierno actual?
  - ¿Ha sido siempre igual la relación o ha cambiado últimamente?
- ¿Ha recibido su organización algún apoyo de algún partido político?
  - ¿De qué manera?
- ¿Ha sido su organización criticada por algún partido político?
  - ¿De qué manera?
- ¿Cuáles son los problemas relacionados con la mujer que se discuten hoy en día en Chile?

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- ¿Cómo se tratan?
- ¿Se enfrentan a los mismos retos?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted la relación entre su organización y otras organizaciones que luchan por los mismos objetivos?
- ¿Nacional e internacional?
- ¿Se coordina su organización con otras organizaciones?
  - Si es así, ¿cómo?
- ¿Cree usted que las actuales coaliciones de partidos han tenido algún efecto político en el proceso sobre el tema del aborto terapéutico?
  - ¿Cómo?
- ¿Cree usted que el actual sistema legislativo ha tenido algún efecto político en el proceso sobre el tema del aborto terapéutico?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted las instituciones del estado actual en relación con la ley del aborto?
  - ¿Cree que este tema ha afectado el proceso de la política actual de alguna manera?
- ¿Cómo describiría usted la posición de la iglesia en este tema?
- ¿Diría usted que la iglesia ha influido en el tema?
  - Si ese es el caso, ¿cómo?
- ¿Cómo es la relación entre su organización con la iglesia Católica?
- ¿Cómo es la relación entre su organización con la iglesia Evangélica?
- ¿A quienes nombraría como los principales personajes en el debate sobre la propuesta de ley del aborto terapéutico en Chile?
  - ¿Tiene posibilidades de contactar a las personas que menciono?
- ¿Hay algo que le gustaría añadir a la entrevista?

**Representantes políticos**
- ¿Puede contarme un poco de usted y sobre el trabajo que realiza en su partido?
- ¿Cuál es su opinión personal con respecto a la propuesta de ley sobre del aborto en las tres causales?
  - ¿Cuál es su opinión sobre el aborto en general?
- ¿Diría que su posición es la misma que la de su partido?
- ¿Diría que la posición de su partido está unificado o dividido?
- ¿Cree usted que su opinión es similar o diferente a la opinión de la sociedad en general?
- ¿Cómo describiría la relación entre la administración actual y el movimiento pro-aborto?
- ¿Cómo describiría la relación entre la administración actual y el movimiento pro-vida?
- ¿Por qué cree que la ley que prohíbe el aborto en todos los casos todavía existe?
- Describiría usted los políticos de alta posición como unificados o divididos?
- ¿Cómo definiría el movimiento de mujer en Chile?
- ¿Trabaja su partido con temas relacionados con género?
  - Si ese es el caso, ¿cómo?
- ¿Cuáles son los problemas relacionados con la mujer que se discuten en su partido?
  - ¿Cómo se tratan?
  - ¿Se enfrentan a los mismos retos?
- ¿Siempre ha sido la posición de su partido en el tema del aborto, históricamente?
- ¿Por qué cree usted que su partido ha tenido esa posición?
- ¿Cómo es la relación entre su partido con la iglesia Católica?
- ¿Cómo es la relación entre su partido con la iglesia Evangélica?
- ¿A quienes nombraría como los principales personajes en el debate sobre la propuesta de ley del aborto terapéutico en Chile?
  - ¿Tiene posibilidades de contactar a las personas que menciono?
  - ¿Hay algo que le gustaría añadir a la entrevista?

- La iglesia Católica y Evangélica
- ¿Puede contarme un poco de usted y sobre el trabajo que realiza en su iglesia?
- ¿Cuál es su opinión personal con respecto a la propuesta de ley que aprobará el aborto por tres casos causales?
- ¿Cuál es la opinión de su iglesia con respecto a la propuesta de ley que aprobará el aborto por tres casos causales?
- ¿Cuál es la opinión de su iglesia sobre el aborto en general?
- ¿Usted piensa que la opinión de su iglesia es semejante a la opinión de la sociedad en general
- ¿Ha recibido su iglesia apoyo de algún partido político en el tema del aborto?
- ¿Ha recibido su iglesia algún tipo de apoyo de alguna persona en el Senado o la Cámara de Diputados?
  - ¿Cómo se ha expresado su apoyo?
- ¿Ha recibido su iglesia algún tipo de crítica de alguna persona en el Senado o la Cámara de Diputados?
  Si ese es el caso, ¿de que manera?
¿Ha intentado su iglesia influir a los políticos en el tema del aborto?
Si es el caso, ¿qué estrategias han usado?
¿Percibe la iglesia el aborto como una cuestión de género?
¿Por qué?
¿Qué posición tiene su iglesia en la pregunta?
¿Describiría su iglesia como unificada o dividida en el tema?
¿Hay fracciones de su iglesia que ha expresado otra posición en el tema del aborto?
¿Ha iniciado su iglesia alguna colaboración con organizaciones sobre el tema del aborto?
¿Ha iniciado su iglesia alguna colaboración con otras iglesias sobre el tema del aborto?
¿Cómo describiría la relación entre su iglesia y el estado?
¿Cómo describiría la relación entre su iglesia y el gobierno actual?
¿Ha cambiado la relación entre su iglesia y el gobierno actual?
Si ese es el caso ¿Cómo y por qué cree que ha cambiado?
¿A quienes nombraría como los principales personajes en el debate sobre la propuesta de ley del aborto terapéutico en Chile?
¿Tiene posibilidades de contactar a las personas que menciono?
¿Hay algo que le gustaría añadir a la entrevista?