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**Power, Catholicism and State: the political agency el Frente Nacional
por la Familia has in the criminalization of abortion in Jalisco, Mexico**

A Research Paper Draft

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Disclaimer:

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Table of contents

List of acronyms	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Abstract.....	v
Relevance to the Development Studies	vi
Keywords.....	vi
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1
What is happening with the topic of abortion in Mexico and in Jalisco?	1
Research objectives and leading questions	2
Main Question:	3
Sub questions:	3
Methodology of this research.....	4
Positionality and limitations of my research	5
Chapter 2 – Context and theoretical considerations	7
How has the topic of abortion developed in Mexico?	7
First actions and thoughts regarding abortion in Mexico	7
Local mobilizations and political initiatives against abortion	8
What is the current context in Jalisco?.....	9
Why does this topic matter?.....	10
Theoretical considerations of this research	11
New Social Movement theory	11
Secularism in Mexico	12
Critical Feminist Theory.....	12
Discourses as the means of power	13
Is the decision of being a mother an individual choice?	13
Chapter 3 - Power resources of the FNF	15
A general profile of FNF leaders.....	15
FNF relationship with private industry players and political parties.....	17
How have the FNF benefited from these resources in the last political mobilizations against abortion?.....	18
Chapter 4 - The indoctrination of a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology	22
The Judeo-Christian values from a conservative perspective.....	22
Unpacking the Judeo-Christian values in the FNF communication strategies.....	23
Chapter 5 - Discursive tools of the FNF	26
The FNF as a countermovement of reproductive rights	26
Framing strategies of the FNF as a countermovement.....	28
Grounding the findings.....	29
Chapter 6 – Final thoughts and remarks	33
Chapter 7 - References:.....	36
Chapter 8 Annexes.....	44

List of acronyms

FNF	Frente Nacional por la Familia, Capítulo Jalisco (National Front for the Family, Chapter Jalisco)
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional (Institutional Revolutionary party)
PAN	Partido Acción Nacional (National Action party)
MORENA	Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (National Regeneration Movement party)
MC	Movimiento Ciudadano (Citizen Movement party)
DA	Discourse Analysis
CA	Content Analysis
GIRE	Grupo de Información en Reproducción Elegida (Information Group on Chosen Reproduction)
SCJN	Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación (Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation)
FGEJ	Fiscalía General del Estado de Jalisco (Attorney General's Office of the State of Jalisco)
NOM-046	Norma Oficial Mexicana 046-SSA2-2005 Violencia familiar, sexual y contra las Mujeres (Oficial Mexican Norm 046-SSA2-2005 Family violence, sexual violence and violence against women)
ITESO	Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente (Western Institute of Technology and Higher Education)
TEPJF	Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación (Electoral Tribunal of the Judiciary of the Federation)
INEGI	National Institute of Statistics and Geography

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También quiero hacer reconocimiento a la importancia de tomarme tiempos de reflexión e inspiración para poder seguir continuando con el análisis de mis resultados, ya que el aborto al ser un tema tan sensible para mí, el exponerme a tanta propaganda anti-derechos fue un proceso de autorreconocimiento de que aún falta bastante comprensión sobre que son los derechos reproductivos y hacia es que debemos aspirar.

Finalmente quiero recalcar que durante este posgrado constantemente me reté y deconstruí varias ideas que ya tomaba por sentadas, recordándome que el camino a la equidad y la igualdad es un proceso de constante aprendizaje y desaprendizaje. Y sobre todo que nadie tiene una verdad absoluta de nada, que existirán varios puntos de vista y que por ello hay que seguir experimentando y adquiriendo nuevos aprendizajes.

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Abstract

The criminalization of abortion in Jalisco is considered one of the main violations of women's reproductive rights, where even though much has been written about the impact on women's sexual health and the stigmatization of abortion, there is no specific information on how anti-rights have the power to block the understanding of abortion as a right. For this reason, this research considers the role anti-rights organizations have in the criminalization of abortion in Jalisco through 3 of their last key mobilization strategies to further criminalize and stigmatize abortion. By employing Discourse Analysis and in-deep analysis, I was able to identify the powerful skills and resources anti-rights count with to keep advocating for a conservative

understanding of reproductive rights, and to keep with the indoctrination of the Judeo-Christian ideology. This research allows me to shed light on how it's through the enforcement of a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology, the power resources and privileged position of the representatives of the FNF, and their framing skills, the FNF is able to influence congressional decisions and citizens conservative choices regarding women's reproductive rights.

Relevance to the Development Studies

"Denying access to health services that only women require, including abortion, is linked to discrimination and may constitute gender-based violence, torture and/or cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment" (OHCHR, 2020). Likewise, as part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the importance of "reduc[ing] maternal mortality; achieving universal access to sexual and reproductive health information, education, and services; ensuring reproductive rights; and achieving gender equality as a matter of human rights" (Ipas, 2015) for women and girls were included. Therefore, decriminalization of abortion is considered necessary to guarantee and fulfill women's access to reproductive health and rights.

Keywords

Abortion, anti-rights groups, communication strategies, power resources, Catholic Church, feminist theories, gender perspective

Chapter 1 - Introduction

What is happening with the topic of abortion in Mexico and in Jalisco?

Fair access to sexual and reproductive rights implies that everyone can satisfy and have access to safe sex life, the capability to reproduce, and the freedom to decide if, when, and how often to do so (UNFPA, 2022). However, depending on the class, sex, gender, and ethnicity, of the pregnant womanⁱ, she will experience her body and reproductive rights differently. The voluntary termination of pregnancy, also known as abortion, has been a point of political controversy in Mexico in recent years, where it's still not approached from a public, health, and economic perspective with intersectional lenses, and is still stigmatized as a practice against rights. It is through the institutional power of anti-rights organizations that they have managed to obstruct the understanding of abortion as a right and delimit the understanding of reproductive rights.

On September 7, 2021, the SCJN declared the continued criminalization of abortion unconstitutional, being the first federal pronouncement in favor of reproductive rights. (SCJN, 2021) This ruling implies possible future legislation in favor of decriminalizing abortion in Jalisco, a state where abortion hasn't been legally decriminalized. As argued by Arturo Fernando Zaldívar Lelo de Larrea, President of the SCJN, "From now on it will not be possible, without violating the criteria of the Court and the Constitution, to prosecute any woman who aborts under the circumstances that have been considered valid by this Constitutional Court. From now on, a new path of freedom, clarity, dignity, and respect for all other pregnant women, but above all for women, begins". (Zaldívar, 2021)

Mexico's federal government system has been one of the major obstacles to the homogenization of decriminalizing abortion in all states, as each of the 32 states, has a state constitution and penal codeⁱⁱ in which they can exercise their local sovereignty. However, in a federative nation-state, all states must abide by the federal agreements and the Mexican constitution. Meaning that all states must comply with what has been established in the Federal Mexican Constitution and follow the rulings of Mexico's Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation (SCJN)ⁱⁱⁱ. (Gobierno de México, 2018)

In the wake of this, anti-rights organizations throughout the country have been mobilizing a discursive campaign to prevent the decriminalization of abortion in their states. Where the Frente Nacional por la Familia chapter Jalisco - FNF (National Front for the Family Jalisco Chapter), being the most powerful anti-rights organization, is the main obstacle to understanding abortion as part of reproductive rights. This conservative organization originated in 2016 as a result of a citizen mobilization against Enrique Peña Nieto's initiatives to promote same-sex marriage, conduct campaigns against homophobia, and include the topic of sexual diversity in educational content (Frente Nacional por la Familia, 2022). Since then, the FNF has mobilized as the main anti-rights agent in Mexico, particularly in Jalisco, where one of its main goals has been the promotion and protection of 'life' from the moment of conception.

The political power and influence the FNF has with public and private actors have guaranteed their agency and dominance over reproductive rights. The FNF's close relationship with ecclesiastical figures (who act as public opinion leaders) has been key to influencing political affiliations and citizen votes. The recent lawsuit filed against former Cardinal Juan Sandoval for violating Article 130 of the Constitution and undermining the separation of Church and State (Urrutia, 2021) makes this visible. Sandoval made use of its recognized and powerful ecclesiastical position, by publicly calling not to vote for Morena^{iv} in the elections for the municipal presidency of Tlaquepaque, Jalisco. This was considered by the Electoral Tribunal of the Judiciary of the Federation (TEPJF) as a direct violation of democracy since their message was determined to intentionally influence the results of the election, where most citizens in Tlaquepaque profess Catholicism. (Urrutia, 2021) Likewise, other members of the clergy are constantly preaching their conservative ideology against abortion, through powerful speeches at Mass.

The FNF's relation with political decision-making actors in Jalisco has also been key to their power resources. Most of these affiliates mainly come from the most radical and powerful wing of the Catholic Church, the “Opus Dei.” This church wing holds great power among 18 private institutions in Jalisco^v (Agencia Reforma and Urzúa, 2022), and by preaching Judeo-Christian ideology in their education this has had an impact on the public opinion of their affiliates. The Opus Dei conforming of high-class businesspeople has also been the way through which the FNF obtains economic resources and social support for the promotion of the Judeo-Christian ideology. One example is the case of the Guadalajara Pharmacies (Farmacias Guadalajara) where they didn't sell contraceptive methods in their branches for many years because of the Catholic stance of its owners, and because they believed this was motivating abortion practices (Garcia, 2022)—to this day they still don't sell the morning-after pill in some of their branches.

Moreover, the FNF's close relationship with public actors can also be evidenced in the lack of most politicians in Jalisco standing for the decriminalization of abortion. As many of the politicians in Jalisco fear that conservative public opinion leaders will impact the number of votes and party support, they get—this is reflected in Morena and Movimiento Ciudadano (MC) where their federal political party agenda is for the decriminalization of abortion but in Jalisco, they haven't taken that position. Thus, due to the predominance of the Catholic church in Jalisco, with 89.2% of followers (INEGI, 2020), this has supported the FNF's power within the reproductive rights agenda in Jalisco, as it is also through soft power how the FNF has achieved to maintain an anti-rights influence.

Order of the research paper

The following research starts with the definition of the research objectives, leading questions, and the methodology used to carry on with this paper, followed by Chapter 2 where the context within reproductive rights in Mexico and Jalisco and the theoretical considerations are presented. Chapter 3 describes the power resources the FNF has within the public and private sphere to show how that has been key for their position of power. Chapter 4 makes mention of the indoctrination of conservative Judeo-Christian values that predominate in FNF discourses. In Chapter 5 readers will go through the discursive tools of the FNF and how the

framing process is key for anti-rights movements. Finally, present Chapter 6 with the key and final remarks of this research paper.

Research objectives and leading questions

Since the SCJN rulings in September 2021, the FNF in Jalisco has mobilized three strategically influential anti-rights campaigns that have obstructed the decriminalization of abortion in Jalisco: the past March for Life and Women in October 2021, the presentation of the law initiative for the protection of maternity and pregnancy in June 2022, and its pronouncement against the federal mechanism that allows raped women and girls to access to abortion, NOM-046^{vi}, in August 2022. In the sense of this context, it becomes relevant to analyze the FNF campaign strategies and identify the political lobbying -power media- shared by anti-rights groups in the state. Thus, this research is concerned with the political impact conservative social groups have within the political system due to the lack of legal harmonization of Jalisco's Congress to decriminalize abortion.

In this research, I aim to analyze the political agency the FNF has gained through their communication strategies, and political resources, which I argue have obstructed the right to abortion and it is how they've controlled the reproductive rights agenda in Jalisco. I claim that it is through conservative discourses that abortion has been excluded as a right, and on the contrary, has been framed as against human rights. I aim to explore how is that the FNF gets to influence the political agenda of citizens and politicians by reinforcing a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology to protect the hetero-patriarchal system in Jalisco.

Furthermore, even though it is through collective action that citizens can challenge oppressive systems, conservative collective action can also reinforce these systems. As "some scholars identify rightist's movements as fundamentalist [movements that] underscore how they mirror religious fundamentalism in their dualisms of good and evil, [...] and sharp boundaries between believers and others" (Blee and Creasap, 2010: 270). This evidences how right-wing actors also have a place within social movements, shedding light on the importance of analyzing them and their discursive strategies.

Main Question:

1. How has the Frente Nacional por la Familia in Jalisco produced and reproduced an anti-abortion agenda in the communication strategies used in their last three major mobilizations against abortion? The March for Life and Women, their anti-abortion law initiative, and their pronouncing against NOM-046

Sub questions:

- a. What values does the FNF anti-abortion discourses advocate for?
- b. What power resources does the FNF have to be able to influence the political agenda in Jalisco's Congress concerning abortion?

- c. What kind of discursive tools does the FNF use to maintain their position of power with respect to women's reproductive rights in Jalisco?

Methodology of this research

This research is based on a qualitative research analysis that through the performance of a literature review, a historical review of abortion in Mexico, and Discourse Analysis (DA) of the FNF communication strategies, I was able to understand the impact they've had on the violation of reproductive rights access in Jalisco. In addition, some of my research findings were obtained by doing an in-deep analysis of the profiles of key representatives of the FNF and the connections of the FNF with public and private stakeholders. This allowed me to better understand the FNF power resources and how this has been key for the well-receiving and support of their anti-abortion discourses. This was done by selecting multiple website resources where I proceed with an analysis of the information presented in them, some of these websites involved the FNF official blog, the FNF official Facebook page, Facebook profiles of key FNF representatives, online newspaper journals, and academic articles.

For discourse analysis, my primary data was composed of an analysis of three key anti-rights mobilizations that have been strategically positioned against the decriminalization of abortion in Jalisco: the "March for Life and Women", the presentation of the law initiative to protect pregnancy and motherhood, the positioning of FNF against NOM-046. These events reflect the predominance and support anti-rights groups have among Jalisco's citizens, as the March for Life and Women was able to summon around 200,000 participants where they obtained general infrastructure for the closure of their march. Secondly, their law initiative to protect pregnancy and motherhood was constantly mobilized to obtain the necessary citizen support for its presentation to the congress, mainly through their social media, website, and people from the clergy of Jalisco. And thirdly, their often-expressed concern and rejection of NOM-046 have blocked the effective access of this mechanism.

My intentions with this research are to make visible the communication strategies of the FNF to define abortion as contrary to reproductive rights and to not sub-estimating the scope of their mobilizations. The DA tools I chose were Content Analysis (CA) and Framing Analysis, to analyze the FNF agency in the criminalization of abortion in Jalisco. I used both tools in a variety of FNF speeches, their law initiative, official public communications statements, and a broader analysis of other FNF publications done on their official pages (Facebook and official website).

While using the CA tool, I wanted to analyze the power behind the FNF discourses, to focus on the how, who, what, when, the silences, and the impact of their discursive devices, as it is through an analysis of this how I can shed light on the dominant narratives. By focusing on the significance and meaning of a large amount of existing textual information, I was able to "ascertain the trends and patterns of words used, their frequency, their relationships, and structures". (Grbich, 2013:190) Moreover, I approached CA from a feminist perspective to identify the use of certain words as categories of codes and meanings, such as "abortion", "life", "motherhood", and "womanhood", among others that promote a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology. I intend with this tool to deconstruct the meanings behind the texts and discourses, to

see what is revealed, what emerges, what juxtapositions develop, and what power dynamics reinforce. (Lina Leavy, 2011)

On the other hand, framings get to delimit and establish the understanding of things, and they shape what will be included or excluded in concepts, or more specifically ‘web of meanings’ to construct and maintain discourses of power. Framing processes have been understood as a central dynamic in the understanding of social movements, where they are always dynamic and will evolve within the process of the social movement and the issue related to them (D. Benford & A. Snow, 2000). It is through the framing process that one gets to “locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrence within the living space and the world at large”. (Heuman, 2022) By looking at the framings of the FNF discourses I was able to understand the cultural resonance of strategic framings to promote a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology, as it is through a positive performance of the FNF framings how they get to delimit the conceptual mapping of possibilities for action within the abortion topic in Jalisco.

Moreover, the gathering and analysis of the information were done from a feminist textual analysis perspective to identify the contradictory cultural representations of gender and reproductive rights, which are involved in the production and perpetuation of dominant discourses that reinforce the hetero-patriarchal system (Lina Leavy, 2011). It is through a feminist lenses approach that I could understand “the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities (Lazar, 2007:142). Thus, without acknowledging the multiple intersections in which the discursive strategies the FNF is employing to promote social inequality and oppression this study would be lacking criticism to dismantle discourses of power that are exclusive and oppressive of non-heterosexual bodies.

Positionality and limitations of my research

As a citizen of Jalisco, I find the politics of sexuality, and the people involved in their decision-making of them, as something that concerns me politically and personally. Where even though my privileges as a white-skin, cis-gender, middle-class, heterosexual woman influence my positionality within the topic, I believe every person capable to gestate should be able to decide over to be or not be a mother. Likewise, within this research, I don’t intend to convince my readers whether abortion should be illegal or not, but to create awareness on the powerful discourses anti-rights organizations in Jalisco, like the FNF, have been sharing to obstruct abortion as a right. I wish to keep dipping myself in feminist analysis that aims to deconstruct current ways of doing and feeling in this hetero-patriarchal system, to shed light on the diversity of excluded bodies.

Moreover, I am aware of the multiple directions and methodologies I could have chosen to carry out this research, for the turn that I gave to my thesis, I consider that having chosen discourse analysis was the best methodology to answer my research question. Still, I acknowledge that a decolonial methodology would have been very enriching for the analysis of my findings and consider that for further studies on this topic I should include it. Likewise, as the topic of reproductive rights, and more specifically the topic of abortion, includes a diversity of bodies I

was unable to cover the perspectives of all of them, which my privileges might have impacted the approach of my research.

Another of my limitations was writing in English, first as most of the context is written in Spanish—and I am also a native Spanish speaker—and second, because of all the rules of Academic English. Also, it was the first time I have been involved in a thesis process, which I believe limited my capacities but in the end, I managed to do the best I could, by focusing on my strengths and my passion for the topic. Along the same line, this process made me realize how hard is for non-English speakers to develop in academia, where this space instead of being open for plurality it's a very limited and competitive space between privileged people. Thus, the opportunity to develop research from a Global South perspective pushes me to thrive on the creation of content where we get to express and tell how we are dealing with certain topics, to create awareness of one of the multiple violent contexts happening in Mexico.

Chapter 2 – Context and theoretical considerations

How has the topic of abortion developed in Mexico?

Historically, the narrative around sexual and reproductive rights in the Latin American context has been extremely restricted, as the legislation in several countries of the region continues to criminalize and stigmatize abortion. It is within the legal sphere where various ideologies, mainly religious, have powerfully positioned against abortion, to avoid favorable legislation against it. In Mexico, most pregnant women that want to get an abortion do it clandestinely due to inequality and social injustice majorities face while accessing health services and reproductive rights. This lack of fulfillment of rights is mainly due to the absence of federative legislation granting abortion as a right in all states, in which the consequences of this are evident in the number of maternal deaths and hospitalizations caused by unsafe abortions (Lerner; Guillaume; Melgar, 2016).

As the expected goals within reproductive rights have been slowly progressing in Mexico, feminists have pushed alternative political tactics to focus on communication strategies that can rally more political power in favor of abortion legislation. Ruibal mentions that “national congresses have been reluctant to effect changes in this field and, in some cases, political institutions have been captured by fundamentalist actors who have blocked the opportunities for advancing abortion rights” (Ruibal, 2021:594). Thus, the relevance of understanding how the topic of reproductive and sexual rights has been mobilized in Mexico, and more specifically in Jalisco, is to create awareness of the importance of considering abortion as a right.

First actions and thoughts regarding abortion in Mexico

Abortion was first raised as a political topic in 1936 by the first General Population Law (Ley General de Población) to increase reproductive rates in the context of post-revolution, in which control fertility rates were delegated to some degree to the private sphere, where catholic values and norms prevailed. Abortion was extremely banned except for specific grounds [1], which produced an unexpected population growth, where in the coming years, and under the influence of the neoliberal system, this started to be considered as one of the major obstacles to economic and social development. (Lerner; Guillaume; Melgar, 2016).

Years later, in the international conferences of Tehran in 1968, the Bucharest Population Conference in 1974, and the first World Conference on Women in Mexico in 1975, they started to acknowledge legal equality between men and women, and the right of couples and individuals to decide freely on their reproductive rights. These events had an impact on the federal government of Mexico where they began to implement programs and establish public institutions in charge of family planning. However, these actions only impacted the fecundity rates drop of higher-class citizens, and these initiatives didn't translate into better health and well-being conditions for most Mexican citizens.

In the 70s, the second wave of feminism in Mexico also brought a public articulation for voluntary motherhood where different feminist coalitions opened the space for public discussion on abortion, and one of the first bills for the decriminalization of abortion didn't succeed (Milán, 2013). Moreover, at the same time, the Catholic Church and its representatives were recovering their political power after many years of being repressed by the political intentions of reinforcing a secular state. Still, this didn't stop the reform to article 4th of the Mexican constitution in 1974^{vii} that represented the first federal recognition of women's rights, freedom, autonomy, and empowerment regarding their sexual and reproductive rights (Lerner, et al., 2016).

Further international conferences (the first Latin American and Caribbean Population and Development Conference in Mexico City, the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, and the IV World Conference on Women in Beijing) and pioneer Women's Rights Organizations, also served as a significant motivating factor for the formulation (and homogenization) of women's health and rights, completely rejecting the old framework on family-planning policies (Ortiz Milán, 2013). However, even though these events were pivotal as they raised the public debate regarding body politics, it must be considered that they were not representative of all women's needs.

Local mobilizations and political initiatives against abortion

The events that happened in the late XX century were crucial for the political mobilization, and laying of the foundations, of the first law initiatives and public programs for reproductive rights in Mexico. Yet, this impacted differently among states, especially depending on the presence and power of socially conservative actors in that state. Such as in the early '90s in Chiapas local mobilizations to amplify the legal grounds^{viii} for abortion took place because of the violent reality women and girls in Chiapas were going through—mostly sex-violence cases (Wójtowicz-Wcislo, 2020). Notwithstanding, the strong presence of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), and the power of the Catholic Church, the reform didn't pass. (Lerner, et al., 2016).

Some years later in 1997, with the upcoming power of the left-wing Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) in Mexico City, they were the first political party to support the decriminalization of abortion, framing it as part of a 'Voluntary motherhood'. But because of the controversy caused it was decided to be paused, shedding light that depending on the political openness to certain topics, politicians might remain inactive to not lose political power and social support. (Lamas and Bissel, 2000)

In 1999, Rosario Robles was able to bring again to the table the topic of decriminalizing abortion in Mexico City, being the 'Law Robles' the first mechanism that included less restrictive abortion grounds^{ix} and laid the ground for the future total legalization of abortion in Mexico City in 2007. The approval of Law Robles was only possible with the constant feminist advocacy on the topic, the mobilization of reproductive rights organizations like the Information Group on Reproductive Rights - GIRE (Grupo de Información en Reproducción Elegida)^x, and the support of political representatives, mainly from left parties (Ortiz Milán, 2013). Thus, depending on the public policy window of each state, and the constant pushing of the abortion agenda, these advances could be replicated. (Lamas and Bissel, 2000)

Mexico City's legalization of abortion up to the 12th week led to 17 states amending their constitutions to include protection of the fetus 'life' from the moment of conception, which undermined previous women's rights to abortion in cases of rape and life-threatening situations (Lopreite, 2014). This reform has represented one of the main obstacles to women's full access to their reproductive rights, in which the case of Jalisco, it was one of the first states to adopt this amendment in its constitution. The predominance of conservative Judeo-Christian ideology, and the political power back in the days of the PAN party^{xi} in Jalisco, were key for the implementation of this law reform (Morgan, 2019).

Abortion remaining illegal in most states led to the creation of NOM-046 by the Federal Health Secretariat for pregnant women that were raped to access emergency medical services without further requirements (Ipas, 2020). However, in practice there continues to be a lack of knowledge between authorities and health providers as they obstruct and deny NOM 046, revealing ignorance of health providers' obligations. This also exposes the need for homologation of sexual violence protocols, and the urgency of federative abortion law (Gómez & Guzmán, 2021). This denial of reproductive rights is due to the greater political and economic power anti-rights groups hold in Mexico.

Nevertheless, the constant struggle and political contestation of anti-rights and pro-rights groups, in the public and private space, has opened the space for 10 states to decriminalize abortion in their penal code. These positive results have been mainly achieved through the constant advocacy of feminist movements that promote a reproductive justice framework, such as GIRE, and the recent political support of public stakeholders (Local and federal deputies, and SCJN Ministers and its rulings)

What is the current context in Jalisco?

Since the implementation of the reform to protect the fetus in Jalisco, feminists and pro-abortion organizations have spoken out to demand the recognition of abortion as part of reproductive rights. Still, the topic of abortion has mostly been driven, and followed, from an anti-rights point of view, in which the FNF's ongoing communication strategy continues to contribute an understanding of reproductive rights that reinforce a Catholic neointegrismo. (Corrêa, 2020)

After the SCJN rulings, in November 2021, the local parties of 'Futuro' and 'Hagamos' presented two separate bills^{xii} to decriminalize abortion from Jalisco's penal code. These initiatives were soon followed by anti-rights organizations mobilizing some months later a counter-law initiative (582-LXIII) in favor of the protection of motherhood and making the fetus subject to rights. Priscilla Franco Barba, from the MC party, officially received it, which highlights that even though the specific relationship that each Congress member holds with socially conservative actors is not as noticeable, this recent outcome can illustrate the support and representation the FNF values get in Congress.

Due to the need for Congress to legislate either in favor or against the decriminalization of abortion, it was deemed necessary to gather further information on this topic. The Attorney General's Office of the State of Jalisco (FGEJ) was summoned to present the percentage of people criminalized under this crime, where he reported that currently, only 8 people are in

prison for the crime of abortion, of which all of them are men (Souza, 2020). This information does not reflect all the cases of criminalized abortions as most of the time pregnant women, and people involved in abortions, are being charged with more severe crimes, such as infanticide and homicide because of kinship. These crimes not only aggravate their sentences, but it has also made it harder to identify the percentage of people incarcerated for abortion in Mexico and Jalisco. (Fulda, et al., 2018)

Up to September 2022, further actions on any of the law initiatives haven't been actioned. It is therefore complex to determine the direction in which abortion will be locally legislated in Jalisco. However, the FNF is constantly keeping a communication strategic agenda against abortion, in which in August 2022, they released a public statement against NOM-046 to denounce the ineffectiveness of this mechanism and its elimination. This was done after the public news of a newborn being abandoned in a garbage dump by a teenage mom, where the FNF emphasized that the reaction of the involved authorities is only publishing information that promotes abortions and not solutions. By claiming that these types of norms that facilitate the termination of pregnancy caused by rape do not prevent sexual violence and only worsen it. (Frente Nacional por la Familia Capítulo Jalisco, 2022)

Why does this topic matter?

The politics of sexuality have always been key as its regulation produces and maintains a system of domination, known as the heteronormative and patriarchal system. These dominant sexual values that predominate in our current system, rule over people's bodies and tend to politicize them in moments of crisis and social change, especially regarding reproductive rights. Within this order, social conservatives have framed abortion as a practice that goes against reproductive rights, establishing a moral panic to preserve a traditional reproductive system based on the Judeo-Christian ideology. Hence, this sexual repression is preventing women from legislation that is in favor of their rights, one that is representative of all bodies no matter their gender, sex, class, ethnicity, or religion. (Nicholasen, 2018)

Globally, there are still a lot of countries, especially in Global South countries where laws suppress women's voices, and rights, and continue to police the female body. Additionally, in countries where it has been legalized or decriminalized, they are rethinking if it should remain that way. As the current overturned of *Roe vs Wade*, clearly reflected the importance of not underestimating the power resources of anti-rights mobilizations, to keep in mind that the availability of certain rights are not for granted, and is specially not accessible to everyone. Moreover, in cases like Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador where abortion remains illegal, it is important to keep unpacking the influence anti-rights organizations have within that restrictive context (Center for Reproductive Rights, 2022).

To have an abortion in Jalisco is only legal under certain grounds^{xiii}, even though this entity has a high demand for them, being in 2017 the fourth state with the highest number of abortions in the country (INEGI, 2017). However, this data might be incomplete as women who have had abortions clandestinely, those who move to states where it is legal/decriminalized, or those who have been charged with even more serious crimes are not being considered. Thus, this proves that the “judicialization of abortion or fortuitous births as qualified homicides show

that far from seeking coherent and proportional sanctions, the motivation behind these sanctions is the stigmatization of women and the imposition of punishments for behaving outside of the Judeo-Christian ideology". (Fulda, et al., 2018:84)

The state of Jalisco, along with five other states (State of Mexico, Mexico City, Puebla, Chiapas, and Michoacán) are the states with the highest number of maternal deaths in the country, with 48.7%. (Secretaría de Salud, 2021). This data reflects how the criminalization of abortion is also affecting women's access to health services as women that have faced a miscarriage won't approach health institutions. Women will even hide their situation in cases of emergency, putting their health at greater risk for fear of being charged with a crime. (Kumar; Hessini; Mitchell, 2009). Thus, as Amuchástegui mentions, even though the discursive anti-rights strategy emphasizes feelings of guilt, fears, and threats—which penetrate the consciences of women—is still not stopping women from practicing them clandestinely. (Lorea, 2020)

Theoretical considerations of this research

For the theoretical support of this research, I chose to base it on New Social Movement theory and Critical Feminist theory, to unravel the meanings behind this criminalized and stigmatized context. Both theories were approached from a multi-dimensional framework, in which an intersectional gender perspective led the whole analysis of this research. This is mainly because the criminalization of abortion is a result of the power dispute that happens in the heteropatriarchal system, which puts people in inferior positions depending on their sex, class, gender, or ethnicity. Where only middle-high-class women are seen as subjects obligated to motherhood, denying other women's autonomy and recognition over their bodies. (Hill Collins, 1994)

New Social Movement theory

The New Social Movement theory interdisciplinary study was key for understanding how the actors involved in social movements get to shape and change societal structures. And as societies are always changing through them, it becomes necessary to explain how these changes come about. Likewise, since the origin of social movements starts in periods of change, it becomes relevant to analyze how certain movements get to position themselves as the representation of what should be changed or addressed in politics. Gundelach argues that modern social movements evolve within the process, especially because they depend on their supporters to position themselves as rulers of change. (Peterson, 1989). Wherein the political objective of social movements nowadays is not state capture, but to gain power and support from different actors to create decentralized ways to transform norms and values in society.

In addition, authors such as Habermas, Touraine, and Castells agree that it is through social mobilization that political and social changes can be made, (Mendoza Amezcuita, 2020) where Castells explains that the participation of citizens in their democratic political systems can lead to changes and representations of others (marginalized citizens) (Millward and Takhar, 2019). Crossley also mentions that it is through the "working utopias" in these social mobilizations that people can collectivize desires and advocate for them, which has translated

into more spaces where pro-abortion movements can foster dialogue and exchange ideas for the decriminalization of abortion in Mexico.

It is in these spaces where power relations are built and contested, and by the creation of communication networks, pro-abortion organizations' resistance can reshape a more inclusive and noncolonial system. (Mendoza Amezcuita, 2020) Moreover, Touraine's argument on how identities in movements are constructed by shared interests, beliefs, and values, and by distinguishing themselves from their opposites (through the othering) is key to challenging them. Thus, the importance of unpacking the FNF identity as it is the means by which they get as many followers as possible to be able to impactfully counteract pro-choice movements. (Mendoza Amezcuita, 2020)

Secularism in Mexico

Conservative organizations representative of the Catholic Church is known to be the main retractor of reforms that aim to achieve modernization and gender-inclusive policies in Mexico. Roberto Blancarte argues that despite Mexico being a secular state, representatives of the Catholic Church still hold great political and economic power, whereas the Catholic hierarchy in Mexico is still able to influence public policies that promote gender-inclusive policies. This has been done to an extent because the Catholic hierarchy has encountered inept political representatives, clueless politicians, or co-conspirators of religious fundamentalists who ultimately allow themselves to be influenced by their moral ethics of them (Brito Lemus, 2001).

Since the XX century, the Catholic Church has conquered new ecclesiastical spheres that are in the Mexican public space to keep reproducing restrictive legislation on reproductive rights. It is through a sacralization of sexuality and reproduction that the church accredits itself as the main authority regarding sexuality and reproductive rights. Therefore, as Blancarte argues, for secularism to work it is important to continue with the promotion of a political culture in which secularism is seen as key to a sustainable and representative democracy. However, total secularism should not be the solution in a country like Mexico as the exclusion of people—in this case, church representatives—from the decision-making process and the denial of their agency would also be counterproductive.

Critical Feminist Theory

Critical Feminist theory breaks with paradigms to make sense of the social changes that occur because of them and is essential to understand how social phenomena and rules of domination are reinforced and produced. This theory is configured through an analysis of institutions and power relations, questioning their origins, and defining how they could be changed. And as it is concerned with the deconstruction of power relations, its analysis can be used for “negotiating alliances across profound differences, for listening to experiences of ‘othering’, for addressing the effects of privilege, and identifying the situatedness and politics of any research process”. (Ramazanoglu) Thus, it is through the challenge of those systems of oppression—which get translated into conservative discourses—that we can understand the logistics behind the institutions and people that reproduce them. (Vergès, 2019)

Likewise, Mohanty argues that we cannot generalize these marginalized and subordinated ‘others’ “as an already constituted and coherent group with identical interests and desires,

regardless of class, ethnic or racial location” (Mohanty, 1998:65). Therefore, it is central to understand the feminist theory as the lenses that will shed light on these inequalities that are present in the heteronormative patriarchal system. Additionally, Ramazanoğlu and Holland claim “leaving difference out of research without acknowledgment has implications for what knowledge feminists produce, what power relations they consider, and whom they constitute as absent. (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2011)

Discourses as the means of power

Michael Foucault's analysis of power was also fundamental to recognizing the power dynamics involved in the politics of sex, as according to Foucault understanding the power structures in society allows us to comprehend and challenge the norms that rule over us. In other words, it is through the power that we can define what is true and right in society; and because everything is political, power governs everything. By grasping the notion that power is everywhere, one can discover that it operates in structures of thought and behavior that did not seem to be governed by it, such as sexuality and reproductive rights (Mills, 2003).

Jacqui Alexander builds into this argument by also claiming that it is through a “racialized legislative [system how we have] naturalized heterosexuality (...)” and this is essential to the understanding of these other systems of dominations and the symbolic boundaries drawn around sexual differences (Alexander, 1994). Thus, by performing a feminist and gender analysis approach it is essential to understand that these socially constructed meanings of masculinity and femininity, especially around sexuality, are giving recognition of the structured violence generated by capitalism (Vergès, 2019)—and can be changed over time. To dismantle the dominant social constructs and to introduce discourses of power that are inclusive and representative of women’s rights. As discourses of truth “are not just expressive but constitutive of social realities, and therefore play a role in the (re)definition of power relations”. (Heumann, 2007:2019)

Likewise, the Reproductive Justice theory by Loretta Ross evidences the power dynamics involved within the reproductive rights sphere and highlights the importance of including other bodies in the narrative of reproductive rights. Bringing her approach to the context of Jalisco, this proves that sexuality and motherhood have been, and are still, understood as a matter of class, race, gender, ethnicity, and religion, where only certain women are being able to freely practice it. Thus, as Loretta Ross argues “reproductive justice is purposefully controversial in that it disrupts the dehumanizing status quo of reproductive politics (...) [it] makes the power, agency, privilege, cultures, and histories of people visible by incorporating our diverse complexities and singularities” (Ross & Solinger, 2017:7).

Is the decision of being a mother an individual choice?

Recent feminist theorists have been questioning the binary given roles to male and female, to go beyond those attributions that are exclusive and oppressive of identities and lifestyles that don’t go in accord with heterosexual norms (Harcourt, 2004). It is through the unpacking of what entails the stereotypical roles that we can go beyond this biological essentialism that defines us by our biological, maternal, or procreative sexual functions. (ibid) Thus, it is important to challenge those oppressive constructions that are performed through conservative discourses, to exercise more inclusive and representative forms of beings and

feelings. Granting an accessible agency by understanding that without it women can't fulfill their capacity to take action and pursue their goals, to perform decision-making, leadership, and collective action. (Gender Equality Box, 2022)

In the same way, within the heteronormative patriarchal system, the control over women's bodies has been essential for its effective implementation, as it is in this neoliberal system where mostly male heterosexual bodies get to be represented and have sources of power. As Harcourt mentions, "examining how lived bodily experiences are negotiated as politicized domains discloses the norms associated with the universalizing and essentializing of female bodies" (Harcourt, 2004:24). These forms of oppression and dominations operate under an imaginary that is constantly shaped and delimited by the most powerful forces, where in the case of reproductive rights and women's bodies in Mexico, socially conservative forces have prevailed as the legitimate ones. The concept of motherhood has been conceived as the legitimate and natural destiny that all women should follow, where it is also part of their instinct and necessity to fulfill their role as mothers since failure to do so is perceived as a deviation from the natural order of society—to fulfill their project of life. (Lermer, Guillame, Melgar, 2016)

Chapter 3 - Power resources of the FNF

The FNF in Jalisco's position of power has been extremely helpful for its political representation and economic Jalisco, in which the unpacking of how the FNF as an organization is composed, and specifically the identification of who is behind it, is key to understanding where is their power coming from. To understand the complexity of the power relations and reproductive rights discourses dispute, in which a sexual order based on a racialized, classist and gendered Judeo-Christian ideology prevails. Thus, it is relevant to analyze what defines the key influential actors of the FNF in Jalisco, to understand why and how they are well connected with political parties' representatives and private industry players and its implications.

A general profile of FNF leaders

Nowadays, the FNF in Jalisco is being represented by three specific leaders: Emmanuel Torres (president of FNF Chapter Jalisco), Mercedes Covarrubias (Coordinator of FNF women's coalition in Jalisco), and Jaime Cedillo (Coordinator of FNF bioethics group and ex-president of FNF in Jalisco). Which through an analysis performed on their profiles I came across them having very similar professional and personal backgrounds. To gather and analyze the information I created a chart that encloses the similarities in both their personal and professional background.

	Emmanuel Torres	Mercedes Covarrubias	Jaime Cedillo
Study Degrees	Bachelors in Law Masters in Corporate Law	Bachelors in Pedagogy	Bachelors in Business Administration and Marketing
Private University	Universidad del Valle de Atemajac	Panamerican University of Guadalajara	Panamerican University of Guadalajara
Extracurricular diplomas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Ethics and values in politics •Human Rights •Political Communication skills •Municipal strategic planning and territorial marketing •Marriage and Family •Political lobbying 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Marriage and family •Communication strategies •Thanatology •Logotherapy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Marriage and family •International Marketing •Specialization in Marketing •Intelligence Analysis •Neurolinguistics •International Business
Political Career	Secretary of liaison with society, part of the PAN municipal steering committee and state youth secretary and Chairman of the subcommittee.	Alternate deputy of the PAN party for the 12th district	Political candidate of the PAN party for deputy of district 11
Job position	Political manager at CABILDEX	Executive director of Valora radio channel and television program host in "Alegres", "Valoras", "En Vos Alas", "Amor a la Alegria", "Dejando Huellas", "Siempre Alegres".	Sales Director- Grupo Ara company
Seen as public figures	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Own elaboration, 2022

While looking at this information I was able to verify that these people representing the FNF all come from very high-class privileged backgrounds. By first looking at the professional experience of these three leaders I came across that all of them come from a very high-class privileged position, with the following similitudes: they all went to private religious Universities; were able to further their studies with multiple diplomas in marketing, family and marriage, political lobbying, and communication strategies; they've all been political affiliates of the PAN party; they hold management and senior positions, and they are seen as public figures.

Moreover, they also hold similitudes in their personal background, which the most representative ones were their Opus-Dei religious affinity, the constitution of heterosexual families composed of more than 3 children, and having a privileged position to make overseas travels and provide high-quality services to their families. Their professional and personal backgrounds make evidence of how their high-class position is biasing their understanding and approach toward reproductive rights. They are basing their discourses on a privileged position, to which only a minority of Mexicans conform, as in Mexico almost 40% of the population are in multidimensional poverty—also understood as low-class citizens (Moy, 2022). This translates into a lack of agency and representation of most of the citizens (lower class, indigenous, black, mestizo, religious minorities, sex, and gender minorities) as the discourses of power are managed by privileged people.

	Emmanuel Torres	Mercedes Covarrubias	Jaime Cedillo
Religious affinity	Opus-Dei	Opus-Dei	Opus-Dei
Class position	Middle-high class	Middle-high class	Middle-high class
Family	Heterosexual "nuclear"family	Heterosexual "nuclear"family	Heterosexual "nuclear"family
Children	Yes	Yes	Yes

Source: Own elaboration, 2022

An important similitude is that they are all graduates of right-wing private institutions (Universidad Panamericana campus GDL and Universidad del Valle de Atemajac), where students are taught to preach and advocate for Judeo-Christian ideology. It is known that within the Opus-Dei education system, they enforce a vow of obedience, so there is no question or

discussion on the promotion of its ideology, in which everyone is entitled to follow it and advocate their perspective (Ávila García, 2003). This privileged background reflects the possibility of them being Opus-Dei supernumerary members who are recognized for following up the commandment to procreate the children that God sends them and to provide them with more than enough resources and opportunities for their families. (Ávila García, 2003)

FNF relationship with private industry players and political parties

After understanding the personal and professional background we will look at the relations between the FNF representatives and public and private figures. Gisela, et al. have mentioned, that “in recent years, anti-gender equality organizations and movements have grown in strength, coordination, and impact at multiple levels in multiple spaces, permeating state and multilateral institutions, political parties, and governmental coalitions”. (Zarembeg, et al., 2021:527) These anti-rights organizations, such as the FNF have developed great influence and relations with private and public key stakeholders, granting them more power over the understanding of reproductive rights.

Religious actors have managed to position themselves as key political agents, where the Catholic doctrine is constantly modernizing its discourses to proclaim their conservative notions of gender and sexuality as natural to law and social norms (Corrêa, et al., 2020). This position of power of the Catholic Church in Mexico doesn't come out of the blue, since former president Carlos Salinas de Gortari from PRI, in 1992, the rules of laïcité and secularism became less strict, meaning that the Catholic Church was able to regain power and got to control the politics of sex. This opened the door to several Constitutional reforms in which it has allowed open public demonstration of religious acts, translating into more political freedom for the members of the Catholic Church, and their institutional power to intervene in the education field.

This blurred separation between the church and the Mexican political system has allowed many politicians to provide public funds to members of the Catholic Church and related organizations (Corrêa, et al., 2020:128) Which has made affordable the creation of many wealth organizations that promote the Judeo-Christian ideology—such as the FNF—and to mobilize discursive strategic campaigns against gender perspective policies. Following data from a report by the Mexican Ministry of Finance and Public Credit (SHCP), from 2007 to 2018, 36 conservative organizations received around 858 million pesos from private institutions and public money. This information highlights how they are not only being supported politically by many politicians but also with political and economic resources. (Flores, 2019)

In addition, the liaison and political involvement of FNF representatives with the PAN party have also been extremely key to their involvement and representation in Jalisco's policymaking. It should be considered that despite the PAN party being the most-voted party in Jalisco, they still have 13.2% representation in the Congress of Jalisco (Congreso de Jalisco, 2022). Moreover, the PAN party has publicly expressed its interest in collaborating with the FNF and promoting its values, which has allowed the FNF to get to know other politicians and be around the political environment—to perform political lobbying. And even though other strong

parties in Jalisco, such as MC, haven't publicly expressed their support for the FNF agenda, by not standing and following their federal agenda to legalize abortion they are silently doing so.

The FNF organization has also recently created a website called "Refrenda Valores" where its objective is to follow up on the initiatives voted in favor of 'life' and 'family' by local and federal legislators in Jalisco—to police the compliance of politicians with their conservative point of view. This also intends to function as a channel for monitoring the actions legislators will or have carried out on this topic, as for a large part of Jalisco society this platform will serve as a fundamental parameter to guide their vote for the 2024 elections. This, in combination with religious public opinion leaders, has an impact on the way politicians of Jalisco publicly take a position in favor of the gender agenda—especially with the topic of abortion. (El Informador, 2021) Thus, for fear of being targeted for their actions, politicians prefer to remain neutral and do-nothing regarding abortion rights in Jalisco, and silently support the demands of the FNF as they claim the representation of all Jalisco's citizen's needs.

The FNF's close relationship with private industry players, especially with large communication companies in Mexico, has also greatly favored them to promote their campaigns against abortion, and gender perspective policies. As it is through a constant communication strategy in radio and podcast channels that they manage to promote conservative Judeo-Christian values. In addition, the professional communication and marketing skills of the FNF representatives have been key for the expansion of their audience scope and number of followers. Thus, as previously mentioned they are well-positioned and skilled citizens that have been able to maintain the power of the organization in Jalisco.

Roggeband and Kriszans' proposal exposes the need to perform a more dynamic understanding of these private-public relationships, by emphasizing a tripartite perspective, between the state, feminists, and anti-gender organizations. They argue "(...) conservative actors can be simultaneously inside and outside state institutions, transforming their function and scope" (Zarembeg, et al., 2021:529) The attempt to cancel ITESO's event that talked about the implications of criminalizing abortion in 2018, demonstrates this dynamic movement of actors and power, where stakeholders are the ones that get to define what is permitted to talk about. This has led the feminist movement to seek new strategies and advocacy tactics that promote moral-free consciousness and build coalitions across institutional spaces that represent their needs, wants, and desires (Zarembeg, et al., 2021).

How have the FNF benefited from these resources in the last political mobilizations against abortion?

By reviewing some of the press releases about the March for Life and Women in Guadalajara in 2021, I identified the multiple support the FNF got in the organization, promotion, and during the march. Where representatives of the Catholic Church were constantly encouraging citizens to participate in the march by handing out flyers^{xiv} with information about the event and sharing the information about the event at the end of the Mass. These actions from the Catholic Church get to expose the support the FNF gets from religious actors, where if it wasn't for it the FNF would not reach the scope of followers they wish for. Supposedly, the Catholic Church cannot encourage political mobilization but because of the law gaps, they

have been able to collaborate with organizations like the FNF. This demonstrates the power social conservative actors have to freely preach and promote the Judeo-Christian ideology as intrinsically related to the ethics of citizens.

The March for Life and Women also got support from political parties, where the PAN federal deputy for Jalisco, Miguel Monraz, gave a speech to emphasize his pro-life stance and the values of the FNF. As this march was mobilized under the assumption that the ‘values’ of Mexican society were at risk, this created a moral panic among citizens who considered the SCJN's rulings as an attack against human rights and the values of Mexican society. (Reyes, 2021) Thus, the participation of political party representatives in this march makes evidence of the support the FNF gets from politicians in Jalisco.

In addition, the FNF representatives emphasized on how citizens are rightful to decide on what should be legislated, meaning that during their public statement^{xv} they encouraged the Congresspeople of Jalisco to legislate by their values. They supported this argument by reminding the Congresspeople that their salaries come from the taxes citizens pay and therefore they must attend to what the majority is asking for, as they believe the FNF represents the interests of most Jalisco citizens. The fact that the FNF make mention of this puts the politicians in an uncomfortable position, as by being targeted, this biases their stand on abortion. This has been a strategic tactic of the FNF and other conservative parties, such as the PAN party, to maintain the support of their agenda.

At the end of the discourse, the FNF played a victim role by arguing that the indoctrination of the ‘gender ideology’^{xvi} is causing all the evils (all the violence) in Jalisco’s society, where depending on the role they chose (victim vs perpetrator) they will cause a different impact in the support they get. This falls into what Zarembeg mentions “conservative forces frequently deploy communication strategies founded in emotion[s] (...) that tap into people’s common social fears and anxieties” (Zarembeg, et al., 2021:530). Thus, depending on the narrative the FNF representatives and allies use, they will have a greater impact on the reception of their message.

The FNF counter-law reform ‘582-LXIII’ shows how these conservative actors are constantly aiming for reducing advocacy spaces for gender policies, as it is another way to make their movement more powerful. This argument gets to highlight the fact that every time feminists open spaces to talk about gender policies (both in the public and private sphere) counter organizations, like the FNF, might try to block them. Where even though the Jalisco state already favors socially conservative organizations, and more specifically already criminalizes abortion, organizations such as the FNF will keep reaching out to legal mechanisms to not lose their political power. The promotion of this counter-law reform was through a political campaign platform called ‘CABILDEX’, which focuses on strategic lobbying for the defense of life, family, and fundamental freedoms. The president of the FNF, Emmanuel Torres, holds the political managerial position at ‘CABILDEX’, which shows how the FNF through private resources are able to effectively promote and lobby their campaigns.

Moreover, the Catholic Church was also a key factor in the advocacy and representation of this law mobilization, as they allowed FNF representatives and followers to stand outside key located churches in Jalisco and ask for citizens’ signatures to pass this law initiative. Both resources (from

the private and public) were crucial for the FNF to get enough signatures to present their initiative to Congress, where in both scenarios the support of key stakeholders was crucial for the FNF advocacy and representation. Thus, it is through these power relations that the FNF is able to obstruct federal and local resources that aim for the decriminalization of abortion in Jalisco.

The constant effort of the FNF with public and private actors to promote a stigmatized idea against abortion and against NOM-046 has impacted the proper implementation and understanding of this mechanism, to reduce spaces where abortion can be accessed. Different actors, from both the public and private, must be held responsible for the stigmatization of abortion in Jalisco, as “these constructions [...] take the form not just in the realm of ideas and beliefs, but importantly in social interactions, identities, and social institutions” (Nakano Gleen, 1994:4). Moreover, most conservative catholic priests are constantly stigmatizing abortion during their Masses, to indoctrinate citizens feeling against abortion. The support of private institutions has also been crucial as it is through the power of Opus-Dei institutions that they get to influence and teach what they believe is appropriate sex education. Whereas the Opus-Dei institutions bases its sex education program^{xvii} in a censured way that only encourages the principle of abstinence and chastity until marriage, without talking from a constructive sex education, especially for adolescents.

Likewise, although the NOM-046 constitutes a mechanism for women and girls who have been victims of rape, the FNF is arguing that abortion should never be an option even in cases of sexual violence. It is important to reflect that the use of NOM-046 is especially useful for underage mothers (girls and adolescent mothers), as in Jalisco the Ministry of Health reported 17,470 births of mothers under 20 years of age in 2021. 491 of the cases (2.8%) were girls between 9 and 14 years of age, and 16,979 of the cases (97.2%) were adolescents between 15 and 19 years of age. (IEEG, 2021) This data reflects the urgency to destigmatize the practice of abortion, especially in rape cases, to stop the promotion of systemic and institutional violence against women and girls in Jalisco.

Within this context, women and girls in Jalisco are discouraged from seeking an abortion due to rape, whereas also health providers are misinformed about their responsibilities and duties in proving this service. This gets to be proved as some health providers have denied an abortion to rape victims or even questioned and revictimized victims throughout the process. This ongoing support of the FNF from public and private key stakeholders is impacting women’s and girls’ access to health services and an increase in young women's and girls' pregnancy rates. Thus, for mechanisms like NOM-046 to effectively function it is necessary the support public and private actors promote the proper application of the norm and stop stigmatizing the practice of abortion and sex.

As Patricia Hill Collins mentions, “the racial privilege enjoyed by white, middle-class women makes unnecessary this complicated dimension of [mothering]” (Hill Collins, 1994:57). By exposing empirical findings, the support, the FNF gets from private and public key stakeholders it enounces how the conservative reproductive rights agenda has endured and dominated in Jalisco. The resources and skills of the FNF representatives have been key for the anti-rights movement to impact the understanding of abortion effectively politically and socially among citizens and the Congress people of Jalisco. Thus, it is important to stay aware of the influential power the FNF has to take as a serious actor that clearly has an impact on key

stakeholders. And to further look at how the Catholic Church has been evolving in anti-rights organizations, managing to maintain a position of power in which their demands and needs can be actioned without secularism intervening.

After analyzing the main power resources of the FNF, I now explore in the next chapter how the values reinforced in their communication strategies related to a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology on reproductive rights and women's role in society.

Chapter 4 - The indoctrination of a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology

The inclusion of a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology in the discourses of the FNF promotes and affirms a moral ideology that dictates their oppressive vision of rights, regulating women's roles in society and the understanding of reproductive rights. Moreover, with the feminist attempt to transform the hegemonic order that rules over sexuality, the FNF is often modernizing its discursive strategies to keep promoting these values and keep controlling the understanding of reproductive rights. The purpose of this chapter is to unpack the meanings behind these Judeo-Christian values and what are the expected effects from the FNF.

The Judeo-Christian values from a conservative perspective

The discourses of the FNF are constantly composed of conservative values that maintain an ideology where women are understood as reproductive bodies, neglecting wider economic and social roles, and the conditions that could advance health for women (Harcourt, 2009). It is through the Judeo-Christian values that cultural norms based on what it's 'appropriate' get to shape the capitalist system. Recognizing the values of sexuality, womanhood, family, motherhood, and human life in the discourses of the FNF shows how they reinforce conservative and violent norms which are made believed to the "permissible" sexual behavior. (Chousaul and Rodríguez, 2020)

The preservation of chastity has been understood as an essential tool for the achievement of good Judeo-Christian sexuality, where chastity is encouraged from early "sexual education" as it defines how the "correct sexuality" of men and women should be lived. In this Judeo-Christian sexual education, women are taught that chastity is intrinsically linked to their sense of being, as their sexuality should always revolve around it. (Chousaul and Rodríguez, 2020) This idea of how to follow women's sexuality refers to the understanding of sex as a binary heterosexual action intrinsically related to reproduction, reinforcing a hegemonic hetero-patriarchal culture of maintaining monogamous and heterosexual relationships. As it is by the recoup of heterosexuality through legislation that fundamentally masculinist institutions can remain powerful. (Alexander, 1994)

This construction of a specific way to live sexuality shapes, asymmetrically, the assigned roles according to sex (male and female), where colonization got to structure how we understand the roles in society, in which only certain citizens get to fit into those. Turning into Judeo-Christian followers believing that feminine identity is strictly related to their sexual organs and the idea that women's purpose is motherhood. Thus, the notion of sex is developed under the idea that it should always end in reproduction, regardless of how it is carried out. Moreover, "women's capacity for bearing children has been the rationale for excluding them from public and high-paying jobs "(Nakano Glenn., et al, 1994:2), and it has ascribed them the primary responsibility for parenting—seeing them as heads and caregivers of the family.

These characteristics of the Judeo-Christian values seek to create an image of women of what are the naturally given roles for them, reinforcing the relationship between woman, motherhood, and life. To portray the idea that being a woman is intimately related to the value of motherhood, and its role lies in serving as reproductive labor agents. This has been portrayed under a conservative “natural logic” that women agree on their role from a position of love as their destiny is to be mothers and they cannot—and wouldn’t—renounce it. (Chousaul and Rodríguez, 2020) Social conservative actors are shaping femininity based on the conservative approach of reproduction which assumes motherhood issues, feelings, and desires are universal (Nakano Glenn., et al, 1994).

Rubin's theorizing identifies women as "domesticated" in a framework of certain social relations, which are attributed to them in an oppressive and male domination environment. Meaning that women are being portrayed as passive actors in society, where their primal role is understood as indispensable for the functioning of the family and societies, which assumes women's place is in the private sphere, as natural caregivers for their families. (Chousaul and Rodríguez, 2020) However, as Nakano Glenn mentions, some mothers are treated “as indivual units of labor, rather than as members of family units [meaning that] “they were not expected or allowed to be full-time mothers; nor did their circumstances allow them even to harbor the illusion of a protected private haven” (Nakano Glenn., et al, 1994:5-6).

Thus, motherhood from the Judeo-Christian point of view is not accessible for all women and people that are able to gestate, as depending on the race and the class of the women involved “mothering is not just gendered, but also racialized” (Nakano Glenn, 1994). Moreover, for the women that cannot avoid motherhood, this becomes more an obligation rather than a choice, since it is in their mission of life to be the heterosexual nuclear families^{xviii} (Ávila García, 2003). And for the women and people that don't figure into their concept of motherhood are unable to fulfill their right to reproduction.

Unpacking the Judeo-Christian values in the FNF communication strategies

During the March for Life and Women in Guadalajara in 2021, a motivational speech^{xix} was being given while people kept marching, where some of the Judeo-Christian values were present. One of the speakers, priest Ricardo, got to re-emphasized that “those of us who are in favor of the causes of women and life must raise our voices to not continue allowing the erosion of human and family values”. Followed by the second speaker, citizen Karen, said that people were also here to “avoid the degradation of values in our society, in our country, and all humanity, we have to re-establish a culture of values for future generations”. I found both claims particularly important as the values of womanhood, family, motherhood, and life are being linked, encouraging to believe that it is through those values that society order prevails.

Similarly, when the priest claimed the erosion of human and family values, it is relevant to reflect how the FNF and church representatives are portraying a type of woman as unable to decide against their purpose of being a woman. As they mentioned that this ‘selfish decision’ is affecting their system of values, values that hold and make society better. Moreover, by the silence of the word ‘abortion’ and who are they referring to as ‘mothers’, they can keep

motivating a position against reproductive rights that is exclusive of all types of mothers and lacks representation of all people's desires. Thus, one can reflect that both speakers in this speech are referring to a particular definition of women, in which indigenous, sexual minority women, and low-class, catholic or conservative women are unnoticed.

In the second part, they do reflect on how it is important to re-establish a culture of values, as from their point of view, the Judeo-Christian ideology is the channel to have peaceful societies. This section is extremely relevant as Jalisco is one of the states where violence is at its peak, with more than 15 thousand people being missing, and drug trafficking dominating the state (Aguilar, 2022). Therefore, in a society that is tired of living endless violence, they will do anything to stop it, even believing that it is through Judeo-Christian ideology, and the following of its values, that society can be saved.

Moreover, when the father mentions, "to stop the campaign that wants to allow abortion in the whole Republic and for the respect for life, for the security of all women, for their genuine personal development, for their authentic rights, for their advancement, for their work, but also for the woman who is in her mother's womb. Nothing is completely lost. It is never too late." This whole sentence is extremely powerful as they get to expose a position where they portray women's "authentic right" to motherhood. Where, their opposition to abortion is based on the transgression of their Judeo-Christian values, as it pretends to challenge the conservative hegemony of the reproductive rights order.

For the second mobilization strategy of the FNF, I encountered that the fact that they developed and presented a counter-law initiative for the protection of pregnancy and life proves how they constantly engage in the production and maintenance of conservative meanings against abortion. As Snow & Benford mention, collective action might intend "to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists" (D. Benford & A. Snow, 2000:614). In addition, this mobilization proves how the FNF is pursuing to proclaim and dominate conservative social mobilizations, by turning citizens against gender-inclusive agenda and portraying themselves as victims of the 'gender ideology'.

Moreover, since social movements seek to change the order of things in society, it is through framing strategies that they can address and blame responsible certain people in society. This, in addition to conservative Judeo-Christian values, has been the most effective way for the FNF to delineate the boundaries between what is accepted in the narrative and advocacy for reproductive rights in Jalisco (D. Benford & A. Snow, 2000) The fact that many Jalisco's citizens are catholic has been key to effectively essentialize the beliefs of powerful citizens against abortion, by reinforcing dominant and oppressive values where people feel connected with.

By identifying the values of 'Family' and 'Motherhood' I was able to understand that the FNF wants to pursue the approval of this new law initiative to maintain a perception of what is legitimate within reproductive rights and to preserve conservative Judeo-Christian values that go against rights. Therefore, it is through the constant modernization of conservative discourses, and their representation in the legislative system, those anti-rights organizations are still able to dominate the discourses behind reproductive rights, the notions of family, and what motherhood and womanhood entail.

Within this law initiative, the FNF argues that by protecting motherhood, the rights of children are being covered, this reinforces the racialized and classist Judeo-Christian idea of women being the only caregivers of the family, and that it is through motherhood that they can protect children. Thus, we need to promote new ways of understanding mothering, as currently, we are only focusing on middle-high-class women in which they and their children get a degree of economic and social security. It also ensures access to motherhood to the people that don't 'conform' to the heterosexual norm, and especially sheds light on the lack of inclusiveness in the framing of motherhood and reproductive rights. (Hill Collins, 1994)

Lastly, in the FNF last public statement^{xx} against NOM-046, several Judeo-Christian values are also present, in which since 2017, the FNF has been building solid arguments to make citizens believe that NOM-046 transgresses the values of life and family, and therefore transgresses society. The FNF first claims that NOM-046 is just encouraging raped pregnant women and girls to have abortions and is not giving them 'solutions' that don't 'violate' the right to life. As the FNF has constantly suggested that there are other solutions for raped pregnant women, such as keeping the baby or carrying on with the pregnancy to give the child up for adoption. Secondly, the FNF argues that NOM-046 violates the value of family since pregnant victims don't need any authorization from either a public official or a family member. Where the FNF is especially a concern with this in the cases of teen and child pregnancies since they claim the role of 'their families' to decide about their underage daughters' pregnancies is being trespassed.

These arguments suggest that women can't ever reject their destiny of motherhood and will always be subordinated to the Judeo-Christian values, values based on God's will which force women to follow their divine path, without acknowledging the violation of women's agency and rights. In addition, the FNF values are not only to protect life but family too, and for that reason, the fact that NOM-046 does not imply the authorization of abortion for minors makes them feel their families are threatened by the state's will. The FNF arguments have impacted citizens believing NOM-46 is a useless mechanism, leading to its inefficient application and the continuous stigmatization of abortion in rape cases.

Thus, conservative Judeo-Christian values are constantly being manifested in the FNF communication campaigns, highlighting gender, class, ethnicity, race, and religious preference in their notion of motherhood, preserving inequalities that prevent all women from enjoying their reproductive rights. It is necessary to reconsider our understanding of reproductive rights to include the representation of all types of bodies, and to recognize other types of motherhood. And to not overlook communication strategies where oppressive values of womanhood and motherhood are being preserved.

By identifying how these dominant values from a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology have an impact on reproductive rights and women's role in society, I will then focus on the framing strategies of the FNF to promote those values and portray themselves as the main and legitimate advocators for reproductive rights in Jalisco.

Chapter 5 - Discursive tools of the FNF

The effect the FNF has on obstructing the right to abortion in Jalisco is largely due to the discourses that constantly criminalize and stigmatize the practice of it, where the framing tools are essential to delimit the boundaries of possible actions accepted within the reproductive rights narrative. As it is also through social conservatives' creation of collective moral panic and common social fears that they get to influence the perception of abortion. The FNF is managing certain discursive tools to maintain their influence as defenders of 'society values' to have enough support and to block any action of the Congress of Jalisco to decriminalize abortion.

The creation of concepts such as the 'culture of death' and the 'gender ideology' are constantly indoctrinating a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology, shaping a narrative where the FNF is presented as the savior of the violence in Mexico. Meaning that the FNF discourses often fall back on emotionality to distort the violent Mexican context to their favor, by blaming gender-inclusive policies as the main cause of it. Thus, I find it relevant to highlight which discursive tools the FNF has used in their last political mobilizations against abortion to maintain their positionality and hegemony on reproductive rights in Jalisco.

The FNF as a countermovement of reproductive rights

Through multiple projections and the collectivization of feelings, the FNF has managed to maintain its ideological supremacy against abortion, and it is through the framing processes that they have made sense of a reproductive rights narrative that is exclusive of abortion as a right. In the past years, the FNF has included in their narrative the violent context of Mexico to resonate with their followers and propose 'solutions' that can only be accomplished through them. By building and reproducing discourses from a counter-movement position the FNF can demobilize its opponents (pro-rights organizations) and maintain its position of power within reproductive rights.

The authors McCaffrey and Keys, propose the performance of an analysis of the countermovement's framing is of great use to understand the ideological clash around abortion. They do so by presenting three counter-framing concepts in which counter-movements challenge their opponents and maintain a position of power: polarization-vilification, frame saving, and frame debunking. They affirm that it is through these concepts that conservative counter-movements, such as the FNF, keep building conservative discourses to maintain the violent hetero-patriarchal social order, which obstructs abortion as a right. Hence, it is important to deconstruct the FNF anti-abortion discourses to understand how these discourses have translated into political victories that are exclusive of other bodies regarding their race, gender, ethnicity, religion, sex, and class.

The first framing concept of polarization-vilification is conformed of two concepts, which are often in conjunction; polarization refers to the creation of a dichotomy of "us" vs "them". And vilification is "the rhetorical strategy that discredits adversaries by characterizing them as ungenune, malevolent advocates" (McCaffrey & Keys, 2000:44). Both concepts

function as the means through which antagonistic movements, such as the FNF, construct and reinforce a competitive identity. As it is through the FNF shaping identity that they polarize the movement of abortion and accredit themselves as the legitimate voice on reproductive rights. (McCaffrey & Keys, 2000)

In addition, the FNF discourses constantly portray their opponents as corrupt and violent to position themselves as the “moral agent” that wants to maintain order and peace in society. By following the remarks of McCaffrey and Keys, they argue that “polarization and vilification are often accomplished through the deployment of emotionally charged terminology. Therefore, the way the FNF has framed abortion through sensationalist discourses influences citizens to see the FNF as a protector of human rights. Where the FNF also plays the role of either the victim or protector of reproductive rights to maintain a paternalistic role on how reproductive rights should be approached. (McCaffrey & Keys, 2000)

The following concept of frame debunking concerns the way counter-movements advance their ideology by discrediting other ideologies. This is mainly reflected in the undermining of other movements where they re-frame their rivals’ goals to claim a higher understanding of the topic. Likewise, it is through frame debunking how conservative counter-movement discourses base their arguments to delegitimize other points of view. More specifically the FNF’s “pro-life” stands obstructs the understanding of abortion as a right and refer to it as a “charge of hypocrisy” for the interruption of a pregnancy, and the ‘killing’ of a human ‘life’. (McCaffrey & Keys, 2000:52)

This frame debunking can also be seen in how the FNF drives its “pro-life” ideology by focusing on the fetus’s life and framing pregnant women as vulnerable citizens that need protection. As they constantly part from the assumption that the granting of abortion as a right is an impediment for other pregnant women to carry on with their pregnancies, and for fetuses to ‘enjoy’ their rights. These assumptions are often built from the Judeo-Christian ideology that argues and homogenizes the meaning of womanhood and motherhood, where this dominant ideology attempts to represent the view of them as the dominant group. (Nakano Glenn, 1994)

Finally, frame savings is understood as the tool that re-frames the ideologies that have been debunked and challenged by other movements, to restore credibility to their movement, and especially to strengthen the purpose of their goals. This is reflected in the dichotomy between ‘pro-choice’ and ‘pro-life’ movements as both are consistently moving in between movements to re-appropriate powerful discursive tools, such as the word ‘pro’ to proclaim themselves as the rightful and fair one. It is through this framing-saving concept that the FNF responds and reacts to their opponents, to enhance and build a more powerful identity. (McCaffrey & Keys, 2000)

An example of the FNFs making use of this tool is how they have reframed their anti-abortion campaign as the only ones that care and protect women’s rights and dignity. They have also used the frame savings tool to reappropriate feminist slogans, such as #NiUnaMenos, to use it to their favor. This slogan has been mainly used by the feminist movement to refer to all victims of feminicide, whereas now the FNF is twisting it to also refer to the fetuses that are aborted. To conclude, these three framing concepts propose a deeper analysis of how the FNF discourses are built to remain in their position of power and to keep influencing a hegemonical order against abortion in Jalisco.

Framing strategies of the FNF as a countermovement

It has been through the development of conservative discourses, that the FNF has been able to rectify society's values according to Judeo-Christian values, and how they have kept their position of power. Most of their communication strategies are usually based “in emotionally triggering narratives that tap into people’s common social fears and anxieties to gain public support and reframe public debates away from equality concerns and pluralism” (Zarembeg, et al., 2021:530). These discourses are mostly conformed of key framings that have addressed the violent context of Mexico and the vulnerability of women’s rights to their favor.

As the author Annie Wilkinson argues, discourses based on security culture are shaping the framing strategies of the FNF chapter in Mexico City to portray ‘gender ideology’ as the main perpetrator of violence. Wilkinson mentions, that the FNF is bringing “security and gender politics into a common, cohesive security frame [that] constructs gender policies as a potent, virulent, and imminent existential threat to the family”. (Wilkinson, 2021:535). Thus, the FNF is holding on to the belief that family values are the basis of a peaceful society, by arguing that any policy against what is normal and accepted by the Judeo-Christian ideology (basically anything against the heteronormative patriarchal system) will bring mess and violence to society.

In addition, Wilkinson highlights how anti-gender campaign leaders have been strategically trained in communication skills to persuade the masses with their anti-rights discourses. Where Wilkinson evidence how the leader of the FNF chapter in Mexico City got training based on the psychological operations discipline^{xxi} (PsyOps) that has been of great use as a political marketing strategy to legitimize violent actions. Some representatives of the FNF have affirmed that studying PsyOps has given them the tools to persuade the audience by mobilizing interpretive frames (Wilkinson, 2021), and to keep training other members of the FNF. Thus, their communication skills have been key to the effective management of their recent discourses against abortion, and the gender perspective.

The FNF developing anti-right discourses has made use of the “hasbara” tactic (PsyOps tactic) to reframe and manipulate a stigmatized perception of abortion in Mexican society. This has translated into their followers believing that gender-inclusive policies are the main producers of violence in Mexico and that society should join them to fight them back—to support their agenda so they can manage the function of society. One of the concepts the FNF has included in their discourses is the ‘culture of death’ and the ‘gender ideology’ in which they argue that challenges their system of thoughts is causing the violence and chaos in Mexico, alluding to the creation of moral panic by turning citizens against the gender perspective.

In addition, the FNF constantly argues that some of the developed countries are using the ‘gender ideology’ as a tool of modern ideological colonization to keep inducing power over developing countries (Wilkinson, 2021) However, this argument falls into incongruity because one cannot say that the fight to decriminalize abortion comes from one movement, where some feminist movements have been encouraging us to go deeper into a vision how we understand reproductive rights as the liberty of reproductive rights it’s a matter of social justice and not only individual choice. (Yañez, 2017). This modern ideological colonization claim from the FNF is also incongruent as they are the ones that constantly build their discourses from other international pro-life organizations, such as ‘Citizens Go’ and the party ‘Vox’ in Spain.

Part of the other discursive framing tools of the FNF has been related to their shaping of a notion of pregnant women who are seen as vulnerable citizens in need of protection—a notion that has been exclusive of women depending on their class, race, ethnicity, gender, and sex situation. The FNF is playing the role of the legitimate provider of solutions that represent the ‘needs’ and ‘wants’ of the pregnant women they fit their concept. It is through the indoctrination of a conservative Judeo-Christian ideology that they frame womanhood as intrinsically related to motherhood, where it does not matter how the fetus is conceived but that both ‘lives’ can ‘enjoy’ rights. Thus, in this context women are unable to choose a destiny that does not end in them being mothers, as that is their role and destiny in society.

Similarly, the FNF's strategy to promote in their agenda a securitization of society has helped them gain much support from citizens since in this context of violence crisis, one of the main desires of citizens is to end this endemic violence and corruption. As it has been part of the FNF arguments that if society would comply with the Judeo-Christian ideology this violence and corruption wouldn't exist. It is through these discursive frameworks that they manage to effectively lead an anti-rights campaign and convince people to join their mobilizations. On the other hand, the FNF has recently included the principle of state sovereignty in their discourses, by arguing that the SCJN is violating its permitted faculties since court ministers are not legislators and that local congress is in charge to decide freely on their rights and duties. This argument has also been built under the assumption that this violation of state sovereignty is leading to more violence and corruption from the Mexican state.

The FNF is framing a communication strategy to place citizens against the government, where politicians must comply with the FNF demands and arguments as that is the way they believe we can aim for fair and safer societies. Therefore, as Annie Wilkinson mentions, these framings are part of what she calls nested empty signifiers since from a lack of their own coherent and agreed-upon definitions, these concepts are made meaningful and coherent to favor their articulations. (Wilkinson, 2021). The employment of these nested empty signifiers is not done in a vacuum, but in a way where the FNF can take advantage of the violence in Mexico and portray themselves as saviors. As to do so, the FNF is constantly relying on the emotions of the Mexican citizens that are tired of living under this endemic violence.

Grounding the findings

To analyze the political mobilization of the FNF for the March for Life and Women I looked at two of their speeches where they invite citizens to join the march. First, I looked at Rodrigo Iván Cortés's (president of the FNF in Mexico City) speech where he details the reason for the march and the importance of joining the national mobilization against abortion. Followed by also looking at Emmanuel Torres's (president of the FNF in Jalisco) tv screening appearance to invite Jalisco's citizens to the “March for Life and Women” and to unite against the SCJN rulings that impose gender policies.

By first positioning ourselves in the analysis of Cortés's speech^{xxii}, he began emphasizing that Judeo-Christian values of life, motherhood, maternity, and family are the main drivers of society. Where he argues that these values are being violated by the federal government with the SCJN ruling to impose a ‘culture of death’ and the ‘gender ideology’. Also, Cortés includes the framing of local sovereignty by inviting all Mexican citizens to show their discomfort to the

government and to join the marches taking place in their states. As he addresses SCJN pro-abortion rules as the conversion of a crime into a right and the imposition of the ‘gender ideology’ over the freedom of conscience.

As can be reflected in Cortés's speech, he both included the concepts of ‘culture of death and ‘gender ideology’ to denounce their position against SCJN rulings, in which as mentioned by Annie Wilkinson, the FNF is linking the violent context of Mexico with the progress of pro-abortion legislation. Cortés gets to point that the SCJN rulings go against the Judeo-Christian values which he argues is the reason for the social disorder and that is why Mexicans should be against abortion and gender-inclusive policies. Moreover, the fact that Cortés claims the freedom of consciousness should be based on the moral ‘truths’ denotes their imposition of the Judeo-Christian ideology as the ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ one.

In the second speech, although it emphasizes less on the objectives of the march, it mentions certain key framings, and silences in the speech, that should not go unnoticed. First, Emmanuel Torres got interviewed^{xxiii} by the UdG tv channel, which is not only tuned to by many Jalisco citizens but it’s also owned by one of the most powerful universities and private actors in Jalisco, the University of Guadalajara. In his speech, Torres detailed, that the March for Life and Women was going to be an exemplary civic exercise to advocate for the Judeo-Christian values that aim to add to the creation of family citizenship characterized by peacefulness, willingness, joy, order, and cleanliness. Thus, the FNF leader in Jalisco is promoting a movement that homogenizes—and positions itself as the absolute truth— what entails the civic values of society, values where men get to rule over women’s bodies and protect the maintenance of patriarchy.

Later on, in the speech, the news commentator said that most Jalisco citizens that are against abortion understand the SCJN rulings as a violation of the sovereignty of the states—a violation of their rights. It appears that sovereignty is currently operating as a key framing in the FNF discourses as it insinuates citizens to believe that because the SCJN rulings are against Judeo-Christian values, they are against citizens’ rights. This has led the local mobilization against the SCJN's rulings to proclaim and defends the conservative sexual order in their state, as it was with the previous March for Life and Women in 2021. Whereby, the FNF's emphasis on a security framework gets to take advantage of Mexicans' need to live in a safe and secure environment, to encourage a conservative-led revolution against the Mexican state and gender policies—specifically in this case against the reproductive justice framework.

Moreover, I identified that both FNF leaders replaced process verbs with nouns which supports the collectivization of what they want to deliver in their speeches, as speaking in a plural active voice, alludes to the representation of the needs and interests of Mexican citizens. Where also emphasizes Emmanuel Torres that this march was the representation of a civic exercise of how Jalisco citizens can unite to fight for human rights, it’s a sign of homogenization of the Judeo-Christian ideology as crucial for more fair societies. Thus, even though this collectivization of feelings and desires it’s not representative of what most people believe and feel, it is through the indoctrination that they get to influence people and appropriate what they want them to—to maintain a collective value system that is exclusive and promotes the systemic violence in which we live.

For the following analysis, I focused on the FNF public speech^{xxiv} where they presented their law initiative draft to the public, which started by framing the context of pregnancy in Jalisco as something that should be protected and supported by the state. They framed pregnant women as vulnerable citizens in need of laws that represent their needs during and after their pregnancy. This understanding is justifying women's homebound existence to keep them outside the centers of real power and ascribing them as heads of families which is the only place where they can become active society players. (Nakano Glenn, 1994:10)

Moreover, the second speaker, Karen, by sharing her personal experience of being a single mother, fell into a sentimentalist discourse that homogenizes experiences as she argues that if she was able to continue her pregnancy as a single mother, any single mother could do so. This narrative falls into what Patricia Hill Collins mentions "motherhood occurs in specific historical situations framed by interlocking structures of race, class, and gender, where the sons and daughters of white mothers have "every opportunity and protection" and the "colored" daughters and sons of racial-ethnic mothers "know their fate". Therefore, it is a violation of women's human rights to impose that every pregnant woman must continue their pregnancies in a racially dominated and economic exploitation-based system that profoundly shapes and frames how they get to live and enjoy their rights.

The third speaker, Mariana, then addressed the goals of this law initiative to protect pregnancy and motherhood in the state of Jalisco, where she proposed the need to create a legal mechanism that protects pregnant women in Jalisco. She bases her proposal on arguing that pregnant women's lack of access to psychological, economic, and employment support is influencing their disinterest—and absence of opportunities—to be mothers. I must agree that even though these mechanisms are something that every woman should have access to, this shouldn't be the way to enforce a pregnancy that it's not wanted or chosen. The way this proposal is done is through a polarization-vilification framing concept as it reinforces the idea that this law initiative is the only option that protects—and should protect—reproductive rights.

Another important section of this speech to reflect on is when the speaker Francisco explained in more empirical terms how this law would benefit Jalisco's society. He proposed that greater economic support must be given to help and protect pregnant women, and the necessity to configure a state council for the protection of maternity. He also explained that this council will be made up of civil society organizations that are considered experts in assisting pregnant women in vulnerable conditions. Most of them are based on the Judeo-Christian ideology and on the promotion of maternity that is not inclusive of gender, sex, ethnicity, class, or religion. Moreover, it can be assumed that silence in this speech is the fact that the FNF is willing to put a price to convince women to continue their pregnancies. As even though, financial support should be given to any pregnant woman that needs so, other pregnant women's right to decide should not be monetized.

For the analysis of the FNF public statement against NOM-046, I reflected on certain key discursive strategies that are presented to frame abortion as a promoter of violence in Mexico. First, the way FNF refers to the context of rape and teenage pregnancy in Jalisco is such a way to present the government as an incapable agent of resolving the problem. It is through the 'othering' that the FNF positions itself as the only 'one' that is addressing the issue with effective solutions and describes NOM-046 as a mechanism that should be eliminated. This negative framing over NOM-046 I believe reflects the concept of frame-debunking as it

reinforces a stigmatized collective idea against abortion in Jalisco, in which the norm is understood as an unnecessary mechanism that aggravates the problem of teen pregnancies.

Secondly, the FNF reference to the sexual violence context of Jalisco as if it was something that only happens in the public space, excludes the fact that most of the rape cases in Mexico happen among family members. According to OECD data (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), 90% of rapes against girls occur within the home and family environment (Barragán, 2021). This information highlights the importance of maintaining and reinforcing the proper application of NOM-046 so rape victims can access mechanisms that facilitate their abortion and the fulfillment of their rights. Where it should be acknowledged that even though there is a high rate of sexual the number of pregnant rape victims seeking an abortion in health facilities is few. As mentioned in a report on the application of NOM-046, “this may be because women do not know, do not trust or do not find it useful to seek the services contemplated on NOM-46” (Domínguez, et al., 2020:254)

The FNF also mentions the case of an underage teenager that abandoned her baby, in which they argue she is just another victim of the “culture of death” in Jalisco rather than a perpetrator of violence. This can be linked to two things, first, the culture of Mexico is known for seeing teenagers and children as persons incapable of making conscious decisions, which reinforces a paternalistic system and undermines their decision-making. And second, in this particular case, they seem to support the decision of the teenager to blame the fault of abandonment on the government, as they claim it is the lack of support for pregnant women that is leading them to abandon their children and opt for abortions. This reflects on the frame concept of polarization-vilification where the FNF undermining of the government takes a protector position and also generalizes that all pregnancies want to be kept.

On the other hand, even though in this public statement the FNF didn't directly refer to the concepts of ‘gender ideology’ and the ‘culture of death’ it is through the silences that one can see they are still being addressed. First, the FNF pointing their disagreement with the actions taken by state institutions where it is through the promotion of policies based on the ‘gender ideology’ that we are encountering a lack of humanity in societies where women can abandon their children and ‘kill’ them. And second, by linking the high rates of teen sexual violence in Jalisco as derived from the “culture of death”, which the government has failed to address with the current existing mechanisms. Therefore, the FNF's public statements against NOM-046 are causing vulnerable women to feel powerlessness to decide over their lives, “to [have] control over their bodies in order to preserve choice over whether to become mothers at all” (Hill Collins, 1994: 53). Where the FNF's persuasive efforts to control the stigmatization of abortion is taking away women's ownership over their bodies as men have, as it is through pregnancy how the hetero-patriarchal system is still being able to dominate them.

Chapter 6 – Final thoughts and remarks

Through this research, I got to expose how the FNF in Jalisco gets to produce and reproduce a narrative that obstructs the understanding of abortion as a right, and how they are promoting a notion of motherhood that lacks inclusiveness and the agency of other bodies. By focusing on the discourses, they shared through their last three key mobilization strategies against abortion, I was able to analyze the power anti-rights organization have within the reproductive rights narrative in Jalisco. I believe it is important to keep investigating how this constant indoctrination of the Judeo-Christian ideology impacts the politics of sex and the point of view of Mexican citizens.

There is still a need to recognize anti-rights organizations, such as the FNF, as powerful agents that through their discourses get to reinforce oppressive notions of women, motherhood, and reproduction which keep supporting a hetero-patriarchal system. And as these constructed notions are exclusive of ‘non-compliant’ bodies, I recognize the importance of including a feminist decolonial approach for further research on this topic, to portray how the ongoing coloniality influences our understanding of reproductive rights. Thus, to aim for reproductive justice we must encourage and develop discourses that are representative of everyone—discourses that go beyond what we think we understand as part of reproduction, motherhood, and womanhood.

Through an analysis of these conservative discourses of power, one can learn from the interconnections between the different forms of social inequalities and oppressions and develop strategies that aim for social change. Since we, as researchers, can produce powerful critiques of these discourses to create resistance that can develop in actions for change. As we are living in a system where cognitive power gets to internalize gendered norms that are oppressive and exclusive. Thus, it is necessary to reshape a system in which we acknowledge the diversity of knowledge, feelings, and desires, to stop imposing on what we believe is ‘right’, ‘legitimate’, or even ‘natural’.

The fact that the FNF has been employing key framings that allude to other issues that personally connect with the emotion of Mexican citizens, has placed their movement in a dominant and leadership position of power. Where the specific frameworks of the ‘culture of death’ and the ‘gender ideology’ get to influence and decontextualize the construction of what reproductive rights entail, and how citizens perceive their value in society. This makes evidence of how anti-rights framing strategies critically impacting on citizens’ emotions get to motivate more followers to join and advocate for a conservative perspective of reproductive rights. Perhaps it will be interesting to keep analyzing the construction behind FNF discourses of power, to understand how they can develop frameworks that will sympathize with most of the citizens.

Moreover, as Françoise Vergès mentions “[we] have to analyze why and how women’s rights have become an ideological weapon in service of neoliberalism (...). When women’s rights are reduced to the defense of individual freedom without questioning the content of this freedom, without questioning the genealogy of this notion in European modernity, we are entitled to wonder whether all these rights were granted because other women were not free”

(Vergès, 2021: 17). Therefore, as advocates of reproductive justice, we have to keep asking ourselves who has been having the authoritative voice here, and why, to stop assuming that anti-rights actors are not powerful enough to domain other political topics and start seeing them as the powerful threat they are.

Also, to keep questioning why there is so much stigma behind abortion, where even though it has been decriminalized in several states in Mexico, many women don't consider it as part of their reproductive rights, nor even know they have those kinds of rights. As Rosalind Petchesky says, "how can a woman avail herself of this right if she lacks the financial resources to pay for reproductive health services or the transport to get to them; if she is illiterate or given no information in a language she understands (...); if she is harassed by a [family member] who will abuse or beat her if they find out she uses birth control (or thinking on having an abortion)" (Petchesky, quoted in *Body Politics of Development* by Harcourt, 2009:50).

Likewise, the feminist movement by resisting those dominant discourses of power and challenging the oppressive interests of the heteronormative patriarchal system at stake has achieved the representation and agency of some. Therefore, it is necessary that feminist political action starts inflicting advocacy based on the specificity of cultural, historical, and institutional frameworks, and contextualizes their agenda in terms of the diversity of women's identities and their needs. And especially, to stop indoctrinating people with ideologies that keep dividing and marginalizing people in society, as in the end, we all have the power to create discourses that are representative of all.

The feminist movement could also be learning from the way anti-rights organizations develop successful communication strategies as they have managed to create a network of key stakeholders that grant them resources of power. Where even the representatives of these movements have been trained and have enough skills to keep distributing discourses of truth that are understood as legitimate ones and from a human rights point of view. Thus, the pro-abortion movement in Mexico must understand that these social constructs are not simply anti-rights discourses but have material effects on the understanding of women's lives and rights. Where the development of anti-rights discourses based on the human rights framework has been key to positioning them powerfully and effectively.

Moreover, the fact that abortion challenges the FNF hegemonic idea of womanhood and motherhood shows the necessity to start understanding that other people can perform them too. To also start acknowledging other types of families that don't comply with heteronormativity, as this will be key to letting women enjoy their bodies and their choices through the rights they have and the ones they deserve to have. All citizens of Jalisco must understand that if we keep basing the structure of society on values that promote the subordination of people, this will only translate into more violent and unsafe societies. Society must aim for the promotion of values that present us as agents of our bodies and desires, as it is through them that new laws can be created.

Finally conclude that this research is not only to fight for my abortion rights but to fight for the rights of all other women, non-binary, trans men people that are constantly told what to do and how to decide over their bodies. And to remind me that even if I am fighting this from my individual desires and feelings, in the end, that individuality should not obstruct and block

the feelings and desires of others but help me shape and rethink how to approach reproductive rights from a more inclusive and fairest resistance.

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Chapter 8 Annexes

Annex 1 – Speech given during the FNF march for life (Spanish version)

Padre- Estamos a favor de la vida. Si...
Estamos a favor del niño aún no nacido... si
Tenemos que elegir entre alguno de los dos? ... no
Queremos las dos vidas? ...si

Padre- Entonces hagamos relajo si queremos que se defienda y se protejan las dos vidas.

Ciudadana- Tenemos el honor de estar acompañandoles de esta mañana aquí en la Minerva, el padre Ricardo López Días y su servidora Karen Naguer.

Ciudadana- y queremos agradecer a la Conferencia del Episcopado Mexicano

Ciudadana- Mexicano que nos ha convocado a todos ustedes aquí, a ustedes mismos, por estar aquí el día de hoy, marchando con la mejor actitud de forma pacífica, como siempre lo hemos hecho y bueno, alegres, gozando por la vida, que es el derecho más básico de cualquier ser humano. Los demás derechos son importantes, claro, la salud, la seguridad, la buena economía. Pero el primer derecho es la vida. Si no existe la vida, no tenemos ningún otro derecho. Levantamos la voz por los que no tienen voz. Gracias por estar aquí y también agradecer, pues a todos los que se sumaron, nos hemos unido a muchísimas organizaciones como el Frente Nacional por la Familia, Valora, bueno muchísimas organizaciones y personas que se han unido por lo más noble que es defender y apostar a la vida. Padre, padre. Ricardo no puede recordar porque estamos al día de hoy aquí. Por qué estamos marchando?

Padre- Así es. Tenemos que tener muy claro el motivo por el que hoy estamos aquí. Tantos jaliscienses, familias, movimientos eclesiales, congregaciones religiosas, sacerdotes, laicos, fieles, todos los que hoy queremos levantar nuestra voz para que? tengamos bien claro que es para esto, porque tenemos que levantar la voz los que estamos a favor de las causas de la mujer y de la vida, para no permitir que se sigan erosionando los valores humanos y familiares. ¿Por qué más Karen?

Ciudadana- Estamos para evitar la degradación de los valores en nuestra sociedad, en nuestro país y en toda la humanidad, tenemos que volver a sembrar una cultura de valores para las futuras generaciones.

Padre- también para expresarnos por la libertad que tenemos en nuestro bendito país, a favor de la dignidad de toda la persona y de la vida en todas sus etapas y condiciones.

Padre- También para evitar que la cultura del descarte se imponga en todas partes, con la complicidad de la indiferencia, de la omisión, del miedo o de la cobardía.

Padre- Y, por supuesto, Para detener el embate que quiere permitir el aborto en toda la República y por el respeto a la vida, por la seguridad de toda mujer, de su genuino desarrollo, de sus auténticos derechos, de su progreso, trabajo, pero también de la mujer que está en el vientre materno. Nada está completamente perdido. Nunca es demasiado tarde.

Ciudadana- Así es, nunca es tarde. También estamos aquí para no perder la Batalla cultural y contener esa espiral de la muerte y despertar a esa mayoría silenciosa que está a favor de la vida. Por eso yo les digo hoy México despierta, la vida se respeta.

Padre- Amén. Está en juego la vida de las mujeres y de las niñas y niños concebidos en el vientre de su madre. La libertad de expresión. La objeción de conciencia. Hoy de médicos! Mañana de maestros, periodistas, abogados, papas y de todo ciudadano. Y porque en futuro no lejano estará en riesgo la libertad de enseñanza y la libertad de los padres de escoger la educación para sus hijos. No podemos permitirlo. México, despierta.

English version:

Priest- We are pro-life. yes..
We are in favor of the unborn child ... yes.
Do we have to choose between the two? ...no
We want both lives? ...yes

Priest- Then let's noise if we want both lives defended and protected.

Citizen- We are honored to be accompanying you this morning here at "La Minerva", Father Ricardo Lopez Dias and yours truly Karen Naguer.

Citizen- And we want to thank the Mexican Episcopal Conference that has summoned all of you here, yourselves, for being here today, marching with the best attitude in a peaceful manner, as we have always done and well, joyful, rejoicing for life, which is the most basic right of any human being. The other rights are important, of course, health, security, good economy. But the first right is life. If there is no life, we have no other right. We raise our voice for those who have no voice. Thank you for being here and also thank you to all those who joined us, we have joined many organizations such as the National Front for the Family, Valora, well, many organizations and people who have joined us for the most noble thing which is to defend and support life. Father, father. Ricardo cannot remember why we are here today. Why are we marching?

Priest- That's right, we have to be very clear about why we are here today. So many people from Jalisco, families, ecclesial movements, religious congregations, priests, lay people, faithful, all of us who want to raise our voices today so that? we are very clear that it is for this, because those of us who are in favor of the causes of women and life have to raise our voices, so as not to allow the erosion of human and family values to continue. Why more Karen?

Citizen- We are to prevent the degradation of values in our society, in our country and in all of humanity, we have to re-sow a culture of values for future generations.

Priest- Also to express ourselves for the freedom we have in our blessed country, in favor of the dignity of the whole person and of life in all its stages and conditions.

Priest- Also to prevent the culture of discarding from imposing itself everywhere, with the complicity of indifference, omission, fear or cowardice.

Priest- And, of course, To stop the onslaught that wants to allow abortion throughout the Republic and for the respect for life, for the security of every woman, of her genuine development, of her authentic rights, of her progress, work, but also of the woman who is in the womb. Nothing is completely lost. It is never too late.

Citizen- That's right, it is never too late. We are also here not to lose the cultural battle and to contain this spiral of death and to awaken that silent majority that is in favor of life. That is why I say to you today, Mexico awake, life is respected.

Father- Amen. The lives of women and children conceived in their mother's womb are at stake. Freedom of expression. Conscientious objection. Today of doctors! Tomorrow, of teachers, journalists, lawyers, popes and of every citizen. And because in the not-too-distant future, freedom of education and the freedom of parents to choose the education for their children will be at risk. We cannot allow it. Mexico, wake up.

Annex 2 FNF Public Statement Against NOM-046 (Spanish Version)

COMUNICADO DE PRENSA

05 de agosto de 2022
Guadalajara, Jalisco. México

COMUNICADO DE PRENSA

Exigimos al Gobierno de Jalisco que trabaje en la protección de las niñas y adolescentes víctimas de delitos sexuales y la explotación laboral

El 02 de agosto fue encontrado el cuerpo de un recién nacido en un contenedor de basura en el municipio de Zapopan, Jalisco; horas más tarde, según reportaron medios de comunicación, se presentó a una menor de edad a un hospital privado de Guadalajara que tenía relación con el bebe encontrado muerto. Este lamentable hecho exige la acción firme de las autoridades para cuidar de la menor y protegerla ante la posible comisión de delitos de los que pudo haber sido víctima.

La situación expone la posibilidad de que se mantengan vigentes en nuestra entidad redes de explotación laboral de menores que son contratadas para prestar servicios en hogares de la ciudad, atentando gravemente contra los derechos humanos de niñas y adolescentes. Además, esta tragedia deja al descubierto la incapacidad de las autoridades de garantizar plenamente la integridad física y emocional de las menores de edad.

Esperando una respuesta eficaz de las autoridades responsables de sancionar los posibles delitos cometidos contra la menor de edad y su bebe, hacemos un llamado a la Fiscalía General del Estado a que realice una amplia investigación que permita determinar la forma en que la menor de edad, originaria de Puebla, permaneció en Jalisco realizando labores del hogar estando embarazada y esclarezca las condiciones en que su bebe perdió la vida. Es indispensable que se rompa la cadena de impunidad.

En Jalisco el abuso sexual infantil es un grave delito que en 2019 contaba con un promedio de 6.7 delitos de este tipo por día, según datos del Gobierno de Jalisco¹. De acuerdo con información publicada en medios de comunicación que fue «entregada por la Secretaría de Salud Jalisco vía transparencia, en 2021 se atendió en los nosocomios de la dependencia a 172 mujeres víctimas de violencia sexual: a 107 por abuso sexual infantil y 65 por violación. La cifra representó un incremento de 77.32 por ciento con relación a 2020, cuando se atendió a 97 mujeres: 66 por abuso sexual infantil y 31 por violación»².

Ante esta grave situación, el Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, lejos de trabajar eficazmente en la prevención de la violencia sexual contra menores de edad, a través de la Secretaría de

¹ Sistema DIF Jalisco. *Diagnóstico 2022 del Programa de Prevención de niños, Niñas y Adolescentes*. Actualización 30 de noviembre de 2021.

²Rodríguez, Lauro. *Crece atención por agresiones sexuales* (25 de abril de 2022). *El Diario NTR*.

COMUNICADO DE PRENSA

Igualdad Sustantiva, reacciona publicando en redes sociales los datos de las unidades médicas donde el Gobierno de Jalisco ofrece el acceso al aborto a las víctimas de violación, destacando en el cartel la siguiente información: «**sin necesidad de denunciar y sin compañía de tu madre, padre o persona cuidadora, a partir de 12 años**»³. Este tipo de publicaciones hacen constar las prioridades de las autoridades que se muestran indolentes y reactivas y, de manera flagrante, atentan contra los derechos humanos de las niñas y adolescentes que deben ser protegidas, informadas y acompañadas para evitar, precisamente, que ante la comisión del delito de violación, los causantes queden impunes y sus padres o tutores sean debidamente informados para que les sea posible actuar en consecuencia.



Esta forma equívoca de comunicar por parte del Gobierno de Jalisco deja en total vulnerabilidad a las niñas y adolescentes de Jalisco que, además, padecen de la ineficacia de las autoridades para prevenir el abuso sexual infantil y la violación sexual, pero, lo más grave, es el evidente desinterés por la persecución del delito y la clara intención de facilitar el acceso al aborto como la única medida de respuesta ante la terrible violencia que sufren cada año miles de menores de edad en Jalisco. De este tamaño es la irresponsabilidad del Gobierno de

³ Publicación en Facebook, consultado el 3 de agosto de 2022 https://m.facebook.com/story.php?story_fbid=pfbid02b2xoGTNtLxRXjo9GJeAgdYcHsiTTg1dPCscVh5JGu3FnK1tyY8t7J7QkfZ4js3SI&id=100069211869973&sfnsn=scwspmo

COMUNICADO DE PRENSA

Jalisco pues, con esta estrategia pareciera anunciar y promover la impunidad de un delito tan grave al garantizar, también a los agresores, que el delito no será denunciado, ni serán delatados ante los padres de familia o tutores, principales responsables del cuidado de los menores. Todo esto es un absurdo pues significa la renuncia de las mismas autoridades a proteger y cuidar a las mujeres frente a los delincuentes.

Exigimos a la Secretaría de Igualdad Sustantiva del Gobierno de Jalisco que detenga la propaganda del aborto y se concentre, junto a otras instancias, en implementar políticas eficaces de prevención del abuso sexual infantil y las violaciones sexuales. Que haga esfuerzos coordinados para prevenir la explotación laboral de niñas y adolescentes que llegan a nuestra entidad totalmente desprotegidas y expuestas a la comisión de este y otros delitos, como el caso de la niña de 16 años y su bebe, reportado el pasado 02 de agosto en Zapopan.

Si las autoridades sostienen sus campañas de promoción del aborto e impunidad para los violadores lo único que lograrán es que la violencia siga creciendo en nuestra entidad y más niños y adolescentes sufran delitos que pueden y deben evitarse.

Contacto:

fnfjalisco@gmail.com



English version:

PRESS RELEASE

August 05, 2022

Guadalajara, Jalisco. Mexico

We demand the Government of Jalisco to work for the protection of girls and adolescents who are girls and adolescents who are victims of sexual crimes and labor exploitation

On August 2nd, the body of a newborn was found in a garbage container in the municipality of Zapopan, Jalisco; hours later, according to media reports, a minor was presented to a private hospital in Guadalajara who was related to the baby found dead. This unfortunate fact demands the firm action of the authorities to take care of the minor and protect her from the possible commission of crimes of which she may have been a victim.

The situation exposes the possibility that networks of labor exploitation of minors who are hired to provide services in homes in the city, seriously violating the human rights of children and adolescents. In addition, this tragedy exposes the inability of the authorities to fully guarantee the physical and emotional integrity of children and adolescents.

We are waiting for an effective response from the authorities responsible for sanctioning the possible crimes committed against the minor and her baby, we call on the State Attorney General's Office to conduct an extensive investigation to determine the way in which the minor, originally from Puebla, remained in Jalisco doing housework while she was pregnant and to clarify the conditions in which her baby lost her life. It is essential that the chain of impunity be broken.

In Jalisco, child sexual abuse is a serious crime that in 2019 had an average of 6.7 crimes of this type per day, according to data from the Government of Jalisco. According to information published in the media that was "delivered by the Ministry of Health of Jalisco via Jalisco through transparency, in 2021 in the hospitals of the dependency 172 women victims of sexual violence were attended: 107 for child sexual abuse and 65 for rape. This data represented an increase of 77.32 percent compared to 2020, when 97 women were attended to: 66 for child sexual abuse and 31 for rape"

In the face of this serious situation, the Government of the State of Jalisco, far from working effectively in the prevention of sexual violence against minors, through the Secretary of Equality Between Women and Men in the state of Jalisco, they reacted by publishing on social networks the details of the medical units where the Government of Jalisco offers the access to abortion to rape victims, by making an emphasis on the following information on their posters: "without the need to report the rape and without the accompanied by your mother, father or caregiver, from 12 years old".

This type of publication reflects the priorities of the authorities, who are indolent, reactive and flagrantly violate the human rights of girls and adolescents, who should be protected, informed and accompanied precisely to avoid and adolescents who should be protected, informed and accompanied to avoid, precisely, that the perpetrators of the crime of rape go unpunished and their parents or guardians are duly informed so that they can act accordingly.

This misleading way of communicating on the part of the Government of Jalisco leaves the girls and adolescents of Jalisco in total vulnerability, in addition, they suffer from the ineffectiveness of the authorities to prevent the sexual abuse and rape of children and adolescents. But, most seriously, is the evident disinterest in the prosecution of the crime and the clear intention to facilitate access to abortion as the only access that respond to the terrible violence suffered every year by thousands of minors in Jalisco.

The irresponsibility of the Government of Jalisco is so great that, with this strategy, it seems to announce and promote impunity for such a serious crime by guaranteeing, also to the aggressors, that the crime will not be denounced and nor will they be reported to parents or guardians, who are primarily responsible for the care of minors. All this is an absurdity because it means that the authorities themselves are renouncing their responsibility to protect and care for women against criminals. We demand the Secretary of Substantive Equality of the Government of Jalisco to stop the propaganda of abortion and to concentrate together with other agencies on implementing effective policies for the prevention of child sexual abuse and rape.

To make coordinated efforts to prevent the labor exploitation of girls and adolescents who come to our entity totally unprotected and exposed to the commission of this and other crimes, such as the case of the 16 year old girl and her baby, reported last August 2nd in Zapopan.

If the authorities maintain their campaigns to promote abortion and impunity for rapists, the only thing they will achieve is to the only thing they will achieve is that violence will continue to grow in our state and more children and adolescents will suffer crimes that could children and adolescents suffer crimes that can and should be prevented.

Contact:

fnfjalisco@gmail.com

Annex 3 Invitation of the ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GUADALAJARA to the march for Life and Women (Spanish Version)



ARZOBISPADO DE GUADALAJARA

Circular 62/2021

MARCHA NACIONAL "A FAVOR DE LA MUJER Y DE LA VIDA"

Domingo 3 de octubre de 2021

Prot. A4651/ 2021

A toda la Comunidad Diocesana:

Reciban un fraternal saludo en la caridad de Jesucristo, el Señor.

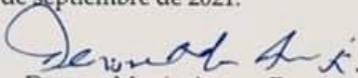
Recordemos que en vistas del gran entusiasmo generado por la marcha de la ciudad de México y ante la imposibilidad de los numerosos fieles de trasladarse a ese evento, se realizarán marchas locales en otros lugares del país, contando con las motivaciones que se dieron por la *Dimensión Episcopal de Vida*, siendo una expresión de la misma marcha de la Ciudad de México e invitándonos a la defensa del valor intrínseco de la vida de la mujer, tan importante, como el de la vida que se gesta en ella.

En la *Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara* nos unimos a la MARCHA NACIONAL A FAVOR DE LA MUJER Y DE LA VIDA. Por esto, les invitamos a participar en la marcha que se realizará, Dios mediante, el mismo domingo 3 de octubre de 2021 a las 11:00 hrs. en la Ciudad de Guadalajara. Comenzará en la Glorieta Minerva caminando por Av. Hidalgo hasta llegar a la Plaza Liberación a espaldas de la Catedral Metropolitana.

Para mayores informes contactar al número 3310 24 5134 con Ángel Iván ALCALÁ, en el correo marchamujeryvidagd@gmail.com, y en Facebook: Pastoral de la Vida GDL.

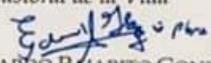
Les pedimos a los Sacerdotes promover e invitar a todos los fieles de las parroquias, grupos y movimientos laicales, comunidades religiosas, y a todos los miembros de la *Comunidad Diocesana* a participar consciente y pacíficamente, llevando como distintivo alguna vestimenta blanca. Que la protección de la Santísima Virgen María, Madre de Dios y nuestra, acompañe esta marcha en favor de la mujer y de la vida.

Guadalajara, Jal., a 22 de septiembre de 2021.


DENISSE MARÍA ARANA ESCOBAR
Organismos Laicales Eclesiales


EMMANUEL TORRES RENTERÍA
Frente Nacional por la Familia


PBRO. RAFAEL ALEJANDRO DEL TORO MENDIOLA
Pastoral de la Vida


PBRO. EDUARDO PAJARITO GONZÁLEZ
Pastoral Familiar

English version:

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF GUADALAJARA

Circular 62/2021

"NATIONAL MARCH" IN FAVOR OF WOMEN AND LIFE".

Sunday, October 3, 2021

Prot. A4651 / 2021

To all the Diocesan Community:

Receive fraternal greetings in the charity of Jesus Christ, the Lord.

Receive fraternal greetings in the charity of Jesus Christ, the Lord.

Let us remember that in view of the great enthusiasm generated by the march from the city of Mexico City and in view of the impossibility of the numerous faithful to travel to that event, local marches will be held in other parts of the country, based on the motivations provided by the Episcopal the Episcopal Dimension of Life, being an expression of the same march of Mexico City and inviting us to defend the intrinsic value of a woman's life, as important as that of the life that is gestated in her.

In the Archdiocese of Guadalajara, we join the NATIONAL MARCH IN FAVOR OF WOMEN AND LIFE. For this reason, we invite you to participate in the march that will take place, God willing, on Sunday, October 3, 2021, at 11:00 a.m. in the city of Guadalajara.

It will start at the Glorieta Minerva and will walk along Hidalgo Ave. until it reaches the Plaza Liberación behind the Metropolitan Cathedral.

For further information please contact Angel Iván ALCALA at 3310 24 5134, at marchamujeryvidagdI@gmail.com and on Facebook: Pastoral de la Vida GDL.

We ask the priests to promote and invite all the faithful of the parishes, groups and lay movements, religious communities, and all the members of the Diocesan community to participate consciously and peacefully, wearing a white garment as a badge.

May the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God and our mother, accompany this march in favor of women and life.

Guadalajara, Jal., September 22, 2021.

Annex 4 - Sections of the speech of FNF public statement FNF march

Jaime- Doscientas mil personas en Jalisco, defendiendo a la vida, a la mujer y a la familia. Muchas gracias a todos.

Meche- Si esto no es contundente Jaime, yo no sé qué esperan, pero bueno, oye te quiero hacer un comentario. ¿Cuándo hablan de libertad para la mujer y le ponen el aborto como única opción, tú crees que eso es libertad?

Jaime- No

Meche- a ver yo entiendo que libertad es elegir entre varias opciones que es mejor, ¿no? El bien mayor. Entonces, cuando una mujer solo le presentas el aborto, ¿qué estás haciendo?

Jaime- La estas orillando a que solamente escoja eso.

Meche- No le estás dando opciones

Jaime- y es nuestro principal reclamo a las autoridades, demos opciones a la mujer de vida, no de muerte. Demos opciones de vida, vamos a permitir que la mujer que, por cualquier circunstancia o situación en su vida, no quiere tener el bebé, pues que lo tenga, que la acompañemos en su embarazo y si al final de este no quiere quedarse con el bebé pues lo podemos dar a una familia de acogida, a una familia en adopción. Pero les tengo una noticia que está confirmada con estadísticas. 9 de cada 10 mujeres que no quiso tener a su bebe pero que acepto continuar con su embarazo hasta el final, cuando llega este a término, se queda con el bebé. 9 de cada 10 mujeres se queda con su bebé, porque la experiencia de la maternidad, el vínculo que se genera entre ese nuevo ser y su madre, es mucho más grande que el propio dolor que hubo haber experimentado o que la llevo a esa decisión.

¿No meche?

Meche- así es, definitivamente hay un vínculo que es fuertísimo y pues que tenemos que procurar que se cuide, que se den las condiciones para que la mujer no se sienta sola y no le orillemos a tomar la única opción que el gobierno nos está presentando. Porque también esos abortos que el gobierno quiere promover y hacer, los están haciendo con nuestros impuestos. Yo no pago, yo no tributo para que paguen gente, mi dinero no va, no va al asesinato, no quiero que mi dinero se use en abortos, y eso tiene que entenderlo también los diputados y la Suprema Corte de Justicia.

Jaime- digamos lo claro y digamos lo fuerte, el aborto no es una solución, el aborto no es ni legal, ni gratuito, ni seguro. Y no es legal porque es anticonstitucional, ya que en nuestro artículo cuarto de la constitución se defiende la vida desde la fecundación y por eso también tenemos los tratados internacionales, como la declaración universal de los derechos humanos en su artículo 3, que defiende la vida de todo ser humano y la comisión interamericana de derechos humanos en su artículo cuarto la defiende desde la concepción. Por eso es por lo que es un derecho constitucional y un derecho humano, por eso es que no es legal.

Y no es seguro porque la mujer siempre tiene secuelas, más tarde o más temprano. Psicológicas, físicas, emocionales.

Y tampoco es gratuito porque como dice Meche, nosotros lo vamos a pagar con los impuestos. Dónde está lo gratuito, no existe lo gratuito.

Meche- Así es. Bueno a continuación querido Jaime le vamos a ceder la palabra a Emmanuel Torres que nos dará el posicionamiento a nivel estatal. Bienvenido Emmanuel.

Acompañado de su esposa y también una familia hermosa de 7 hijos nada más.

Emmanuel- amigos y amigas jaliscienses que se escuche fuerte, en Jalisco se ama y se defiende la vida y la mujer. Si a la vida, si a la vida, si a la vida...

Para quienes digan la suprema corte de justicia de la nación ya dijo, hoy les decimos, el pueblo de jalisco con más de doscientos mil ciudadanos en la calle dicen si a la mujer y si a la vida.

El día de hoy nos sumamos a la marcha nacional, desde el corazón de Guadalajara, en conjunto con setenta y siete ciudades de todo el país para gritar a una sola voz: si a la vida, si a la mujer, si a la objeción de conciencia, si a la libertad religiosa. En Jalisco y otros 22 estados de la República Mexicana, existe protección a la vida desde la fecundación hasta la muerte natural y esto tiene fundamento en diversos tratados internacionales de los que México forma parte. Así como de la decisión soberana y popular llevada a los congresos locales quienes en autonomía y autodeterminación han decidido garantizar el derecho a la vida. Por lo que el estado debe de dar esta garantía para todas y todos los mexicanos desde el vientre materno.

No puede haber ningún otro derecho si el primero de todos no se respeta. Es por eso por lo que, desde la plaza de la liberación, donde residen los tres poderes del estado, hacemos un llamado para que el poder ejecutivo, legislativo y judicial protejan a todas las mujeres mexicanas y que les den opciones para que sus hijos e hijas nazcan en las mejores condiciones

Mujer- exigimos que se frene la discriminación en contra de las mujeres embarazadas y que el estado de soluciones de vida y no de muerte. Hoy requerimos una legislación que armonice el valor de la vida humana y de su dignidad en toda etapa, sin ningún tipo de discriminación. Así como políticas públicas con perspectiva de familia, que den alternativas que fortalezcan el valor de la vida humana, la familia, y el fortalecimiento del tejido social.

Hoy estamos aquí ejerciendo el nivel cívico de la libera manifestación, de propuesta y de dialogo y queremos visibilizar una mayoría ciudadana que no es escuchada ni atendida por los diferentes niveles de gobierno, que en muchas ocasiones se vuelcan para atender solo a las minorías y bajo consignas ideológicas buscan beneficiar intereses ajenos a las exigencias ciudadanas de los que hoy estamos aquí.

De la misma forma pedimos que respeten la libertad de conciencia de los médicos, que ya sea por razones éticas, morales o religiosas porque ellos no pueden ser obligados por el estado a realizar un aborto. Y en Jalisco, la ley general de salud del estado en su artículo 187 los ampara, los médicos están para salvar vidas, no para acabar con ellas.

Emmanuel- Es por eso que desde la plaza de la liberación hacemos el siguiente llamado a las autoridades, a los ministros de la corte, a nuestros magistrados y jueces del estado les exigimos respeten el derecho a la vida y no discriminación por motivos de opinión o religión consagrados en el artículo cuarto constitucional.

A nuestros legisladores les pedimos que hagan valer un auténtico federalismo mismo que nos dio origen como una entidad reconocida y respetada, que forma parte de una república soberana, fundamento de nuestro estado de derecho. Así como exigir respeto a la división de poderes y que se legisle sin presiones o consignas ideológicas, respetando el derecho a la vida y a las libertades fundamentales.

A nuestros legisladores locales les exigimos que se respete y que hagan respetar el artículo cuarto de la constitución del estado y que manifiesten a la suprema corte de justicia de la nación el rechazo a las resoluciones en mención, recurriendo a las alternativas jurídicas que convengan. Toda vez que su resolución no puede obligarlos a legislar porque contraviene la soberanía y autonomía del estado.

Al poder ejecutivo y a los presidentes municipales que acaban de llegar en funciones, exigimos no escudarse con el argumento “Ya lo dijo la corte” para imponer resoluciones ideológicas y que respeten nuestra legislación que es la que determina a conducirse en el ejercicio público, garantizando mecanismos de dialogo y propuesta para que la sociedad pueda ofrecer alternativas integrales de vida y apoyo a la mujer en estado vulnerable y el fortalecimiento de la familia.

A la comisión estatal de los derechos humanos le exigimos que garantice y custodie los derechos fundamentales de los servidores públicos, del sector salud que resguardan el derecho a la vida consagrado en la constitución y que son objetores de conciencia. Estando amparados por la ley de la salud en el estado.

Y a ustedes, mujeres valientes, hombres valientes de jalisco, a toda la sociedad de jalisco le pedimos que exijamos a nuestras autoridades que respeten la decisión mayoritaria de los jaliscienses a favor de la vida, de la mujer, de la familia y de las libertades fundamentales. Porque en Jalisco me late el corazón.

English version:

Jaime- Two hundred thousand people in Jalisco, defending life, women, and the family. Thank you all very much.

Meche- If this is not convincing Jaime, I don't know what they expect, but hey, I want to make a comment: When they talk about freedom for women and they put abortion as the only option, do you think that is freedom?

Jaime- No

Meche- Well, I understand that freedom is choosing among several options what is better, right? The greater good. So, when a woman you just present her with abortion, what are you doing?

Jaime- You are pushing her to choose only that.

Meche- You are not giving her options

Jaime- And this is our main demand to the authorities, let's give women options of life, not death. Let us give life options, let us allow the woman who, for whatever circumstance or situation in her life, does not want to have the baby, let her have it, let us accompany her in her pregnancy and if at the end of the pregnancy she does not want to keep the baby, we can give it to a foster family, to a family for adoption. But I have some news that is confirmed by statistics. 9 out of 10 women who did not want to have their baby but who accepted to continue with their pregnancy until the end, when the pregnancy reaches full term, keep the baby. 9 out of 10 women

keep their baby, because the experience of motherhood, the bond that is generated between this new being and its mother, is much greater than the pain that she may have experienced or that led her to this decision.

Isn't it meche?

Meche- That's right, there is definitely a bond that is very strong, and we have to make sure that it is taken care of, that the conditions are created so that the woman does not feel alone and we do not force her to take the only option that the government is presenting to us. Because those abortions that the government wants to promote and perform are also being done with our taxes. I do not pay, I do not pay taxes to pay people, my money does not go, it does not go to murder, I do not want my money to be used for abortions, and the deputies and the Supreme Court of Justice must also understand this.

Jaime- let's say it clear and let's say it loud, abortion is not a solution, abortion is neither legal, nor free, nor safe. And it is not legal because it is unconstitutional, since our fourth article of the constitution defends life from fertilization and that is why we also have international treaties, such as the universal declaration of human rights in its article 3, which defends the life of every human being and the inter-American commission of human rights in its fourth article defends it from conception. That is why it is a constitutional right and a human right, that is why it is not legal.

And it is not safe because the woman always has consequences, sooner or later. Psychological, physical, emotional.

And it is not free either because, as Meche says, we are going to pay for it with our taxes. Where is the free thing, there is no such thing as free.

Meche- That's right. Well, next, dear Jaime, we are going to give the floor to Emmanuel Torres who will give us the state level position. Welcome Emmanuel.

Accompanied by his wife and also a beautiful family of 7 children.

Emmanuel- my friends from Jalisco, let it be heard loudly, in Jalisco we love and defend life and women. Yes, to life, yes to life, yes to life, yes to life...

For those who say the supreme court of justice of the nation has already said, today we say, the people of Jalisco with more than two hundred thousand citizens in the streets say yes to women and yes to life.

Today we join the national march, from the heart of Guadalajara, together with seventy-seven cities across the country to shout with one voice: yes, to life, yes to women, yes to conscientious objection, yes to religious freedom. In Jalisco and 22 other states of the Mexican Republic, there is protection for life from fertilization to natural death and this is based on various international treaties to which Mexico is a party. As well as the sovereign and popular decision taken to the local congresses who in autonomy and self-determination have decided to guarantee the right to life. Therefore, the state must provide this guarantee for all Mexicans from the womb.

There can be no other right if the first of all rights is not respected. That is why, from the Plaza de la Liberación, where the three branches of government reside, we call on the executive, legislative and judicial branches to protect all Mexican women and to give them options so that their children are born in the best possible conditions.

Women- we demand that discrimination against pregnant women be stopped and that the state provide solutions for life and not death. Today we require legislation that harmonizes the value of human life and its dignity at all stages, without any type of discrimination. As well as public policies with a family perspective, which provide alternatives that strengthen the value of human life, the family, and the strengthening of the social fabric.

Today we are here exercising the civic level of free demonstration, proposal and dialogue and we want to make visible a citizen majority that is neither heard nor attended by the different levels of government, which on many occasions turn to attend only to minorities and under ideological slogans seek to benefit interests alien to the citizen demands of those of us who are here today.

In the same way we ask that they respect the freedom of conscience of doctors, whether for ethical, moral or religious reasons, because they cannot be forced by the state to perform an abortion. And in Jalisco, the general health law of the state in its article 187 protects them, doctors are there to save lives, not to end them.

Emmanuel- That is why from the liberation square we make the following call to the authorities, to the ministers of the court, to our magistrates and judges of the state we demand that they respect the right to life and non-discrimination for reasons of opinion or religion enshrined in the fourth constitutional article.

To our legislators we ask them to enforce an authentic federalism that gave rise to us as a recognized and respected entity, which is part of a sovereign republic, the foundation of our rule of law. We also demand respect for the division of powers and that legislation be passed without pressure or ideological slogans, respecting the right to life and fundamental freedoms.

To our local legislators we demand that they respect and enforce the fourth article of the state constitution and that they manifest to the supreme court of justice of the nation the rejection of the resolutions mentioned above, resorting to the legal alternatives that may be convenient. Since their resolution cannot obligate them to legislate because it contravenes the sovereignty and autonomy of the state.

To the executive power and to the municipal presidents who have just taken office, we demand that they do not hide behind the argument "the court already said so" to impose ideological resolutions and that they respect our legislation which is what determines how to conduct themselves in the public exercise, guaranteeing mechanisms of dialogue and proposal so that society can offer integral alternatives of life and support to women in a vulnerable state and the strengthening of the family.

We demand that the state human rights commission guarantee and protect the fundamental rights of public servants in the health sector who safeguard the right to life enshrined in the

constitution and who are conscientious objectors. They are protected by the health law in the state.

And to you, brave women, brave men of Jalisco, to all of Jalisco society, we ask that we demand that our authorities respect the majority decision of the people of Jalisco in favor of life, women, the family and fundamental freedoms. Because my heart beats in Jalisco.

Link to see the whole speech
<https://www.facebook.com/frentefamiliajal/videos/249310240331130/>

Annex 5- Speech Rodrigo Iván Cortés inviting to the March for Life (Spanish version)

Estimados liderazgos soy Rodrigo Iván Cortés, Presidente del Frente Nacional por la familia. Hacemos un llamado. Urgente. Para que nos activemos? Y nos sumemos. A la marcha. Nacional. Y a las marchas simultáneas. Para este tres de octubre. Domingo. La marcha nacional. Es convocada para las once de la mañana. En el auditorio nacional y de ahí marcharemos a el ángel de la independencia. Va a haber marchas simultáneas? En muchas ciudades de toda la República. Te pedimos que puedas consultar. En la página. Que te vamos a poner en el texto. Para que ahí cheques tu localidad y puedas ver el punto de partida. Y la modalidad, ya que habrá algunas que sean marcha con un punto de salida y un punto de llegada. Pero también va a haber algunas que han caravanas. Vallas humanas, entre otros. Es muy importante atender esta convocatoria. Porque? Varias personas me preguntan, oye, pero para que marchamos, oye? Y por qué que marchar? Muy bien. La respuesta es muy puntual. Para que? Nos ponemos en marcha.

Nos ponemos en marcha. Para que se valore. Para que se cuide? Para que se defiendan. Los valores de la vida. Y de la mujer. De la maternidad. De la familia y también de las libertades fundamentales. Es muy importante ubicar. También. El. Contexto en el que se está dando. Esta marcha. Ya sabemos muy bien para qué, pero por que ahora? Pues fíjense ustedes. Todo mundo sabemos que somos una república en donde hay tres poderes el poder ejecutivo. El legislativo y el judicial. Pues resulta que desde los tres poderes se han enfilado una cantidad. De ataques a la vida la familia y las libertades. Que no tiene precedentes. Es, por lo tanto, el conjunto del poder el que está. Tratando de imponer una cultura de la muerte. Una cultura en donde? No se respeta la familia y en donde se están restringiendo libertades. Es bien delicado este asunto, así que tenemos que ubicar. Esta importancia de salir a marchar de manera muy puntual, si nos ponemos a ver lo que ha sucedido recientemente en la suprema Corte de Justicia de la nación. Vamos a ver. En palabras de el Presidente de la suprema Corte, Arturo Zaldívar Lelo de Larrea. La pretensión cuáles miren? Lelo de la REA lo lo plantea muy claramente. Primero. Él lo que pretende es que se convierta lo que es el crimen del aborto, quitarle la vida. A un ser humano en su etapa más vulnerable. Y convertir ese crimen en un derecho. Para también poner ese supuesto derecho. Por encima del derecho. A la vida. Y por encima de el derecho a libertad de conciencia. Y el derecho a libertad de religión. Para convertir. Ese crimen que le quiere llamar derecho? También en una obligación. A tal grado que. Lo que logró es que se quitara. El artículo. Que. De manera, pues, clara. Le daba el derecho de objeción de conciencia. A todo el sector salud de México. De tal manera? Que los médicos, las enfermeras, los enfermeros. Que hacen su juramento para salvar vidas. No para quitarlas. Para curar a los enfermos, no para dañarlos. Y que? Hacen ese juramento también para no mutilar miembros sanos. Ahora, por estas cuestiones de ese afán tan obcecado por imponer el aborto y la ideología de género, implica para el sector

salud. Un agravio muy fuerte, una violación terrible a su conciencia ética. Que es que los obliguen. A matar niños dentro del vientre materno O A mutilar tanto a niños como a jóvenes por las cuestiones de la imposición de la ideología de género. Hay iniciativas que atentan en contra de la vida, la familia y las libertades en la mayoría de los Estados de la República, así que así que si alguien cree. Que con lo que pasó. En la suprema corte ya ahí se acabó todo y ya no va a haber más. Pues no. La cosa está mal, sí. Pero puede estar mucho peor. Así que por eso hay que alzar la voz. Así, hay que consultar. Exactamente dónde voy a poder tener esta marcha local o si puedo yo trasladarme a la marcha nacional. Pues, a participar todos, que nadie se quede con los brazos cruzados. Todos a defender los valores fundamentales de la vida de la mujer y, por lo tanto, de la familia y de las libertades fundamentales. Muchas gracias.

English version:

Dear members of the leadership, I am Rodrigo Iván Cortés, President of the National Front for the Family. We make a call. Urgent. For us to become active? And join us. To the march. National. And to the simultaneous marches. For this October 3rd. Sunday. The national march. It is called for eleven o'clock in the morning. At the National Auditorium and from there we will march to the Angel of Independence. Will there be simultaneous marches? In many cities all over the Republic. We ask you to consult. On the page. That we are going to put in the text. So that there you can check your locality and see the starting point. And the modality, since there will be some that will be a march with a starting point and an ending point. But there will also be some that have caravans. Human fences, among others. It is very important to attend this call. Why? Several people ask me, hey, what are we marching for, hey? And why are we marching? Very well. The answer is very specific. We are marching.

We are marching. To be valued. To be cared for? To defend. The values of life. And of women. Of motherhood. Of the family and also of fundamental freedoms. It is very important to locate. Also. The. Context in which it is taking place. This march. We already know very well what for, but why now? Well, look at yourselves. Everyone knows that we are a republic where there are three powers: the executive, the legislative and the judicial. The legislative and the judicial. Well, it turns out that the three powers have launched a number of attacks on life, the family and the family. Of attacks on life, family and liberties. That is unprecedented. It is, therefore, the whole power that is. Trying to impose a culture of death. A culture in which? The family is not respected and freedoms are being restricted. This is a very delicate issue, so we have to locate. This importance of going out to march in a very punctual way, if we look at what has happened recently in the Supreme Court of Justice of the nation. Let's see. In the words of the President of the Supreme Court, Arturo Zaldívar Lelo de Larrea. The pretense which look? Lelo de la REA states it very clearly. First, he intends to convert what is the crime of abortion, to take away life. To a human being in its most vulnerable stage. And to turn that crime into a right. To also put that supposed right. Above the right. To life. And above the right to freedom of conscience. And the right to freedom of religion. To convert. That crime that wants to call it a right? Also in an obligation. To such a degree that. What he achieved is that it was removed. The article. That. In a clear way. It gave the right of conscientious objection. To the entire health sector in Mexico. In such a way? That the doctors, the nurses, the nurses. That they take their oath to save lives. Not to take them. To cure the sick, not to harm them. So what? They take that oath also not to mutilate healthy limbs. Now, because of these issues of this obsessed eagerness to impose abortion and gender ideology, it implies for the health sector. A very strong offense, a

terrible violation of their ethical conscience. Which is that they are forced. To kill children in the womb OR to mutilate both children and young people because of the imposition of gender ideology. There are initiatives that attempt against life, family and liberties in most of the States of the Republic, so if someone believes. That with what happened. In the supreme court it is all over and there will be no more. Well, no. It is bad, yes. Things are bad, yes, but they could be much worse. So that is why we have to raise our voices. So, we have to consult. Exactly where I am going to be able to have this local march or if I can move to the national march. Well, everyone should participate, no one should stay with their arms crossed. Everyone to defend the fundamental values of women's life and, therefore, of the family and of fundamental freedoms. Thank you very much.

Annex 6 – Emmanuel Torre’s public invitation to the March for Life in Jalisco (Spanish Version)

Emanuel Torres presidente del frente estatal por la familia Jal explicó “en la glorieta Minerva de manera específica en Vallarta a un costado del fiesta americana para de ahí partir rumbo a la plaza de la liberación en una manifestación que como las anteriores será un ejercicio cívico ejemplar de construcción de ciudadanía de la familia caracterizada por ser pacífica, de propuesta, alegría orden, y limpieza”

y en esta ocasión de cuidados sanitarios dijeron que harán valer la petición de la mayoría de los jaliscienses que no quieren la aprobación de la despenalización del aborto.

Para ellos la resolución de la corte viola la soberanía de los congresos estatales.

las movilizaciones y pronunciamientos de estos grupos surge luego que se han anunciado dos iniciativas en ese sentido por parte de hagamos y futuro para discutirse en la próxima legislatura con imágenes de Antonio Campo señal informativa Fátima Aguilar

English version:

Emanuel Torres president of the state front for the family explained "in the Minerva traffic circle, specifically in Vallarta, next to the American party and from there we will go to the liberation square in a demonstration that like the previous ones will be an exemplary civic exercise of construction of citizenship of the family characterized by being peaceful, of proposal, joy, order, and cleanliness". And on this occasion of health care, they said that they will assert the petition of the majority of the people of Jalisco who do not want the approval of the decriminalization of abortion.

For them, the court's resolution violates the sovereignty of the state congresses. The mobilizations and pronouncements of these groups come after two initiatives in this sense have been announced by hagamos and futuro to be discussed in the next legislature with images by Antonio Campo informative signal Fatima Aguilar.

Annex 7 Speech of FNF public presentation of their law draft (Spanish version)

Jaime Cedillo- Debo hacer mención que esta iniciativa ciudadana es propuesta por más de 20 asociaciones, asociaciones que en la sociedad civil están preocupadas por esta ley de la maternidad y que queremos proteger a la mujer desde el momento en que se enteran de su embarazo hasta el buen término de este y un año después.

Jaime Cedillo- Mención de asociaciones (...)Mencionó 40 días por la vida que está con nosotros a ANSIFEM que está con nosotros. Fundación ASID El Consejo Interreligioso Unión Mujer Mujeres tres 60 valores conciencia en medios joven Iniciativa Ciudadana La Dimensión Familia en la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara La dimensión vida de la Arquidiócesis de Guadalajara Jóvenes al frente Familia Incluyente de la Pastoral de la Vida, la Fundación Con Mano Mariscada Sublime, el Frente Nacional por la Familia en Jalisco y Sí, también y México Solidario, entre otras instituciones que han apoyado esta iniciativa.

Jaime Cedillo- Bien pues vamos a ceder ahora la palabra para que nos den una justificación. Unas palabras al respecto de la ley de la Iniciativa por la Maternidad. A Karen, adelante, por favor.

Karen- Hola, buenos días. Bueno, pues a quien no conozca esta iniciativa les platicamos la problemática que atendemos. son cinco cuestiones, obviamente derechos a la protección de la maternidad en todos los sentidos social, laboral y psicológica. Que la mujer gestante sepa que cuenta con el Estado y con el apoyo psicológico, psico-laboral, social, económico, para que sea un apoyo integral para que ella se pueda desarrollar como madre, como cabeza de familia.

Sabemos que la familia es la base de la sociedad, todos queremos una sociedad sana y si hay una mujer madre soltera como cabeza de familia, pues ella es el pilar de ese núcleo que finalmente afuera conserve su sociedad. En esta asociación civil tenemos muchas madres solteras en estado vulnerable, mujeres embarazadas adolescentes, adultas y mamás que ya han tenido a sus hijos. Y la verdad es que ellas están buscando soluciones para sí ser mamás y para sí estar con sus hijos.

Sabemos que hay otro tipo de soluciones, como la adopción y demás, algunas otras que no van con nuestros valores, que no queremos, la interrupción del embarazo. Porque no se interrumpe porque no se puede decidir pausar y decir otra vez que se pueda seguir con la vida de alguien. Esa no es una solución. Por eso queremos dar soluciones reales a una mujer que, como yo, en una experiencia propia fui madre soltera y mi hija es mi mayor motor. Ella es mi mayor compañía.

Y si el Estado apoya con nuestros impuestos, con nuestro trabajo, a éstas, a éstas mujeres que necesitan esta acompañamiento psicológico, acompañamiento moral y trabajo, trabajo digno, respeto. Pues todo esto, creo que la sociedad lo mejoraría inexplicablemente, porque los hijos también tienen derechos. También lo que atendemos con esta iniciativa es la defunción infantil, para evitar que haya más por falta de acceso a la salud pública y las defunciones maternas. También hubo incremento en el 2021 de más del 50% de lo que había antes por falta de atención médica, también atendemos de niños, adolescentes (...)

Karen- Entonces, bueno, les puedo decir por experiencia propia que tanto así que sí es necesario apoyar a las mujeres porque ellas vienen ser mamás y nos necesitan. Lo decimos Laura Martin del campo y yo que venimos representando esta fundación, miles de mamás nos necesitan, gracias al Congreso por escucharnos y por aplicar esta iniciativa a favor de la vida de la mujer, que es lo más valioso que tenemos y de la familia. Muchas gracias.

Jaime Cedillo- Para la presentación de la iniciativa que habra que exponerse aquí en el foro, tendremos dos momentos. Primero Mariana, nos presentará una parte y después el licenciado Francisco Sánchez la presentará también.

Mariana- Bueno, Pues son cinco puntos importantes que podemos tomar en cuenta en esta iniciativa. Y quiero decir, antes que tengamos muy claro que no es algo confrontativo y que no tiene un costo político y que es muy importante saber que finalmente la mayoría de la población votante es la que también aboga porque la mujer se le apoye en este momento tan importante y tan vulnerable, entonces debemos tenerlo muy claro. Primero, lo que queremos es establecer y regular el apoyo en el aspecto psicologico, economico, laboral, etcétera.

Que tenga todas las condiciones necesarias, sanitarias y en todas estas áreas para que pueda seguir adelante. Pues queremos que justamente como segundo punto, ejerza libremente su condición gestante. Eso no nada más una cuestión de voluntad, sino que realmente a veces tenemos limitadas por todos los condicionamientos y los ataques que tienen, porque laboralmente no tienen el apoyo, porque son hechas a un lado. (...)lo que queremos es que sean libres 100%, teniendo los recursos necesarios para poder salir adelante en este momento de su vida. en materia económica y laboral queremos que no sufra ninguna situación de desamparo. O sea, tiene que haber alguna manera en la que se les puedan apoyar para que no pongan en riesgo su salud física, la psíquica y con ello la continuación de su embarazo. Que en cuanto a salud, pues que esté enterada de todos los servicios que existen en instituciones públicas y privadas.

Mariana- En el momento en el que sabe que está embarazada. Cuando nace su bebé, y en el primer año de vida del bebe. La gran parte no están enteradas de todo esto entonces se vuelve una condición sumamente angustiante para ella. Es un embarazo cuando voluntariamente, insisto, quisieran tenerlo en una situación más fácil, no? Y creemos también que tener esta atención también para el bebe que será un bien en beneficio de la sociedad Como decía Karen posteriormente. En materia de educación, pues también que se les ayude con la continuación en los estudios, y no solo esto para ella, sino también para el padre, cuando ha demostrado que tiene una actitud de paternidad responsable siendo menor de edad, no?

Entonces también muchas mujeres se ven orilladas a dejar los estudios y queremos apoyarlas en este sentido. En cuanto a la información, insisto, es que tengo conocimiento de todo lo que ya existe y lo que se pueda añadir en materia pública y privada. la asociación de Karen es un ejemplo de ello Pero hay muchísimas más que están atentas a estas necesidades y que lamentable las mujeres se ven solas en el mundo, cuando en realidad hay todo un equipo de personas y de instituciones que les pueden dar seguimiento. Así que esto se trata en grandes razgos de esta iniciativa de ley.

Jaime Cedillo- Perfecto, Muchas gracias Mariana y ahora Licenciado Francisco Sánchez Jáuregui, y nos va a explicar a detalle esta iniciativa ciudadana.

Francisco- Gracias. Bueno, la ley, la iniciativa de Ley de Protección de la Maternidad, como ya se ha dicho, es una iniciativa ciudadana construida a través de las aportaciones de distintas organizaciones de la sociedad civil que recogen una amplia experiencia en la atención de esta situación de vulnerabilidad de mujeres embarazadas. Del diálogo con todas ellas Hemos recogido una serie de propuestas que nos permiten ir construyendo un primer borrador de Iniciativa de

Protección a la maternidad. Este primer borrador ha venido enriqueciéndose en todo este proceso, tenemos ya desde hace algunos meses en donde se han venido recogiendo los apoyos ciudadanos y firmas según lo pide y lo establece la ley y que serán entregados próximamente a las autoridades electorales. Esta ley, como ya lo comentó Karen y como lo ha comentado Mariana, pues parte de atender diversas problemáticas.

La primera, bueno pues, esta disposición de las instituciones del Estado, a través de los convenios, de los tratados internacionales y de las propias en la propia legislación mexicana que se propone la protección de la maternidad, la protección de la mujer y de su hijo. luego busca esta ley o esta iniciativa, cómo ayudar o cómo prevenir la mortalidad infantil, la defunción infantil la mortalidad materna. Y cómo lo hacemos? Se propone una serie de apoyos y subsidios en materia laboral educativa de salud y también económico. Para muchos esta cuestión del apoyo económico podría significar una carga al presupuesto en una situación en la que el estado, después de la pandemia muestra serias dificultades para incrementar el gasto. Sin embargo, lo que hemos proyectado es ayudar, ayudarnos de un presupuesto que ya está asignado a los presupuestos del estado que es aquel que ya está aprobado por la ley de ayuda y protección a mujeres jefas de familia.

Lo primero que se propone como una innovación dentro de esta iniciativa es la creación de un consejo estatal para la protección a la maternidad. Este consejo que se constituye de forma honoraria, en donde estaría integrado de funcionarios públicos y también miembros de la sociedad civil, lo que busca es crear un espacio donde se pueda discutir políticas públicas para la protección de la maternidad. Este estaría integrado por organizaciones de la sociedad civil pero aquellas que tienen y demuestran la experiencia suficiente de trabajo con mujeres en esta condición de vulnerabilidad, junto con las instancias del estado que se ocupan de atender y de asistir a las mujeres en esta situación.

Francisco- La otra gran innovación es las ayudas económicas, les decía que hay ya una aplicación de beneficios para jefas de familia pero esta ley no considera en específico el enfoque de protección a la maternidad sino que es una ley que apoya, y sostiene a las mujeres jefas de familia en distintas circunstancias. No estrictamente durante el periodo de gestación. Lo que estamos tratando es de incluir algunas condiciones específicas que tienen que ver con la maternidad dentro de los apoyos que están considerados dentro de esta ley que ya está vigente.

English version:

Jaime Cedillo- I must mention that this citizens' initiative is proposed by more than 20 associations, associations that in civil society are concerned about this maternity law and that we want to protect women from the moment they find out about their pregnancy until its successful completion and one year later.

Jaime Cedillo- Mention of associations (...)He mentioned 40 days for life that is with us to ANSIFEM that is with us. ASID Foundation The Interreligious Council Unión Mujer Women's Union Three 60 values conscience in young media Citizen's Initiative The Family Dimension in the Archdiocese of Guadalajara The Life Dimension of the Archdiocese of Guadalajara Youth at the forefront Inclusive Family of the Pastoral de la Vida, the Foundation Con Mano Mariscada Sublime, the National Front for the Family in Jalisco and Yes, also and Mexico Solidario, among other institutions that have supported this initiative.

Jaime Cedillo- Well, we are going to give the floor now so that you can give us a justification. A few words regarding the Maternity Initiative law. Karen, please go ahead.

Karen- Hello, good morning. Well, for those who are not familiar with this initiative, we would like to tell you about the problems we are facing. There are five issues, obviously maternity protection rights in all social, labor and psychological aspects. We want the pregnant woman to know that she can count on the State and on psychological, psycho-labor, social and economic support, so that she can develop as a mother, as the head of a family.

We know that the family is the basis of society, we all want a healthy society and if there is a single mother as head of the family, then she is the pillar of that nucleus that finally preserves her society outside. In this civil association we have many single mothers in a vulnerable state, pregnant teenagers, adults and mothers who have already had their children. And the truth is that they are looking for solutions to be mothers and to be with their children.

We know that there are other types of solutions, such as adoption and others, some others that do not go with our values, that we do not want, the interruption of pregnancy. Because you don't interrupt because you can't decide to pause and say again that you can continue with someone's life. That is not a solution. That's why we want to give real solutions to a woman who, like me, in my own experience was a single mother and my daughter is my biggest driving force. She is my greatest companion.

And if the State supports with our taxes, with our work, these women who need psychological support, moral support and work, decent work, respect. I believe that society would improve inexplicably, because children also have rights. Also, what we are addressing with this initiative is infant deaths, to avoid more deaths due to lack of access to public health and maternal deaths. There was also an increase in 2021 of more than 50% of what there was before due to lack of medical attention, we also attend to children, adolescents (...)

Karen- So, well, I can tell you from my own experience that it is necessary to support women because they become mothers and they need us. Laura Martin del Campo and I, who represent this foundation, say it, thousands of mothers need us, thank you Congress for listening to us and for implementing this initiative in favor of women's lives, which is the most valuable thing we have and of the family. Thank you very much.

Jaime Cedillo- For the presentation of the initiative to be presented here in the forum, we will have two moments. First Mariana will present a part of it and then Mr. Francisco Sanchez will also present it.

Mariana- Well, there are five important points that we can take into account in this initiative. And I want to say, first of all, that we must be very clear that this is not something confrontational and that it does not have a political cost and that it is very important to know that finally the majority of the voting population is the one that also advocates that women should be supported at this very important and vulnerable moment, so we must be very clear about this. First, what we want is to establish and regulate the support in the psychological, economic, labor, etc. aspects.

We want them to have all the necessary conditions, health and in all these areas so that they can move forward. As a second point, we want her to be able to freely exercise her gestating condition. This is not just a question of will, but we are really limited at times by all the conditioning and attacks they have, because they do not have the support at work, because they are pushed aside. (...) what we want is for them to be 100% free, having the necessary resources to be able to move forward at this moment of their lives. In economic and labor matters we want them not to suffer any situation of helplessness. In other words, there must be some way in which they can be supported so that they do not put their physical and psychological health at risk and with it the continuation of their pregnancy. As far as health is concerned, she should be aware of all the services available in public and private institutions.

Mariana- The moment you know you are pregnant. When her baby is born, and in the first year of the baby's life. Most of them are not aware of all this, so it becomes an extremely distressing condition for her. It is a pregnancy when voluntarily, I insist, they would like to have it in an easier situation, right? And we also believe that having this care also for the baby will be a good for the benefit of society, as Karen said later on. In terms of education, well, we also want to help them to continue with their studies, and not only for her, but also for the father, when he has demonstrated that he has a responsible attitude of paternity while he is a minor, right?

Then, many women are also forced to drop out of school and we want to support them in this sense. As far as information is concerned, I insist, I am aware of everything that already exists and what can be added in public and private matters. Karen's association is an example of this, but there are many more that are attentive to these needs and unfortunately women see themselves alone in the world, when in fact there is a whole team of people and institutions that can provide them with follow-up. So this is what this bill is all about.

Jaime Cedillo- Perfect, thank you very much Mariana and now Mr. Francisco Sánchez Jáuregui, and he is going to explain in detail this citizens' initiative.

Francisco- Thank you. Well, the law, the initiative of the Maternity Protection Law, as has already been said, is a citizen's initiative built through the contributions of different civil society organizations that gather a wide experience in dealing with this situation of vulnerability of pregnant women. From the dialogue with all of them, we have gathered a series of proposals that allow us to build a first draft of the Maternity Protection Initiative. This first draft has been enriched throughout this process, we have been collecting citizen support and signatures for some months now, as requested and established by law, which will soon be submitted to the electoral authorities. This law, as Karen has already commented and as Mariana has commented, is based on several problems.

The first one, well, this provision of the State institutions, through the conventions, the international treaties and the Mexican legislation itself, which proposes the protection of maternity, the protection of the woman and her child, then this law or this initiative seeks how to help or how to prevent infant mortality, infant death, maternal mortality. And how do we do it? It proposes a series of support and subsidies in terms of labor, education, health and also economic support. For many this question of economic support could mean a burden on the budget in a situation where the state, after the pandemic shows serious difficulties to increase spending. However, what we have planned is to help, to help us from a budget that is already

allocated to the state budget, which is the one already approved by the law of assistance and protection to women heads of household.

The first innovation proposed in this initiative is the creation of a state council for the protection of maternity. This council, which would be constituted on an honorary basis and would be made up of public officials and also members of civil society, seeks to create a space where public policies for the protection of maternity can be discussed. This would be made up of civil society organizations, but those that have and demonstrate sufficient experience in working with women in this condition of vulnerability, together with the state agencies that are in charge of attending and assisting women in this situation.

Francisco- The other great innovation is the economic assistance, I was telling you that there is already an application of benefits for female heads of household, but this law does not specifically consider the focus on maternity protection, but it is a law that supports and sustains female heads of household in different circumstances. Not strictly during the gestation period. What we are trying to do is to include some specific conditions that have to do with maternity within the support that is considered within this law that is already in force.

ⁱ Throughout the text I will use the term pregnant woman to refer to all pregnant women, trans men, and non-binary people with the capacity to gestate.

ⁱⁱ By Article 40th of the Mexican Constitution establishes the autonomy and sovereignty of each of the 32 Mexican states. This means that each state has a constitution that must harmonize with the federal one and a penal code that establishes and regulates state crimes

ⁱⁱⁱ The Highest Constitutional Court of the country and head of the Federal Judiciary.

^{iv} In 2014, Andrés Manuel López Obrador founded a left-wing party “National Regeneration Movement” party (Movimiento Regeneración Nacional; MORENA). Currently is the most powerful party in Mexico as it rules among 21 states in Mexico and holds a majority of power in the Federal Congress. (Torres, 2022)

^v Some of the most powerful ones include the Pan-American University (Universidad Panamericana-UP), Business School – IPADE, Management Training and Development Centers ICAMI, Opus-Dei schools such as Liceo del Valle y los altos, and Jaltepec institutions. (Agencia Reforma and Urzúa, 2022)

^{vi} Official Mexican Standard through which the Federal Health Secretariat establishes the rules, guidelines, and characteristics of medical care (including detection, prevention, and orientation actions) that health services must provide to girls, adolescents and women who have been affected by situations of violence, particularly family or sexual violence (Ipas, 2020)

^{vii} Women and men are equal before the law. The law shall protect the organization and development of the family. (Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 2022)

^{viii} It included the request of a partner or mother for family planning purposes, or if justified for economic reasons (Lerner, et al., 2016).

^{ix} Abortion in case of health risks to the woman, genetic or congenital malformations in the fetus, and insemination by the donor without the consent of the women

^x GIRE was founded in 1992 as a feminist organization and since then it has established itself as a leading reproductive justice organization in Mexico. Its mission is to achieve a social and cultural transformation by advocating for reproductive justice from an intersectional human rights perspective. (GIRE, 2022)

^{xi} The PAN party is made up mostly of Catholic believers, basing its party ideology in the social doctrine of the church. Where their speeches have been recognized to fall into a confessional that stand from a Catholic position to defend the Judeo-Christian ideology (Martínez-Valle, 1999).

^{xii} The one from ‘Futuro’ pretends to eliminate all penalties for women who terminate their pregnancies, while the one from ‘Hagamos’ intends to maintain certain penalties after the 12th week (Herrera, 2021).

^{xiii} Rape, women’s health, risk to woman’s life and recklessness (Clínicas de aborto en México, 2022)

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- ^{xiv} Invitation from the Church to the March in favor of Life and Women in 2021, posted in the official Facebook page of Press Archbishopric of Guadalajara. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/prensaarzgd/photos/comunicado-a-toda-la-comunidad-diocesana-por-disposici%C3%B3n-de-nuestro-arzobispo-ca/4990399084309781/>
- ^{xv} The FNF public statement speech was given during the March for Life and Women 2021, and it was posted on the official Facebook page of the FNF chapter Jalisco where around 1.6k people saw the video and 234 interacted the post. The video can be accessed through: <https://www.facebook.com/frentefamiliajal/videos/249310240331130/>
- ^{xvi} According to social conservatives it includes all the reforms that benefit women and LGBTQIA+ people to promote a system of beliefs that threatens the Judeo-Christian values and corrupts society. (Gallo, 2017)
- ^{xvii} A conservative sex education program by the Opus Dei implies that students don't get to learn how to use contraceptive methods, that sex can also be for pleasure, and much less talk about abortion as an option. (Díaz Camarena, 2017)
- ^{xviii} Heterosexual families that have been legally united by the Sacrament of the Catholic Church and have its respective sons and daughters
- ^{xix} In this speech only two speakers participated, Karen was representing the FNF, and the father was representing the Catholic Church. It was about 5 minutes, and it was posted in the Facebook page of the FNF were about 1000 people saw the video. The speech can be accessed through the following link: <https://www.facebook.com/frentefamiliajal/videos/942449693288235/>
- ^{xx} Facebook post with 60 likes, 19 comments and 35 shares. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/frentefamiliajal/posts/pfbid02R7eoMWEAV3XEzGYPNkQnWQB2YZs5ZJSP26ELi2jGPbKk9X2vSh33uVhFe5PG4CB4l>
- ^{xxi} Sub-discipline designed to support military and intelligence operations by influencing individual and group emotions, motives, reasoning, and behavior.
- ^{xxii} This video was posted from the account of Rebelión Noticias, an alternative news broadcast in Latin-American that talks about news that aren't showed in traditional media channels. This video can be accessed through the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VtGP5c6R9o>
- ^{xxiii} Emmanuel Torres interview speech video can be accessed through the following link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PYZs8TzNWng>
- ^{xxiv} Presentation speech for the law initiative for the protection of maternity and pregnancy posted in the official Facebook page of the FNF chapter Jalisco, were about 1.6k people watched the video. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/frentefamiliajal/videos/3386957978295104/>