

MOTHERHOOD by CHOICE, NOT CHANCE

TIME CODE	SPEAKER	DIALOG	NOTES
0:00:33	NARRATOR	<p>This film is based on my personal story. I'd had an illegal abortion. Blindfolded, without anesthetic I never saw the face of the person who did the abortion. My own doctor, who refused to provide a safe abortion, would now try to save my life. This film follows the stories of what I, and many other women lived through and then documents the challenge to providing that service safely, today. When abortion was illegal, thousands of women died.</p>	
0:01:26	MARY NURSE	<p>When we got them, we received them like with a temperature of 105... Bleeding, totally, totally infected. We had some die in shock. Because they did not tell the truth as to what had happened. And they felt like we were only getting the information to report them to the police.</p> <p>They was just plain housewives, who felt like "I can't afford another child."</p>	
0:02:02	DR. BOYD	<p>I knew that I could lose my medical license, I knew that I could go to prison. And just as I had to trust these women who came to me not to bring charges against me which could put me in prison, they had to trust me to give them good medical care and service</p>	

		<p>and not harm them, and that was a scary thing in those days.</p> <p>It was frightening for women to come from great distances to a little town in east Texas, to some unknown doctor... They came by bus, by train, by car, and they had to trust that they were going to leave there intact and alive.</p>	
0:02:52	NARRATOR	<p>Before documenting the era of illegal abortion, it's important to get an overview of what's happened since abortion first became legal. After a century of tragedies, a nationwide move to legalize the procedure of abortion led to a 1973 Supreme Court decision, giving women the right to choose.</p> <p>The struggle to protect that right is ongoing.</p>	
0:03:22	ADMINISTRATOR, PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAM	<p>I can remember the last time we had a march, and walking down the street and thinking...you know..."I thought that we wouldn't have to do this anymore." You know. And I think what happened is that when the Supreme Court decision was won we all went, "That's it, we won." And we relaxed. But at the same time you had these groups that were</p>	

		organizing to repeal it, and what they did was chip away, because then Medicaid funding wasn't allowed for poor women, and then there was spousal consent that came up, and then you couldn't provide services to unmarried minors, without parental notification or parental consent. But it means that you can never relax.	
0:04:09	TEEN COUNSELOR	We're hearing about knitting needles again. We're hearing about bleach douches, again, and they might not be reporting it to their physician, or to the judge that they end up talking to, or to the clinic worker at the hospital, but there are girls out there doing that.	
0:04:20	NARRATOR	Even though history may be repeating itself now, this story begins when abortion was illegal.	PAUSE DVD HERE!
0:04:29	NARRATOR	Until the mid-1800s, abortions were legal and available in the United States. Both the State and the Church permitted abortions, if they occurred before quickening, when the mother first perceived fetal movement. In 1847, the newly formed American Medical	

		<p>Association, began a campaign to professionalize medicine; outlawing what it called “quackery.” Included in the ban were midwives and herbalists.</p> <p>Protestant and Catholic Churches joined the medical establishment in expressing their condemnation. Legislation restricting abortion continued to spread and by the turn of the century, both birth control and abortion where illegal in most states.</p> <p>If a woman needed medical attention after a botched abortion, she faced a dangerous situation. Even though infected and bleeding, she was often required to testify against the person who performed the abortion before she could receive medical care.</p> <p>From the late 1800's through 1973, at least 500,000 clandestine, illegal abortions were taking place each year. Some women found safe operations, but most faced the back alleys.</p>	
0:06:09	LANA	<p>I was seventeen years old. I was married. And ten months after I was married I had a baby girl. She was very ill, and the doctor told me, told me that if I ever had another child, I would die.</p> <p>Three months later, I was pregnant again, and I was absolutely terrified. I couldn't have that baby,</p>	

		<p>because if I did, and I died, who would take care of the little baby I had? And so I asked the young women where I worked if there was somebody who could help me do something.</p> <p>And they sent me to a woman, and she lived in a shack. And she put, I think it was a strip of slippery elm bark, and she inserted this up my uterus. And she said, "Now you go home, and that will swell up, and you will have pain, and you will probably have some temperature, but you will have a miscarriage."</p> <p>Two days later I was in such pain...and so I went back out to see this woman. And she said, "I told you not to come back." And I said, "I have no where else to go." And she just held me up to her chest for a minute and she said, "Honey, did you think it was so easy to be a woman?"</p>	
0:07:34	NARRATOR	<p>Illegal abortions were expensive and dangerous, some women attempted to abort themselves.</p> <p>Lola Huth was the lead dancer of the José Limón Dance Company. She was married and the mother of a baby girl when she died from a self-induced abortion.</p> <p>Even though she was using an IUD for birth control,</p>	

		<p>Lola became pregnant. A doctor told her that the IUD would probably cause the baby to be deformed, but that removing it might cause a miscarriage.</p> <p>Lola weighed the risks, and decided have the IUD removed.</p>	
0:08:16	FREDDIE	<p>She went back for the scheduled appointment, and he said, "I'm sorry, I have consulted with colleagues, and I can not do anything that could implicate me in an illegal act.</p> <p>Right now the whole abortion issue is very, very hot, and I just can't implicate myself. "And she said, "Well, then I am inclined to believe I will do it myself."</p> <p>She punctured a vein and got air into her bloodstream.</p>	
0:08:51	TITLE	<p>SECTION TITLE: The MOVEMENT for DECRIMINALIZATION 1961 to 1973</p>	<p>PAUSE DVD HERE! (TIMECODE ON THE DVD IS: 8:36)</p>

0:08:54	NARRATOR	In the early 1960's, a grassroots movement to change the laws began to spread across the nation. The first call to action was inspired by one woman, Pat McGinnis. Pat worked in a hospital, where she saw hundreds of women admitted with complications from illegal abortions. Pat's way, was to reach people one by one, with information about legalizing abortion. Pat's way, was to reach people one by one, with information about legalizing abortion.	
0:09:23	TV NEWS INTERVIEWER	Do you, uh, approve of abortions for any reason?	
0:09:28	PAT MCGINNIS	Some hundred thousand women every year, this is California women alone, subject themselves to improperly or illegal abortions. I think that in itself is a rather staggering figure, and I feel great indignation as a woman to think that women have to subject themselves to second rate care for a safe, surgical procedure.	
0:09:51	NARRATOR	Pat named her fledgling organization, 'The Society for Humane Abortion.'" Throughout the 1960s, the struggle for abortion rights became one of the fastest growing social movements in the history of the United States.	

		People were willing to challenge the law, and if necessary, risk arrest.	
0:10:20	REV. MOODY	Some of us felt very strongly and said "I think we ought to break the law, I think we ought to counsel women and help women get abortions. Even if it's against the law."	
0:10:31	NARRATOR	With a group of 21 clergy, Rev. Moody organized a free referral network to provide counsel for any woman with an unintended pregnancy, who needed help.	
0:10:43	REV. MOODY	I felt that I could make a case to be there for her, whatever her decision was, not just if it were for abortion, but if it were for having the child and giving it up or if it were for having the child and not giving it up, and keeping it. Whatever it was, we would try to help her find the way to do that. And that as religious people, as people who cared about people's spirits there was no way that you could do that without caring about their bodies.	

0:11:19	NARRATOR	Religious leaders across the country began to speak out about women’s rights.	
0:11:26	PASTOR JAMES LAWSON	One of the mistaken notions about the 60's is that we were primarily a civil rights movement. The better term would have been Human Rights because we talked all the time about dignity and freedom and justice. For a woman not to be counted as being able to make adequate decisions...medical, spiritual, moral, about herself, about her own well-being, about her family, of course, is a denial of a woman's basic, uh, humanity, basic ability, basic God-given, given rights.	
0:12:11	NARRATOR	As public awareness grew, state legislatures across the country, began to discuss changing the laws. In New York State, pro-choice activists managed to bring the issue to the floor for a vote.	
0:12:28	CONSTANCE COOK ASSEMBLY MEMBER	There are many who say, that this bill is abortion on demand. I submit that we have abortion on demand in the State of New York right now. Any woman that wants an abortion can get one, and the real difference is how much money she has to spend. If she has 25 dollars, she has it done here under the most abominable circumstances, and if she doesn't have the twenty-five dollars, she can abort herself.	

		And regretfully, this is happening more often than you or I like to admit.	
0:13:09	NARRATOR	The final roll call showed a tie. As the Speaker of the House raised his gavel to announce the bill's defeat, George Michaels asked for the floor.	
0:13:22	MICHAELS	Mr. Speaker.	
0:13:23	SPEAKER	Mr. Michaels.	
0:13:25	NARRATOR	Assemblyman George Michaels represented a predominately Roman Catholic district. His constituents expected him to vote against the bill, which he did.	
0:13:36	MICHAELS	I had hoped that this would never come to pass. I fully appreciate that this is the termination of my political career, but what's the use of getting elected, or re-elected if you don't stand for something? I cannot in good conscience stand here and be the vote that defeats	

		this bill. I, therefore, request you, Mr. Speaker, to change my negative vote to an affirmative vote.	
0:14:17	NARRATOR	George Michaels' vote did end his political career. But for thousands of women who lived in New York, and for those who could afford to travel there, abortion was now legal. The vote in New York laid the groundwork for the Supreme Court decision, Roe v. Wade. Sarah Weddington was a recent law school graduate when she decided to challenge the abortion law in Texas. That case became Roe v. Wade.	
0:14:52	SARAH WEDDINGTON	I will never forget the night before oral argument, because I was so nervous... I had done a few uncontested divorces, I had done wills for people with no money, and I had done one adoption. That was the entire sum of my legal experience, but I had spent three years almost getting ready to stand before the U.S. Supreme Court."	
0:15:12	NARRATOR	The issue of abortion had personal meaning for Sarah. When she was in law school, she and her future husband went to Mexico for an illegal abortion.	

0:15:24	SARAH WEDDINGTON	<p>I was in the courtroom, and I had a flashback to that clinic in Mexico and then my determination, that no woman should have to go through that and that I would do anything I could to see that that was not necessary.</p> <p>We are not here to advocate abortion. We are here to advocate that the decision as to whether or not a particular woman will continue to carry or will terminate a pregnancy is a decision that should be made by that individual -- that in fact she has a constitutional right to make that decision for herself.</p>	
0:16:06		SECTION TITLE: "1973 through the PRESENT"	PAUSE DVD HERE! (TIMECODE ON THE DVD IS: 15:54)
0:16:10	NARRATOR	In recent years, efforts to limit abortion rights, have been focused on legislatures, and the courts. In the last decade, more than 350 laws, restricting women's reproductive rights have passed. Women are finding it difficult, once again, to get safe care. In Kentucky, as in more than 30 other states, abortion funding is	

		<p>only available in cases of rape, incest, or life endangerment.</p> <p>This young woman faced serious obstacles when she wanted to terminate a severely abnormal pregnancy.</p>	
0:16:53	ANGELA	<p>We went for the ultrasound...</p> <p>Dr. White was telling me how some babies are born without a kidney, some babies were born without a heart or, you know, an organ. And then she, she said, "Well, your baby was without a brain tissue." That was the hardest thing I ever heard in my life.</p>	
0:17:09	NARRATOR	<p>To spare Angela the trauma of giving birth to a baby no chance of survival, she decided to end the pregnancy.</p> <p>She soon learned that the several thousand dollar medical bill would not be covered by Medicaid.</p>	
0:17:31	DR. WHITE	<p>There's a very passionate group in this state who are against abortion for any reason at all, ever, period, never. There's nothing in this world that's that black and white, and you're dealing with people who are not involved with a medical situation trying to make blanket decisions. If you've ever looked into a woman's eyes when you just told her that her baby is</p>	

		doomed. It 's- if they could see that, they would know why this has to be kept safe and legal, and why we don't need more barriers for these women.	
0:18:22	NARRATOR	In a series of decisions starting in 1976, the Supreme Court ruled that states could require a minor to inform her parents before getting an abortion. Parental involvement laws are now on the books in 44 states. The majority of these are strictly enforced. For teens with difficult home situations, these laws create an additional burden.	
0:18:50	PAT	There certainly are some young women who, for a variety of reasons, and unfortunately physical abuse is one of them, that absolutely cannot tell their parents, and we talk to them then about judicial bypass. There are some counties in this state that have judges that are just absolutely opposed to abortion, no matter what the circumstances, and it drives some young women to either go to an incompetent abortion provider, an illegal provider, they're still out there, or to try to do a home remedy. And there's still plenty of that going on in Alabama.	

0:19:33	NARRATOR	The majority of Americans support choice. They believe that a woman has a right to make her own decision. Opponents of abortion carry out their mission on two fronts. One, is through state laws, where legislation is being passed that creates barriers for women seeking abortions. The other is through clinic protests.	
0:19:58	FEMALE PROTESTER AT CLINIC	Please don't let them hurt you, they killed a woman.	
0:20:03	NARRATOR	Before abortion was legal, many women died from self-induced abortions. Now, once again, hospital emergency rooms report treating women who resort to unsafe methods. Kris was a Sociology major at a state university when she discovered she was pregnant. Like many women her age, she was not ready to have a child. Kris went to a clinic during a wave of protests.	
0:20:34	PATTI	I went down with her and we waited in the waiting room for I don't know how long, and there's people outside marching around and she had a really bad	

		experience there.	
0:20:47	NARRATOR	Kris became pregnant again after her birth control failed. She did not want to go back to a clinic because her first experience had been so frightening. Kris had been studying natural medicine and decided to use herbs as an abortifacient. Soon afterwards, she began to cramp.	
0:21:08	DENISE	When the cramping got really bad she thought she was aborting, and she had gone into convulsions in the bathtub. Then they had found out that she'd had an ectopic pregnancy and that the cramping that she was feeling was that she had been hemorrhaging, because they said that there was dried blood in and around her, um, in her uterus, um, that that's what killed her.	
0:21:41	PATRICIA CLINIC DIRECTOR ALABAMA	The desperation level is already here. It's the young women. It's the poor women. It's the women who feel like they can't tell anybody, who feel so socially ostracized because of the dilemma that they find themselves in in the first place. As the states pass more and more restrictive laws, that make it harder and harder, that shrink access	

		more and more, we see those numbers growing.	
0:22:08	TITLE	ABORTION CLINIC ARSONS News Footage	
0:22:09	NARRATOR	Since the 1973 decision, the climate for abortion clinics has been volatile, with more than 12,000 incidents of disruption and terror. The most violent of these are seven murders.	
0:22:30	ANNOUNCER 1	A man burst into a Planned Parenthood abortion clinic and opened fire with a rifle. [TITLE: NEW YORK CITY] Minutes later, an identical attack occurred at a second clinic a mile and a half away.	
0:22:41	ANNOUNCER 2	Violence at an abortion clinic in Florida.	
0:22:45	WITNESS	He just went up, chased the doctor down, and just shot him, point blank.	

0:22:53	NARRATOR	More than 80% of the counties in the United States have no providers. Those who offer the service face serious threats. Dr. George Tiller whose practice included late-term abortions had faced threats of violence for decades.	
0:23:09	DR. GEORGE TILLER	My office has been blown up. In 1993, I survived an assassination attempt.	
0:23:17	ANNOUNCER 1	[TITLE May 31, 2009] A local abortion doctor praised by some, controversial to others, gunned down inside his Witchita church.	
0:23:23	RACHEL MADDOW	Are you afraid that Dr. Tiller's murder is going to spark more violence?	
0:23:25	VICKI SAPORTA NATIONAL ABORTION FEDERATION PRESIDENT	This is the 8th murder, the 17th attempted murder. There have been 41 bombings, 175 arsons, and and the list goes on and on.	

0:23:35	DR. LEROY CARHART LATE TERM ABORTION PROVIDER	The biggest omission so far is to not identify anti-abortion terrorism as hate crimes. Certainly, murdering a doctor in his church is a hate crime.	
0:23:43	NARRATOR	Dr. Warren Hern is one of only two doctors in the United States who still performs late-term abortions.	
0:23:46	DR. WARREN HERN	The assassination of Dr. Tiller was not the act of a lone deranged gunman. This is the result of 35 years of anti-abortion harassment.	
0:23:55	RACHEL MADDOW	Violence as a political strategy is working to make abortion so unsafe for doctors that they are unwilling to bear the risks of performing it so that women can't actual get one regardless of whether or not it's legal.	
0:24:08	RADICAL	God wants us to do what is right, and killing abortion	

	ACTIVIST PRIEST	doctors may be for some people what is right.	
0:24:17	NARRATOR	Anti-abortion actions, are often motivated by religious beliefs. This woman was the chief administrator at a women's health center which provided a full range of services including adoption and abortion. Because of her work she, was threatened with excommunication from the Catholic Church.	
0:24:43	BISHOP	All involved in the deliberate and successful effort to eject an unviable fetus from the mother's womb incur excommunication.	
0:24:53	RACHEL CLINIC DIRECTOR TEXAS	The most frightening thing was that had it been another time, I would have been burned at the stake. I wouldn't have had a piece of paper to tell me you are no longer a Catholic, or you can no longer receive Communion. But it's not going to silence me, and I'm going to continue to speak. And I want to be that force, and I want to be that person that says, "But we are affected by this!" Women come to clinics like Reproductive Services and clinics, other abortion providers across this country with the most incredible circumstances, and we treat them with	

		respect, and we give them the quality medical care that they deserve.	
0:25:51	NARRATOR	Because dedicated doctors and clinic staff are willing to provide safe abortions some women can still make that choice. The future of women's rights is built on the work of people who speak out and take a stand, people who believe that every woman should have the right to make her own choices and that those choices should be protected.	
0:26:29	PATRICIA	I've worked with most of the doctors who've been killed. I knew them personally. When those horrible things happened, and we were feeling so isolated, and so alone, and so vulnerable, and I lock the door, and walk out at night, and think, "Maybe I just won't go back tomorrow." The face of my friend who died from a self-induced abortion comes to me, and I know, if I don't come back the next day, there will be another one. Even as hard as we try, it's still going on...."	
0:27:18	SUSAN ABORTION PROVIDER	After the fire-bombing in our office, uh our whole office and my family went through a lot of struggle about whether I should continue to do that. And, for	

	MONTANA	me, it was a combination of making my own decisions about my life, and also having to make them because I am not alone. I have a family who I have to be sensitive to. Their emotions, and their feelings are very important to me. And um, my child, um- I wanted him to understand that there are people in our lives that can harm us, and we need to be sensitive to that. And my husband worried a lot, did not want me to continue, and we had to talk. And he came around, interestingly enough, to the same thing that I came around which is that if you don't live by what you believe, what are you living for?	
0:28:19	NARRATOR	As you've seen in this documentary, women's rights are at risk across the country. We need to work together to protect reproductive freedom. What's important is that each of us takes an active role.	
0:28:32	CREDIT ROLL		
0:28:38	CREDIT END		