

Figure 4. Activists at Dublin's 2016 March for Choice, photograph by Ben Kasstan

Figures 5 & 6. Tweets by @TwoWomenTravel describing the experience of being 'forced' and 'exiled' to access extra-state abortion care

ABORTION AND CONFRONTATION, EXILE AND EVASION

The act of travelling abroad to terminate a pregnancy has been described as 'abortion tourism' (see Bloomer and O'Dowd, 2014). Similarly, the term 'reproductive tourism' is often used to frame extra-state pursuits of fertility treatment, yet conflicts radically with the actual desperation and stresses experienced by people engaging in IVF-related mobilities (Inhorn, 2018). For this reason, Marcia Inhorn and Pasquale Patrizio (2009: 905) have described how 'reproductive exile' is a more appropriate conceptual reference because, in most cases, people describe 'how they feel "forced" to leave their home countries to access safe, effective, affordable and legal infertility care.' Against this backdrop we challenge conceptual references of abortion 'tourism' (Bloomer and O'Dowd, 2014) and 'travel' on the basis that women engaging in social protest in Ireland represent themselves as being *forced* and *exiled* to leave Ireland in order to access extra-state and alternative sites of abortion care (**Figures 5 and 6**). The image of 'travelling' abroad for abortion care obscures the fact that extra-state care can be prohibitively expensive for some women, traumatic, emotionally and physically painful, and remains enshrouded by shame, secrecy, stigma and lack of emotional support from family and friends. Moreover, due to lack of knowledge about the legal status of reproductive exile and fear of possible consequences, women can be reluctant and cautious about accessing post-abortion care upon return in Ireland if complications arise.²³

²³ See Manchester Metropolitan University News 2017.

Specific to the Irish context is the fact that the Irish Constitution enshrines a ‘structural tolerance and expectation of abortion travel’ (de Londras and Enright, 2018: 8). Women in Ireland, we argue, are literally *exiled* when they feel compelled to access extra-state abortion care rather than continue a pregnancy to term against their wish. The constitutional expectation of reproductive exile in Ireland is an assault on human rights because it actually ‘contradicts the foundation on which human rights law stands – that states have an obligation to respect, protect, and fulfil human rights within their own borders’ (cf. Zampas, 2017: 34).²⁴

Reproductive rights activists estimate that, on average, nine women are exiled from Ireland each day to access extra-state abortion care at their own cost (mainly in England), amounting to approximately 4,000 reproductive exiles per year (Coalition to Repeal the Eighth n.d.). Two women crossing the Irish Sea to access abortion services in August 2016 launched a Twitter account using the handle ‘@TwoWomenTravel’ to document their repro-exile in real time through Tweets of 140 characters. The two women had frequently tagged Enda Kenny, the then Taoiseach (‘Chief’ or Head of Government) in their Tweets to portray the realities of being exiled to extra-state sites of care. The series of Tweets articulated the anxieties of the two women who framed themselves as being ‘forced’ to leave their home country in a struggle for bodily autonomy (Figures 5 and 6). Rather than viewing @TwoWomenTravel in isolation, we interpret them and their documented struggle for bodily autonomy as a reflection of the broader rallying of public support for abortion rights in Ireland that has led up to the 2018 Referendum. It is important to note that the overall rate of reproductive exiles to England have reduced significantly in recent years, halving between the years 2001 and 2016, which is likely due to eligible women remaining at home and subverting Irish law by accessing safe medical abortion and appropriate counseling online via telemedicine services (Sheldon, 2016).

REPRODUCTIVE ACTIVISM AND THE SUBVERSION OF CONTROL

Telemedicine services are, as mentioned, an ‘illegitimate’ site of abortion care under British and Irish laws yet they offer eligible women in contexts of restrictive abortion legislation a more compassionate and affordable option to reproductive exile. More critically, they offer eligible women a lifeline by enabling them to avoid dangerous techniques of inducing a miscarriage (such as perforation techniques or ingesting noxious substances), which remain a reality for some women in Ireland (Gentleman, 2015; Sheldon, 2016). Medical abortion prescribed to women in Ireland by WoW is reported to be highly effective, with low reported prevalence of adverse reactions and, more importantly, almost all women follow the advice of WoW by seeking medical attention when experiencing potential complications (Aiken et al., 2017). Thus, women in Ireland subvert restrictive abortion laws with a high degree of competence, demonstrating how women trust themselves to exercise bodily autonomy as part of a responsible process of reproductive decision-making. That being said some women who subvert legislation by procuring medical abortion do not feel they can safely disclose their experiences of self-care to healthcare professionals (see Sheldon, 2016: 95), which reflects the legal anxieties women feel about accessing post-abortion care in Ireland after reproductive exile.

Whilst women procuring medical abortion online routinely subvert Irish law, access can be precarious as Irish Customs and Excise Officers have the authority to seize abortion pills, compelling women to collect the deliveries at a post office or designated address in Northern Ireland (see Fletcher, 2014:11). Irish Customs and Excise Officers confiscated 1017 abortion pill deliveries in 2014, more than double those seized in the previous year (Abortion Rights Campaign, n.d.). Leo Varadkar, the current Taoiseach of Ireland and former medic, linked the reality of reproductive exile as well as the ‘illegitimate’ yet widespread use of medical abortion among women in Ireland as notable reasons that led to the cabinet decision to hold a referendum in 2018:

We know that thousands of Irish women - women from every single county in Ireland - go abroad for abortions every year. We *know* that many women are obtaining abortion pills through the post to end their pregnancies, without any medical support, or counselling, or supervision. So, we already have abortion in Ireland but it is unsafe, unregulated and unlawful. We cannot continue to export our problems and import our solutions. (Leo Varadkar, Prime Minister of Ireland, reported in The Irish Times on 30 January 2018 [emphasis added])

The fact that ‘illegitimate’ abortion services were *known* to be more widely sought than what could be ‘legitimately’ provided by the Irish state within the confines of the Constitution can then be considered as a significant impetus for the Taoiseach’s support for reform. In contexts of restrictive abortion laws more broadly,

²⁴ Women in Ireland who hold precarious residency statuses (such as asylum seekers) can experience limitations on international mobility, preventing timely access to extra-state abortion care (see Side 2016). The financial cost of abortion care can rise considerably when performed after twenty weeks of gestation, which is an issue for women experiencing bureaucratic delays in receiving a visa to enter the UK (see Duffy and Pierson n.d.).

such as Poland, women have mobilised protest logics to subvert and ‘beat the system’ by procuring abortions ‘illegitimately’ — either by sourcing misoprostol online or via the “‘white coat’ underground’ provided by healthcare professionals operating clandestinely (Mishtal, 2017: 240). However, Joanna Mishtal has argued that reform of restrictive abortion laws in Poland is unlikely to be achieved through ‘quiet and individual dissent without the political act of visibility and public engagement’ (2017: 240). The case of Ireland demonstrates how opportunities for re-envisaging the constitutional and legal status-position of abortion care were made possible by feminist activism around self-care, with individual acts of reproductive exile and subversion of current laws entrenched in sustained and prominent social protests.

CONCLUSION: ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS BRING NEW TYPES OF COMMUNITY INTO BEING

Both the women’s movement in the 1970s and 1980s in Britain and the contemporary campaign for legislative reform in Ireland have made use of international and diasporic connections. In contemporary Ireland pregnant women’s transition into exile has been leveraged to raise awareness of the international dynamics of the existing legislation; comparisons with other countries have also been used to highlight the regressive nature of the current laws. Martin (2000: 71) notes that Ireland’s nationalist discourses draw upon gendered issues to emphasise its ‘alterity’ in an increasingly interconnected Europe; feminists point to this alterity for other ends, using it to highlight the desperation of the women forced into exile. While some internationalist elements of feminism have been critiqued as obscuring or eliding power differentials and difference (see Braidotti, 1992) understanding the approaches of other nations to the governance of the female body has been a critical part of feminist praxis. Considering the ways that the Irish campaign made use of similar discourses around health, rights, care and autonomy to those used in the 1970s and 1980s by the British women’s movement demonstrates the flexibility and utility of these ideas. Feminist campaigns attempt to decentre and reclaim the authority exacted over women’s bodies and to raise consciousness of the damaging consequences of derisory state health care and discriminatory legislation.

Just as the movement of the 1970s and 1980s used feminist magazines to communicate with an engaged audience, the Repeal movement in Ireland used social media to raise awareness of reproductive exile as a lived reality of restrictive and unjust legislation. In so doing abortion care activists in the Irish diaspora re-appropriated the narrative of abortion ‘travel’ to promote electoral participation in the 2018 Referendum. The London-Irish Abortion Rights Campaign (n.d.), a grassroots movement to ‘bring people in London together to campaign repeal of the Eighth Amendment from the Irish Constitution and for the decriminalization of abortion in Northern Ireland,’ launched hometovote.com (n.d.) in 2017 as a strategy to ‘summon vote-eligible Irish people living abroad.’ The rhetoric of ‘summoning’ Irish emigrants ‘home’ by a grassroots movement is again striking because it imposed a moral and civic obligation on the body politic, and raises historical continuities with the language surrounding the 1916 Uprising, by re-presenting a mutual and enduring ownership of Irish people over Ireland and vice versa. Using social media as a ‘global call’ for vote-eligible Irish citizens was inspired by the landslide 2015 Referendum result in favour of same-sex marriage, which rallied emigrants from around the world to ‘vote yes for a fairer Ireland.’ In both of these examples, social media (particularly Twitter and Instagram) were cultivated as a phenomenally powerful resource in resistance to gender and marital inequalities.

Our focus on the dynamics of abortion activism in Britain and Ireland can be situated in broader discussions of how feminist movements have historically spearheaded techniques of self-care, and in so doing, provoked the state to better meet the needs of women. In tracing the role of pregnancy testing as a ‘feminist technology’ in the 1970s Women’s Liberation Movement, Jesse Olszynko-Gryn has argued that ‘British feminists framed pregnancy testing as a more efficient and sympathetic alternative to the inadequate N.H.S. as they pushed for reform. They appropriated a medical technology, bringing it into the domestic sphere and endowing it with the politics of the movement’ (2017:19). Similarly, we have cast the subversive and ‘illegitimate’ procurement of medical abortion among women in Britain and Ireland as being the object of opportunity for legislative reform and constitutional change, provoking responses from politicians. Women in Britain face the threat, in theory, of life imprisonment by procuring medical abortion, and women in Ireland attending the 2016 March for Choice publicly proclaimed how they felt ‘forced’ to self-administer medical abortion despite the risk of a fourteen-year jail term. We argue how, on both sides of the Irish Sea, it is the women themselves that have situated medical abortion in the social politics of feminist movements to champion legislative and constitutional reform. Medical abortion is embedded in feminist struggles for reproductive rights and demands for equitable and accessible public health services, which is, as Varadkar made clear, a known subversion. What emerges are situations where the ‘illegitimate’ could, following the landslide 2018 Referendum result, be brought into the realm of state control and guardianship, and in Britain, potentially re-envisage abortion legislation to enable women to use medical abortion from the comfort and convenience of their own homes. Reproductive rebellions over time have led women to rise for ‘repeal’ in

Dublin and produced 'liberatory knowledges' within British feminist movements, which, in each of these contexts, have been generative of new modes of community, sites of activism, and political responsiveness.

The reproductive rebellions we have observed in Britain and Ireland are historically contiguous, and whilst enacted at different points in time and place, share a common strategy in attempting to position women's bodily autonomy and knowledge as an enduring site of activism within the body politic. Our interdisciplinary approach illustrates how feminist encounters in the medical humanities can chart the continuities and discontinuities of abortion activism and rebelliousness in two intimately connected contexts during periods of significant change.

REFERENCES

- Abortion Rights Campaign. (n.d.). About ARC. Available at: <https://www.abortionrightscampaign.ie/about-arc> (Accessed 4 March 2018)
- Abortion Rights Campaign. (2016). Rise and repeal march for choice. Available at: <https://www.abortionrightscampaign.ie/about-arc> (Accessed 4 March 2018)
- Abortion Statistics, England and Wales: 2017. (2018). Department of Health & Social Care. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/714183/2017_Abortion_Statistics_Commentary.pdf (Accessed 18 August 2018)
- Aiken, A. R. A., Digol, I., Trussell, J. and Gomperts, R. (2017). Self reported outcomes and adverse reactions events after medical abortion through online telemedicine: population based study in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. *British Medical Journal*, 357-j2011. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmj.j2011>
- Aiken, A. R. A., Guthrie, K. A., Schellekens, M., Trussell, J. and Gomperts, R. (2018). Barriers to accessing abortion services and perspectives on using mifepristone and misoprostol at home in Great Britain. *Contraception*, 97, 177–183. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.contraception.2017.09.003>
- Bacik, I. (2015). A feminist review of the law on abortion in Ireland, in C. Fischer and M. McAuliffe (eds.), *Irish feminisms: past, present, and future* (pp. 147–168). Dublin: Arlen House.
- Berer, M. (2013). Termination of pregnancy as emergency obstetric care: The interpretation of Catholic health policy and the consequences for pregnant women. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 21(41), 9–17. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080\(13\)41711-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080(13)41711-1)
- Bloomer, F. and O'Dowd, K. (2014). Restricted access to abortion in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland: Exploring abortion tourism and barriers to legal reform. *Culture, Health & Sexuality*, 16(4), 366–380. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2014.886724>
- Brent Women's Centre. (1980). Women & Health: How to run a health course. *Spare Rib*, 94, 19–22.
- British Medical Association. (2017). Decriminalisation of abortion: a discussion paper from the BMA. Available at: <https://www.bma.org.uk/advice/employment/ethics/ethics-a-to-z/abortion> (Accessed 8 April 2018)
- British Pregnancy Advisory Service. (2017). *Women in Great Britain putting themselves at risk of life imprisonment as use of illegal abortion medication rises*. Available at: <https://www.bpas.org/about-our-charity/press-office/press-releases/women-in-great-britain-putting-themselves-at-risk-of-life-imprisonment-as-use-of-illegal-abortion-medication-rises> (Accessed 3 March 2018)
- Brooke, S. (2013). *Sexual Politics: Sexuality, Family Planning, and the British Left from 1880 to the Present Day*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bruley, S. (2013). Consciousness-Raising in Clapham: Women's Liberation as 'Lived Experience' in South London in the 1970s. *Women's History Review*, 22(5), 717–738. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2013.769378>
- Coalition to Repeal the Eighth. (n.d.). Abortion in Ireland – the current situation. Available at: <https://www.repealeight.ie/abortion-in-ireland-today> (Accessed 29 March 2018)
- Coleman, M. (2017). Compensating Irish Female Revolutionaries. *Women's History Review*, 26(6), 915–934. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2016.1237002>
- Connolly, A., Bunting, S. and Boyd, R. (1982). A Decade of Struggle: Irish Women's Liberation. *Spare Rib*, 118, 6–8.
- Connolly, L. (2003). *The Irish Women's Movement: from Revolution to Devolution*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cullingford, E. B. (1990). 'Thinking of her ... as ... Ireland': Yeats, Pearse and Heaney. *Textual Practice*, 4(1), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502369008582073>
- Davis, K. (2007). *The Making of Our Bodies, Ourselves: How Feminism Travels Across Borders*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822390251>
- de Londras, F. (2015). Constitutionalizing fetal rights: A salutary tale from Ireland. *Michigan Journal of Gender & Law*, 22(2), 243–289. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2600907>
- de Londras, F. and Enright, M. (2018). *Repealing the 8th: Reforming Irish abortion law*. Bristol: Policy Press. <https://doi.org/10.1332/9781447347545>

- Delap, L. (2016). Feminist bookshops, reading cultures and the Women's Liberation Movement in Great Britain, c. 1974–2000. *History Workshop Journal*, 81(1), 171-196. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbw002>
- Department of Health. (2017). Third annual report of notifications in accordance with the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act 2013 laid before the Houses of the Oireachtas. Available at: <https://health.gov.ie/blog/press-release/third-annual-report-of-notifications-in-accordance-with-the-protection-of-life-during-pregnancy-act-2013-laid-before-the-houses-of-the-oireachtas> (Accessed 15 July 2018)
- Duffy, D. and Pierson, C. (n.d.). *Abortion in Ireland and inequality*. Manchester Metropolitan University. Available at: http://rszarf.ips.uw.edu.pl/inequality/abortion_inequality.pdf (Accessed 3 March 2018).
- Enright, M., Conway, V., de Londras, F., Donnelly, M., Fletcher, R., McDonnell, N., McGuinness, S., Murray, C., Ring, S. and uí Chonnachtaigh, S. (2015). Abortion law reform in Ireland: A model for change. *Feminists@law*, 5(1). <http://journals.kent.ac.uk/index.php/feministsatlaw/article/view/173/631>
- European Court of Human Rights. (2010). Case of A, B, and C v Ireland. Available at: <https://www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/internationallaw/echr-a-b-and-c-vs-ireland-2010.pdf> (Accessed 25 July 2018)
- Ferriter, F. (2009). *Occasions of Sin: Sex and Society in Modern Ireland*. London: Profile Books. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080\(14\)44818-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080(14)44818-3)
- Fletcher, R. (2001). Post-colonial fragments: Representations of abortion in Irish law and politics. *Journal of Law and Society*, 28(4), 568-589. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6478.00203>
- Fletcher, R. (2014). Contesting the cruel treatment of abortion-seeking women. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 22(44), 10-21.
- Forster, K. (2017). Irish teenager seeking abortion 'detained in psychiatric unit.' *The Independent*. Available at: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/health/abortion-detained-psychiatric-unit-ireland-mental-health-act-girl-sectioned-pregnant-a7789856.html> (Accessed 13 October 2017)
- Forster, L. (2016). Spreading the Word: feminist print cultures and the Women's Liberation Movement. *Women's History Review*, 25(5), 812-831. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2015.1132878>
- Gentleman, A. (2015). "It was the scariest thing I've ever done": The Irish women forced to travel for abortions. *The Guardian*. Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/oct/31/abortion-ireland-northern-ireland-women-travel-england-amelia-gentleman> (Accessed 28 July 2018)
- Girvin, B. (2008). Contraception, Moral Panic and Social Change in Ireland, 1969–79. *Irish Political Studies*, 23(4), 555-576. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907180802452804>
- Gold, R. B. and Starrs, A. M. (2017). US reproductive health and rights: beyond the global gag rule. *Lancet Public Health*, 2(3): e122-e123. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667\(17\)30035-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2468-2667(17)30035-X)
- Greenwood, K. and King, L. (1981). Contraception and Abortion, in The Cambridge Women's Studies Group (eds), *Women in Society: Interdisciplinary Essays* (pp. 168-184). London: Virago.
- Guttmacher Institute. (n.d.). Reproductive health in crisis. Available at: <https://www.guttmacher.org/tags/reproductive-health-crisis> (Accessed 25 July 2018)
- Holland, K. and Mac Cormaic, R. (2014). *They said they could not do an abortion. I said, 'You can leave me now to die. I don't want to live anymore.'* *The Irish Times*. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/health/they-said-they-could-not-do-an-abortion-i-said-you-can-leave-me-now-to-die-i-don-t-want-to-live-in-this-world-anymore-1.1901258> (Accessed 15 October 2017)
- Home to vote. (n.d.). *Home to vote*. Available at: <https://hometovote.com> (Accessed 10 April 2018)
- House of Commons Hansard. (2017). Reproductive health (access to terminations) bill. *UK Parliament*. Available at: [https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2017-03-13/debates/D76D740D-2DDD-4CCB-AC11-C0DBE3B7D0D8/ReproductiveHealth\(AccessToTerminations\)](https://hansard.parliament.uk/commons/2017-03-13/debates/D76D740D-2DDD-4CCB-AC11-C0DBE3B7D0D8/ReproductiveHealth(AccessToTerminations)) (Accessed 10 April 2018)
- Inhorn, M. C. (2018). *America's Arab refugees: Vulnerability and health on the margins*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Inhorn, M. C. and Pasquale P. (2009). Rethinking reproductive "tourism" as reproductive "exile." *Fertility and Sterility*, 92(3), 904-906. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fertnstert.2009.01.055>
- Irish Statute Book. (1861). *Offences Against the Person Act*. Available at: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1861/act/100/enacted/en/print.html> (Accessed 29 March 2018)
- Irish Statute Book. (1983). Eighth Amendment of the Constitution Act. Available at: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1983/ca/8/enacted/en/print> (Accessed 10 April 2018)
- Irish Statute Book. (2013). Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act. Available at: <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/2013/act/35/enacted/en/pdf> (Accessed 10 April 2018)
- Jelinska, K. and Yanow, S. (2018). Putting abortion pills into women's hands: realizing the full potential of medical abortion. *Contraception*, 97, 86-89. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.contraception.2017.05.019>
- Jolly, M. (2012). Recognising Place, Space and Nation in Researching Women's Movements, Sisterhood and After. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 35(3), 144-146. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2012.03.012>

- Kenny, M. (2015). Recollections of The Irish Women's Liberation Movement. *History Ireland*, 23(5), 48–51.
- Knight, D. (2015). Wit and Greece's economic crisis: Ironic slogans, food, and antiausterity sentiments. *American Ethnologist*, 42(2), 230-246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.12127>
- Larragy, M. (1990). Message from the Six Counties. *Spare Rib*, 215, 38-43.
- Laws, S. (1981). *Down There: an Illustrated Guide to Self-Exam*. London: Onlywomen Press.
- London-Irish Abortion Rights Campaign. (n.d.). Available at: <https://londonirisharc.com> (Accessed 10 April 2018)
- Manchester Metropolitan University News. (2017). *Scared, stigmatised and alone: Irish women navigate the abortion trail with little support*. Available at: <https://www2.mmu.ac.uk/news-and-events/news/story/6373/> (Accessed 3 March 2018)
- Martin, A. K. (2000). Death of a Nation: Transnationalism, Bodies and Abortion in Late Twentieth-Century Ireland, in T. Mayer (ed), *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (pp. 65-86). London: Routledge.
- Mishtal, J. (2017). Quietly 'beating the system': The logics of protest and resistance under the Polish abortion ban, in S. De Zordo, J. Mishtal and L. Anton (eds), *A fragmented landscape: Abortion governance and protest logics in Europe* (pp. 226-244). New York and Oxford: Berghahn.
- Mullaly, S. (2005). Debating reproductive rights in Ireland. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 27(1), 78-104. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hrq.2005.0008>
- Nelson, J. (2015). *More than Medicine: A History of the Feminist Women's Health Movement*. New York: New York University Press. <https://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9780814762776.001.0001>
- Northern Women's Health Conference, 6-7 July (1985). Bishopsgate Archive. FL/EPH/C/1410.
- O'Sullivan, S. (1988). Women's Health: a Spare Rib Reader. *Spare Rib*, 186, 38-39.
- O'Sullivan, S. (ed.) (1987). *Women's Health: a Spare Rib Reader*. London: Pandora Press.
- Oaks, L. (1999). Irish trans/national politics and locating fetuses, in L. M. Morgan and M. W. Michaels (eds), *Fetal subjects: feminist positions* (pp. 175-198). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. <https://doi.org/10.9783/9781512807561-011>
- Olszynko-Gryn, J. (2017). The feminist appropriation of pregnancy testing in 1970s Britain. *Women's History Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2017.1346869>
- Scott, A. and Noble, J. (1976). Abortion Conference: Structure and Feminism. *Spare Rib*, 42, 20-21.
- Segal, L. (1979). A Local Experience, in S. Rowbotham, L. Segal and H. Wainwright (eds), *Beyond the Fragments: Feminism and the Making of Socialism* 2nd Ed (pp. 157-210). London: Merlin Press.
- Sheldon, S. (2015). Abortion is still illegal in the UK, thanks to this Victorian law. *The Conversation*. Available at: <https://theconversation.com/abortion-is-still-illegal-in-the-uk-thanks-to-this-victorian-law-48536> (Accessed 10 April 2018)
- Sheldon, S. (2016). How can a state control swallowing? The home use of abortion pills in Ireland. *Reproductive Health Matters*, 24(48), 90–101. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rhm.2016.10.002>
- Side, K. (2016). A geopolitics of migrant women, mobility and abortion access in the Republic of Ireland. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 23(12), 1788–1799. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2016.1262831>
- The Irish Times. (2018). 'Safe, legal and rare': Full text of Taoiseach's abortion speech. Available at: <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/social-affairs/safe-legal-and-rare-full-text-of-taoiseach-s-abortion-speech-1.3373468> (Accessed 2 March 2018)
- Thomlinson, N. (2016). *Race, Ethnicity and the Women's Movement in England, 1968-1993* Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Tuana, N. (2006). The Speculum of Ignorance: The Women's Health Movement and Epistemologies of Ignorance. *Hypatia*, 21(3), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1527-2001.2006.tb01110.x>
- UK Government Legislation. (1967). Abortion Act. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/87/introduction> (Accessed 29 March 2018)
- Wallsgrave, R., Phillips, A. and Nicholls, J. (1979). Ireland Contraceptive Uproar. *Spare Rib*, 83, 11.
- Webb, C. (1986). Postscript, in C. Webb (ed), *Feminist Practice in Women's Health Care* (pp. 183-187). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Women Against Imperialism. (1989). Irish Women Against Imperialism. *Spare Rib*, 204, 57.
- Women and Health Weekend in October. (1974). *Spare Rib*, 30, 19.
- Zampas, C. (2017). Legal and political discourses on women's right to abortion, in S. De Zordo, J. Mishtal, and L. Anton (eds.), *A fragmented landscape: Abortion governance and protest logics in Europe* (pp. 23-45). New York and Oxford: Berghahn.

Citation: Kasstan, B. and Crook, S. (2018). Reproductive Rebellions in Britain and the Republic of Ireland: Contemporary and Past Abortion Activism and Alternative Sites of Care. *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics*, 2(2), 17. <https://doi.org/10.20897/femenc/3885>

Copyright © 2018 by Author/s and Licensed by Lectito BV, Netherlands. This is an open access article distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution License which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.