

October 2020

Analysing Contemporary Women's Movements for Bodily Autonomy, Pluriversalizing the Feminist Scholarship on the Politics of Respectability

Dyuti Chakravarty
University College Dublin

Alice Feldman
University College Dublin

Emma Penney
University College Dublin

Follow this and additional works at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws>



Part of the [Women's Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Chakravarty, Dyuti; Feldman, Alice; and Penney, Emma (2020). Analysing Contemporary Women's Movements for Bodily Autonomy, Pluriversalizing the Feminist Scholarship on the Politics of Respectability. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 21(7), 170-188.

Available at: <https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol21/iss7/13>

This item is available as part of Virtual Commons, the open-access institutional repository of Bridgewater State University, Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

This journal and its contents may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Authors share joint copyright with the JIWS. ©2022 Journal of International Women's Studies.

Analysing Contemporary Women's Movements for Bodily Autonomy, Pluriversalizing the Feminist Scholarship on the Politics of Respectability

By Dyuti Chakravarty¹, Alice Feldman², Emma Penney³

Abstract

We began this project intending to theorise the respectability politics within the Irish Repeal (pro-choice) movement through the lenses of postcolonial and Black feminism, and through the experiences of members of Pinjra Tod, a movement seeking the right to mobility for Indian women students. Instead, we found ourselves excavating the inextricable links between respectability politics and the representational politics of academic knowledge production (Cruz in Collins-White et al 2015) in relation to Irish Women's Studies and the racialised politics of representation in the Repeal campaign. Savita Halappanavar, an Indian woman living in Ireland with her husband on a work visa, died tragically in 2012 from septicaemia. This was due to being denied the proper procedures following a miscarriage as a result of an Irish Constitutional Amendment in 1983 deeming abortion illegal in any circumstance. Her death galvanised a turning point in the Irish women's movement, which led to a national campaign that successfully repealed that Amendment. In fact, she literally became 'the face' of the movement -- one that remained racially and intersectionally 'tone-deaf' at best, wilfully exclusionary at worst. Our attention thus hovered on this problematique and necessitated a collaborative, dialogic 'working through' of these entanglements. This article presents the substance and outcome of a method of 'pluriversal convocation' that arose from this process. This method coaxed insights into the ongoing Eurocentricism and respectability politics within white western feminism that undermine praxis by promoting 'diversification without doing the work of diversity'. And it illuminated the transformative opportunities created by Black feminist and Indian postcolonial practices of 'wilful connectedness', which has, in turn, generated a basis on which we are cultivating a decolonising feminist praxis.

¹ Dyuti Chakravarty is a doctoral student in the School of Sociology, University College Dublin. Her thesis entitled "*Break the Cage": The Politics of Respectability and Desire through a Comparative Study of Women's Movements for Bodily Autonomy in India and Ireland*", explores the transnational dialogues between Indian and Irish feminist scholarships. It promises important and unique innovations through an engagement with the intertwining histories and transnational empirical comparisons of students' movements for bodily autonomy in both countries.

² Alice Feldman lectures in the School of Sociology, University College Dublin. Through experiments at the intersections of aesthetics, epistemologies and pedagogies, she cultivates decolonial praxes to intervene in the global colonial legacies sustaining the necropolitics of the current moment. For two decades she has also worked in research, advisory and volunteer capacities for an array of groups involved in anti-racism, intercultural and integration work. This work gave rise to the MA Race, Migration and Decolonial Studies (www.racemigrationdecolonialstudies.com).

³ Emma Penney received her PhD from the School of English, Drama and Film Studies, University College Dublin. Her thesis, entitled *Class Acts: Working-Class Feminism and the Women's Movement in Ireland*, explores the distinctive feminist activism of working-class women's groups throughout the 1980s. It is a collaboration with working-class movement women which creates new articulations of a historically hidden Irish feminism. Her work brings methodologies from working-class studies to bear on Irish Studies and Women's Studies scholarship where there has been a significant absence of class analysis.

Keywords: Pluriversal Convocation, Transperipheral Feminism, Working-Class Feminism, Pinjra Tod, Black Feminism

The Prompt

Savita Halappanavar, a 31-year-old Indian dentist, was 17 weeks pregnant when she presented at University Hospital Galway on October 21, 2012, after complaining of back pain. She was found to be miscarrying, after her amniotic fluids had broken. Despite repeated requests for a medical termination, it was denied on grounds of the presence of a foetal heartbeat. Savita died a week later, having suffered from septicaemia and E.coli. Her death was attributed to the staff's continued refusal to conduct a "D & C" even after the miscarriage because they feared they would be liable for breaking the law (the 8th Amendment to the Irish Constitution) rendering abortion illegal in the state. Her death became a turning point in the contemporary history of Irish women's mobilizations for bodily autonomy in Ireland. In fact, she literally became the 'face of the movement' (Figures 1 and 2).



Figure 1. A pro-choice poster used during the Repeal campaign (Floyd, 2018)

The shock of her needless death, her family's grief and outspoken efforts to seek justice for Savita caught the spotlight of the international media. Inquiries and investigations were demanded and announced, and subsequently led by the Health Information and Quality Authority. Protracted attempts made by family and friends to contact pro-choice groups in Galway involved

in the Irish Choice Network and journalists played key roles in galvanising a national movement. Solidarity vigils organised by the pro-choice campaign in November 2012 convened an intergenerational crowd of approximately 2000 people holding banners which said, “Never Again”, and demanding the repeal of the 8th Amendment.

The 8th Amendment, introduced by referendum in 1983 in response to campaigns led by pro-life lobbyists, passed with a majority of 66.9%. It solidified the existing legal prohibition and criminalisation of abortions, by granting equal human rights to the unborn foetus. Nine years later, the 1992 “X Case”, highlighting the brutality of the 8th Amendment, threw into crisis ‘the legitimacy and meaning of constitutional abortion law’ (Smyth, 2000, p. x). The case involved a suicidal 14-year-old rape victim whom the state prevented from travelling outside the country for an abortion. Daily national protests and vigils for Ms X reflected Irish outrage at what effectively constituted the ‘internment’ of a 14 year old girl.⁴ At the time Ailbhe Smyth, a UCD lecturer and abortion rights campaigner, remarked “I can’t remember a time when there was such a spontaneous outburst of absolute rage . . . It was control gone out of control.” (Qtd. in *The Irish Times*, 2012). The injunction on travel was eventually lifted in light of the constitutional right to travel, and the right to travel as a ward of the state was immediately granted in 1997 to Miss C, another teenager in similar circumstances.

The shift in legislature, activism and media that the X Case initiated “ruptured the tensions upon which this anti-abortion national common-sense relied”, creating a legitimisation crisis for anti-abortion morality (Smyth, 2000, p.122). This is reflected in the publication of the Green Paper in 1999 which focused on medical arguments for abortion rather than privileging concepts of morality.⁵ However, according to Smyth (2000), the actions of the state remained authoritarian despite a show of democracy with respect to abortion legislation, relying “in practice on Catholic doctrine as the key mechanism for interpreting constitutional abortion law” (p. 286), particularly in relation to the ideological consecration of the family in representations of Irish national identity. The woman’s role was to reproduce the nation literally, through birth, and figuratively, through a moral commitment to national ideals.

This constituted both a gendered and a racial politics that played out in the case of Ms. Y in 2014. Here, migrant women’s bodies functioned as sites of illegality within the nation and, as ‘m/Others’, threatened the national ‘common good’, e.g., the reproduction of an Irish nation as a white nation (Lentin, 2014). Ms Y was a teenage asylum seeker who, shortly after arriving in Ireland, discovered she had become pregnant as a result of rape. Enright and de Londras (2014) point out that “she immediately made it clear that she would rather die than carry the pregnancy to full term”. Just two years after the death of Savita Halappanavar and one year after the Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act (PLDPA) was passed, the details of the Ms Y case revealed how asylum seekers were more vulnerable in relation to Ireland’s illiberal abortion law. At the time of Ms Y’s abortion request she was living in the inhumane system of Direct Provision and surviving on an allowance of 19.10 euros per week. As such, cost and visa restrictions meant she could not travel or pay for an abortion and was solely reliant on the PLDPA. Enright and de Londras (2014) observe that “although the request for an abortion was assessed under the PLDPA, Miss Y failed a *de facto* viability test” which meant that the termination procedure did not fall within its remit (p. 3). This case demonstrates that reproductive justice in Ireland is also a matter of racial justice

⁴ Smyth (2000) argues that characterizations of X and her family as respectable, middle-class, and law-abiding were particularly significant in generating this public reaction (p. 1).

⁵ This weakening of moral arguments around abortion was also the result of a more widespread loss of moral high ground that the Church was facing in light of child sex abuse scandals.

which, in failing to be extended to migrant women, has also limited abortion rights campaigning in Ireland.

The short-lived Irish Choice Network paved the way for the Abortion Rights Campaign (ARC), a grassroots movement in Ireland that has organised campaigns such as *10 Days of Action* (March, 2013) and annual marches for choice to galvanise further support for the movement. The years leading up to the 2018 referendum witnessed the growth of different groups like the Artists Campaign to Repeal in 2015, UCD for Choice in 2016 and the Repeal Project in 2017 to name a few. It is also important to remember that Irish people overwhelmingly voted in favour of marriage equality in 2015, a profoundly and fundamentally intractable issue in Catholic Ireland.



Figure 2. Savita's image on a poster used by ROSA, another pro-choice grassroots group (Reilly, 2018)

Different migrant-led grassroots organisations like the Anti-Racism Network, played important roles in rallying for a Yes vote during the 2015 marriage equality referendum, despite attempts made to tarnish the image of migrants of colour by portraying them as conservative and opposed to liberal European values (Luibheid, 2018, Also see Anti-Racism Network 20 May 2015, <http://arnireland.blogspot.com/2015/05/this-referendum-is-about-more-than-same.html>).

However, tired of having to fight for inclusion and recognition, migrants of colour came together in September 2017 to form Migrants and Ethnic Minorities for Reproductive Justice (MERJ). MERJ created a platform to amplify the voices and faces that were missing from the mainstream Irish feminism (<http://merjireland.org/index.php/about-us/>) and collaborated with organisations and groups involved with the Repeal campaign with whom they often shared platforms and panels. MERJ were thus an important voice for migrants for choice when the Repeal campaign was launched in 2018 under the national umbrella group, Together for Yes.

The May 2018 referendum passed with a majority of 66.4 percent of votes, with 'unexpectedly' high levels of support from elderly populations in rural areas. Despite this major victory, formidable challenges lay ahead in terms of developing and agreeing the legislation that

would implement it. ARC's 8th Annual March for Choice in September 2019 employed the theme 'No One Left Behind' with the express purpose of raising awareness and building consensus around ensuring access to "free safe legal" and local abortions. MERJ organised an alternate march on the same day to highlight the Othering and silencing of sections of the population in favour of demands seen to be more palatable to "middle Ireland"⁶ in order to ensure the success of the referendum. Their work has centred on drawing attention to the additional barriers faced by non-White, non-settled, women seeking asylum living in the carceral system of Direct Provision – often located in the peripheries of both urban and rural Ireland - and undocumented women lacking the finances, personal security and mobility to access the necessary services and provisions under discussion. As one member asserted during a speech following the March:

It is not brave that you chant 'No one left behind' when you did not do anything to change that in the past when you should have been doing it... You used our names to chant like Savita in her honour, but you didn't listen to the migrants in your lives, in Dublin, alive at the time... So maybe check yourself. I'm so sick and tired of white Irish feminism doing the same hierarchy of racism, ableism and transphobia that you claim to hate so much.

Thus, the legal case history not only sets out the complex legal conditions which led directly to the death of Savita, but also illuminates how the ideals of whiteness and national identity intersect, especially around Catholic ideals of community and family. The failure to interrogate this aspect of abortion rights discourse as it relates to national identity reveals where lines of solidarity are drawn in Ireland and exposes the failures of intersectional praxis in the 2018 referendum campaign.⁷ The roots, terms and operation of this failure in praxis is something which the present work seeks to interrogate through convocation.

The Convocation

The idea for the present work was sparked by Dyuti's comparative study of two university women's movements: Pinjra Tod in India (women's right to mobility) and Repeal the Eighth/UCD for Choice. Our initial plan was to contribute to the project of transnational feminism by building a theoretical framework for analysing respectability politics in contemporary women's movements for bodily autonomy. We planned to do this by bringing into conversation feminist literatures from across the different literatures largely underpinning each of our individual areas of scholarship: Indian postcolonial, Black feminist/womanist and Irish women's studies.

⁶ The consistent posturing of rural Ireland's supposed conservatism as a burden to be carried by urban Irish voters, speaks to the rural-urban divide that dominated the media coverage of the Repeal campaign (McGill, 2020). Urban Ireland's failure to acknowledge the changing dynamics of the traditional "moral geographies" of rural Ireland (Crowley and Kitchin, 2008, cited in McGill, 2020) must be viewed as an act of 'writing rural Ireland out of the campaign as some kind of a 'lost-cause'' (McGill, 2020). The work done by pro-choice activist groups in rural Ireland to provide visibility on the issue of abortions was paramount and demands we rethink our understandings of this divide following the resounding victory of the Referendum vote.

⁷ This intersectional deafness is seen too in the silence around the death of Bimbo Onanuga in a Dublin maternity hospital in 2010. Lentin (2014) argues that this differential application of 'outrage' in abortion rights campaigning is connected to the representation of 'asylum seeking Black m/others' as a threat to national identity, where Irishness is seen as whiteness and where mothers are tasked with the reproduction of this identity.

In this fashion, we envisioned a conceptual process of pluriversalising the canon of hegemonic white western feminism. Pluriversality, as ‘a new social condition of knowledge’ (Mignolo and Walsh 2018, p. 60), is a decolonising knowledge project that works to subvert the epistemic violence and epistemicide of the western Eurocentric university’s claim to universal knowledge reproduced in and through the canons of the academy (Grosfoguel, 2013). Central to this project is shifting the dominating Anglo-European centre (Ngũgĩ, 1986) by cultivating a multitude of centres through the re/vitalisation of knowledges -- and therefore worlds -- ‘otherwise’ (Escobar, 2007). Projects of pluriversality work towards the co-existence of knowledges in both dialectic tension and parity through practices of epistemic disobedience, radical relationality and intercultural dialogue (Mignolo, 2011; Mignolo and Walsh, 2018; Andreotti et. al., 2011).

Yet as we planned the work, we could not shift our attention away from the image of Savita Halappanavar having become “the face” of a mainstream white Irish feminist movement that remained racially and intersectionally ‘tone-deaf’ at best, purposefully exclusionary at worst, both during and after the referendum. As we mapped a strategy to critically unpack and analyse the Irish case through the lenses of Indian postcolonial and Black feminist theories, we found it necessary to literally speak the languages of our different theoretical, disciplinary and activist practices to each other. We relied on Richa Nagar’s (2014) notion of ‘creative conversations with knowledges that evolve in sites of struggle that seem distant to the academy’ are necessary to realise principles of solidarity and responsibility in the generate of both scholarship and political action (p. 13). We envisioned our encounter as a convocation: we were participating in ‘the collective process of calling something that is not yet fully present into being’ (Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014, p.412). Where we were going and how we were going to get there were both very clear and very illusive.

Yet our pluriversal conversation about the racial politics of the Repeal movement could not exist outside of the wider genealogies of the intellectual traditions and practices that have shaped the knowledges and experiences our dialogue would convene. Our genealogies had, therefore, to be part of this conversation. Evoking the image of a family tree, genealogies imply peopled configurations. Given the embodied and relational nature of decolonial and feminist knowledge projects, we made the decision to announce our individual genealogies as part of the scholarly ‘work’ of this article, and to *name* in them the *people* who have shaped our praxes, rather than selecting only specific works they have published for citation in traditional academic format. We believe this better reflects the personhood of those who have, often in profound ways, guided and accompanied us on our journeys. And we also are convinced of the ways these acts expand the power and reach of subversive politics of citation (Ahmed, 2017; Cruz in Collins-White et al., 2015).

In these ways we are working against the grain of conventional academic publishing standards that would limit the space for conveying the fullness of the constellational fields of pluriversal richness and engagement. We also seek to resist disconnecting the authors from their scholarship and their holistically inhabited spaces of practice in order to maintain the historical presence of their *bodies* of work -- their continuity and change over time as they are created, read, applied, revisited, revised, rediscovered. We see such acts as citational interventions in the ongoing appropriation and resultant silencing of Other scholars and knowledges, and as a decolonising pedagogical intervention whereby readers are encouraged to expand their work of re/searching and re/connecting -- to explore the pluriverse.

The Genealogies

Dyuti Chakravarty (DC)

I was educated in a constituent college of University of Delhi, where I lived and navigated the carceral regimes of the university women's hostel. The discriminatory rules and regulations in hostels like mine always seemed arbitrary. The charged rhetoric around 'honour' and 'respectability' often used by hostel wardens to discipline women students exposed the logic of patriarchal anxiety around women's sexuality. My exposure to postcolonial feminist scholarship during the later years of my Bachelor's degree in History, particularly the works of Lata Mani and Janaki Nair, opened my eyes to the gendered nature of the colonial enterprise. Robert Young's work on colonialist politics of desire and disavowal and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's scholarship taught me how the colonial enterprise was premised on "saving brown women from brown men", and Ashis Nandy and Partha Chatterjee shaped my understandings of the reification of native patriarchies in the colonies like India. Nira Yuval-Davis' analysis of gender and nation, carried forward by Urvashi Butalia, sharpened my understandings of how national and community boundaries are drawn on women's bodies and the ways contemporary discourses around the threat of women's agency are often viewed as a corrupting influence of the "West", which is in need of being disciplined.

My Master's degree in International History culminated in my thesis on Gandhi's and Fanon's visions of women's participation in national liberation struggles in India and Algeria. Through the critical exploration of their anti-colonial and nationalist discourses, I found particularly gendered rhetoric of non-violence/violence which served to preserve the veneer of native patriarchal relations as the basis for cultivating cultural resistance to colonialism. In the case of India, Gandhi's attempt to bring women into the fold of anti-colonial resistance by remodelling the 'ideal' of Hindu womanhood, resulted in reification of the Brahmanical patriarchal order rather than challenging it. Sharmila Rege's final manuscript titled "Against the Madness of Manu" (2013), introduced me to B. R. Ambedkar's work on the caste system, which he described in terms of an "ascending order of reverence and descending order of contempt". It further shed light on the logic of purity and pollution, often maintained through strict practices of caste endogamy that forms the backbone of Brahmanical patriarchy.

Pinjra Tod, a grassroots women's movement challenging the carceral hostel regimes began while I was working on my master's thesis late 2015. At a roundtable organised by the Women's Development Cell at University of Delhi, historian Uma Chakravarti, commended Pinjra Tod's efforts to expose the hollowness of the university hostel administration's securitizing narrative used to lock up women. She argued that these discriminatory regulations are nothing but a way to ease the 'transition from the father's home to the husband's home', thus strictly upholding the tenets of Brahmanical patriarchy by ensuring the maintenance of caste endogamy. Pinjra Tod's deeply critical engagement with the Brahmanical patriarchal logic of confining women under a system of strict surveillance under the guise of security and which takes the form of signing attendance, formed the basis to rally for more affordable, secure and non-gender-discriminatory accommodation for women across Delhi. Their engagement with the ideals of Savitribai Phule, a nineteenth century social reformer, who fought for women's education without any form of caste discrimination, forms the basis of their call for easing women's access to education. As a member of Pinjra Tod recently pointed out to me during a conversation, their rootedness in women's history of struggle against caste discrimination, forms an important part of their praxis.

After finishing my masters, I was seeking to carry on doctoral research engaging postcolonial feminism in India. When I arrived in Ireland in 2017, during the run up to the Repeal

referendum, I started noticing similarities in the colonial legacies for postcolonial Ireland. The urge of the new independent government and political elite combined with the concurrent rise in power of the Catholic Church ultimately led to the recolonisation of women in the postcolonial period, especially exposing unmarried pregnant women to numerous vulnerabilities. Scholars like Maria Luddy, Mary McAuliffe and Clara Fisher have explored this dynamic in their research. Clara Fisher's analysis of "shame" as a tool used to exercise control nudged me towards thinking about the place of respectability politics in postcolonial Ireland. During one of our doctoral supervisory meetings, Alice pointed me towards the possibility of engaging with Black feminist scholarship on respectability politics as an important theoretical framework for understanding its use in different postcolonial contexts including Ireland and India. Brittany Cooper's work of amplifying and reclaiming the histories and traditions of the embodied knowledge of 'Race Women' has become central to my attempts to research and visibilise the connections between the struggles for mobility in India and reproductive rights in Ireland.

Alice Feldman (AF)

My genealogy begins in 1990 when I started a Master's in Communication followed by a PhD in Justice Studies in 1992, both at Arizona State University. So, my work has its roots in an era of vigorous debates around the ongoing colonial politics of academic knowledge production, the "crisis of representation" and politics of voice, of reflexivity and participatory research. My research focused on indigenous sovereignty, representation and mobilisation in the contexts of cultural and religious freedom struggles. Both programmes were avowedly interdisciplinary so the literature underpinning my scholarship crosscut a range of intellectual and creative traditions, and activist, artist, scholar, spiritual practitioners including: Black feminists/womanists like Patricia Hill Collins, Angela Davis, bell hooks, and Audre Lorde; Indigenous peoples: Paula Gunn Allen, Vine Deloria Jr., Annette Jaimes, Winona LaDuke, Oren Lyons, Nalini Minton, Stephen Newcomb, Linda Tuwai Smith, Mililani Trask, and Gerald Visenor; Critical Race theorists and lawyers: Kimberlee Crenshaw, Richard Delgado, Patricia Williams, and Robert Williams Jr.; Post- and anti-colonialists: Franz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Chandra Mohanty, Ashis Nandy, Gyan Prakash, Edward Said, Ella Shohat, and those who would feature in the then-emerging area of decolonial scholarship: Arturo Escobar and Walter D. Mignolo.

I moved to Ireland in 1996 while I was completing my thesis, on the eve of the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland and the demographic shift in the Republic from a country of emigration to in-migration. Coming to Europe, I assumed I had arrived in the proverbial belly of the colonial beast and I assumed the colonial past would be ever-present in public and academic spaces. Yet all the energy around issues of diversity here were diverted to 'the two communities' (Catholic/Republican, Protestant/Loyalist). The complex and multiplicitous histories of successive colonialisms had been flattened by post-independence nationalist discourses that centred on the constructions of Irish people as colonial victims and heroic diasporans. The colonial amnesias that ensued have precluded the acknowledgement of the state's and Irish peoples' implication in and benefit from the global colonial formations, histories and legacies that infuse the present moment (see Feldman, 2018). As a result, at that time, my knowledge journey and my knowledge politics were illegible here; there was no lexicon through which I could be 'read' or received.

I became very engaged in campaign and development work with migrant-support and migrant-led organisations as a way of making sense of my new home. I found myself trying to work within and against the confines of migration studies and Irish migration politics, and, after many years, failing spectacularly. I stepped back from both. I connected with artists and cultural

practitioners who could create change by envisioning “worlds otherwise” and materialising them through their creative praxes. I immersed myself in exploring the power of creative and expressive agencies in the crosscutting contexts of arts-based practices in research and socially engaged practices in art, and worked them across the research, teaching and public contexts of my work. It was this work that re-rooted and re-routed my praxis both back to and towards the decolonial work I was beginning when I left Arizona.

In recent years my work has coalesced around the entanglements of colonial amnesias and diasporic encounters, method-il-logical research practices and aesthetic pedagogies (Feldman, 2018); projects around knowledge justice, epistemicide, decolonising the curriculum and pluriversality (Feldman, 2019), reflexive solidarity (Feldman, et al. 2017) and white fragility in university race equality policies and practices. This work has been inspired and sustained by a preponderance of people compelled to create otherwise: Sara Ahmed, Vanessa Andreotti, Keisha Blain, Brittney Cooper, Okwui Enwezor, Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Saydia Hartman, Sasha Huber, Fred Moten, Sabelo Nlovu-Gatsheni, Cristina Sharpe, Robbie Shilliam, Leeane Simpson, Rajinder Singh, Rolando Vasquez, Eve Tuck, Ngugi wa Thiongo, Rinaldo Walcott, and Catherine Walsh.

When Dyuti and I began corresponding in April 2017 about the possibility of [their] coming to UCD to do their PhD, I had just launched a new Master's programme that combined study in the areas of race, migration and decoloniality. The European ‘migration crisis’ of 2015, arising during endless programming of Ireland's Decade of Centenaries, was eclipsed by the celebration of 1916 calling forth stunning strategic amnesias. Coming across one too many course syllabi primarily if not exclusively populated by ‘dead white men’ was the last push towards bringing the masters into being. It has provided an amazing space from which to engage an array of disobedient, risk-inviting and inspiring activities. I met Emma when they joined in with the Decolonising the Curriculum platform that we started as part of the programme.

Emma Penney (EP)

Having studied literature and Irish literature for my BA and Masters, in 2015, I began my PhD working on Irish women's poetry in the mid-twentieth century. This was fascinating to me because the work was incredible and hugely subversive but completely missing from the Irish literary canon. I had also maintained interest in contemporary women poets like Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin and Paula Meehan. Paula Meehan's life followed a similar trajectory to my own mother: from the Dublin tenements to a council house development down the road from Cabra, North Dublin. She had represented working-class culture - something I had thought was unrepresentable in certain spaces. However, the more I engaged with the poetry establishment as a PhD student, I learned that class still was unspeakable, impolite - something to overcome or apologise for so that middle-class people don't feel too uncomfortable. The celebratory space of women's poetry in Ireland was particularly unwelcoming to discussions of difference necessary for creating solidarity. I began to notice a critical neglect of Paula Meehan's early poetry where she writes explicitly about class-inequality. I was frustrated with the critical avoidance of class and resented how it was treated as something the poet should overcome, as something that shouldn't enter the poem, as a contaminant.

I began to develop a sense of the biopolitical logic of poetry criticism, and to think about my class position. I started to feel tension between my life and academia – crucially, not just with the formal structures of access and internal policy, but with the academic projects that were supported by the institution and with the dominant critical practices in my discipline. I completely changed my research project to one that could explore working-class women's literary production.

I remembered reading some working-class poetry in a book my mother had picked up in a second-hand shop called *Women and Poverty* by Mary Daly, and I discovered a forgotten history of working-class women's community writing. The poems in that book originated in local women's groups as part of a publishing boom where poetry and prose were used to document the social tensions of women's lives. The publications were largely funded by state unemployment training schemes, and never before considered as part of a literary tradition.

An exploration of the genealogy of this body of literature uncovered evidence of a distinctive feminist social movement that involved working-class women challenging mainstream liberal feminism in Ireland, and creating transperipheral connections with feminists in the United States, like Audre Lorde -- there were no class connections in Ireland's women's movement and Lorde articulated a way forward (O'Neill, 2017). The neglect of working-class feminism in the historical record of the women's movement and the neglect of their writing in the literary canon reflected a disregard for their knowledge production and intellectual history. I began to understand the importance of embodiment in working-class feminist politics, intersectionality and, later, the pluriversalisation of feminist knowledge.

The interviews I conducted with women involved with community organising shaped my own understanding of classed relations of power and, a few months after interviewing Cathleen O'Neill, I published my first academic paper on how, as a working-class woman in elite academia, my body was implicated in expressions of institutional power. I wrote it together with another working-class colleague, Laura Lovejoy, and we created a holding space for each other, a new form of affect. This illustrates, not only the transformative potential of bearing witness to the link between affect and classed relations of power, but it reflects the importance of recording historical responses to class. Being able to 'cite' Cathleen is what allowed for the transformation of my own painful experiences of class.

My own responses and experiences of class may be informed by generational trauma, with my mother, grandmother and great grandmother all experiencing living in Dublin's tenements among other effects of poverty. However, now, through learning about working-class feminism, I can bear witness to, and historically root, a process of transformation, and of developing supportive networks and productive ties that allows me to respond to and experience class differently. Had I not seen this example in the stories Cathleen told me in our interviews I wouldn't have been able to recreate the praxis in the present or at least I couldn't have connected it to a history of working-class feminism in Ireland. When the history of working-class feminism is illuminated, contemporary manifestations of working-class women's political movements can be seen, and genuine intersectional possibilities envisioned.

The Conversation

Our conversation did not begin as we had planned. We had agreed to come prepared to discuss the issue of Savita Halappanavar's image being used by the mainstream Repeal movement through the lenses of the three areas of scholarship as we employ them in our work. It had been a while since we had all been together. But Emma, upon entering the Sociology PhD student office on the top floor of the still-to-be-renovated Library building, launched into the story of a recent experience at a conference when a fellow doctoral student had advised them not to be 'too grating'. An animated conversation about the endless instances and implications of being "too loud", "too angry", "too divisive", and about our experiences with the politics of voice, whether speaking as doctoral students or 'non-mainstream' scholars, as decolonial feminists, and activists, and how they spill over into everyday political contexts of working class women and women of colour. This

serendipitous change in frame had a profound impact on the outcome of our experimental pluriversal convocation.

Other than light editing to support the shift from stories spoken to stories read, the text presented here is naturally occurring. It consists of main sections of interchange that coalesced around key themes then lifted from the longer conversation, in the order in which they unfolded. We constructed the subheadings as a form of thematic analysis as we read through the transcripts to make sense of, and possibly theorise, what we had said.

The knowledge politics of disavowal

EP: That's an interesting jumping off point, because one of the things I found really interesting about Repeal was that members of *Together for Yes* were leaning on the experience and expertise of people involved with the marriage referendum because it had been so successful.⁸ I...felt that because the water charges movement⁹ wasn't a pan-class movement or issue necessarily, the expertise of those women -- the experiences and knowledge they could have brought -- because it was overwhelmingly a working class women's movement, especially on the ground in local areas, they weren't consulted. There was no attempt to lean on that knowledge and those strategies and tactics. And I got to thinking about why and is it because we don't historicise it properly? We don't understand it as 'working class feminism'? Why don't we understand it as a class-conscious women's activism? And I think that's because we don't have the history of it - we don't understand that these are the strategies that working class women use and that they come to the surface when that need arises. But they're actually linked to older more indigenous strategies of resistance; we just haven't mapped them. So we haven't been able to have a history that documents what happened in the 1980s: there was a massive recession, but there was also a huge boom in women's groups organising in working class areas as a form of resistance, and to provide safe spaces where they could reflect on their lives and support each other, and create an empowering collective environment for politics. So, my research is about creating a framework where we can understand something like the water charges movement and the major success of that movement in terms of a history of working-class women's activism... It's only been 4 or 5 years since the success of retaining public ownership of our water --and given the way things are going now in terms of climate action -- we might want to have another look at the importance of what they accomplished.

AF: Everything that you've said is really powerful -- but one thing that struck me is how the issue about women's voices being silenced is always raised, and their histories aren't told or recorded. But what's actually at stake here is the question of whose history or mobilisations are worth theorising? Whose embodied knowledge becomes not just an empirical tool for talking about other theories or other things -- but whose experiences are theoretically valuable in and of themselves? So, you're actually also posing the question, 'whose life and embodied knowledge is worth theorising'?

EP: Yes, and in my research, I found that working-class feminism has been completely undermined by middle-class women. In an article titled 'Reclaiming and Transforming the Irish

⁸ For further reference listen to the RTE podcast, *Voices of the 8th* (14 June 2019), Episode one with the Campaigners, where there were repeated mentions of the success of the Marriage Equality Referendum.

⁹ In 2014 the Irish government announced their intention to privatise the country's water system and introduce household water charges. Two years of sustained local resistance later and the plan to privatise was abandoned. Penney understands this (and also directly experienced it) as a grassroots women's movement.

Women's Movement' Cathleen O'Neill (1999) reflected on the lack of access offered to working-class women: "as a feminist I was familiar with discrimination within the patriarchy, now I was suddenly dealing with a more subtle form of discrimination, this time within the familiar confines of the women's movement itself" (43). There has yet to be any comprehensive study documenting the radical efforts of working-class women's groups in Ireland throughout the 1980's and 1990's and, as such, it is perceived as being a majorly middle-class movement by academics. Patricia Tobin (1989) and Carol Coulter (1993) both make the point that the politics of locally based women's groups in the 1980's involved strategies that were not new but connected to older modes of survival among women that resurfaced when the need arose (48, 1993).

DC: The lack of engagement with these strategies is quite striking and it manifests in the easy co-optation of "diverse" images -- like Savita Halappanavar -- by white Irish middle-class feminism or feminist movements for their own use. These white middle-class feminists failed to meaningfully engage with her background and her racialised status as a migrant woman in Ireland. Any critical engagement with these uncomfortable questions on their part would have forced them to encounter the racist border-regimes of the Irish nation-state. It is a question of deep praxis and people aren't ready to do that level of work.

AF: But the fact is that they never even made the connection! They never even asked the questions -- what is the context? Who is or was this woman? What were her circumstances? How were they political? It was more than just the fact that she was a woman, who was pregnant and died... There was no mention about brown women, or race or migration after that. During a post-referendum debrief on RTE Radio 1 regarding "the next steps", it focused on issues like tackling domestic violence. It was never anything outside the white, settled, middle class Irish woman frame -- never mind repealing the 27th!¹⁰

DC: What's interesting is that Pinjra Tod, which started out as a grassroots movement to liberalise carceral rules in women's residences across universities in Delhi and then across India, worked towards emptying out the casteist logic behind the securitising narratives that justified locking women up, and they then used that to talk about and mobilize around different issues - women's access to education, sanitation workers in universities, and most recently they've been organizing against the incitement of communal polarization created by the new Citizenship Amendment Act. And these university women have come out in large numbers and expressed their unwavering solidarity with the large number of women from the Muslim ghettos in Delhi fighting against the CAA.

EP: Would that ever happen here? I just can't see that happening...

¹⁰ The 27th Amendment to the Irish Constitution passed in 2004 and removed birth-right citizenship. This followed a largely government-instigated moral panic about 'floods' of 'illegal refugees' and 'citizenship tourists' - nurtured by the demonisation of Black women's (pregnant) bodies -- seeking to take advantage of Ireland's jus solis citizenship regime. It also created the new racial category of 'Irish-born children' (differentiated from Irish children) and vitalised the burgeoning anti-Black racism in Irish society.

Intersectional peripheralisations

EP: The hiddenness of working-class women's contributions to feminism in Ireland is crystallised in their exclusion from the 1987 Women's Worlds Congress at TCD. It attracted like 1500 people from across the world - the book of abstracts was 900 pages long - it was a huge, major event. It was also at the height of the working-class women's movement, but they weren't invited at all! It was a world-wide event, but Irish working-class women were completely shut out of the event. At a time when professional academic women had finally made their way into the Irish university system and were presenting themselves on an international stage, here was this divide among Irish feminisms, and also between feminist politics and academic feminism. Working class women ended up picketing one of the committee meetings to protest being excluded -- even the conference fee - whatever the equivalent of 200 pounds was back then. Cathleen O'Neill was raising 4 kids on like 65 pounds a week at that time. So the committee ended up telling them they could submit abstracts but Cathleen said 'no, we'll come and we'll talk about what we do -- our praxis'; how it's a distinctive feminist social movement; how it aligned with mostly Black feminism and closely with Paolo Freire and *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and how he embodied these practices. Eventually they were given workshop slots scheduled at the end of the conference. So the book of abstracts is 900 pages long, and the last 10 pages are of these women who presented and opened up an amazing conversation about 'Where is Women's Studies?' Where is it? Where is it located? And that was one of the workshops they did: trying to understand exactly what you're talking about when you say Women's Studies. Trying to understand *what is knowledge?* especially at the point when it moves into the university. Is the knowledge related to the feminist movement now here? Is this where it's generated? Or can we still understand it as being here, in the community?

AF: But you do realise that what you just described is exactly what is continuing to happen over 30 years later in relation to Black and Brown people here. It's the same frame. That you had to mobilise to get that panel devoted to doing diversity justice into the IASIL (International Association for the Study of Irish Literature) conference schedule because it was virtually all white -- and, as a result, the panel of Black and Brown writers and performers were on their own in the evening after the "regular" panels.¹¹ And then the white Irish literati were all blown away by how - "unexpectedly" - amazing their work was. So, you're talking about an internationalised, globally-informed working-class women's movement against the backdrop of the complete parochialism of the white middle class Irish women's movements. And this sort of "isolationism" of Irish scholarship which has not been globally connected but needs evermore to be centred.

DC: And you see this parochialisation reflected in the post Repeal moment, whether in the exclusion of voices of racialised migrants in recent publications or in the acknowledgment of the role played by migrants during the campaign itself. Take the edited volume *After Repeal* (2020) as a case in point, the chapters in which take a broad view of the referendum by addressing three important dimensions, first being political and legal context for the abortion debate in Ireland, second - the campaign itself through the accounts of scholar-activists who helped in mobilising, and third - looking at the long-lasting effects of the campaign and the vote both within and beyond Ireland. However, it largely fails to include the voices and or meaningfully incorporate the concerns of MERJ in the analysis of the politics of Repeal. Despite some recognition of debates

¹¹ *Doing Diversity Justice* (2019) event Organised by Chiamaka Enyi Amadi and Emma Penney

around the exclusion of migrant women, women of colour, Travellers¹² and other marginalised groups from the dominant campaigning in the Introduction, the editorial decision to focus predominantly on the mainstream (i.e., 'white, Irish and settled) campaign further peripheralises these voices, both academically¹³ alongside the public erasure of the work done by people of colour by the media (see @Repealist, 17 November 2018, https://twitter.com/Repealist_/status/1063798443204898816)

Wilful connectedness, citational ethics and the on-going politics of not-hearing

EP: What I found so exciting about the research in Kilbarrack was that the women in the group were reading Black women's writing from America, and they read Audre Lorde and people like that to help them articulate their own positions as a working class women's movement. They were trying to find a class connection in mainstream Irish feminism, in their own locality, but there was just no consciousness of this kind of feminism. So, it was Black women's feminism that helped them find and articulate that connection. So, Cathleen ended up signing up to some kind of newsletter connected to Lorde and one week the newsletter came and there was this conference happening, and this was in the early 90s. It was a conference honouring her life -- the theme was around 'the future of feminism, what have we learned?' Talk about transnational feminism! It was an event about finding where these connections are. So, Cathleen wrote a letter to the organisers telling them about the group in Dublin, their politics, how they started, what they do, and that they had absolutely no money but wanted to come. So, they paid for her flight to New York. She was met at the airport and taken to the hotel where she met with Audre Lorde. They sat down, they talked together about working class feminism in Ireland, and Cathleen talked about how she felt at conferences -- about how she would get really anxious, about having anxiety and not being able to talk, and her voice getting really shaky when she wanted to talk about class at conferences and engage with the women's movement, and bring these concerns in -- her hands would get sweaty and she said she felt like she was having an anxiety attack. And Audre Lorde said, 'That's not an anxiety attack, that's a class attack!' So, when Cathleen got home, she devised a theatre production called *Class Attack* that explains these kinds of ways working class people are made to feel -- and it ends up travelling around Ireland! So, these are absolutely traceable, transnational feminisms that connected up with each other against major odds!! And that story only came out because Cathleen and I were having a conversation one day!

AF: My whole world just changed hearing that!! You could not create that story if you were trying to create the ideal imaginary!

DC: Yes! It's the importance of making these connections. Patricia Hill Collins in her book *Intersectionality* makes that connection when she cites Savitribai Phule - a nineteenth-century

¹² The Irish Traveller Community is one of the most marginalised and disadvantaged groups in Irish society. They were granted a separate status as an ethnic minority only in 2017.

¹³ *After Repeal* (2020) has a number of contributions from scholar-activists who canvassed around rural Ireland and in predominantly working-class areas in the capital city of Dublin. These contributions amplify the activism of the unheard voices in mainstream discourses, thus disrupting the longstanding rural-urban or class divisions that have dominated the debate in Ireland. We acknowledge the inclusion of these campaigns alongside the palpable impact of the Repeal Campaign for the cause of reproductive politics in Poland and Northern Ireland. However, the glaring absence of the voices of people of colour and other ethnic minorities who played a very important part in mobilising around the issue of additional barriers to healthcare access faced by racialised minorities speaks to the concerns around intersectional peripheralisations.

social reformer in colonial India - about her activism against the intersecting axes of social division, such as caste, gender, religion and class. I've not seen those connections being made in middle-class feminist movements. But the newer generation of student movements like Pinjra Tod deeply engage with the works of Phule, and even Black feminists like Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, Assata Shakur and Harriet Tubman. Even the name of the movement which translates to "Break the Cage" is inspired by Maya Angelou's "I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings"!!

AF: And what's so stunning is that – you have the reclamation work that people like Brittany Cooper and Keisha Blain are doing in the US, and you can imagine Pinjra Tod carrying posters of Phule, and seeking out Patricia Hill Collins -- they're all mindful about reclaiming and excavating women from their own histories and from across countries and feminisms, and then you have this group of white Irish women with a picture of a woman; a brown woman and its rootless; they're not even looking for those roots, they're not doing that work to make those connections. And it's appropriation at its most profound because it's not even – it's a wilful – it's white ignorance, it's a wilful ignorance.

DC: So when you look at Pinjra Tod's demonstrations, their sit-ins, their literature, their pamphlets – everything -- they talk about the caste logic, they revisit the colonial logic, about anti-capitalism, anti-caste, anti-racism – all of it. They talked about having reading sessions: they choose literature and discuss it; they revisit readings of Dalit struggle in order to reorient their movement and the politics of the movement. The issue that also came up was that it's one thing to embody that experience of oppression, but that doesn't stop you carrying out a certain kind of politics – like Women in right wing movements. Just the fact of being a woman doesn't mean you're going to be part of a struggle that works toward emancipation. It's extremely important to talk about and reorient the politics on an on-going basis – and why reading sessions where you engage with the histories of these struggles, talk about where your political learning lies. Whereas I don't think that's the case here – Repeal was almost a quick fix. So when you talk about selective solidarity - - so like women who canvassed for Repeal but can still vote for the political parties responsible for reproductive injustices against women, or not even raise the issue of the Citizenship Referendum -- there's not been that learning!

Conclusion: Pluriversality, Epistemic Disobedience and Co-Authorship: Decolonising the Respectability Politics in/of the Production of Feminist Knowledges

We began this project with the intent to theorise respectability politics within the Irish Repeal movement through the theoretical lenses of postcolonial and Black feminism, and through the movement experiences of Pinjra Tod. Inspired by Richa Nagar, our practice of co-authorship arose from the need to

forg[e] conversations among seemingly disparate sites, languages, texts, and arguments, while simultaneously analyzing the ways in which power functions to make these connections mutually illegible or invisible....[S]uch praxis creates texts in and through which coauthors from multiple locations can negotiate subalternity and theorize power by strategically staging truths and stories about their evolving encounters and struggles. (2015, p. 15).

It was this type of 'epistemic disobedience' that not only guided us to the nuances of the profoundly rich potentials and chronic pitfalls of feminist praxes. It led us to the excavation of the

entanglements of respectability and representational politics of knowledge (Cruz in Collins-White, 2015), between knowledge justice and social justice in the contexts of academic knowledge production, in relation to Irish Women's Studies and the racialised politics of representation in the Repeal campaign.

Our convocation revealed an ongoing cycle in which: the grassroots inform theory; this theory generates scholarship shedding light on the power relations between academics and/as activists in the research context; this research then feeds back into theorising knowledge justice in society as an integral part of social movement work; thus forming the basis for theorising 'epistemic resistance' (Medina, 2020) engaged by the grassroots back into scholarship. It also illuminated how this cycle (entered at any point within it) can and must include the additional contextualisation and theorisation of these knowledge politics, between and among scholars within the spaces of knowledge production - of the disciplining and control of knowledge within the academy - and the impacts these dynamics have for movements on the ground.

So, for example, Dyuti identified the dynamic of 'diversifying the movement without doing the work of diversity'. This illustrates the continued consequences of the 'structural deficiency in feminism' created by white feminists and scholars failing to confront the issue of racism (Sandoval 2000, p. 49). This is evident in the cultivation of what Medina (2020) refers to as an 'epistemic sensibility' that is Eurocentrically insensitive to Otherness. The accounts from both the working class women's movement and those of women of colour involved in Repeal illuminate interlocking disavowals: in disavowing their bodies -- through their marginalisation and exclusion in the contexts of mobilisation -- mainstream white feminist activists and scholars also disavow their knowledges and vice-versa. The consequences of this dynamic are that the potential reach of the Repeal movement remained limited to a single issue rather than cultivating a broad-based intersectional campaign and constrained by a selective solidarity. With no new knowledges and deep, collectively reflexive practices necessary to 'do the work', there was nothing to intervene in the reproduction of Eurocentric epistemic violence, leaving the transformative potential of the praxis cycle unfulfilled.



Figure 3. Collage prototype (Chakravarty, *Thesis in progress*)

In contrast, the praxes of working-class Irish women, Black feminists and Pinjra Tod activists were grounded in wilful transnational and transdisciplinary connectedness and committed to continual reflexive recalibration and political learning. The Collage prototype¹⁴ in Figure 3 illustrates Pinjra Tod's careful effort to excavate these radical feminist knowledges that exist in the peripheries of academe to recalibrate its politics, and how such practices can serve as an imperative for mainstream feminism in Ireland to re-root their own pluriversalising praxis and cultivate a truly intersectional movement. We argue that these praxes go even further, exuding a dynamic of 'transperipheral connectedness' (Penney, 2020) that creates an *imperative* to go to the margins, the borderlands; a reaching-out, from our own onto-epistemological locations and journeys at the intersections and 'the edges of each other's battles' (Lorde, 1987). In these ways they, by their very nature, encourage forms of critical, collective reflexivities, necessary not only to intervene in white western feminism's inherent Eurocentric sensibilities, but to cultivate decolonising, pluriversalising solidarities capable of sustaining collective action towards worlds 'otherwise'. In the present work, we have aspired to explore, exemplify and carry forward into our knowledge justice work, already existing pluriversal and transperipheral practices in grassroots contexts that we believe will make such things possible.

¹⁴ The collage prototype is an attempt made by Chakravarty to develop an arts-based, archival and embodied form of critical conceptual exploration and analysis. It draws on the archive-assemblage praxis developed by Feldman (2018).

References

- Ahmed, S. (2017). *Living a feminist life*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Andreotti, V., Ahenakew, C., and Cooper, G. (2011). Epistemological pluralism: Ethical and pedagogical challenges in higher education. *AlterNative*, 7(1), 40-50.
- Collins-White, Mali D., Cruz, A., Hernandez, J., Livermon, X., Story, K., & Nash, J. (2016). Disruptions in respectability: A roundtable discussion. *Souls*, 18(2-4), 463-475.
- Connell, R. (2018). Meeting at the edge of fear: Theory on a world scale. In B. Reiter (Ed.), *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge* (pp. 19-38). Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Daly, M. (1989). *Women and poverty*. Dublin: Attic Press.
- De Londras, F. and Enright, M. (2014). 'Empty without and empty within': The unworkability of the Eighth Amendment after Savita Halappanavar and Miss Y. *Medico-Legal Journal of Ireland*, 20(2), 85-93.
- Escobar, A. (2007). Worlds and knowledges otherwise. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 179-210.
- Feldman, A. (2019). Knowledge justice as global justice: Epistemicide, decolonising the university, and the struggle for planetary survival. In B. O'Toole, E. Joseph and D. Nyaluke (Eds.), *Challenging Perceptions of Africa in Schools: Critical Approaches to Global Justice Education* (pp.142-159). Oxon: Routledge.
- Feldman, A. (2018). Re/Entangling Irish and Nigerian diasporas: Colonial amnesias, decolonial aesthetics and archive-assemblage praxis. *Cultural Dynamics*, 30(3), 173-198.
- Feldman, A., Bernacchi, E. and Barry, U. (2017). Receiving the gift: Race, feminism and reflexive solidarity. Unpublished Manuscript.
- Floyd, A. (2018). Savita was one of us - we owe her our yes to repeal this Friday. Retrieved September 20, 2019 from <https://www.wsm.ie/c/savita-one-us-yes-repeal-friday?page=5>
- Grosfoguel, R. (2013). The structure of knowledge in westernized universities: Epistemic racism/sexism and the four genocides/epistemicides of the long 16th century. *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 11(1), 73-90.
- Khasnabish, A., and Haiven, M. (2014). *The radical imagination: Social movement research in the age of austerity*. London: Zed Books.
- Lorde, A. (1987). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Berkley: Ten Speed Press.
- McGill, M. (2020) 'Enough judgement': Reflections on campaigning for repeal in rural Ireland. In K. Browne and S. Calkin (Eds.), *After Repeal: Rethinking Abortion Politics*, Kindle ed. London: Zed Books.
- Medina, J. (2013). *The epistemology of resistance: Gender and racial oppression, epistemic injustice and resistant imaginations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mignolo, W. D. (2011). Epistemic disobedience and the decolonial option: A manifesto. *Transmodernity*, 1(2), 44-66.
- Nagar, R. (2014). *Muddying the waters: Coauthoring feminisms across scholarship and activism*. Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press.
- @Repealist. Twitter. 17 November 2018.
https://twitter.com/Repealist_/status/1063798443204898816
- O'Neill, C. (2000). Naming Our Own World: Making a Case for Feminist Research. In R. Lentin, and A. Byrne (Eds.), *(Re) Searching women: Feminist methodologies in the social sciences in Ireland*. (pp. 105-118). Dublin: Institute of Public Administration Press.

- O'Neill, C. (1999). Reclaiming and transforming the women's movement. *Feminist Magazine* 3: 41-44. Dublin: WERRC.
- O'Neill, C. (1992). *Telling it like it is*. Dublin: Combat Poverty Agency Press.
- Penney, E. (2020). *Class acts: Working-class feminism and the women's movement in Ireland*. PhD Thesis, Dublin: University College Dublin.
- Reilly, G. (2018) Ireland split on 'once-in-a-generation' abortion vote. (Retrieved September 20, 2019, from <https://www.dw.com/en/ireland-split-on-once-in-a-generation-abortion-vote/a-43893008>)
- Sandoval, C. (2000). *Methodology of the oppressed*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Smyth, L. (2000). *Abortion, politics and national identity: The X case, Irishness and the nation-state*. PhD Thesis, University of Warwick.
- Swarr, A. L. and Nagar, R. (2010). *Critical transnational feminist praxis*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Thiongo, Ngũgĩ wa. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. London: J. Currey.
- Tobin, P. (1989). Women in Community Work. In Combat Poverty Agency (Ed.), *Community work in Ireland: Trends for the 80's options for the 90's*. Dublin: The Combat Poverty Agency.
- Walsh, C. E. and Mignolo, W. D. (2018). *On decoloniality: Concepts analytics praxis*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.