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Insurgent Bodies in Cultural Responses to Reproductive Justice in Chile and Ireland

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Transnational solidarity and comprehensive critiques of colonial legacies and patriarchal systems united the cultural responses created during the campaigns for reproductive justice in Ireland and Chile in 2018. This article considers the performance piece 'Abortistas' by the Yeguada Latinoamericana in Chile and the poem 'Granuaile' by Róisín Kelly in Ireland. Taking a decolonial feminist approach, this comparative study explores the interstices of art form and geopolitically distinct territories to examine how the creative practitioners' discursive construction of insurgent bodies aids critique of the lived experiences of women and pregnant people under the restrictive reproductive laws of both countries.

Keywords: decolonial feminisms, insurgent bodies, reproductive justice, Róisín Kelly, Yeguada Latinoamericana.

Introduction

Transnational solidarity and cultural critiques were fundamental in the reproductive justice campaigns that swept the globe in 2018. Through their work, creative practitioners highlighted the oppressive laws that controlled the reproductive care available to women and pregnant people. In this article, taking a decolonial feminist approach, I compare works by Chilean performance collaboration Yeguada Latinoamericana [Latin American Herd of Mares] and Irish poet Róisín Kelly to investigate how the construction of 'insurgent bodies' (Hernández Basante, 2019) in their oeuvres aids a critique of the lived experiences of women and pregnant people in their respective contexts in 2018. Considering these contexts comparatively draws on the long-standing traditions of resistance shared by Ireland and Chile, dating back to the nineteenth century when Irish descendant, Bernardo O'Higgins, led the Chilean War of Independence against Spain (Fanning, 2016). Combining these case studies from the Global North and South, from countries with an existing history of cooperation, facilitates further exploration of these forms of solidarity and dissent.

A reproductive justice lens is employed to highlight the need for an intersectional discussion of these 2018 campaigns advocating abortion, as well as broader conversations about sexual and reproductive health. Originally created by a group of African American

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women in 1994, the reproductive justice movement highlighted the experiences of Black women, indigenous women and women of colour, combining the fight for reproductive rights with social justice to recognise the multiple ways in which these bodies could be marginalised through reproductive healthcare systems (Sundstrom, 2021: 298). This need is evident in a Chilean context, and also in Ireland, where Leslie Sherlock argues that a reproductive justice framework is fundamental to recognise the specific needs of marginalised bodies in an increasingly diverse society, reminding us that '[i]t is vital that we honour the complexities of the stories we know' (Sherlock, 2015: 96).

Apart from a chapter in an unpublished dissertation by Jazmín Ramírez Pérez (2020) with a focus on the Yeguada Latinoamericana, no substantial academic consideration has been given to either of the works discussed here yet. Since 2017, Yeguada Latinoamerica has taken over public spaces throughout Chile to protest heteropatriarchal, colonial legacies and neoliberal powers that seek to dominate and control those who do not conform to social norms. The creator and leader of Yeguada Latinoamericana, Cheril Linett, asserts that this is not a collective, but rather her authorial undertaking, which embodies an enormous patchwork of collaborations that she coordinates (Linett, 2020: 90). These collaborations facilitate each unique performance that criticises various aspects of gender-based violence. Instantly recognisable by the mares' tails that they wear during their performances, they seek to decolonise lived experiences in Chile, 'abort the patriarchy', and raise awareness and solidarity not just across all human-imposed categories, but across species too. Their use of the mare's tail is purposeful and explicit to demonstrate their solidarity with these 'beasts' who have served productive and reproductive purposes since the Spanish colonial period in Chile. While predominantly active in Chile, the Yeguada Latinoamericana, like other feminist activists, embrace a transnational Latin American perspective, recognising and subverting the homogenising Eurocentric assumptions associated with Latin America highlighted by Mignolo (2005) among others. In doing so, they celebrate the layered histories and experiences of those territories, decentring the European-imposed borders and traditions within, and introducing other means of being and knowing as I explore later. Their work is particularly critical of the Catholic Church, Carabineros de Chile (police force), the Chilean state, and all who uphold patriarchal systems. Their December 2018 performance, 'Abortistas' [Abortionists], is examined here.

Operating from a distinct geopolitical standpoint, Irish poet and performance artist Róisín Kelly similarly evokes a decolonial, transnational feminist sentiment in her work, as my analysis will demonstrate. As a poet, she has been publishing since 2016. Her first full-length anthology, *Mercy*, was published in 2020. The final poem in that collection, 'Granuaile', is the focus of this article. Kelly's work demonstrates a deep preoccupation for women's lived experiences in contemporary Ireland, generating complex weaves of pagan and folkloric tradition to represent and criticise the pain and suffering caused by the Catholic Church. While clearly writing in the Irish tradition and revivifying an Irish archetypal figure in Granuaile, Kelly's poetry also demonstrates profound appreciation and understanding of life, culture and politics beyond the island, and she is proud to be considered a European poet (Gorman and Kelly, 2020).

Uniting these cultural practitioners is their preoccupation with transnational solidarity, a return to pagan practices, highlighting colonial legacies, and the experiences of those affected by patriarchal powers. Just like their chosen cultural expression, their work is grounded in the spaces in which they operate, while also engaging with the transnational connections of the campaigns in Chile and Ireland from 2018. This analysis challenges decontextualisation, demonstrating their advocacy for agency and

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epistemic disobedience. This approach questions old dichotomies, highlighting the generative energies that can be channelled in comparing two contexts that are not often considered together. Rejecting the monolithic oppressive force of white feminism, which lacks recognition of nuanced, intersectional experiences of marginalisation, this article is more interested in the fissures that form in such feminisms when considered from the peripheries and postcolonial contexts.

According to Nelson Maldonado-Torres, decolonial thought highlights the importance of 'interstitial spaces, edges, borders, diasporas, migrations, archipelagos, ancestral territorial relationships, and connections of peoples through spaces and times that resist incorporation into a continentalist geopolitical imaginary like […] continental or world philosophy and area studies' (Maldonado-Torres, 2018: 114). This comparative study across such geopolitically remote contexts affords an exploration of these interstitial spaces. It highlights transborder and international alliances, which Françoise Vergès asserts are fundamental to decolonial feminist approaches seeking to 're-humanise' the world (Vergès, 2021: 19). Kattya Hernández Basante's concept of 'insurgent bodies' offers a useful framework and language to explore the ways in which the cultural practitioners studied here incorporate into their work the ancestral territorial relationships, the connections between the lived experiences of women and pregnant people today, and those of other spaces and times on and beyond their respective territories. The insurgent bodies become territories of re-existence, inextricably connecting a person and their community, threading the past, present and futures together through ancestral memory, which inhabits the individual bodies that, in turn, are home to multiple ancestral bodies (Hernández Basante, 2019: 31). The work of both practitioners relates to the territories of their (pre-) colonial ancestors – the island of Ireland (North and Republic) in the case of Kelly and the southern territories of today's Latin America in the case of Linett – not just the nation-states from which they operate. They also draw on bodies of the past – trans, queer, cis and equine in Chile and a transgressive historical pirate queen in Ireland – to campaign for abortion healthcare, thus disrupting the status quo of the contemporary contexts in which they operate.

While theorised specifically in and about the context of Ecuadorians of African descent, Hernández Basante's concept explores the transition from 'body-object' to 'body-subject' in a decolonial process that is aptly applied in the contexts studied here. The insurgent body takes action, not with 'the master's tools' (Lorde, 1983), but rather operating from the margins of power or outside that patriarchal logic, ensuring the body itself becomes not only the locus of power, but the means of seeking re-existence (Hernández Basante, 2019: 31). My reading of insurgent bodies is multifaceted in this discussion. It explores the evocation or creation of rebellious bodies in the cultural responses, connecting the legacies of the colonial pasts in each context, which continue to influence the patriarchal norms that control the present. I contend that Yeguada Latinoamericana takes bodies that are already marginalised in Chilean society – those of sex workers, trans or queer people – and further differentiates them, adding a tail, hybridising their existence, creating insurgent bodies. I argue that in Kelly's evocation of Granuaile, the Pirate Queen of Ireland, she draws on this historically insurgent body, frequently used to celebrate ancestral strength and resistance in Irish women. Those created by the practitioners, through their chosen medium of poetry and performance, have the potential to inspire insurgent activity in members of the societies in which they operate to effect change in relation to reproductive healthcare. Just like decolonial perspectives, these insurgent bodies channel generative energies for change.

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To complement the discussion of insurgent bodies here, I draw on secondary concepts from other decolonial feminist thinkers. María Lugones's 'non-modern knowledges, relations, and values' (Lugones, 2010: 742) are constituted at odds with dichotomous, hierarchical, and categorical logic. Lugones argues that modernity denies the existence of other worlds or systems, categorising everything to control it. This denial is coloniality and the difference between modern and non-modern becomes the colonial difference. She contends that engaging with the 'non-modern' helps resist epistemological erasure and the perpetuation of empty categories, such as 'women' (Lugones, 2010: 749–753). Without seeking to essentialise the case studies here, I will ensure that they are presented in a contextualised manner that also presents opportunities for comparison, guided by Laura Mercedes Oyhantcabal's call to recognise the specificities of each context, while not losing sight of how each element interconnects with the global and transnational (Oyhantcabal, 2021: 98). Throughout the discussion, I highlight elements in the work of both practitioners that engage in 'epistemic disobedience' as described by Yuderkys Espinosa Miñoso, encouraging those engaging in decolonial feminist practice to overthrow the oppressive frameworks of Western modernity (Espinosa Miñoso, 2014: 8).

In the subsequent sections, I introduce the context within which the practitioners operated in 2018, before presenting the case studies and undertaking a comparative analysis that is grounded in the decolonial feminist approaches presented above with a focus on how the creation of insurgent bodies can aid the practitioners' criticism of the restrictive reproductive systems in their respective contexts.

Situated Protests

Transnational activism grew in 2018 because of the reproductive justice campaigns in Chile and Ireland, and while they shared a common goal, they each had particular obstacles and strategies, which I explore in this section. Throughout the twentieth century in Chile, two key dates are of relevance to exploring the provision of reproductive healthcare. The first was 1931, when therapeutic abortion was legalised – having previously been criminalised since 1874 – ensuring access to abortion under restricted circumstances, and the second was in 1989, when Augusto Pinochet's outgoing dictatorship outlawed abortion under any circumstances. This measure meant that Chile was one of the few countries in the world with such restrictive health laws (Casas and Vivaldi, 2014) and it remained in place until September 2017. That year, Michelle Bachelet's government legalised therapeutic abortion in Chile, in the cases of rape, a threat to the mother's life or detection of fatal foetal abnormality. Sebastián Piñera's administration introduced changes to the protocol for implementing this law in 2018, creating barriers for access to healthcare on the grounds of conscientious objection (Cabello-Robertson and Núñez-Nova, 2018; Dides-Castillo and Fernández, 2018; Zuñiga, Guerra and Rebolledo, 2019). In this way, entire centres could choose to refuse abortion care on such grounds, despite the legal use being intended for individuals, not groups. While therapeutic abortion was a start, for many activist groups, the end goal is to introduce free, safe, legal abortion up to fourteen weeks, a goal that was achieved by the Argentinian feminist movements in December 2021 (Discacciati et al. 2021).

In Chile there is a long-standing tradition of public protests on the street: before, during and after Pinochet's dictatorship. The demonstrations intensified in Chile in 2018, with Mayo Feminista [Feminist May] seeing feminists take over streets, universities and places of work protesting against systemic misogyny and patriarchal injustices

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perpetuated by the state, its institutions and society more widely (Zerán, 2018). Kemy Oyarzún, writing on the decolonial feminist perspectives of these protests in Chile, argues that beyond what Donna Haraway calls 'situated epistemologies', these movements demanded epistemologies that were interwoven with logics and agency that were pluralistic and political in nature. According to Oyarzún, these epistemologies were thought about and assimilated from 'other' shores, the margins (cited in Zerán, 2018: 106). Street protests, performance pieces and mass demonstrations were just some of the ways attention was drawn to reproductive justice. The collective nature of the protest was important, as well as its emphasis on the struggle being about human rights, building on collective protests against abuses that were carried out during the dictatorships in the Southern Cone.

Llanos (2021) and Martin and Shaw (2021) contend that performance has become synonymous with feminist activism in Chile since 2018. These authors highlight the LasTesis collective as particularly noteworthy given the global success of their 2019 feminist anthem, 'A rapist in your path'. Lamadrid (2019: 89) argues that these performances are practices, ways of knowing and intervening in the world, challenging those who observe them and those who carry them out, questioning conservative attitudes surrounding sexuality and the body. Vazquez and Vidal Yevenes (2019: 155) affirm that performance as protest encourages a reconsideration and resignification of art from a critical perspective, understanding it as social change. They highlight the importance of Yeguada Latinoamericana's attempts to rethink art as being in constant tension with the body, the political and the public (Vazquez and Vidal Yevenes, 2019: 158). This is illustrated in the analysis below.

In the Irish context, the road is long, with several setbacks to the campaigns for reproductive healthcare. As a country heavily influenced and controlled by the Catholic Church, twentieth-century Ireland was conservative on all issues related to reproduction, contraception, sexuality and marriage. Extensive scholarship has addressed these issues, as well as the key dates that led to the 2018 campaign (Clotre and Enright, 2017; Enright and de Londras, 2018; Enright and Clotre, 2018; Mullaly, 2018). Two are referenced here to orientate the reader: 1983 and 2012. In 1983, better known as the 8th Amendment to the Irish Constitution (Article 40.3.3° of The Irish Constitution, 1983) (https://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1983/ca/8/enacted/en/print), was introduced via public referendum, conferring equal right to life on the mother and the unborn, introducing a constitutional ban on abortion (Mullaly, 2018: 4). This amendment caused great emotional, physical and psychological trauma to many pregnant people and their families, some of which is documented in Mullaly (2018), D'Arcy (2018) and Darcy (2020). In the years that followed, the media reported on personal experiences that were caused directly by the amendment. The year 2012 saw the first March for Choice in Ireland, as well as the death of Savita Halappanavar, due to complications of a septic miscarriage. As she was miscarrying, both she and her husband requested a termination to save her life, but they were informed that Ireland was a 'Catholic country' and while there was a heartbeat, they could not terminate (Berer, 2013). This provoked a profound response from Irish and international activists who had long argued that the 8th Amendment would result in the death of women and pregnant people. Subsequently, support to repeal the 8th Amendment grew, with the long-standing activists who had campaigned against it in 1983 being joined by new generations. They were successful on 25 May 2018, with an overwhelming majority in the referendum voting to repeal the 8th Amendment (Browne and Calkin, 2019: 12). Following this, legislation was introduced

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from January 2019 for free, legal abortion services across the country until 12 weeks, with case-by-case decisions taken thereafter (Browne and Calkin, 2019: 12).

Until recently, the levels of public demonstrations seen in Chile were not as common in Ireland. Marches for Choice increased around the country from 2012 until the referendum in 2018. The strategic focus of the campaign was different from the tone of activism in Latin America, where rights are vociferously demanded. Given the bitterness of the 1983 referendum, which introduced the 8th Amendment, there was a reluctance to utilise a rhetoric based on human rights that was so obviously at odds with the religious faith practised by a majority of the population. Thus, there was an affective drive to the campaign, focusing on compassion for the lives of those affected by the 8th Amendment, particularly those who were forced to travel to England to obtain an abortion. Legal provision for this was formally introduced in 1992, effectively exporting the 'abortion issue' (Mullaly, 2018: 12). This led to other discussions, around socio-economic disparities in people's experiences. Activists invited individuals and families to share their lived experiences under the amendment and the consequences it had generated for them. These stories, presented in text, visual and audio-visual formats, sometimes in person, convinced 66.4 percent of those who voted in the referendum to effect change to the constitution (Browne and Calkin, 2019).

Case Studies

Cultural practitioners played a fundamental role in these campaigns, finding creative and thought-provoking ways to raise awareness and effect change. Kelly and Yeguada Latinoamericana assessed the issues at stake, choosing methods and themes in their works – 'Granuaile' and 'Abortistas' – that reflected their own positionality within the wider debates, discussed previously. Both encourage us to learn from the past, to understand the present and to build more inclusive worlds for the future, worlds which hold women and marginalised bodies in the centre. I introduce the chosen works in this section, before engaging in a comparative analysis in the next and final section.

Kelly's use of poetry as her vehicle is transgressive, since it has traditionally been a male-dominated literary tradition in Ireland. When we consider the literary founding fathers of the state, they range from James Joyce to Seamus Heaney, but women do not typically figure. Thus, to deliver this feminist message through poetry is a subversive act. To step into that androcentric sphere demands attention. In keeping with her artistic penchant for highlighting women's position in folkloric, pagan traditions in Ireland, Kelly turned to the historical figure from sixteenth-century Ireland, Granuaile, as her vehicle for challenging the 8th Amendment.

Also known as Gráinne Ní Mháille or Grace O'Malley, this Pirate Queen of Ireland led the O'Malley Clan and was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth I. Charismatic and daring in her leadership, she had approximately 200 men under her command (Chambers, 2019: 2) and with them she patrolled the coasts of Ireland, particularly in the West, where their territories lay, resisting the Tudor conquest of Ireland (Chambers, 2019: 3). Kelly's appropriation of this figure is multifaceted. First, she is independent, strong-willed and embodies as much agency as any male leaders of her time. Second, while Granuaile was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth I, she was not an ally. Chambers argues that there is a 'curious analogy between Granuaile's struggle, in both the political and personal sense, and the struggle of Gaelic Ireland against Elizabethan England' (Chambers, 2019: 58–59), meaning she embodies a decolonial sentiment that

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Kelly draws on to connect Ireland to the legacy of its colonial pre-Christian past and the patriarchal powers that control its present. Deploying this transgressive figure of power is a feminist gesture of re-imagining powerful female figures from history, recognising a plurality of knowledges and ways of perceiving the world. In doing so, she is suturing this insurgent body of the past to contemporary bodies seeking change. Kelly recited this poem in a local poetry event in Cork city, on 31 October 2018, explaining that she had been inspired by the Repeal the 8th Campaign, which was ongoing at the time of writing. It was later published in the *Mercy* collection in 2020. I include it here for the reader to consider, before introducing Linett's 'Abortistas'.

I have sailed all night through the storm.
On the cliff, the lighthouse warns my ship to stay away.

Do I go forwards, can I turn back?
At Caherciveen I disembark on tar-black sand,
Where the tide becomes nothing and nothing.

For miles along the shore it leaves me babies,
with thin wet limbs and the liquid eyes of aliens.

I find them by their failing hearts,
which beat as dim red lamps in each translucent body
and edge their beds of foam with fire.

I have pulled dead women from the water,
carried to my boat each naked corpse subdued and happy
like a new wife.

What god has brought together, let no man separate.
Radio voices crackle and vanish,
naming where they'll wait for me:

Audley Cove. Belfast. Achill Island. Rosses Point.
Horse Island. Louisburgh. Cape Clear. Holyhead.

Bones of my bones, flesh of my flesh.
For what died the sons of Roisin was it this?

Beware, beware, the unseen ship, the revolver at my hip.
I will sail between the setting of the sun
and the rising of the bone-white moon

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until even the familiar stars will show no mercy.
I know every rock and twisted cove that marks
this barren place. I know my way in the dark.

('Granuaile' [Kelly, 2020: 62] reproduced with permission from author, Róisín Kelly)

Connecting poetry with performance, Jazmín Ramírez Pérez, a collaborator of Linett's, claims that Yeguada's art form could be considered 'poetic terrorism' (interview with Ramírez Pérez, 2021). By this, Ramírez Pérez refers to the creative disruption of the status quo that performance has facilitated in contemporary Chilean society, questioning the unequal access to power implicit in socio-political polarisation, even forcing passers-by to implicate themselves wittingly or unwittingly in these acts of transgression. Indeed, this disruption and the focus on 'yegua' or mare evokes specific connotations in Chile. First, it is a pejorative term to refer to women, prostitutes, or gay men and, second, it reminds a Chilean audience of the performance duo Pedro Lemebel and Francisco Casas, known together as Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis (1988–1993). Their work was particularly pertinent during the period of transition into democracy, embodying a radical militant difference, problematising Chile's past through that lens and offering new ways of disrupting the status quo and visualising new worlds (Sandoval Álvarez, 2018: 12). The term 'poner la cuerpa/el cuerpo' [putting the body (on the line)] has become synonymous with feminist activism and performance in Latin America in recent years (Contreras, 2021; Silva Flores, 2022; Sutton, 2007; Tarducci, 2017), but Las Yeguas del Apocalipsis were doing this in the 1980s and 1990s, displaying their nude bodies in an act of resistance and irruption in the public memory. Linett's choice of name for her collaborations connects with this complex position that 'yegua' traditionally holds in Chile, encouraging evocations of the Yeguas del Apocalipsis, yet distinguishing their work from the latter, since they do not believe in mounting or dominating mares for their art (Linett, 2021: 16–17).

On 12 December 2018, the Yeguada Latinoamericana protested the restrictive access to abortion in Chile in the National Congress Building in Valparaíso. They gained access to the building with visitor passes pretending to be a group of dancers visiting the Congress among other tourist destinations in Valparaíso that day. Situating themselves in the public gallery, once Congress returned to session following a short break, the six members of the Yeguada Latinoamericana stood up, removed their coats, and turned their backs to those below, lifting their metallic green dresses – a nod to the green handkerchiefs used by the reproductive justice campaigns across Latin America – to reveal their mare's tails and holding a banner, which read 'abortistas' [abortionists]. They were immediately removed by a group of female police officers, detained for a short period, and then ejected from the building. Below, considering this performance in more detail with an analysis of Kelly's 'Granuaile', I explore their significance in relation to the discussion of insurgent bodies.

A Pirate Queen and Hybrid Beings: Constructing Insurgent Bodies

What unites the Irish and Chilean contexts are their colonial legacies and the patriarchal tendencies of their institutions to dehumanise the reproductive experience of women and

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pregnant people, stripping them of their subjectivity and agency, treating them instead as reproductive vessels duty-bound to provide heirs at any cost. In their own creative processes, Róisín Kelly and Yeguada Latinoamericana subvert this fixing of categories and roles, promoting epistemic disobedience, which aids new forms of conceiving of these realities and choices. This disobedience manifests differently in their cultural responses, urging their audience to move beyond the generalised depictions of experiences through colonial and patriarchal lenses, to a non-modern approach that highlights new interstices where decolonial constructions of grounded, incarnate subjects are permitted. In this section, I compare their approaches, exploring how they create non-modern logics, with temporal coexistence to at once dehumanise and re-humanise women and pregnant people and promote epistemic disobedience. In doing so, I argue that they evoke insurgent bodies that challenge repressive reproductive laws, advocating agency and change.

I begin by discussing the engagement with non-modern knowledges and how these aid the construction of insurgent bodies in the works studied here. I must emphasise that while 'Abortistas' is explicit in its aim, there are many ways in which Kelly's poem could be read, not least as a poem lauding the Pirate Queen of Ireland, but the reading here is influenced particularly by the poet's own assertion that it was written during and in reaction to the campaign to repeal the 8th Amendment. In Ireland, the figure of Granuaile embodies resistance and transgression. In historical and mythological depictions, she operates outside societal expectations. In the foreword to Chambers's text, Mary McAleese articulates her importance to the feminist cause: 'Granuaile stands out as a shining example of the unyielding grit and determination needed to overcome the man-made and natural obstacles life plants squarely in the path of women' (Foreword in Chambers, 2019: vii). It is against these '*man*-made obstacles' that Kelly summons this insurgent body. Evoking Granuaile as her vehicle for exploration and criticism, she connects to many who recognise themselves or their loved ones in her story.

The third and fourth stanzas depict disturbing images of moribund babies with failing hearts, deposited by the tide on the shores, which the persona describes as having 'liquid eyes of aliens' and 'translucent' bodies. This description at once humanises and dehumanises them, perhaps lamenting abortion, and in doing so conjures images sometimes used by 'pro-life' groups, alongside a message that otherwise advocates bodily autonomy. This places Kelly's work then in a fractured locus at the colonial difference, identifying potentially competing epistemologies, without erasing them (Lugones, 2010: 749).

As Granuaile proceeds on her journey, she pulls 'dead women from the water', referring to the naked corpses as 'subdued and happy' like new wives before uttering the final words of a Catholic marriage ceremony: 'What god has brought together, let no man separate'. In this short stanza, Kelly deftly connects the deathly effect of the 8th Amendment and the responsibility that lies with the Catholic Church for promoting such expectations of women and pregnant people. Kelly subtly highlights and subverts the powers that have stripped those affected by the 8th Amendment of their agency in her irreverent use of the lower case 'g' to reference God. Through this discreet yet purposeful shift in language, she incorporates non-modern knowledges, subverting the hierarchies imposed and depriving them of the expected respect and consideration that is unquestioned by these patriarchal powers.

Embracing Lugones's non-modern perspective, rejecting the condition of 'woman' which is laden with expectations, constraints and abuses, Yeguada Latinoamericana shed this human form during their performances, embracing the animalistic and mythological forms that undermine fixed ideas of womanhood and traditional gender roles.

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Further explaining their use of tails, Linett points to the colonial period when the Spanish brought horses to aid their colonial endeavour and draws explicit connections between mares and women as reproductive vessels (cited in Díaz, 2017). This ties the heteronormative patriarchal expectation of women as reproductive vessels today to those of the mares brought over at the start of the Spanish colonisation of Latin America, with the Yeguada Latinoamericana seeking to subvert these discourses of oppression. By transforming into these hybrid beings for their performances, the insurgent bodies of the Yeguada Latinoamericana propagate the decolonial feminist critique of European attempts to promote universal categories like 'women'. The perpetuation of such decontextualised categories is exclusionary and reproduces Western and colonial logic (Cuellar Díaz and Zuluaga García, 2021: 73).

The subjectivity created through this hybrid form serves to move beyond the dichotomous distinction between human and non-human, which, María Lugones contends, was imposed by colonial powers to distinguish between the colonisers and the colonised. In doing so, it disrupts the narrative and subverts the vision of a 'bestial and thus non-gendered, promiscuous, grotesquely sexual, and sinful' colonial subject (Lugones, 2010: 743). By purposely hybridising and thus dehumanising their appearance Yeguada Latinoamericana destabilise the colonial patriarchal mechanisms of control and representation. For Sayak Valencia Triana, Linett's decision to convert each performer into a human/mare hybrid as part of their process invites them to dis-inhabit the human form, the perceived property of colonial powers (Valencia Triana, 2018). By not conforming to the patriarchal expectations of 'womanhood', or even personhood, the performers are similarly not controlled by the systems that seek to reduce and subjugate them, allowing them to produce knowledges and criticisms that break from those systems.

While some members of congress commended the rebellious performance of 'Abortistas' in December 2018, others were less pleased. The then vice-president of congress, evidently uneasy with the protest, requested that the 'damas' [ladies] be kindly removed by members of the police force (Solar, 2018). Female members of the police force proceeded to cover the 'modesty' of the performers, firstly revoking their visitors' passes, and then removing them delicately from the room to be held for questioning. There was no aggression in this act, but the stern faces and sombre uniforms of the officers contrasted greatly with the jovial attitude and mesmerising outfits used by the Yeguada Latinoamericana. Like Kelly's work, they delighted in subversion, resisting the oppressive forces trying to control them. As they left the room, covered now by the police officers, they playfully swished their tails in their hands, continuing their act as hybrid beings – mares and women – united in their subjugation and abuse as vessels of reproduction, for the patriarchal powers, against which they had come to protest. This final defiance precluded any effort to control or dominate them on the part of the authorities.

When discussing the intervention subsequently, Linett declared that in exposing their mares' tails, performing as 'mutant beasts' they were not only advocating abortion healthcare but calling for Chile to abort the patriarchy that ruled it (cited in ADNradio.cl, 2018). Here, we recognise a wider association with the plight of women and pregnant people seeking reproductive healthcare and the colonial legacy that has perpetuated marginalisation of these groups. Linett reinforces this notion, claiming that she and her collaborators have decided to abort silence and subaltern positioning. They also abort the concept of fatherland and Chilean identity, preferring to join those who identify as mutant Latin American mares. In the act of dehumanising while engaging with these non-modern knowledges, both Linett and Kelly ultimately re-humanise the

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experiences of women and pregnant people, highlighting the objectification they face at the hands of the patriarchal powers in their respective contexts.

The temporal coexistence that is created in these cultural responses ruptures the colonial perception of time as linear, while reinforcing contextualised geopolitical and socio-historical experiences. This precludes universalising categories perpetuated by patriarchal powers to control and dominate. This purposeful grounding, Lugones argues, allows the decolonial feminist to see the world anew, free of empty concepts like 'women', and learn about other resisters of the colonial difference (Lugones, 2010: 753). This coexistence across periods of time – evident in the historical figure of Granuaile following the contemporary routes used for those seeking abortions and in Yeguada Latinoamericana's embodiment of hybrid beings that draw on ancestral and equine experiences of the colonial period – also combines with the transnational, particularly in Kelly's work.

The choice to use seafaring Granuaile is important, since many travelling to abortion appointments do so by boat. Indeed, in the list of ports that Kelly references as stops for her Granuaile, some relate directly to the historical figure, while others connect to contemporary Ireland to/from which people travel on these lonely trips. Most notable are Belfast and Holyhead. Holyhead, situated in Wales, is the closest ferry connection to Liverpool where hundreds of women and pregnant people a week would travel to the hospital there to obtain abortion care from Ireland prior to the repeal of the 8th Amendment (de Londras, 2020: 35). In highlighting this exporting of the 'abortion issue', Kelly's work joins a chorus of creative and activist voices critical of the Irish government's reluctance to face the circumstances created by the 8th Amendment. The London-based, direct-action feminist performance group, Speaking of I.M.E.L.D.A. (Ireland Making England the Legal Destination for Abortions), also publicly criticised this practice, arguing that this simply displaced the issues arising from the restrictive legislation, without providing any viable or sustainable alternatives. While the numbers travelling to England in search of an abortion have declined since the legislation for abortion care was introduced, some still have to travel. Reference to Belfast highlights transnational solidarity with activists in Northern Ireland, similarly faced with prohibitive reproductive health laws until some changes were introduced in 2020 (NIHRC.org, 2021).

Likewise, Yeguada Latinoamericana's 'Abortistas' performance, along with their wider catalogue, demonstrates an unwavering commitment to exposing the lived realities of all who suffer under colonial legacies perpetuating patriarchal powers in Chile, particularly at the hands of the police force. They reject any recognition of Chilean state powers, preferring to align themselves with others across Latin America. Not only is it clear in their name, but in the language Linett uses in discussing their work, and in the use of symbols in 'Abortistas', where they wore a green similar to that of the green handkerchiefs that have become an international symbol to promote reproductive justice.

Epistemic disobedience complements the non-modern knowledges, transnational solidarity and temporal coexistence depicted in these works, as they each build their insurgent bodies. To resist such obstacles and engage in this epistemic disobedience, they create insurgent bodies that oppose the systemic violence of restrictive reproductive healthcare. As territories of re-existence, they are multifaceted, connecting individuals with multiple bodies of the past, present and future (Hernández Basante, 2019: 31). Epistemic disobedience is central to the 'Abortistas' performance, when we consider that the delicacy of the language used in the request to remove them, and the absence of male members of the police force to physically remove Yeguada Latinoamericana, were in

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stark contrast to the vision of six performers baring their tail-laden buttocks from the public gallery of the National Congress Building. The paternal attitude demonstrates a perceived need to protect these young, female bodies, but more importantly to control and silence them. Indeed, this attempt to protect and control works simultaneously with and against Yeguada Latinoamericana's objectives.

As the police officers escorted the performers from the gallery, they became unwitting and/or unwilling participants in the performance, a trend continued from previous interventions in Santiago. In fact, according to Ramírez Pérez – who accompanied the group on the day and details the experience in her dissertation, Linett and her collaborators were pleasantly surprised that their detention following their intervention and removal from the gallery was considerably shorter than that of previous performances. Since their detention only lasted an hour, the Yeguada Latinoamericana had time to take photos outside the congress building, enjoy a trip to the beach and have a meal in Valparaíso before taking the bus back to Santiago (Ramírez Pérez, 2020: 120). This indicates that there is an understanding, an expectation even, that a consequence of their intervention will be detention and interrogation. By intervening in this way, the police officers conformed to this expectation and demonstrated the lack of openness to any form of disruptive behaviour. Similarly, through intervening, they went against the desire for freedom of expression and critique of the institutions in question that the performance of the 'abortistas' represents. Yeguada Latinoamericana become, thus, insurgent bodies (Hernández Basante, 2019: 31), operating from the margins of power, ensuring the body itself becomes the site of resistance, re-existence and projection.

Afterwards, Linett expressly requested when the media reported on the performance that the group and their intervention not be mentioned alongside or connected in any way to any political representatives present on the day, even those who supported them (Ramírez Pérez, 2020: 121). Since the politics of Linett and her collaborators are beyond the established systems and in fact aim to critique and undermine those authorities, this request was to avoid any suggestion that the Yeguada Latinoamericana is associated with or funded by any political party. Their epistemic disobedience could not be considered as such if they were thought to be operating on behalf of any agent within the system. In 'Abortistas', Yeguada Latinoamericana twisted the external perspective of reproductive bodies and did so under the watchful eye and eventual interference of the officers, who represented the repressive powers that police the bodies of the Yeguada, just as the system controls those of women and pregnant people.

Kelly's epistemic disobedience comes in the form of challenging the church's authority. In stanza five, critical reference to the so-called pro-life stance that is steeped in Catholic rhetoric is evident in the 'subdued and happy' images of new wives whose role in Catholic tradition is to honour and serve their husbands and procreate. The adjectives used generate a sense of docile, acquiescent beings, which is what patriarchal entities wish to encourage. The lack of agency afforded to women and pregnant people through the 8th Amendment was far-reaching and multi-layered. The naked corpses elicit a sense of shame for the female form from the patriarchal perspective. Modesty and moderation are paramount in conforming to this gaze, thus this unsavoury image is unwanted in this society.

A bitter-sweet tone draws Kelly's poem to a close, with the fierce persona of Granuaile warning the reader to beware of the revolver at her hip, while also highlighting the lonely journey often carried out under the cover of darkness. The powerful image of the persona's agency alludes to the strength and solidarity in the national and transnational alliances campaigning for changes to reproductive legislation in Ireland. On the

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other hand, the lonely journey completed 'between the setting of the sun and the rising of the bone-white moon' is reminiscent of the secrecy with which too many people must travel to England to access abortion care. 'Granuaile' thus likens the strength and solitary nature of this transgressive sixteenth-century figure to that of the pregnant people making these journeys in some of the most stressful moments of their lives. There is a narrative of resistance to and disruption of the colonial legacy in the use of Granuaile's figure, challenging the infantilising legislation that removes agency and power in a fashion that is reminiscent of the colonial experience. One cannot ignore, however, the ambivalence of coloniality that is evident in this poem, which lauds a figure so evidently opposed to colonial structures in her stance, while identifying the former colonial power as the source of support for the families suffering under the 8th Amendment in a different historical period. Kelly's shrewd use of language and imagery facilitates a multifaceted analysis of the poem that brings conflicting elements of Irish culture to the fore, celebrating the powerful pirate queen, while critiquing the experience of pregnant people under the 8th Amendment.

Conclusions

As demonstrated here, both Kelly and Yeguada Latinoamericana produce decolonial feminist responses to the restrictive laws seeking to control reproduction in the bodies of women and pregnant people. The strategies employed by the authorities are multiple, but they share a common process, to dehumanise these bodies, stripping them of agency and subjectivity. Through the techniques detailed here, the cultural practitioners create insurgent bodies, which engage in epistemic disobedience, grounding and contextualising the lived experiences of those suffering under these laws, permitting the subjectivity of the individual to be connected in a meaningful way to the collective without propagating empty categories like 'women'. This comparison of these cultural responses that differ so much in form, yet create space for similar conversations in their respective contexts, invokes a poetics of disobedience.

The relationship between bodies and memory from an Irish context is elucidated in Kelly's work, which presents the troubling images of dead and dismembered bodies of those who have suffered under the 8th Amendment. The memories of loss, trauma and loneliness so poignantly depicted in 'Granuaile' are all too familiar to those who have suffered under the Amendment. Those voting to repeal the 8th did so to end the tradition of suffering and silence imposed on the women and pregnant people of their time and those who came before them. They became insurgent bodies, channelling decades of ancestral hurt, and in doing so gathered the determination to change the narrative. Kelly's use of Granuaile to focus her critical commentary on reproduction in Ireland is exactly that: the reminder of an insurgent body, the pirate queen, who had long stood for agency and power to women in Ireland, from whom they could draw inspiration. This does not insulate these experiences, however, from the transnational solidarity that has defined the Irish experience under and in repealing the 8th Amendment, with explicit reference to travel to the UK via Holyhead. The poem in its brevity is sufficiently discerning to highlight some of the major factors against which feminist activists across Ireland and beyond protested in the lead up to the referendum to repeal the 8th Amendment in 2018.

For Yeguada Latinoamericana, this complex embodiment, central to the decolonial feminist endeavour, pays tribute not only to the ancestors of those who came before

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them, but also to the mares who suffered alongside them as objects of patriarchal colonial dominance. They complicate the connection between women and pregnant people's existence and that of the mares through the decolonial lens, highlighting the dehumanising, objectifying experience of both as reproductive vessels. Considering the decolonial turn, referenced in the work by Maldonado-Torres cited in the introduction (Maldonado-Torres, 2018: 114), this article contends that this exploration at the interstices of artistic form connects people in different contexts across time, space and experience, all demanding agency no matter how removed they may seem from one another. The methods employed by each practitioner differ greatly but suit the contexts in which they operate. Kelly's work is eloquent, yet contestatory in form in the Irish context, and rebellious in its content and choice of protagonist. Yeguada Latinoamericana drive the spectator to think beyond the concept of abortion in terms of reproduction and to incite abortion of the colonial patriarchal powers.

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