ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND

A report on the number of people who are alive today because of Northern Ireland’s laws on abortion.
BOTH LIVES MATTER IS A COLLABORATIVE MOVEMENT OF INDIVIDUALS & ORGANISATIONS SEEKING TO RE-FRAME THE ABORTION DEBATE IN NORTHERN IRELAND, ADVOCATING FOR BETTER CARE IN PREGNANCY CRISIS, AND CREATING A CULTURE THAT VALUES EACH WOMAN AND HER UNBORN CHILD.

The debate around abortion is in danger of becoming polarised by those only concerned with the unborn child on the one hand and those solely concerned with the rights of the women on the other. The reality is that both lives matter.

We want to create a life-affirming culture that values each woman and her unborn child where compassion, solidarity and support for both lives is the norm.

As part of that we wanted to understand how different our culture already is. There are people alive in Northern Ireland today who would not have been born if the 1967 Abortion Act had been introduced here. People we all know and love - spouses, children, friends and family. We have always known this to be the case, but then we began to wonder just how many.

Using a statistically cautious approach, we estimate that there are 100,000 people alive today, who would not be, had we introduced the 1967 Abortion Act. Let that sink in for a moment.

This is an amazing good news story. These are people we all know, though we might not be aware of it. Statistically though, we are related to them, work with them or live beside them. We may even be one of the hundred thousand. Whatever your view on abortion, there are 100,000 reasons to pause and ask some big questions about where our culture is going.

As most countries are looking to tighten their laws on abortion due to advances in medical science, we hope that Northern Ireland will not fall for the modern myth that progress on women’s rights should be measured by the ability to end the life of their own children. Progress is a word that’s thrown around a lot these days but the ultimate sign of a progressive society is that it supports and enables every human life.

Far from being the cause of embarrassment as some would suggest, we believe that the Northern Ireland abortion law is progressive, compassionate and humane — something to celebrate. In striking a very difficult and delicate balance between the life, health and dignity of the woman and unborn child, it sets out an approach to a difficult subject that should be promoted as a model of international best practice for other jurisdictions to emulate.

Abortion as a solution, outside of medical necessity, lacks compassion, imagination and humanity. Rather than removing protections for women and unborn children we are advocating vision and investment in world-leading pregnancy care services.

We have 100,000 real life models of what progress looks like. Let’s not change that.

**BECAUSE BOTH LIVES MATTER**

*Dawn McAvoy*
2017 MARKS FIFTY YEARS SINCE THE INTRODUCTION OF THE 1967 ABORTION ACT. THIS PIECE OF LEGISLATION, THROUGH POOR DRAFTING, WIDE INTERPRETATION AND DELIBERATE ABUSE, SIGNIFICANTLY WIDENED ACCESS TO ABORTION THROUGHOUT ENGLAND AND WALES.

Similar provisions were extended to Scotland. In practice the Act has allowed for abortion almost on demand, regardless of any impact on the life or health of the women. Abortions are also allowed up to birth for disabilities and evidence has emerged of the pre-signing of abortion forms by doctors and abortion taking place because the baby was the ‘wrong’ sex.¹

The Act was brought into effect originally to try to prevent a relatively small number of tragic deaths arising from illegal and unsafe backstreet abortions. The same argument is being used today around decriminalization to try to prevent the use of illegal and unsafe abortion pills. We are firmly of the view that resources would be better placed on tackling the systemic and underlying issues which lead a woman to believe that her best or only option is abortion.

The Act was never extended to Northern Ireland. Instead, the law in Northern Ireland strikes that difficult and delicate balance between the protection of both mother and unborn child. According to statute and case law it is unlawful to terminate a pregnancy by abortion. There exists however a legal defence where continuation of the pregnancy would threaten the life of the mother. This phrase is interpreted as a threat which has a real and serious, permanent or long term, adverse effect on physical or mental health. Legal and medical interpretation has remained rightfully cautious. We believe this unique law holds the tension, as far as humanly possible between women and unborn children, freedom and societal responsibility, ensuring the preservation of the value of life across society. Both lives are linked biologically and in family relationships and the law reflects this as it stands.


LET’S COMPARE NI WITH ENGLAND & WALES

» There have been over 8 million abortions since 1967 Act.
  That’s more than the population on the island of Ireland.
» 1 in 3 women will have an abortion by age 45 and there is 1 abortion for every 4 live births.
  This is not best care for women or children.
» Over 90% of babies diagnosed in utero with Downs’ Syndrome are aborted.
“Powerful personal stories, significant statistics, a passion for equality and an immense valuing of human life are all essential threads of Both Lives Matter.

We commend this important new initiative on what is literally a life and death issue. Both Lives Matter is all about compassion, justice and the indescribable value of life.”

BISHOP KEN & MRS HELEN CLARKE
“There is an urgent requirement at a time when heart rending cases are being extensively utilised by those seeking to diminish legal protection for the unborn, to be more focused on recognising and providing for the needs and care of both mother and child. Both Lives Matter is an excellent response to that pressing need”

BARONESS NUALA O’LOAN  
DBE MRIA
From the 100,000 to the one...

STORIES

I. REBECCA'S STORY

IF WE ARE COMPLETELY HONEST WITH OURSELVES, WE ALL KNOW THE TEEN MUM STEREOTYPE—CHAV TRACKSUITS, NO QUALIFICATIONS, HANGING AROUND THE ‘DOLE OFFICE’. NOT TO MENTION, IT IS AUTOMATICALLY ASSUMED THAT THEY ARE BAD MOTHERS.

So, when I sat in that doctor’s surgery at 3am, aged 18, and was told that I was pregnant... I stepped into my own living nightmare. The doctor gave me a look that said, 'say goodbye to your gap year travels, your university place, your future'.

I was devastated. On the drive home, I simultaneously tried to convince my mum that I was still a virgin, but also that I was probably about 6 months on. My head was spinning as I remembered all the things I had done; the nights out. The ‘Jaegar-Bomb Queen’ title. The A levels. The trip to Israel where I rode camels through the desert. The abseil down the Europa Hotel...

Now I was constantly carrying another human, but I’d never felt so humanly alone. It should have been the happiest news of my life but everyone's reactions were to console me or avoid me. The amazing new life inside of me was over-clouded by my young age. They soon became a massive part of my life, and we were in this together.

I began to find hope. After becoming a Christian, I stopped believing that motherhood or Reuben were an unfortunate mistake that could have been avoided. I started believing that Reuben had a purpose, and so do I. I could love Reuben more than I thought possible.

I may no longer be a teen mum, but I’m also no longer ashamed. I no longer stand under the labels of ‘reckless’, ‘worthless’, and ‘failure’. I stand under the labels of ‘loved’, ‘strong’, and ‘valuable’. I wasted too much time mourning the life that I could have had, and it robbed me of the time and energy to live, enjoy, and make the best of the life I have now. Sometimes I think back to the quivering, uncertain mess I was during my pregnancy, and I think, ‘Girl, you did good’.

I am passionate about encouraging those women who are the same quivering, uncertain mess that I was. I wish it was my job to greet every woman who comes out of a doctor’s surgery after receiving their news—and do you know what I would do? I WOULD CONGRATULATE THEM! I want to empower women to pursue their dreams, dare I say it—with their baby. Unexpected pregnancies are not a cautionary tale to tell your daughters.

Getting pregnant at 18 didn’t mean my life was over. It meant that I get to do life with Reuben. I spend most of my time doing all the Fireman Sam related activities... but I still do everything I used to.

And I wouldn’t have it any other way. Which is good because the way my mum brain is going, I probably won’t remember it any other way.
“There is obviously no absolute certainty about what “an alternative Northern Ireland” would have looked like if the 1967 abortion legislation had been applied here as in GB. However, what Both Lives Matter have done, as the basis for their report, is to make plausible and cautious estimates as to what might have happened.

Those estimates are based on what actually happened in GB. Considerations of policy options in Northern Ireland are frequently based on data drawn from experience in the rest of the UK.

The estimates suggest at least 100,000 people—men, women and children—are alive today in Northern Ireland who would not have been alive if Northern Ireland had had the same rate of abortions as Scotland had had since the late 1960s.”

**Dr Esmond Birnie MA (ECON) PhD (ECON)**

*Dr Esmond Birnie is an economist with 30 years of experience of evaluating public policy.*
REPORT

An estimation of the number of abortions that have been prevented in Northern Ireland

IN NORTHERN IRELAND TODAY A SIGNIFICANT PROPORTION OF OUR POPULATION OWE THEIR EXISTENCE TO OUR LAWS ON ABORTION.

It is not possible to give an exact figure but a credible and conservative estimate can be calculated. If the 1967 Act had been introduced, there would have been, on a low estimate, 163,760 abortions in Northern Ireland. Set against that, the highest estimate for the number of women from Northern Ireland who have travelled to England for an abortion over the last 50 years is 61,311.

This means an estimated 102,449 abortions have been prevented in Northern Ireland. Given that some of those would have by now died of natural causes, but also adding figures for 2016, we estimate that more than 100,000 people are alive today, who would not have been if Northern Ireland had introduced the 1967 Act.

The method used to arrive at this figure, along with the underlying assumptions, is set out below. Despite its limitations, this is a robust piece of work. It is hoped that those who disagree with the campaign will engage with the evidence rather than simply dismissing this report because they have a different perspective on the abortion.

It is also important to be very clear that this research is not about judging women who have had abortions. This report should not be read as in any way minimising the trauma of pregnancy crises. Instead, this figure is a celebration of lives which otherwise might not have been lived, of people we know and love who are here today.

ASSUMPTIONS

I. This report attempts to estimate the number of people alive in Northern Ireland today because the 1967 Abortion Act was not introduced here. The legal circumstances providing for abortion are quite different in Northern Ireland to the rest of the UK making it a perfect natural test case. So for the purposes of this report, we initially assumed an abortion rate the same as that of England and Wales. It is common practice for policy here to be based on data drawn from England and Wales.

II. Law has an important role in shaping perceived social norms, which are a powerful driver of attitudes and behaviours, within society. A strong signal is sent to society when laws are changed – in the case of the 1967 Abortion Act, the signal being sent is that abortion is “ok” and “normal” far beyond any medical reasons. As abortion becomes more ‘acceptable’, more women who might otherwise have rejected it as an option are willing to consider it. This can be seen in the initial growth of the abortion rate in England and Wales.

III. It could be argued that Northern Ireland is more conservative and/or less secular than England and Wales, and so would not have an abortion rate as high as that of England & Wales. Recognising that cultural differences may persist, and that some would argue that the English rate may be too high, we turned to Scotland which may be a more appropriate cultural comparator for Northern Ireland. On that premise, we adjusted our figures in line with the Scottish abortion rate, which is approximately 75% that of England and Wales. Even using a 25% lower abortion rate, it is still the case that over the past 50 years, thousands of people are alive today in Northern Ireland than would otherwise have been.
100,000

Some of the people you know and love are here today because Northern Ireland chose not to enact the 1967 Abortion Act.
The 1967 Abortion Act is 50 years old this year. Approximately 1 million people in Northern Ireland are 50 or under, equating to 1 in 10 people under 50 alive because of our distinct laws.

5% of the total population of Northern Ireland

ONE IN TEN Under 50s

100 SCHOOL CLASSES Every Year

Based on an average classroom of 28 children
IN THE TABLE OFFICIAL STATISTICS ARE IN BLACK AND, WHERE THESE ARE NOT AVAILABLE, ESTIMATES ARE IN WHITE.

1. Abortion Rate per 1,000 women England & Wales residents aged 15-44 (2013 European Standard Population) 

2. Population of Northern Ireland women aged 15-44:
   1968 – 1990: In the absence of official data, these figures are an approximation, based on Northern Ireland historical data: “Women aged 15–44” as a percentage of “Total NI population”. Where these two figures are known (i.e. from 1991 to 2015), the former is calculated to be, on average, 20.5% of the latter. This proportion remains relatively constant throughout the time period (ranging from 19.2% to 21.0%). Applying this percentage figure to the Total NI population in the earlier time period, 1968-1990, gives an estimate of the number of women in the age category 15–44, up to 1990.

3. Estimate of the number of abortions there would have been, had the abortion rate in England and Wales applied to Northern Ireland (that is, had the 1967 Abortion Act come into effect in Northern Ireland)
   This is calculated by applying the abortion rate for England and Wales to the Northern Ireland population data (female population aged 15–44) assuming that Northern Ireland would have had the same abortion rate, had the 1967 Act applied in Northern Ireland. The total number is 220,701.

4. Estimated number of abortions carried out for Northern Irish women who sought abortions in England and Wales.
   The table above includes the official figures from the Department of Health for 1991-2015 and, prior to that, where official figures are not publicly available, estimations which are backward projections based on these figures (using an average of 26%). The estimate arrived at for the total number of abortions that have taken place for residents from Northern Ireland is 54,447.

5. Taking figures for 2008 - 2012, the abortion rate in Scotland per 1000 women aged 15 - 44 is on average 74.2% of the rate in England and Wales.

### FINDINGS

| ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ABORTIONS THAT WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN NI, USING ENGLAND AND WALES ABORTION RATE | 220,701 |
| ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ABORTIONS THAT WOULD HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN NI, USING SCOTTISH EQUIVALENT ABORTION RATE | 163,760 |

### NOTES

1. Abortion Rate per 1,000 women England & Wales residents aged 15-44 (2013 European Standard Population) 

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5. Taking figures for 2008 - 2012, the abortion rate in Scotland per 1000 women aged 15 - 44 is on average 74.2% of the rate in England and Wales.
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<th>Year</th>
<th>ABORTION RATE PER 1,000 WOMEN ENG &amp; WALES</th>
<th>NI FEMALE 15-44 POPULATION</th>
<th>APPLY E&amp;W ABORTION RATE TO NI POPULATION</th>
<th>NO. OF ABORTIONS IN NI POPULATION (CARRIED OUT IN ENG &amp; WALES)</th>
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| Total | 220,701 | 53,847 |
1. Applying the England and Wales abortion rate to Northern Ireland, it is estimated there would have been **220,701** abortions here, had the 1967 Abortion Act come into effect in Northern Ireland.

2. Taking official figures from the Department of Health from 1991-2015 and using backward projections prior to 1991 it is estimated that there have been **53,847** abortions for residents from Northern Ireland.

3. Taking these two figures, there could be as many as **166,854** people alive today.

4. Applying a 25.8% reduction, in line with the Scottish abortion rate, it is estimated there would have been **163,760** abortions here.

5. Based on UK Department of Health data, it is estimated that **61,311** women travelled to England to have an abortion. This figure is cited by Rebecca Gomperts, a pro-choice activist who helps promote abortion pills online, who has co-authored a report published in the British Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology (BJOG). The figure is based on personal correspondence between the UK Department of Health and the authors of the report and covers 1970 to 2015. This figure was quoted in The Guardian, in an article dated 17 October 2016 entitled “Irish women report relief and gratitude after using abortion pills”.

6. So taking the lower Scottish abortion rate as a comparator and the higher BJOG figure for the number of Northern Irish women having an abortion in Great Britain gives us our most conservative estimate. This is 163,760 minus 61,311 meaning that **102,449** abortions have been prevented in the past fifty years due to Northern Irish law.

7. Given a survival rate up to the age of fifty years of 96.5%, according to the National Life Tables, UK: 2011-2013 (Office of National Statistics), this suggests **98,863** people are alive today because of the abortion law in Northern Ireland.

8. Figures for 2016 are as yet unavailable. Taking 2015, there would have been 5,690 abortions pro rata using England and Wales figures, and reducing it in line with Scotland it is estimated there would have been 4,221 abortions in Northern Ireland. Annualising the BJOG figure, 1,362 Northern Irish women would have travelled to England for an abortion. So an estimated 2,859 people can be added for 2016 giving a total of **101,722**.

We estimate that over 100,000 people are alive today because of the laws on abortion in Northern Ireland.
“The launch of Both Lives Matter is a prophetic step for each and every citizen and for our society. Gathering people from a wide and diverse spectrum of world views, who espouse the absolute dignity and sacredness of human life and who are inspired by human reason alone or by the interplay of human reason and religious faith, Both Lives Matter calls us all to a civilisation and a culture of respect for human life at all its stages. I gladly support this initiative and encourage those involved in their reasoned and respectful commitment to advocating the inviolability of human life and the equal worth of the life of a pregnant mother and the growing life of a child in her womb.”

NOEL TREANOR
Bishop of Down and Connor
CONCLUDING POINTS

» Over 100,000 people are alive today because of our laws on abortion.

» It is staggering to think that more than 5% of the population of Northern Ireland is alive today because the 1967 Act wasn’t introduced here.

» Close to 3000 people are being born each year who might not otherwise be. That’s equivalent to around 100 school classes every year.

» Given the Abortion Act 1967 is 50 years old this year and that approximately 1 million people in Northern Ireland are aged 50 or under, 1 in 10 people under 50 are alive because of our distinct laws.

» Statistically, everyone knows someone who is alive because of Northern Ireland’s laws on abortion. Of course it is almost impossible to point to a particular individual as few would admit to their children that had the law been different they would have had an abortion. But perhaps even more significantly, law shapes cultural norms and so many will not have considered an abortion in the first place.

Not bringing in the Abortion Act 1967 was one of the most important actions in Northern Ireland’s history.
I will always remember seeing her as a beautiful tiny newborn floating upwards into my arms. Tom and I had a wonderful first hour together at home with her, as our four other children excitedly admired their new baby sister. I remember closing my eyes in relief and thanking God that baby was here safe and well.

Two hours later despite my best efforts she still hadn’t fed. When my midwives suggested we take her to hospital for observation, I knew immediately something was seriously wrong. Within minutes we were on the road heading towards the children’s hospital. When we got there, no one seemed in any panic. Doctors came and went. Then suddenly a horrible blue colour was visibly moving across Kathleen’s little body. I screamed as doctors came out of nowhere, racing down the corridor with her towards Intensive Care, and all we could do was follow.

The days that followed were a whirlwind of endless tests. The results came back in quick succession each one more depressing than the last. It seemed every part of Kathleen’s little body was imperfect in some way. Within a week the geneticist had diagnosed her with the chromosomal anomaly Trisomy 13 or Pateau Syndrome. We were told her future was bleak. She would be mentally and physically handicapped and would probably not live to see her first birthday. If diagnosed before birth she would have been labelled with those ugly dehumanizing words, ‘fatal foetal abnormality’ or ‘incompatible with life’. Now, two weeks after birth and still alive and kicking, she was described as life limited.

Despite this devastating diagnosis we continued to insist that Kathleen be given appropriate medical intervention and every opportunity to reach her full potential whatever that may be.

Doctors followed our directives, treating Kathleen as a unique child and not as a fatal diagnosis. During her hospital stay she received the very best of care and six weeks later, following surgery to address her reflux and insert a feeding tube, she was ready for home. For the first year Kathleen did amazingly well. She was a tranquil baby who was responding well to us and making mighty attempts to crawl. At one year old a sleep study revealed she had ‘severe obstructive sleep apnea’. This means she would stop breathing many times throughout the night. She also began to get a series of chest infections requiring IV antibiotics. Kathleen continued to surprise us however and each time responded well to standard treatment and was back home and on the mend again within a week.

By the time she was three years old her health had stabilised remarkably and she was going from strength to strength. At four years old she started special school and became quite a character. She was so active that staff let her out every day with her ‘wheelie walker’ to whizz up and down the corridor and even had a large trampoline placed just for her in the classroom.

Today Kathleen Rose is an amazing 10 year old little girl with a beautiful distinct personality and is known most for her mischievous laughter and enormous hugs. She enjoys the rough and tumble of family life and loves interacting with her brothers and sisters. Caring for Kathleen has challenges of course. The day to day inconveniences of tube-feeding, incontinence, hospital appointments and cancelled plans are practical realities of my life.

As a family however, we thank God for the gift of time with this special child who has defied all expectations. She has taught us much about what is truly important in life and challenged us to grow in ways unthinkable before she came into our lives. I believe that all children with profound disabilities are precious jewels within our world because they give love in abundance. We become better parents, more loving people and richer communities by having these pure souls in our midst. No child should be labelled a ‘Fatal Foetal abnormality’ or ‘incompatible with life’. These terms are misleading, medically meaningless and incredibly hurtful for parents to hear. They instil fear into the heart of parents when they are at their most vulnerable. We need to wrap our arms around these families and give them and their babies the love and support they deserve. Whether our babies’ lives span just minutes, days or years like my Kathleen Rose, their lives have value and meaning and they can teach us how to love.
“I warmly endorse the Both Lives Matter Campaign. The Campaign rightly values the lives and wellbeing of both mothers and babies. As an elected representative, I am looking forward to engaging with the campaign in the months ahead.”

CARLA LOCKHART MLA
Chair of the All Party Group on Human Life at the Northern Ireland Assembly

“As a life-long social democrat and human rights advocate, I warmly welcome and support Both Lives Matter.”

ALBAN MAGINNESS
Former MLA and Lord Mayor of Belfast
“The launch of Both Lives Matter is a prophetic step for each and every citizen and for our society. Gathering people from a wide and diverse spectrum of world views, who espouse the absolute dignity and sacredness of human life and who are inspired by human reason alone or by the interplay of human reason and religious faith, Both Lives Matter calls us all to a civilisation and a culture of respect for human life at all its stages. I gladly support this initiative and encourage those involved in their reasoned and respectful commitment to advocating the inviolability of human life and the equal worth of the life of a pregnant mother and the growing life of a child in her womb.”

NOEL TREANOR
Bishop of Down and Connor
LET’S NOT THROW THE BABY OUT WITH THE BATH WATER

Pro-life doesn’t mean anti-women.