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2020 developments in the provision of early medical abortion by telemedicine in the UK

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has necessitated the rapid implementation of telemedical health services. In the United Kingdom, one service that has benefitted from this response is the provision of early medical abortion. England, Wales, and Scotland have all issued approval orders to this effect. These orders allow women to terminate pregnancies up to certain gestational limits, removing the need for them to contravene social distancing measures to access care. However, they are intended only as temporary measures for the duration of the pandemic response. In this paper, we chart these developments and further demonstrate the already acknowledged politicisation of abortion care. We focus on two key elements of the orders: (1) the addition of updated clinical guidance in the Scottish order that suggests an extended gestational limit, and (2) sunset clauses in the English and Welsh orders, as well as an indication of similar intentions in Scotland. In discussing these two issues, we suggest that the refusal of UK governments to introduce telemedical provision of early medical abortion previously has not been based on health concerns. Further, we question whether it would be appropriate for the approval orders to be lifted following the pandemic, suggesting that to do so would represent regressive and harmful policy.

1.0 Introduction

As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the use of telemedicine throughout the United Kingdom's (UK) National Health Service (NHS) has quickly increased as a means of allowing patients to continue to access care without having to contravene social distancing measures and unnecessarily risk exposure to COVID-19. One area where telemedicine has been introduced is in the provision of early medical abortion (EMA).

In the past few years, the UK has seen long overdue moves to permit home use of the second drug required for an EMA [1]. The governments of Scotland [2], Wales [3], and England [4] – in that order – issued approval orders between 2017 and 2018 to permit women to take the second drug required for an EMA at home provided that the first was taken under clinical supervision. At the time, and indeed long before, there had been calls to allow women to take both drugs at home after having them prescribed remotely [1, 5]. So-called telemedical EMA (TEMA) is a means of removing barriers to abortion care and has therefore been argued for in order to ensure equality in access to care [5, 6]. Notably, the National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) in England and Wales recommends the use of telemedicine in abortion care in its 2019 guidelines [7].

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, telemedicine has seen increased implementation throughout the NHS [8]. Whilst behind others, as of late March 2020 abortion was added to the list of services to benefit from telemedicine during the pandemic, starting with a TEMA approval order in England.

43 TEMA is now formally provided for in England, Wales, and Scotland. In Northern Ireland, however,
44 provision is informal, and potentially problematic given that it remains unlawful in most circumstances.

45

46 In this paper, we outline the development of these policy changes. We first describe both EMA and
47 TEMA, before providing a chronological overview of changes. Beginning with the twice reversed
48 decision in England, we discuss the nature of the introduction of TEMA in both Wales and Scotland;
49 the former mirroring England whilst the latter departs from Westminster on two important points. The
50 far more complicated situation in Northern Ireland is then considered, followed by a look at the statistics
51 thus far and a brief comparative discussion in which we look to the response of the United States (US).
52 Finally, the implications – both short- and long-term – for questions of access to abortion care are
53 discussed, demonstrating how this apparently progressive change is merely a supporting measure in the
54 wider fight against COVID-19 which will in fact further undermine the reproductive rights of women
55 in future.

56

57 **2.0 TEMA explained**

58

59 *2.1 Early medical abortion*

60

61 EMA requires the use of mifepristone followed, 24-48 hours later, by misoprostol. The result is an
62 induced miscarriage followed by the expulsion of the products of conception. The World Health
63 Organization (WHO) makes a ‘strong’ recommendation for this procedure to be used up to nine weeks’
64 gestation [9]. The WHO also notes that the same drugs may be used to terminate a pregnancy at a later
65 gestational stage, though with the caution that there are limited data for EMAs performed between nine-
66 and 12-weeks’ gestation [9]. NICE recommends a slightly higher limit of 10 weeks’ gestation [7], but
67 both fall within the bracket of what has been indicated as likely safe and effective in the absence of
68 randomised clinical trials [10].

69

70 *2.2 The introduction of telemedicine*

71

72 Whilst only a recent development in the UK, various forms of TEMA has been practiced in some parts
73 of the world for more than a decade. Planned Parenthood of the Heartlands set up such a service in Iowa
74 in 2008 which allowed women to attend a collaborating clinic with no on-site physician, undergo a
75 videoconference consultation with an off-site physician, and have the necessary medications dispensed
76 by the collaborating clinic if prescribed [11]. This did require women to physically attend a clinic, but
77 it improved access by enabling clinics that previously could not provide EMAs to do so. Another
78 example from the US is the TelAbortion Project which has, since 2016, enabled women in several states
79 to be posted abortion medications after obtaining screening tests locally [12]. Similarly to what was
80 offered by Planned Parenthood of the Heartlands, access is improved even though those using the
81 services of the TelAbortion Project are still required to attend some form of medical facility.

82

83 A different model – closer to what is often envisioned when TEMA is mentioned – is that of Women
84 on Web. This service has been operating internationally since 2004, though is available only to those in

85 countries where safe access to abortion is not possible [13]. Unlike the previous two services outlined,
86 Women on Web operates entirely online. An online question-based consultation is completed and, if
87 the responses indicate that EMA is appropriate, the medications are sent to the woman by post. This
88 system, then, has greater potential to improve access to abortion care as there is no need to attend a
89 facility in person.

90

91 The safety, effectiveness, and acceptability of TEMA have previously been demonstrated. Endler and
92 colleagues have highlighted, through a systematic review, that there are similar rates of ‘complete
93 abortion, continuing pregnancy, hospitalization, and blood transfusion’ following both TEMA and in-
94 clinic EMA [10]. They also found that both women and providers found TEMA highly acceptable. It
95 should be noted, however, that Endler and colleagues’ review does rate the quality of evidence as low,
96 so must be taken as more indicative than conclusive. In addition to the evidence supporting the abortion
97 itself during TEMA, it has also been demonstrated that women can reliably date their pregnancies
98 according to their menstrual history, thereby minimising the risk of them undergoing an EMA at a later
99 gestational stage. A study between the US and India found that only 9.8-10% (woman’s estimate based
100 on last menstrual period) and 3.4-7.7% (woman’s estimate based on date of last unprotected intercourse)
101 of women fell within the ‘caution zone’, which was defined as the woman dating her pregnancy at <9
102 weeks but her healthcare provider dating it at ≥ 9 weeks [14].

103

104 **3.0 TEMA developments in the UK**

105

106 *3.1 England*

107

108 The first country in the UK to instigate TEMA in response to the COVID-19 threat was England (*see*
109 *Table 1*). In contrast, England did not permit home use of misoprostol until *after* Scotland and Wales
110 [1]. However, the process resulting in the policy was unclear and initially caused widespread criticism
111 and confusion.

112

113 On the 23rd March 2020, the UK Department for Health and Social Care issued an approval order
114 allowing women seeking an EMA in England to self-administer both necessary medications at home.
115 The order specified that following a consultation with an appropriate provider via electronic means, a
116 woman may be prescribed both mifepristone and misoprostol. However, the order was revoked later
117 that same day, replaced online by a statement that it had been published in error [15]. This led to a great
118 deal of uncertainty, which was especially troubling for women seeking abortions at the time. As a result,
119 an open letter was sent to Matt Hancock, the Secretary of State for Health and Social Care, on the 28th
120 March 2020 by a group of public health specialists [16]. This letter noted the scientific evidence and
121 advice of professionals which had been ignored and called for the order to be reinstated.

122

123 Following this letter, a second order relaxing abortion regulations in England was issued on the 30th
124 March 2020. This second order was similar in allowing women to be prescribed both medications
125 following remote consultation, with a gestational limit of nine weeks and six days [17]. However, it
126 differed in its inclusion of a sunset clause; the order will expire automatically on the 30th March 2022,
127 or with the expiration of the *Coronavirus Act 2020* if that comes first. That the order is temporary might
128 be perceived as problematic, as will be explored shortly.

129

130 On the 6th July 2020, it was announced in the House of Commons that a public consultation will take
131 place on whether to make the temporary provisions permanent. In response to a question posed, the
132 Minister for Safeguarding, Victoria Atkins, confirmed that the temporary provisions would at least stay
133 in place ‘until the public consultation concludes and a decision has been made’ [18].

134

135

136 *3.2 Wales*

137

138 Just one day later – on the 31st March 2020 – both Wales and Scotland followed suit. Scotland will be
139 discussed shortly, so for now we will focus on Wales.

140

141 The Welsh approval order was issued by Vaughan Gething, the Welsh Minister for Health and Social
142 Services, to supersede the previous order of the 27th June 2018 [3] which permitted home use of
143 misoprostol. In almost entirely replicating the earlier English order, the Welsh approval expires either
144 with the expiration of the *Coronavirus Act 2020* or two years after the date of the approval (in this case
145 the 31st March 2022) [19]. Again, following the English example, the gestational limit remains at nine
146 weeks and six days in Wales.

147

148 *3.3 Scotland*

149

150 As noted above, Scotland also permitted TEMA on the 31st March 2020 [20]. The approval was similar
151 to those of England and Wales in permitting home use of mifepristone (in addition to misoprostol as
152 previously allowed) following remote consultation. However, it differs in two important respects:
153 guidance on gestational limit and expiration.

154

155 First, unlike the orders of England and Wales, the Scottish order does not contain an explicit gestational
156 limit for TEMA. It is, however, accompanied by an annex containing guidance from Scottish Abortion
157 Care Providers (the Scottish branch of the British Society of Abortion Care Providers) that includes
158 gestational limits. This annexed document does not form a part of the approval order. Nonetheless, the
159 Scottish Court of Session confirmed that whilst similar guidance in relation to the Scottish 2017
160 approval order of home use of misoprostol was advisory only, practitioners should take the guidance
161 into account [21]. In the annexed guidance to the Scottish 2020 approval order, providers are advised
162 that a woman should be eligible for TEMA provided she has not exceeded 11 weeks and six days’
163 gestation [20]. This is a two week increase on the limit stipulated in the approval orders of England and
164 Wales. It is also a two week increase on Scotland’s own previous limit as per the 2017 order regarding
165 the home use of misoprostol [2].

166

167 Second, there is no included expiration of the order. Whereas the approvals in England and Wales will
168 automatically expire unless further action is taken, the explanatory note attached to the Scottish order
169 merely states: ‘we intend that it will have effect for a limited period so would revoke it and replace it

170 with the terms of the previous approval (dated October 2017) at an appropriate time when it is judged
171 that it is no longer necessary in relation to the pandemic response' [20]. It is, then, *possible* that Scotland
172 will maintain TEMA provisions permanently following the pandemic. At the very least, TEMA will not
173 *automatically* become unlawful once the pandemic is over. Like England, Scotland is conducting a
174 public consultation on the matter [22].

175

176 3.4 Northern Ireland

177

178 Northern Ireland has consistently fallen behind the rest of the UK in increasing abortion access, with
179 EMA only becoming lawful in the country on the 21st October 2019 following the failure of the Northern
180 Ireland Assembly to reform; this failure resulted in the enactment of the *Northern Ireland (Executive
181 Formation etc) Act 2019*, which decriminalised abortion in Northern Ireland. The purpose of this
182 legislation was to bring Northern Ireland in line with the rest of the UK in allowing access to abortion
183 [23]. It is important to note that the changed law in Northern Ireland remains very different to the rest
184 of the UK. In England, Wales, and Scotland abortion remains a criminal offence and is lawful only
185 when performed in compliance with the requirements of the Abortion Act 1967. Abortion is not a
186 criminal offence in Northern Ireland, and the Abortion Act 1967 does not apply. On the 31st March
187 2020, the *Abortion (Northern Ireland) Regulations 2020*, issued by the UK government, came into force
188 to regulate the provision of care in Northern Ireland. The regulations were then revoked on the 14th May
189 2020, when they were replaced by the *Abortion (Northern Ireland) (No. 2) Regulations 2020*. On the
190 points of relevance to our discussion, both sets of regulations are the same.

191

192 In listing the places where care may be provided in Northern Ireland the 2020 regulations are explicit
193 that it must be provided in a hospital, clinic provided by a health and social care trust, premises used to
194 provide primary medical services, or at home where referring to the second abortion medication in EMA
195 [24]. The order also specifies that the Department of Health in Northern Ireland 'may, for the purposes
196 of these Regulations, approve a place for the carrying out of terminations' [24]. Therefore, the same
197 powers for approval orders relating to abortion provision are devolved to Northern Ireland as is the case
198 for both Wales and Scotland. Despite calls from campaigning groups in Northern Ireland Robin Swann,
199 the current Health Minister in Northern Ireland, has consistently resisted the call to issue approval for
200 TEMA in Northern Ireland. However, organisations providing TEMA elsewhere in the UK are making
201 their services available to women in Northern Ireland at this time [25].

202

203

204 4.0 Implications for access to abortion care

205

206 For those who have long called for the introduction of TEMA in the UK, you might expect the changes
207 we have discussed to be welcomed. Indeed, it is acknowledged as a step in the right direction [26].
208 However, the presence of a sunset clause in both the English and Welsh orders, as well as an indication
209 of similar intentions in Scotland, limits the extent to which campaigners might view them as successes.

210

211 That UK governments would permit TEMA at all suggests that it satisfies their standards of safety and
212 effectiveness, as per guidelines from NICE that recommend considering providing abortion assessments

213 by phone or video call (these guidelines do only apply in England and Wales) [7]. Of course, the changes
214 will have largely been guided by a shift in the balance of risks and benefits; delivering abortion care
215 remotely minimises the risk of COVID-19 infection in those concerned. Whilst there have been several
216 studies demonstrating the safety, effectiveness, and acceptability of TEMA, as already noted the quality
217 of evidence is not high [10]. A such, even though there is sufficient evidence to indicate that TEMA
218 should at least be tried, it is not surprising that there has been no rush by politicians to permit it.
219 However, now that TEMA is permitted, it is feasible that health concerns will soon no longer constitute
220 a valid reason for caution. Provided there is no notable increase in adverse outcomes, the health concern
221 argument will be weakened by the experience of TEMA. That being the case, the risks associated with
222 removing the approval for TEMA – notably barriers to access resulting in treatment being
223 delayed/prevented – may be avoided.

224

225 It is also worth considering Scotland's departure from both England and Wales in providing guidance
226 that recommends an extension of the gestational limit for EMA with its TEMA approval order. As
227 already noted, it is generally understood that TEMA within these additional two weeks raises no major
228 cause for concern [10]. However, Scotland did depart from the status quo at the time. It can reasonably
229 be assumed that the justification for the raised gestational limit was to increase the number of women
230 eligible for TEMA during the pandemic, thereby further reducing the number of individuals at risk of
231 infection by physically attending abortion clinics. However, similarly to the issue of sunset clauses, it
232 may be difficult to return to the lower limit again after the pandemic as, provided TEMAs that take
233 place during this two week window prove to be safe, effective, and acceptable, the health concerns
234 argument will be weakened. Indeed, pressure is likely to mount on both England and Wales (perhaps
235 even Northern Ireland) to also raise their gestational limits for (T)EMA.

236

237 Finally, a possible concern with TEMA is that counselling may be inadequate, and proper disclosure of
238 risks may not take place. If this were the case, there would be a justified concern. However, it is not the
239 case – or at least it is not *necessarily* the case. Adequate counselling and proper disclosure of risks are
240 possible in the context of telemedicine, and there need only be appropriate protocols in place (as there
241 are with in-person delivery of abortion care) to ensure them.

242

243

244 **5.0 Early data on TEMA in England and Wales**

245

246 The Department of Health and Social Care released statistics in September 2020 that provide an
247 overview of the initial months of TEMA in England and Wales [27]. It is necessary to highlight that
248 these statistics cover England and Wales only and cover the period up to and including June 2020.
249 Further, when breaking the data down into methods of abortion there is no explicit TEMA category.
250 There are data on the number of medical abortions where both medications were taken at home, which
251 it is reasonable to assume are largely the result of remote consultation and prescription. It is, however,
252 possible that some of the abortions included in this categorisation were the result of both medications
253 being taken home from an in-person consultation.

254

255 There are two key points to be drawn from these statistics. First, we can infer that uptake of TEMA in
256 England and Wales has been significant. The percentage of total abortions carried out medically in the

257 period January to June 2020 was 82%, an increase from 72% in the same period in 2019 [27]. In the
258 period April to June 2020, 43% of medical abortions involved both medications being self-administered
259 at home, with this figure gradually increasing within this period. As noted above, some of those included
260 in this 43% might not have been TEMA, but it is likely that the majority were, in part because of
261 temporary clinic closures [28].

262

263 Second, there was a significant shift to abortions being carried out at earlier gestational ages. Abortions
264 performed at under 10 weeks accounted for 86% of total abortions in the period of January to June
265 2020, compared with 81% in the same period in 2019 [27]. A more notable change is in the percentage
266 of abortions performed before 7 weeks, rising from 40% in the period January to June 2019 to 50% in
267 the same period in 2020 [27]. A plausible explanation for these changes is the introduction of TEMA;
268 not having to make arrangements to attend a clinic in person allows women to access abortion services
269 earlier. Assuming this is true, the case for TEMA is strengthened.

270

271 These statistics cover only the first three months in which TEMA was permitted in England and Wales,
272 so conclusions cannot yet be reliably drawn. That we are still within pandemic circumstances also limits
273 the feasibility of an accurate assessment. Nonetheless, these early figures at least suggest that the
274 temporary approvals have been a success and have the potential to improve access in the long term. The
275 experience of TEMA throughout the UK will also likely provide useful data for evaluating the safety,
276 effectiveness, and acceptability of the specific model of delivery that has been implemented, but such
277 data has not yet been published.

278

279

280 **6.0 A note on the United States**

281

282 Whilst our focus in this paper has been the UK, it is worth drawing a brief comparison to the US. Like
283 the UK, several US states have responded to the COVID-19 pandemic by reassessing abortion
284 provision. However, unlike the UK, where there have been changes these have been in the opposite
285 direction with access to abortion being denied.

286

287 Abortion is legal in the US [29], however individual states are empowered to introduce whatever
288 regulatory framework surrounding abortion that they see fit provided it does not constitute an ‘undue
289 burden’ on women’s access to care before foetal viability [30]. Following this a number of states, before
290 the pandemic, introduced bans on TEMA; or effectively banned TEMA by the introduction of
291 requirements such as examination before treatment provision or that a practitioner must supervise care.
292 The Ohio Senate, however, only moved to ban TEMA on the 4th March 2020, as it was becoming
293 increasingly evident that TEMA might be important as a measure to respond to the current crisis.

294

295 Moreover, in response to the crisis state governors across the US introduced executive orders mandating
296 the cessation of non-essential medical care. In some states, notably where TEMA was already unlawful,
297 including Texas [31] and Ohio [32], state administration was clear that they did not believe abortion to
298 be an essential medical service and, therefore, service provision must stop. Similar orders were issued
299 in Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Indiana, Iowa, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee and West

300 Virginia. Many of these orders have been successfully challenged in state courts. In Texas, after legal
301 proceedings issued by Planned Parenthood and the Center for Reproductive Rights [33], the order has
302 been lifted and clinics are now able to continue to operate provided they do not claim personal protective
303 equipment assistance from authorities [34]. In many states, even where there has not yet been a
304 successful legal challenge, clinics have vowed to remain open and continue to provide care [35]. The
305 clear and deliberate attempt to effectively ban abortion that can be seen across the US illustrates how
306 state governments have attempted to use the pandemic to interfere with abortion rights. In the UK, it is
307 fortunate that the government has sought to act to ensure access in the circumstances – even if the
308 measures introduced are also political in nature. The differing political responses can be accounted for
309 by the differing socio-political contexts and legal traditions regarding abortion in the UK and the US
310 [6]. In the US, abortion has become a prominent political issue because it is recognised as part of a
311 woman’s constitutional right to privacy [36]. Whereas in the UK (except Northern Ireland), the
312 Abortion Act 1967 has succeeded to some extent in ‘depoliticising’ abortion by entrenching a medical
313 framework for provision in the law [37]. That there was a medical case, based on a shift in perceptions
314 about the risks of TEMA in the COVID context, may be why the UK government were willing to make
315 changes that improved access for women.

316

317

318 **7.0 Conclusion**

319

320 The introduction of TEMA in the UK will save thousands of women from coming to harm both during
321 social distancing measures and after [6]. However, the extent to which it can be considered a success
322 for women’s reproductive and sexual health and rights is limited by the fact that: in England and Wales
323 these measures are only temporary; in Scotland the measures are intended to be temporary; and in
324 Northern Ireland TEMA, strictly speaking, remains unlawful in most circumstances and is only
325 accessible because providers have chosen to risk any potential legal consequences of providing care.

326

327 That is not to detract from the fact that allowing TEMA in these circumstances is a move in the right
328 direction in terms of evidence-based medicine. With temporary measures in place, further pressure on
329 the governments of the UK may result in further approval orders which add permanence to TEMA
330 provision. Indeed, the public consultations in England and Scotland may do just this. It would, we
331 suggest, be appropriate for these temporary measures to be made permanent, and we call on UK
332 governments to do so.

333

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