



Emerging
LGBTQ Leaders
of Color Fund

#BeyondChoice

Funding Abortion Access and Reproductive
Justice in Uncertain Times

TOOLKIT

On May 11, 2022, Borealis' Emerging LGBTQ Leaders of Color Fund (ELLC) hosted **#BeyondChoice: Funding Abortion Access and Reproductive Justice in Uncertain Times** for philanthropy to learn from grantee partners who are utilizing an intersectional approach to re-shape reproductive care; explore the role of funders in supporting the movement ecosystem; and **collectively reimagine a liberated future, beyond Roe.**

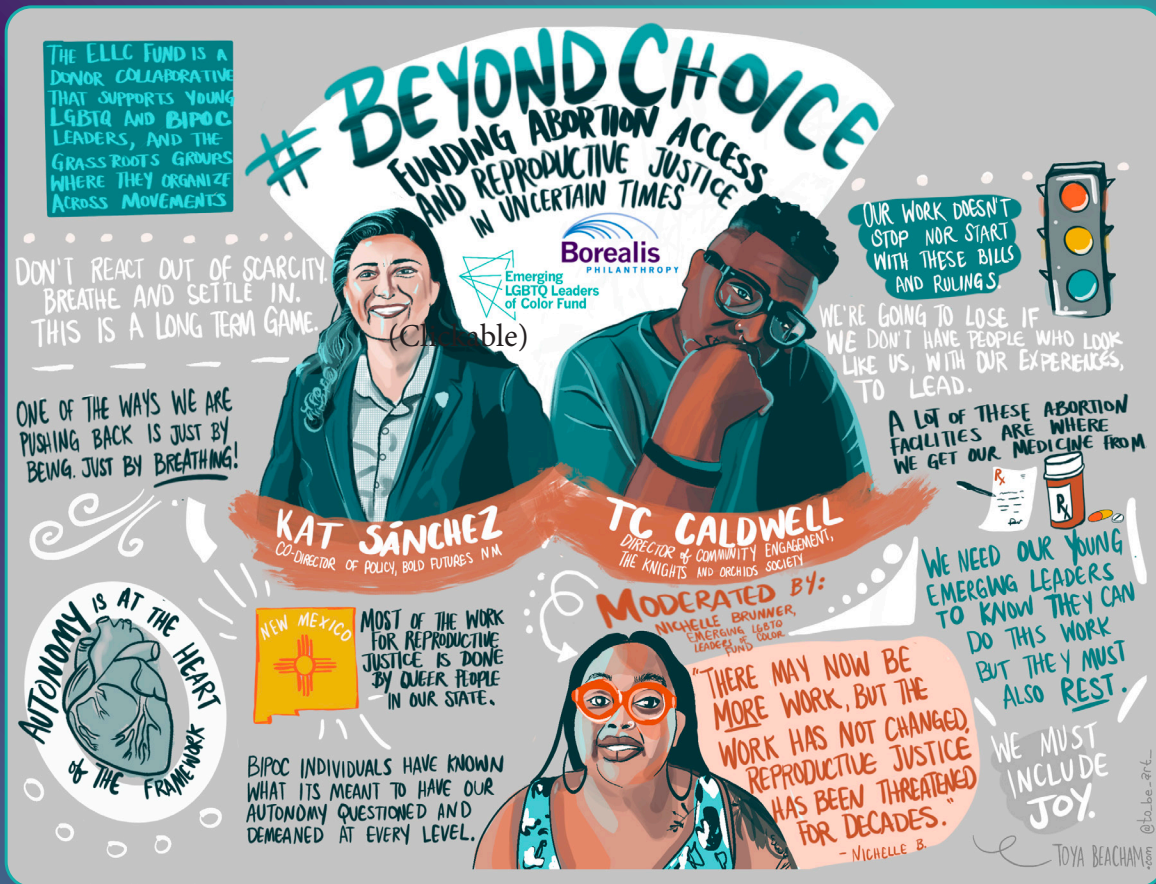


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THE STATE OF ROE V. WADE

WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF ROE V. WADE?

On May 2, 2022, a leaked Supreme Court [draft opinion](#) indicated that the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) is set to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, eliminating the constitutional right to abortion. **As drafted, the Court's decision would not be a weakening or dismantling, but a complete obliteration of the protective legislation.**

WHAT IS DOBBS V. JACKSON WOMEN'S HEALTH ORGANIZATION? HOW WILL SCOTUS' DECISION ON THIS CASE IMPACT ROE V. WADE?

In *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, SCOTUS is considering whether all pre-viability bans on abortion are unconstitutional. Mississippi has asked the Court to not only uphold its 15-week abortion ban but also to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. If the Court does as planned, states will again become arbiters of their own abortion laws. **An estimated 26 states are certain or likely to ban abortions**, and new laws will deputize civilians to police each other's reproductive choices.

WHAT HAPPENS IF ROE V. WADE IS OVERTURNED?

While the fall of *Roe v. Wade* will make abortion illegal in more than two dozen states, history has proven that **legality will not keep us from seeking abortions** or other ways of acting out autonomy over our bodies.

We know, too, that striking down *Roe* will have continued and devastating consequences, including increased surveillance, incarceration, suicide, and deepened and enshrined economic injustice. As is always the case, **LGBTQ, BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color), low-income, disabled, rural, and migrant communities will bear the brunt of this extremist decision.** Eliminating necessary civil liberties is particularly harmful to nonbinary and trans folks, who rely on abortion clinics for affirming health care, safety, and community. And broader LGBTQ rights will be at risk, since the liberty and privacy rights established in *Roe* served as the foundation for landmark civil rights cases, including *Obergefell v. Hodges*, which established marriage equality as a constitutional right.





WHAT CAN FUNDERS DO?

As funders, we are indebted to the organizers who have worked tirelessly to secure and offer inclusive and affirming reproductive care and who continue in their work to build a future that serves us all.

Here are three things that philanthropy can do today:



1 Trust LGBTQ and BIPOC leaders to develop inclusive and community-specific strategies and solutions.

Philanthropy must trust the wisdom of communities with lived experience of injustice to lead the way in creating change.

- **Give unrestricted dollars and long-term grants** so organizations and leaders can determine the best use of funds and implement strategies they (not you) set, and then trust them to do the work.
- **Provide rapid response funding**, which is particularly critical in this moment, as the uncertainty of abortion legislation leaves reproductive justice advocates overwhelmed and under-protected. The ELLC Fund has created a **reproductive justice rapid response fund** to support LGBTQ+, Black, Indigenous and POC (BIPOC) reproductive justice organizations to prepare and adapt in the face of the potential fall of Roe. Projects may include, but are not limited to, activities defending abortion access.



2 Shift the narrative around abortion — toward Reproductive Justice.

- **Fund Reproductive Justice organizing to secure the bodily autonomy for all people**, including access to abortion, gender-affirming healthcare and safety for trans people, and beyond.
- **Use gender-inclusive language** when discussing abortion and reproductive health care—for example, saying “pregnant people” is more accurate, inclusive, and straightforward.
- **Name abortion**. Instead of vague conversations about “women’s rights”, “health” and “choice”, it’s time to openly discuss how all people who can get pregnant need access to safe and compassionate abortion care.



3 Resource LGBTQ and people of color-led organizations on the frontlines of the Reproductive Justice movement — in this critical moment and for long-term power building.

While progressives talk intersectional, the right acts intersectional. Anti-trans and anti-abortion organizers receive support from the same set of funders who resource these movements at the state and local level. Progressive funders can course correct:

- **Fund power-building organizing at the community level** — not only to win policy changes, but to implement and defend these changes, and to shift narrative and culture.
- **Fund LGBTQ and people of color-led Reproductive Justice organizations** that are building power across communities and issues. **See page 5 for a list of Borealis reproductive justice grantee partners.**

We must fund Reproductive Justice beyond a single-issue lens in this critical moment. We encourage you to partner with the Emerging LGBTQ Leaders of Color Fund so that philanthropy can provide aligned and maximum support to grassroots organizers. To learn more about funding the movement ecosystem, contact Maya Berkowitz at mberkowitz@borealisphilanthropy.org.



KEY TAKEAWAYS



WATCH TC Caldwell of The Knights and Orchids Society on how the fight for bodily autonomy and self-determination doesn't stop or start with Roe:

"Our work doesn't stop or start with these bills or Roe. It's business as usual. Because our people don't stop or start with these bills and this ruling."



WATCH Kat Sánchez shares the impact of Bold Futures NM's work for bodily autonomy and self-determination:

"In New Mexico, we are already absorbing many people who are coming here for access, for abortion care. In different forms. And with Texas next door, being so incredibly criminalizing to people in different ways, including gender-affirming care..."



WATCH Kat Sánchez of Bold Futures NM on how we must approach Roe v. Wade as an intersectional issue:

"So I have to travel three hours if I wanted to get access to abortion care. So if I'm at an income level where I have to pay all of these other pieces, child care, time off from work, in addition, I need transportation. And it's not just access to abortion care that we're referring to. This could be access to gender-affirming care."



WATCH: TC Caldwell shares the impact of The Knights and Orchids Society's work:

"We go back and get the breadcrumbs, we go back and get what the organizations and the churches and schools have left behind. We're a breadcrumb movement. What we're doing is training up the next leaders.... We want people to know: We see you."



GRANTEE PARTNERS WORKING ON REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE

This list includes all Borealis Philanthropy grantee partners that focus on Reproductive Justice. Organizations with an asterisk (*) are ELLC grantees.

[Acorn Center for Restoration and Freedom](#) **GEORGIA**

[Arianna's Center / Translatina](#) **FL FLORIDA**

[Autistic Women & Nonbinary Network](#) **NEBRASKA**

[Baltimore Safe Haven](#) **MARYLAND**

[Baltimore Transgender Alliance](#) **MARYLAND**

[Black Feminist Future](#) **GEORGIA**

[Black Phoenix Organizing Collective](#) **ARIZONA**

[Black Trans Advocacy Coalition, Inc](#) **TEXAS**

[Black Trans Media](#) **NEW YORK**

[Black Trans Women Inc](#) **TEXAS**

[Bold Futures*](#) **NEW MEXICO**

[Brave Space Alliance](#) **ILLINOIS**

[CANScantSTAND](#) **LOUISIANA**

[Central Arkansas Harm Reduction Project](#) **ARKANSAS**

[Coalition for Rights and Safety for People in the Sex Trade in Seattle/King County](#) **WASHINGTON**

[Colorado Organization for Latina Opportunity and Reproductive Rights](#) **COLORADO**

[Community Ele'te](#) **VIRGINIA**

[COMMUNITY ESTRELLA](#) **GEORGIA**

[Detroit Disability Power](#) **MICHIGAN**

[Disability Justice Culture Club](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[EI/La Para TransLatinas, a project of Community Initiatives*](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[Fireweed Collective](#) **SOUTH CAROLINA**

[Forward Together](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[FTM Alliance / Gender Justice](#) **CALIFORNIA, LOUISIANA**

[Gender Benders](#) **SOUTH CAROLINA**

[Gender Health Center](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[Genders & Sexualities Alliance Network](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[Health Justice Commons](#)

[House of Pentacles](#) **NORTH CAROLINA**

[inTRANSitive](#) **ARKANSAS**

[Jacksonville Community Action Committee](#) **FLORIDA**

[Khmer Girls in Action*](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[LaGender, Inc.](#) **GEORGIA**

[Lavender Phoenix*](#) (formerly API Equality – Northern California) **CALIFORNIA**

[LGBT Center Intercultural Collective INC/CITG](#) **NEW YORK**

[LIPS Tampa](#) **FLORIDA**

[Maui AIDS Foundation](#) **HAWAII**

[Metro Trans Umbrella Group](#) **MISSOURI**

[Minnesota Transgender Health Coalition](#) **MINNESOTA**

[Mirror Memoirs](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[My Sistah's House Memphis](#) **TENNESSEE**

[National Queer and Trans Therapists of Color Network](#) **CALIFORNIA**

[Nationz Foundation Incorporated](#) **VIRGINIA**

[New Voices for Reproductive Justice](#) **PENNSYLVANIA**

[Organización Latina de Trans en Texas](#) **TEXAS**

GRANTEE PARTNERS WORKING ON REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE

[Queer and Trans People of Color Birthwerq](#) WASHINGTON

[SisTers PGH](#) PENNSYLVANIA

[SPARK Reproductive Justice NOW!*](#) GEORGIA

[St. James Infirmery](#) CALIFORNIA

[Stonewall Youth](#) WASHINGTON

[Tallahassee Community Action Committee](#) FLORIDA

[TGI Justice Project](#) CALIFORNIA

[The Knights & Orchids Society*](#) ALABAMA

[Trans Queer Pueblo*](#) ARIZONA

[Trans Sistas of Color Project](#) MICHIGAN

[Trans*Visible](#) SOUTH CAROLINA

[Transgender Advocates Knowledgeable Empowering*](#) ALABAMA

[Transgender Law Center](#) CALIFORNIA

[Unspoken Treasure Society](#) FLORIDA

[UTOPIA \(United Territories of Pacific Islanders Alliance\) Seattle*](#) WASHINGTON

[WeCareTN](#) TENNESSEE

[Women Enabled International](#) WASHINGTON DC

[Women With A Vision, Inc.](#) LOUISIANA



RESOURCES

This selection of resources will help you build your understanding of *Roe v. Wade* in relationship to Reproductive Justice.

NOTE: This list is not comprehensive and new resources are being created every day.

ARTICLES AND PODCASTS

- [Decriminalizing Abortion: How Our Movements Can Organize in Solidarity With Each Other](#)
- [Abortion Justice Requires Philanthropic Investment in the Women of Color Leading the Fight](#)
- [We Must Love One Another: Why Trans & Repro Justice Movement Should Be Building Solidarity](#)
- [‘We Are Grabbing Our Own Microphones’: How Advocates of Reproductive Justice Stepped Into the Spotlight](#)
- [How Black Feminists Defined Abortion Rights](#)
- [TransLash Podcast Episode 38, ‘Trans Bodies, Trans Choices’](#)
- [First Texas Came for Pregnant People— Then It Came for Trans Kids](#)
- [Harassing doctors as a tactic to deny and disrupt affirming care](#)
- [Adaku Utah Believes Abortion Care Goes Beyond Legality](#)
- [For Black Women, The Fights For *Roe v. Wade* And Voting Rights Are Inextricable](#)
- [OPINION: The SCOTUS *Roe v. Wade* Draft – Never Forget Women’s Rights, Civil Rights, And Human Rights Are Intertwined](#)

RESOURCES

STATEMENTS

- [SisterSong \(@SisterSong_WOC\)](#)
- [NNAF Abortion Funds \(@AbortionFunds\)](#)
- [SPARK Reproductive Justice](#)
- [Bold Futures \(@BoldFutures\)](#)
- [Mijente \(@ConMijente\)](#)
- [TAKE Action Civic Engagement \(@takeactionciv\)](#)
- [Movement 4 Black Lives \(@Mvmnt4BlkLives\)](#)

TOOLKITS + GUIDES

- [The Center for Reproductive Rights: SCOTUS Decision Day Scenarios Messaging Guidance](#)
- [National Abortion Care Network: Abortion Access event April 5: Resource Document](#)
- [SisterSONG: Communications Toolkit Centering Reproductive Justice](#)
- [Black Women for Wellness: Someone You Love – Social Media Toolkit](#)
- [Liberate Abortion: Bans Off Our Bodies Mobilizations Partner Toolkit](#)

WEBINARS

- [Abortion access and the fight against policing and criminalization](#)
- [#BMHW22: Reproductive Justice is...](#)
- [Abortion is Essential for Democracy](#)

ADDITIONAL REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE ORGANIZATIONS TO SUPPORT

NOTE: This list is not comprehensive. It was communally sourced during our live donor-learning event.

- [Yellow Hammer Fund](#)
- [Mountain Area Abortion Doula Collective](#)
- [Mariposa Fund](#)
- [West Fund](#)
- [Indigenous Women Rising](#)
- [Cihuapactli Collective](#)
- [Margins Women Helping Women](#)
- [Midwifery Funders Group](#)



GLOSSARY

The below terms were mentioned on our call, used in this toolkit, or are relevant to broader Reproductive Justice work. Our gratitude to movement for coining and defining the terms shared in this glossary.

NOTE: This list is not comprehensive.

Ableism: The discrimination of and social prejudice against people with disabilities based on the belief that typical abilities are superior. (SOURCE: ACCESS LIVING)

Anti-Blackness: Anti-Blackness is a two-part formation that both voids Blackness of value, while systematically marginalizing Black people and their issues. The first form of anti-Blackness is overt racism. Beneath this anti-Black racism is the covert structural and systemic racism which categorically predetermines the socioeconomic status of Blacks in this country. The structure is held in place by anti-Black policies, institutions, and ideologies. The second form of anti-Blackness is the unethical disregard for anti-Black institutions and policies. This disregard is the product of class, race, and/or gender privilege certain individuals experience due to anti-Black institutions and policies. This form of anti-Blackness is protected by the first form of overt racism.

(SOURCE: THE COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRATIZING EDUCATION)

Beyond Choice: “Choice” ignores structural factors such as economic status, race, immigration status, etc. and assumes that all people have an equal opportunity to choose.

BIPOC: Acronym for Black, Indigenous, People of Color

Classism: The institutional, cultural, and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign differential value to people according to their socioeconomic class; and an economic system that creates excessive inequality and causes basic human needs to go unmet.

(SOURCE: NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR COMMUNITY AND JUSTICE)

Gender-Affirming Care: Care that supports a person’s body to be more aligned with their gender identity.

Gender non-conforming: Terms for people whose gender identity and/or expression is different from societal expectations related to gender. (SOURCE: THE NATIONAL LGBTQ TASK FORCE)

Indian Child Welfare Act: The purpose of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) is “...to protect the best interest of Indian Children and to promote the stability and security of Indian tribes and families by the establishment of minimum Federal standards for the removal of Indian children and placement of such children in homes which will reflect the unique values of Indian culture... “ ICWA provides guidance to States regarding the handling of child abuse and neglect and adoption cases involving Native children and sets minimum standards for the handling of these cases.

(SOURCE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR INDIAN AFFAIRS)

Intersectionality: Introduced by Black feminist and legal scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality is the idea that we have multiple identities—such as our race, gender, class, sexuality, ability, and more—and that these identities intersect and create unique experiences of marginalization that are best understood together rather than in isolation.

GLOSSARY

Obergefell v. Hodges: A case in which the Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment requires states to license and recognize same-sex marriage.

Planned Parenthood v. Casey: A case in which the Court upheld a right to have an abortion that was established in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and altered the standard for analyzing restrictions on that right, crafting the undue burden standard for abortion restrictions.

Racism: Racism involves one group having the power to carry out systematic discrimination through the institutional policies and practices of the society and by shaping the cultural beliefs and values that support those racist policies and practices. (SOURCE: RACIAL EQUITY TOOLKIT)

Reproductive Justice (RJ): The human right to have a child, to not have a child, to parent the children that we have in healthy and safe environments, to make sure there aren't food deserts or contaminated water or police bullets, conditions that do not make communities safe for the children we bring into the world. It's rooted in the human rights framework. Ultimately RJ is about the human right to bodily autonomy and self-determination. It doesn't just focus solely on abortion, but it also unapologetically centers it. RJ also centers on the most marginalized and actively works to dismantle systems of oppression that historically have made it so that a choice is not always possible for marginalized communities. (SOURCE: SISTERSONG)

Reproductive Rights: A framework largely centered on achieving women's individualistic reproductive freedom through the legal system which has historically focused largely on the pro-choice and pro-life debate, sex education, and family planning.

Roe v. Wade: *Roe v. Wade* is the name of the lawsuit that led to the landmark 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision establishing a constitutional right to abortion in the United States. The 7-2 decision found that the 14th Amendment includes a "right to privacy" that covers the right to abortion.

Transphobia: The hatred or fear of transgender, nonbinary, and gender-nonconforming people. This sometimes leads to acts of violence and expressions of hostility. Transphobia is not confined to any one segment of society and can be found in people from all walks of life.

(SOURCE: THE NATIONAL LGBTQ TASK FORCE)



CONTACT INFORMATION

We encourage you to consider partnering with Borealis Philanthropy so that together we can support grassroots organizing.

To learn more about partnering with Borealis, contact Maya Berkowitz at mberkowitz@borealisphilanthropy.org.

To learn more about ELLC, contact Dani Martinez at dmartinez@borealisphilanthropy.org.