ADVANCED PRAISE FOR UNDIVIDED RIGHTS

At last—a book that thoroughly challenges the myth that movements for reproductive rights and freedoms have been a mainly white, middle-class women’s domain. Through meticulous documentation of African American, Asian and Pacific Islander American, Latina, and Native American women’s activism since the 1960s to achieve sexual and reproductive justice for all, Undivided Rights sets the record straight about the broad meanings and anti-racist, anti-colonial roots of struggles to achieve reproductive justice in the United States. This book is a must read for everyone interested in the intersections of gender, race, and class; the dynamics of contemporary social movements; and the power of women of color to change history.

—Rosalind Pollack Petchesky
Global Prescriptions: Gendering Health and Human Rights

Undivided Rights goes a long way toward breathing new life into the “our bodies, our choice” mantra. By examining reproductive rights issues through women of color’s eyes, the authors force a conversation that focuses not merely on one’s sex, but also on one’s race, class, and social status, therefore radically obliterating the notion that reproductive justice issues are colorless, ageless, and classless. This is a necessary book that will help guide the reproductive rights movement into the twenty-first century.

—Dawn Lundy Martin
The Fire This Time: Young Activists and the New Feminism

Give Undivided Rights your undivided attention! This excellent book is a valuable gift to activists, scholars, and others interested in the powerful, vibrant, and inclusive reproductive justice organizing by women of color over the past quarter century in the US. The authors reveal a history too rarely told of African American, Latina, Native American, and Asian and Pacific Islander American women developing theory, organizations, and public policy agendas that encompass the diversity of women’s reproductive health needs and the mighty potential of an inclusive vision of reproductive rights.

—Sandra Morgen
Undivided Rights provides powerful, provocative stories of grassroots organizing and community health among contemporary women of color.

—Vicki L. Ruiz

From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America

Undivided Rights is feminist political history at its finest. Its case studies bring alive the powerful story of how women of color organizing has transformed the reproductive rights movement by courageously challenging both population control and anti-abortion forces. In analyzing the political experiences of the past, Undivided Rights provides a rich legacy of strategies for the present and future. Clearly written and persuasively argued, it will appeal to a broad audience of activists, students, scholars, and anyone interested in the history of race and reproduction and progressive feminist organizing in the US.

—Betsy Hartmann

Reproductive Rights and Wrongs: The Global Politics of Population Control

Does “reproductive choice” mean something different for women of color than white women? In Undivided Rights, Silliman, Fried, Ross, and Gutiérrez unequivocally answer the question by deconstructing the dichotomy of “pro-choice”/“pro-life” and usher us into the realities of women of color where reproductive rights are inseparable from issues of class, race, sexuality, ability, and nationality, and the struggle for individual rights transforms into collective movements for comprehensive justice. Foregrounding the work in four communities of color,...the authors not only document the histories of women's organizing and resistance, but also challenge the myth of minority women’s apathy and follower mentality. Undivided Rights is incisively analytical, affirming of women of color, and yet, charts the possibility of interracial collaboration as well as redefining “reproductive rights” for all. Truly inspirational!

—Shamita Das Dasgupta

A Patchwork Shawl: Chronicles of South Asian Women in America

Undivided Rights is an important addition to both the history of reproductive rights and the current movement. By documenting the contributions and struggles of women of color, Undivided Rights highlights rarely heard perspectives and facets of women's ongoing fight for justice. These strong voices speak to the movement and to the greater society. The authors' own activism enriches the narrative and analysis. A must read for anyone interested in women's lives.

—Laura Kaplan

The Story of Jane: The Legendary Underground Feminist Abortion Service
UNDIVIDED RIGHTS
Women of Color Organize for Reproductive Justice

Jael Silliman
Marlene Gerber Fried
Loretta Ross
Elena R. Gutiérrez

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We are not dispassionate observers of our subject—from the outset this book was conceived of as a political project. We set out to "lift up" the voices and the achievements of women of color who are transforming the struggle for sexual and reproductive health and rights into a movement for reproductive justice. We culled vital lessons from their experiences of working to develop a more holistic and inclusive movement vision and suggestions on ways to better work together across differences.

Each one of us has been engaged with and committed to the work women of color have been doing to realize reproductive rights. Our activism has shaped the writing and analysis we developed in this book. As a multiracial team of women, we valued our very different movement histories as well as our varied frames of reference. Co-authorship meant debating and critiquing each other's writing and analysis and rethinking some of our own assumptions and perspectives. It required each of us to learn histories with which we were less familiar. As co-authors we deeply engaged with one another's analysis, bringing several lenses at once to understand the complex terrain in which women of color operate. Writing this together has been a profound learning and bonding experience.

Since how we understand the world and seek to shape it is determined by our pasts and visions of the future, we briefly sketch where each of us has worked over the years.

Jael Silliman has been an activist both in the US and international women's health and reproductive rights movements. She was a program officer at the Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation, an early supporter of organizations of women of color. She was an associate
professor of women's studies at the University of Iowa, where she wrote about social movements, women's health, and reproductive rights. She is currently the program officer for reproductive rights in the Human Rights Unit at the Ford Foundation. Her most recent book is *Policing the National Body: Race, Gender, and Criminalization*, co-edited with Anannya Bhattacharjee. She is from India and is an immigrant to the US.

Marlene Gerber Fried came to reproductive rights after her involvement in the civil rights, women's liberation, and anti-war movements of the 1960s. Since the late 1970s, her focus has been domestic and international abortion and reproductive rights. She works with student activists in her role as director of the Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program at Hampshire College, where she is also a professor of philosophy. Marlene is the founding president of the National Network of Abortion Funds, a co-founder and board member of the Abortion Access Project, and serves on the international board of the Women's Global Network for Reproductive Rights. She edited *From Abortion to Reproductive Freedom: Transforming a Movement*.

Loretta Ross has a 25-year history in the women's movement, both in ending violence against women and promoting reproductive rights in the United States and internationally. She was active in the black Nationalist and civil rights movements. She has written extensively on African American women and abortion, and organized two national conferences on reproductive rights for women of color in 1987 and 2003, respectively. Loretta is a co-founder of the SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Health Collective, the founder and executive director of the National Center for Human Rights Education, and is on the board of SisterLove, a women's HIV/AIDS organization. Most recently, she was national co-director of the March for Women's Lives, April 2004, Washington, DC.

Elena Gutiérrez has researched issues in Latina reproductive health for 15 years. She is currently an assistant professor of gender and women's studies and Latin American and Latino studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. She is completing another book, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women's Reproduction*, which is forthcoming from the University of Texas Press. She has worked closely with several women's health organizations and is the past board president of ACCESS/Women's Health Rights Collective.
While we are ultimately responsible for what we have written, this ambitious project could not have been undertaken without the support and inspiration of the many people who commit each day of their lives to advance women's human rights. We thank the leaders, boards, and staff of each of the organizations featured. They spent time with us in interviews; shared their organizational resources, reports, and files; suggested people with whom we should speak to develop a more comprehensive understanding of their work; and reviewed and commented on drafts, working with us to get the organizational histories and details right. It has been our privilege to document their activities. We hope that through this book the essential work that they are doing in their communities will be better known and appreciated. Our scholarship on the activism of women of color in the reproductive health movement is just a beginning. The people we have interviewed, the organizations we feature, and the many others we could not include deserve further research and documentation as they are pioneers in this broad and vibrant movement.

We thank the Open Society Institute, who selected our proposal under the Individual Fellows Program and also gave us a publishing support grant. This financial support enabled us to conduct the research and writing for this book and allowed South End Press to expand its outreach and publicity. We thank the women's studies department of the University of Iowa, the Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program at Hampshire College, the National Center for Human Rights Education, and the gender and women's studies and Latin American and Latino studies departments at the University of Illinois at Chicago for the institutional support they provided to carry this work forward.

In these harsh political times, we especially appreciated working with South End Press and its commitment to radical social change. We thank Loie Hayes and Jill Petty for their dedication to our book. We deeply value the many contributions of our main editor, Joey Fox, who believed in the book's importance. She worked with us through several drafts, always with great patience, thoughtfulness, and sensitivity. We also thank, in association with South End Press, Elizabeth Terzakis, Jess Lin, and Chris Hu for their relentless attention to detail.

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So many women committed to reproductive rights and health also gave generously of their time and expertise. We especially thank Margaret Hempel, Sarah Littlecrow-Russell, Shira Saperstein, Andy Smith, and Sherry Wilson, who read, commented, and made suggestions to strengthen our research and analysis.

As it is for all writers, it is our families and friends who have nurtured and supported us through the always time consuming and often laborious process of writing a book. Each of us has special friends and family members that we wish to acknowledge, for they have helped us through anxious moments and seen us through long hours of research and writing.

Jael gives heart-felt thanks to her daughters Shikha and Maya, her parents Flower and David, and her friends in Calcutta, Iowa City, and New York City. They saw her through very difficult personal circumstances during which this book was written.

Marlene could not have written this book nor sustained herself as an activist without the personal and political support of her friends and family; her colleagues at the Civil Liberties and Public Policy Program—Betsy Hartmann, Amy Crysel, Eesha Pandit, Ryn Gluckman, Rosalind Pollan, and former staff member Mina Trudeau; the board and staff of the National Network of Abortion Funds and the many other activists she has worked with over the years who have been sources of strength and inspiration; and her husband Bill, who gave love, emotional support, and editorial help during what sometimes seemed like an endless process.

This book also would not have been possible without a true partnership between community activists and women in academic institutions who are dedicated to documenting the history and contributions of women of color. In particular, Loretta would like to thank Stanlie James, who first encouraged her to write about black women's reproductive rights activism in 1990. Other activists and/or scholars who have helped include Luz Rodriguez, Elsa Rios, Dázon Dixon Diallo, Nkenge Toure, Patricia Rodney, Rickie Solinger, Vanessa Northington Gamble, Faye Williams (of SisterSpace & Books), Joyce Follet, Isa Williams, Alice Cohan, and, of course, the staff at the National Center for Human Rights Education: Dionne Vann, Deanna West, Malika Redmond, Katie Gurley, Maria Foley, and former staffers Sarah Brownlee and Pam Hester. Loretta would like to dedicate this book to her mother, Lorene Deloris Ross, who told her daughter to “never let success go to your head, or failure go to your heart.”
Elena would like to thank Mona Jhawar for encouraging her to become involved in this project and supporting her throughout. She is grateful to Phil Bowman and the Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) for a fellowship that allowed her the time to begin this project. She'd also like to thank her colleagues at UIC, friends in Chicago, and Gail London for reminding her why writing this history is important. Finally, she'd like to thank her family for always supporting her work, and her ancestors for leading the way. Elena dedicates this book to her students at UIC, for their joy, their dedication, and their inspiration.