

RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Confronting Reproductive Injustices: A Discussion on Decolonial, Queer, Anti-racist Organizing

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"ONCE..." BY BEC YOUNG VIA JUST SEEDS OPEN ACCESS GRAPHICS COLLECTION

In April 2023, Governor Tim Walz tweeted the following message, celebrating the protective measures available to Minnesotan citizens:



Governor Tim Walz ✓
@GovTimWalz

I just signed three bills into law that:

- ✓ Protect people seeking or providing abortions in Minnesota
- ✓ Ban the harmful practice of conversion “therapy”
- ✓ Protect access to gender-affirming health care

In Minnesota, we’re protecting rights – not taking them away.

10:24 AM · Apr 27, 2023 · 742.1K Views

1,691 Reposts 332 Quotes 11.7K Likes 63 Bookmarks



As we explore throughout this essay, Minnesota’s reputation as a progressive island, surrounded by more conservative states that have restricted access to reproductive rights, misses the opportunity to fully contextualize intersecting social movements beyond electoral politics. In this way, we ask — what connections do we share across coalitions for Indigenous sovereignty, environmental justice, racial justice, the movement for police abolition, and protecting trans youth? These are core conversations that we have shared in our analysis of reproductive justice and creating safe communities for children and families. In March 2023, we converged for a plenary panel as fellow travelers in the movement for reproductive justice at the Red River Women’s Studies Conference, “Bodies and Bans: Reflecting Post-Roe,” at Minnesota State University-Moorhead. During that same year, the Red River Women’s Clinic was forced to relocate from Fargo, N.D., to Moorhead, Minn., due to the consequences of the Dobbs decision and subsequent trigger ban in North Dakota. This is an important pedagogical context, as the move from North Dakota to Minnesota is framed as one of greater safety afforded through legal protection; however, that notion is troubled by examining abortion through the reproductive justice lens.

By sharing our diverse perspectives in relation to the following theoretical frameworks – decolonial, anti-racist, and queer reproductive justice, we offer an example of coalitional solidarity by including perspectives at the margin often relegated to invisibility in mainstream reproductive rights conversations. Of course, the post-Dobbs era has ushered in further misogynist and white nationalist violence that normalizes the conditions that undermine our collective reproductive, sexual, and gender autonomy. Our conversation charts this terrain in the Minnesota context. As we know, the meager rights under Roe have never been enough, because a legal framework

individualizes a collective experience of harm; hence, the 1976 Hyde Amendment, which continues to prohibit use of Medicaid funds for abortion, exposed the intersecting impact of classism and racism on low-income folks who became pregnant and had no access to abortion. According to the Guttmacher Institute, Black women make up 29% of women 14-49 enrolled in Medicaid, meaning this impact disproportionately affects Black women (Guttmacher Institute, May 2021).

Reproductive Justice Beyond Rights

This dialogic essay builds from the critical teachings of women of color organizers in Sister Song and Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice who assert that reproductive justice is an intersectional framework tying together multiple social movements. This framework is elucidated in Loretta Ross and Rickie Solinger’s *Reproductive Justice: An Introduction*:

Reproductive justice is a contemporary framework for activism and for thinking about the experience of reproduction. It is also a political movement that splices reproductive rights with social justice to achieve reproductive justice. The definition of reproductive justice goes beyond the pro-choice/pro-life debate and has three primary principles: (1) the right not to have a child; (2) the right to have a child; and (3) the right to parent children in safe and healthy environments. In addition, reproductive justice demands sexual autonomy and gender freedom for every human being (p. 9).

Linking reproductive health access to broader social movements ensures that the most marginalized are centered. As we document here, while abortion access is legally available in Minnesota, the state also has the largest racial health disparities in the nation. This is confounded by high rates of family separation experienced by Indigenous and Black parents, police violence, and continued attacks on Indigenous sovereignty via pipelines — all factors that necessitate that reproductive justice extends beyond discussion of abortion. As Loretta Ross pointed out, “this is in contrast to the singular focus on abortion by the pro-choice movement that excludes other social justice movements.”

Ross’ analysis of liberal individualism inherent in the singular focus of “choice” offers an important lesson to students and organizers, especially as we consider the roots of reproductive injustices and deploy strategies to create collective safety beyond a legal framework. As Wendy Brown argued in *States of Injury*, “Rights discourse in liberal capitalist culture casts as private potentially political contests about distribution of resources and about relevant parties to decision making. It converts social

problems into matters of individualized, dehistoricized injury and entitlement, into matters in which there is no harm if there is no agent and no tangibly violated subject" (p. 124). Essentially, the progressive fight to preserve and now protect (or restore) abortion rights inherently shifted focus away from broad systems of economic, racialized, and colonial marginalization that perpetuate a litany of harms far beyond reproductive access. This provides a potent teaching opportunity to expose how limited reform demands like "restore Roe" fail to acknowledge existing inequities. Therefore, in "pro-choice" states like Minnesota, once abortion rights protections were passed, coalitional solidarity around systemic injustice can quickly falter without this broader theoretical framework.

Minnesota's state electoral politics are "progressive." On June 25, 2022, Governor Tim Walz signed an emergency executive order to protect "reproductive health care services" in Minnesota (Exec. Order No. 22-16, 2022). This was followed by the passing of the Protect Reproductive Options Act (PRO Act) which protects the right to "reproductive freedom" within the state (Protect Reproductive Options Act, 2023). Our analysis of organizing at the margins of reproductive injustice in the state of Minnesota highlights how we must trouble this notion of "progressive," as laws can be essential for some protections, but remain attached to the colonial state apparatuses that uphold unequal access to safety. Despite codifying "reproductive freedom," these policies are more concerned with keeping reproductive freedom legally available, not materially accessible. This is especially true considering that the PRO Act codified what was already legal in Minnesota at the time but did not address the barriers keeping people from accessing that health care in the first place. This legislation was always meant to "establish a fundamental right to reproductive health" and not to improve access to reproductive care (Minnesota Legislature, 2023).

Minnesota is also a site of anti-Indigenous and anti-Black racist violence. For instance, in the uprisings of 2020 responding to the extrajudicial murder of George Floyd, protesters were met with state violence and tear gas. Planned Parenthood North Central States' recent research has found a significant impact on the reproductive health of those who were exposed to tear gas in 2020, documenting that 83% of those surveyed experience reproductive health issues like early menstrual bleeding, breast tenderness, and delayed menstrual bleeding (Hassan, et al 2023). Another context of state violence is the 2021 replacement and completion of Line 3—Enbridge, the Canadian-owned oil pipeline; almost 900 people were arrested protesting the oil pipeline. As many water protectors argued, the pipeline violates the treaty rights of the Anishinaabe people and endangers water.

As argued below, the anti-Black racism of policing in Minnesota is co-constitutive of the settler colonial project. Dorothy Roberts' *Torn Apart: How the Child Welfare System Destroys Black Families—And How Abolition Can Build a Safer World* further exposes the racism in Minnesota, stating:

The United States extinguishes the legal rights of more parents than any other nation on Earth. As with every aspect of the child welfare system, Black and Native children suffer the most—they are twice as likely as white children to experience the termination of both parents' rights. In some states, the legal demolition of family ties has risen dramatically in the last two decades, spurred by federal law's acceleration of termination proceedings. Terminations in Minnesota, which removes Black and Native children at exceptionally high rates, increased by 80 percent from 2010 to 2019 (p. 23).

Minnesota's representation as a progressive electoral state is dismantled in relation to the evidence of a larger colonial context. For this reason, we agree that the reliance on the legal framework erases many compounding oppressions.

When examined through the prism of intersectional reproductive justice, that legal reproductive rights framework reveals more inequality and more coalitional opportunities. This paper is a product of feminist pedagogy that refuses a hierarchy between theory and experience; as such, we are students, educators, and activists who have studied and practiced reproductive justice politics collaboratively. Our methodology follows the vision of Carolyn M. Shrewsbury's 1987 "What is Feminist Pedagogy?" whereby the division between "teacher-student and student-teacher" is subverted through collaborative social action (p. 6). Throughout this paper we utilize policy analysis, storytelling, and personal testimony as anti-racist feminist educators to show how these interlocking frameworks reveal the demands of social movements and differences between rights and liberation. The Red River Women's Conference plenary was our primary site of teaching; however, our teacher-student subversion is the act of reflection, or as Shrewsbury stated: "engaged with self in a continuing reflective process" (p. 6). The sections that follow are collectively theorized and written, as an act of coalition-building, and embed the individual, lived experiences of Regan Kluver, TL Jordan, and BriShaun Kearns.

ICWA and Building Family Autonomy

As noted above, reproductive rights discourses are often simplistic. Reducing reproductive health care access to abortion falls into a harmful binary of access versus no access; this binary is a fundamentally Western perspective that reproductive rights only mean equal access to abortion. However, if we look at reproductive justice, including "the right to parent children in safe and healthy environments," within an Indigenous framework, we can start to see the intersectional and cyclical nature of what reproductive justice offers. By looking at the health and needs of a whole person and whole community, we can understand the ripple effects reproductive justice, or a lack thereof, has on issues beyond abortion. My discussion is centered around understanding reproductive justice as bodily and community autonomy by examining the relationship between reproductive justice and the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) and water protection.

Reproductive justice as a framework is critical in my passion for ICWA awareness because of the history surrounding the systematic removal of Native children and forced assimilation practices before ICWA passed in 1978. The removal of Native children from their homes had been ongoing throughout the 19th century. However, between the 1950s and late 1960s, this removal was formalized into the Indian Adoption Project organized by two government agencies known as the United States Children's Bureau

I can remember sitting with an elder whose relatives were stolen prior to 1978. I remember looking through old photographs of their homes; she told me once when she was young and playing with her siblings and cousins in her yard, a black vehicle rolled onto her dad's property. She told me her cousins did not know that when that car approached, that meant they were supposed to recede to the woods and wait until it was gone. That day, two of her cousins were taken, and she never saw them again.



"IT'S NOT JUST WOMEN" WSU REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE CLUB CHALKING AT WINONA STATE UNIVERSITY, FALL 2021

and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Although forced separations of Native children from their homes was present in urban areas, the Indian Adoption Project targeted tribal communities and justified their acts of violence under the argument that life on the rez was hard, and Native children would be given a better life if placed with non-Native white families. The forced assimilation of Native children via boarding schools and family separation was intentional and became one of the leading causes of cultural disruption. At one point, before the passing of ICWA in 1978, over 75% of Native families had at least one child taken from them (*Blood Memory*).

My mother was born prior to the protection of ICWA and was placed in a white household, and although she grew up in a home full of love, she still was a statistic and a removed Native child. Unfortunately, my mom's story is not an outlier. According to the House of Representatives Report "Establishing the Standards for the Placement of Indian Children in Foster Homes, To Prevent the Breakup of Indian Families and Other Purposes," one in four Native peoples from her generation were adopted out. Sandy White Hawk had a similar story. As she has examined in her book, *A Child of the Indian Race*, there is no reproductive justice for Indigenous families under the terrorism of family separation (Whitehawk, 2022).

Further, reproductive justice gives families the ability to care for their children in a safe manner. It is not just about the right to choose to carry a child; it includes the rights of rearing and supporting that child into adulthood without federal policy taking away agency from families.

While ICWA is currently protected, the anti-abortion and racist climate of the Supreme Court is an attack on both bodily and community autonomy. The same week that the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of ICWA, there was a split vote decision in *Arizona vs. Navajo Nation*, denying the United States' responsibility to uphold promises from the Treaty of 1886 and consequently removing the Navajo Nation's primary access to clean water. Access to and protection of clean water is also a reproductive justice issue. Water and access to clean water is the foundation of all life. We are nurtured and carried in our parents' waters before birth, and so there is an understanding amongst Indigenous communities, including my own, that water is sacred, and we cannot survive without it. Moreover, water is not just a means for basic human life but is also a lifeway for cultural knowledge. It is part of our creation stories, our pathways, and so much more. Colonial pipelines, like Enbridge's Line 3 that crosses 95 bodies of water, know no bounds when it comes to injustice. They harm traditional foodways and the water, and they increase sexual violence and the attacks of Indigenous women, children, and two spirit people. Pipeline leakage creates barriers for a community's access to water, is a direct act of violence, and demonstrates the federal government's implicit attack on tribal sovereignty by upholding imperialist natural resource management policies, similar to the treatment of Indigenous families. This history and the continued reality of environmental racism is one that provides evidence of the importance of teaching that our personal stories are tied to politics in order to understand the harm of colonial policy.

Gender Autonomy and Protecting Trans Families

Minnesota had a monumental legislative season in 2023 that provided protections for both reproductive rights and trans rights with the passage of the PRO Act and Trans Refuge Act. While these pieces of legislation have been crucial to protect people's autonomy in raising their families, we cannot rely on legislation to protect the most vulnerable among us, especially while dominant narratives are imbued with white nationalism and transphobia.

In the post-Dobbs era, public conversations have still been centered around abortion and *Roe*, but those conversations tend to be centered within the status quo that *Roe* provided, which did not provide equitable access (e.g. Hyde Amendment) to all outside of the most privileged groups. As activists and advocates in reproductive justice, we must not limit our imagination to what *Roe* was; rather we must imagine a future that is as inclusive and diverse as the groups of people seeking access to reproductive care. A part of that reimagining is the intentional inclusion of family structures beyond the

hegemonic nuclear family model and the incorporation of transgender people and the reproductive care that is specific to them. This reimagining of family structures is critical to incorporating gender-diverse families and to resisting the colonial family ideals which destroyed and



"WATER IS LIFE" BY CHRISTI BELCOURT VIA JUST SEEDS OPEN ACCESS GRAPHICS

separated many Indigenous families, as well as incorporating the ways that full communities can raise their children. It also requires that we clearly define reproductive care as part of gender-affirming care; if politicians are drawing those lines, we should be explicitly drawing those lines as activists and advocates for reproductive freedom. For instance, during the Minnesota Senate floor debate of the PRO Act, amendments were introduced to ban gender-affirming care for young people, despite the bill language never mentioning trans people or gender-affirming care at all (Minnesota Senate, 2023). If hostile lawmakers are making these connections on the Senate floor, it is critical for us to draw these connections between movements as educators. Cross-movement analysis is not only critical for students to practice intersectional frameworks, but it also enables us to dream of ways movements can work together to make change. For these reasons, we need to imagine reproductive care

that is just as diverse as the people and the families who deserve access to that care.

A huge part of caring for families of transgender individuals as they seek safety is ensuring that those trans people have access to the reproductive care that they need. Transgender reproductive care looks a lot like reproductive care for anyone else, but there are unique considerations that often get lost or are inaccessible to trans people from the start. The discussion of fertility is a notable example of trans specific health care that is often pushed to the side. Quite often, trans people are not seen as reproductive beings, which automatically limits the conversation about trans-inclusive reproductive care (Strangio, 2016). There is a pervasive assumption which ties deeply with the misunderstanding of trans experience in the general population, that *all* trans people hate their body (especially their genitals), and so trans people must not want to get pregnant, be a part of pregnancy, or want to discuss pregnancy in any terms (Nixon, 2013). This is not only a harmful generalization of the trans experience that is rooted in eugenics, but it means that providers of reproductive care will immediately assume only a portion of reproductive care is desired and will never actually be offered. There are plenty of trans people who want to parent, and the experience of pregnancy is quite gender-affirming to them. There are trans people who believe so strongly in birthing their own child that they will adjust their own transition to accommodate pregnancy. Reproductive justice looks like transgender people having access to starting families on their own terms and in ways that affirm their gender.

The option to start a family through pregnancy may be a desire for some trans people, but maintaining viable fertility while transitioning can be incredibly difficult and inaccessible for most trans people, regardless of knowing if they want to start a family (Chen, 2018). When I first started HRT, my provider began to discuss how HRT would impact my fertility and what fertility preservation options were available to me. I remember immediately stopping my provider from going in depth into fertility preservation options and said, "You may as well not even talk to me about this, because I will never be able to afford it." Although I do not have a desire to have kids of my own, I never got the option to truly consider fertility preservation without pausing my transition and hoping I could afford fertility preservation in the future. My experience is extremely common among transgender people; we do not even get the chance to truly consider fertility because of the barriers imposed by the health care system that makes fertility preservation extremely expensive. For many trans people, giving up their fertility is just the price you pay to receive gender-affirming care (De Sutter, 2021). This injustice is compounded by the fact that alternative family options, such as adoption, have similar discrimination-based barriers (Stotzer, 2014). Trans people will never have full access to reproductive justice while being unable to make the decision to start a family on their own terms and not on the terms set by medical gatekeeping and transphobic ideas about trans parenting in the first place.

The question of fertility is already a complicated one for trans adults, but it can be even more complex and

difficult to manage as a young trans person. This is especially true as gender-affirming care for minors is increasingly banned across the country, limiting the options for trans youth and limiting the ability of supportive parents or guardians to help them navigate these decisions. Unfortunately, living in a state that hasn't banned gender-affirming care isn't enough to make fertility preservation accessible to the families of young trans people. For all the good that Minnesota's Trans Refuge Act has done, it doesn't do anything to address the access of gender-affirming care or the costs of moving to a new state. In fact, since that legislation was passed gender-affirming care providers have been struggling to keep up with the influx of new patients, new residents and current residents alike (Bierschbach, 2024).

As mentioned earlier, reproductive justice is keeping families together and ensuring that your family is safe from harm, and families with trans parents or trans children are finding it increasingly difficult to maintain safety for their family. Even in legally protected states, like Minnesota, there is an ever-present fear of harm done to trans people in the wake of increased violence against trans communities. Conversations post-*Dobbs* must go further than the question of abortion and start addressing the systems and political harm that continue to make it difficult for families to maintain safety and live full, healthy lives. It is incredibly difficult to live a full, healthy life while living in a state that continually legislates against your existence. It is difficult for families to navigate moving out of state to avoid the danger perpetuated by the state, and for the families who cannot afford to move, life becomes a constant struggle to do everything you can to mitigate the harm to those nearest to you. Minnesota did well to pass the Trans Refuge Act in the 2023 legislative session, which increased protections for people seeking gender-affirming care in Minnesota and gave the state increased authority in child custody cases regarding gender-affirming care. Regardless of this legislative win, we cannot rely solely on the state to create solutions for trans people, especially since the law only supports families in Minnesota, families who are receiving gender-affirming care in Minnesota, or families who are able to move to Minnesota. One state cannot undo the harms of every state's legislature, and we need to prioritize supporting the families who will be fighting to survive in states hell-bent on erasing trans existence.

Addressing these issues will take more than single-issue organizing, and by emphasizing intersectionality and cross-movement work in our pedagogy on reproductive justice, we can come up with solutions that are more creative and responsive to lived realities. We can use our communities to welcome trans families who move to states with more legal protections and ensure that they get connected with the resources that they need. We can create systems of care and mutual aid that protect trans families who must remain in states that are hostile. This is especially true as more hostile states are looking to remove trans children from the custody of their parents, the same tactics used to separate Indigenous children from their communities. We can look to Indigenous communities who have been fighting to keep their families

together and raise those families on their own terms in their own cultures. Being able to raise a family on your own terms and in safe environments is not just the responsibility of those starting the family; it is the responsibility of a community to continue to create conditions where all types of families can survive and thrive. In our new imagining of a life after *Roe*, we need just as much effort in community care to create communities based in solidarity as we need effort in passing legislation to combat attacks on reproductive and gender autonomy.

COVID, Policing, and Reproductive Justice

Another critical component of the “right to have children” is the ability to access life-affirming resources such as housing, health care, and education. Currently, governmental funding is rarely spent on the needs of the most marginalized communities, and as a result, they are forced to provide community relief through building care networks of mutual aid. For this reason, my earliest memories of reproductive justice show up as my mom and my aunts coming together to pay for rent or offering childcare. This unspoken organizing was done in my community to make sure people could go to the county office for the Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) program, go to job interviews, and attend school. While this is a fact of life for many people in our communities, it’s a rarely discussed part of reproductive rights discourses. As someone that doesn’t have children of their own, I often am asked why the issues of mothers are so important to me. A large part of my answer to this is that despite not being a mother myself, I still love and cherish the young people in my community. In this way, I still act as a mother figure for them. As Alexis Pauline Gumbs describes in *Revolutionary Mothering*, this act of community “mothering” is “the practice of creating, nurturing, affirming and supporting life” (p. 9). Many of us know this personally, whether coming from neighbors watching out for us while we play or having friends of our moms act as “aunts” and participate in our care despite not having blood relation. This is all reproductive justice.

As a Black-Native person, there are many ways that reproductive choice is very limited. “Choice” and reproductive rights are often reduced to individual access to abortion and birth control. Although health care access is an incredibly important part of achieving reproductive and sexual autonomy, the reproductive justice framework demands that we move past this simple measure of

success. In the article, “Racism and the Need for Reproductive Justice,” author Erica West points out that both the decision to have children as well as not to have



MY BODY. MY CHOICE BY KILL JOY, VIA JUST SEEDS OPEN ACCESS GRAPHICS

children are “more challenging for people of color and low-income people. This means that the fight for reproductive justice encompasses not just pregnancy and birth (and, of course, the choice to plan and continue, or terminate, that pregnancy), but housing, schooling, community and police violence, and more.” Histories of the use of Black bodies during slavery and forced sterilization for Indigenous, Black and Puerto Rican, and Chicana women, as well as women in poverty and folks with disabilities makes it especially difficult to view either as an easily made choice. These realities will always color whichever direction I choose to go. Unfortunately, traditional reproductive choice frameworks do little to address this when framing childbirth as a “choice.” From a young age, I experienced racism in libraries and at stores, being followed around to this very day, impressing on me that I don’t belong there. These types of ostracization are material forms of violence that we need to fight against as they deny people the right to grow up in an environment that is safe and allows the space for children to thrive — a central tenet of reproductive justice. Thriving also means access to safe environments amidst large-scale crises like the COVID-19 pandemic and affordable housing.

During the early part of 2020, when I was working at the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center and COVID had first hit, we made masks collectively to protect our communities. At the start of the pandemic, there wasn't much support to prevent the spread of COVID, especially for service providers and those that interacted with us daily. It really came down to enlisting "personal protection strategies" like masking, social distancing, and, when possible, staying home throughout the lockdown. This reliance on personal measures posed a problem in many ways. For those who were jobless, unhoused, or employed but severely underpaid, being able to afford masks was nearly impossible. Similarly, those receiving services, especially anyone who utilized the shelter, were at high risk due to the contact they maintained with providers and other community members as they were largely unable to socially distance. Most importantly, due to the high rates of homelessness in the Native population, many members of the community were unable to observe lockdown procedures and self-isolate "at home." This is important as COVID infections and deaths hit the Native population hardest. Native Americans come together to protect families and elders, as "Natives [were]...nearly three times more likely to be hospitalized [from COVID] and more than twice as likely to die from the disease than whites" (Chatterjee).

During that same time, George Floyd was murdered, in the community I lived in. We were locked down by the police and National Guard. Families lived under the duality of COVID threats and the policing of their communities; state violence disrupted our ability to have reproductive justice. As Erika West argues in "Racism and the Need for Reproductive Justice," "every person that is killed by police is someone's son, daughter, and child." We demand the right to raise our children in a safe environment. The fight against police brutality and militarized state violence is a feminist struggle as state violence is reproductive injustice.

Another way of engaging in community support was the work that my wife and I did to bring diapers, food, and baby wipes to community centers and to disseminate donated money to unhoused mothers of color. Due to citywide lockdowns, the lack of supplies in the stores, and the financial insecurity that families faced, it was increasingly difficult for mothers to get the needed supplies for their families. That is a literal way that reproductive justice happens in the struggle for anti-racism and against police violence. In addition, at that time, traveling to stores was risky due to COVID, tear gas, and militarized police clashes. Because of the lack of governmental support to our communities, we have to provide mutual aid, as reproductive justice, to make it possible to raise kids in a safe and healthy environment amidst these odds. Political organizing must secure safety and ensure respect for children so that they can live in a world without policing that can lead to death.

My own sense of mothering comes most strongly with my sister's children. She had her first child when I was 10 years old, and we grew up together. My nephew remains an important part of my life despite us being separated for years when I went to college. I think about him a lot when

I'm doing activist organizing, especially regarding the deaths of Black men from police brutality. As a young Black boy, there are a lot of hard conversations that we've had to have about his safety and how life is different for him than it is for his white peers and even for his sister. These dangers have intensified as he's gotten older, and now that he's going to start driving next year, I'm constantly thinking about what that means for him and his safety, what it means "to parent children in safe and healthy environments" (Ross and Solinger, p. 9). Examining communal parenting as a site of pedagogy is one way that anti-racist feminist educators can bring the most marginalized student voices to the classroom. Mutual aid networks are themselves a form of education that teach us about horizontal leadership and collaboration.

Conclusion

As we have documented and as Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice first formulated, reproductive justice is interconnected to all social movements, providing lessons on coalition work among groups that are usually disconnected. Reproductive justice is the safety and preservation of all people, families, and communities. Much like our conversation at "Bodies and Bans: Reflecting Post-Roe" in March 2023, we end here with abolitionist author and organizer Mariame Kaba who says that "hope is a discipline" that we must practice amidst interlocking oppressions of heteropatriarchy, white supremacy, settler colonialism, environmental injustice, perpetual militarism, and attacks on bodily autonomy. To confront the myriad of reproductive injustices, we need decolonial, queer, anti-racist co-conspirators. As we have documented, sharing our stories of struggle and mutual aid leaves no one behind. Kaba says that hope looks like "collective care, collectivizing our care, and thinking more about how we can help each other." She asks, "How can we collectivize the care of children so that more people can feel like they can actually have their kids but also live in the world and contribute and participate in various different kinds of ways?" (p. 28). This conversation has examined how collective care is reproductive justice. This care looks like water protection, Indigenous and trans families' bodily and family sovereignty, care networks throughout the continuing COVID pandemic, and aunties.

Reducing our scope of conversation to legal access to abortion in Minnesota does not afford us the ability to examine interlocking structures of oppression, as seen in documented attacks on trans youth, clean water access, ICWA, and police violence. Laws and liberal rights discourses will not provide us the solutions of decolonial, queer, anti-racist justice. This collective reflection as teacher-students and student-teachers has afforded us an opportunity to practice the critical lessons outlined by women of color in the reproductive justice movement. We encourage other educators and organizers to center storytelling about the diversity of strategies communities are using to protect each other and build collective care to move beyond a single focus on abortion.

Additional Comments

This conversation began in March 2023 for the conference “Bodies and Bans: Reflecting Post-Roe” at Minnesota State University-Moorhead. The plenary panel “Another World is Possible: A Conversation About Reproductive Justice with Emerging Activists” was organized and facilitated by Mary Jo Klinker. They were all fellow travelers in reproductive justice movements, Bri Kearns and Regan Kluver were previously student activists at Winona State University and TL Jordan had collaborated as a graduate student with WSU Students for Reproductive Justice.

Throughout the paper we seek to denaturalize the gender binary in our language. We understand that for reproductive justice to be realized, gender autonomy is critical. This work necessitates that we dismantle the problematic gender binary, which arises out of colonial violence; while many citations and works use “women’s health” and “women’s rights,” we have used non-gendered language to ensure that trans, non-binary, and gender nonconforming folks are not erased by using a colonial binary.

We would like to thank the Minnesota State University Moorhead community for hosting our plenary panel, Winona State University Students for Reproductive Justice for their continued activism, the editors of *Radical Teacher*, and Drs. Colette Hyman and Scott Makstenieks for their comments on drafts of the essay.

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