

# Ms.

Introduced by  
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# RESOURCE GUIDE: REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH, RIGHTS AND JUSTICE

BY CARRIE N. BAKER AND LORETTA ROSS

ON JUNE 24, 2022, THE UNITED STATES Supreme Court—stacked with anti-abortion Trump nominees—overturned constitutional abortion rights established in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973 and reaffirmed repeatedly since then. Just two years before in *Russo v. June Medical Services*, the Court had affirmed abortion rights, but with Trump’s new appointees, the extremist Republican supermajority on the Court obliterated close to 50 years of Supreme Court precedent. The decision triggered abortion bans across the country with immediate and devastating effects to the health and lives of women and girls across the country.

By the summer of 2023, over one quarter of states had abortion bans in effect blocking legal access to abortion for over 30 million reproductive-aged women in their home states. The Guttmacher Institute predicted that over half of states would eventually ban abortion. The bans punished doctors providing abortion care with long prison sentences, steep fines and loss of medical licenses. And while so far few of these laws make *having* an abortion a crime, the criminalization of pregnant women and people loomed as an underground abortion movement relying on the internet and abortion pills exploded. Growing restrictions fell particularly hard on marginalized communities across gender, race, class, sexuality and geopolitical location. Advocates worried about the *Dobbs* decision’s far reaching implications not only for abortion access, but for access to ectopic pregnancy, miscarriage and fetal abnormality treatments, emergency contraception, birth control, fertility treatments and sexual privacy as well.

In response, feminists fought back. In states with abortion bans, advocates sued to block the enforcement of these laws. Organizers rallied voters to oppose state constitutional amendments that would allow the legislature to ban abortion. In August 2022, in the state of Kansas, 59 percent of voters forcibly rejected an amendment that would have removed the right to abortion from the state constitution. Many Democratic-led states, seeing the Kansas win as a way forward, added new abortion protec-

tions. In November 2022, a decisive 66.7 percent of California voters enshrined the right to abortion in the state constitution. Organizers in Michigan collected over 700,000 signatures to place a measure on the ballot to legalize abortion in the state. Record numbers of women registered to vote for the 2022 midterm elections—setting the stage for the critical 2024 presidential election. *Ms.* revived its 1970s “We Have Had Abortions” campaign in the fall of 2022 with over 10,000 signers and covered advocates strategies for policy and legal paths forward. As these events unfolded, *Ms.* magazine was there every step of the way, reporting on critical developments in reproductive health, rights and justice.

This *Ms.* Resource Guide provides *Ms.* coverage on these issues and more over the last 50 years. These articles address abortion in the U.S. and abroad as well as birth control, sex education, menstrual equity and Black maternal health. They address clinic violence, anti-abortion “crisis pregnancy centers,” Catholic hospitals denying women critical care, abortion access after rape in war, coercive sterilization of incarcerated women in India and California, and criminal prosecution of pregnant women. The articles address local, state, federal and global levels, as well as the harms to women’s rights of the global rise of authoritarianism and the decline of democracy in the U.S. and abroad. They include articles by luminaries like Gloria Steinem and Barbara Ehrenreich as well as articles and podcasts by Michele Bratcher

Goodwin, producer of the *Ms.* podcast *On The Issues*, which has reported on the history of reproductive coercion in slavery and contemporary restrictions to control women’s bodies as well as the decades-long leadership of women of color in the reproductive justice movement.

From the shocking 1973 photo of a woman dead from an illegal and unsafe abortion to the overturning of constitutional abortion rights in 2022, *Ms.* documented the shifting political landscape. This Resource Guide is a collection of some of the most important *Ms.* articles about these developments to give readers an in-depth overview at this critical time for reproductive health, rights and justice.



## **Birth Control and Abortion Pill FAQs**

### ***Over-the-Counter Birth Control Is Here*** By Carrie Baker and Roxy Szal

The FDA approved the birth control pill Opill – the first nonprescription birth control pill in the U.S. It is expected to be available in store and online beginning early next year.

[July 13, 2023](#)

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### ***Abortion Pill FAQs: Get the Facts About Medication Abortion***

By Carrie N. Baker

A guide to information and support for accessing and using abortion pills.

[May 4, 2022](#)

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### ***The Self-Managed Abortion***

By Caitlin Gerdts, Ruvani T. Jayaweera and Carrie N. Baker

Let's talk about misoprostol, the original abortion pill

[Summer 2022](#)

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## **Beyond Roe: The Fight for Our Future**

### ***A Year of Dobbs***

Christine F. Nunes

Bearing witness to the devastating consequences of the Supreme Court decision – as well as the resistance and resilience of those who oppose it.

[Summer 2023](#)

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### ***Power to the People***

By Belle Taylor-McGee

After six wins on abortion-related ballot measures in 2022, reproductive rights supporters see a path to victory: letting the voters decide.

[Spring 2023](#)

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### ***Ms. Podcast, On the Issues: Our Bodies Are Respected***

Host Michele Goodwin with Loretta Ross:

“My best advice to those who are angry about the Dobbs decision is to have an intersectional analysis, because it's not just about gender, it's about race as well, and until you intersect race and gender you won't understand the many-headed Hydra we're fighting that's moving us towards authoritarianism and that requires the subordination of women.”

[March 23, 2023](#)

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### ***'Exactly What I Should Be Doing'***

By Bell Taylor-McGee

Abortion restrictions incited young Black women activists to continue the fight for reproductive justice.

[Spring 2023](#)

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### ***The Truth About the Adoption Option***

By Laura Rena Murray

Despite what reactionary justices assert, forced birth does not result in significantly more infants being adopted – for too many of these children, their future lies in foster care.

[Spring 2023](#)

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### ***Roe v. Wade, 1973 - 2022***

By Carrie N. Baker

In a decision with implications far beyond abortion, the U.S. Supreme Court wipes out 49 years of precedent.

[Summer 2022](#)

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### ***Beyond Roe: The Fight for Our Future*** By Michele Bratcher Goodwin, Nancy Northrup and Katherine Spillar

In spite of the Supreme Court's devastating decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, feminists will continue to forge ahead. In this series, reproductive rights experts describe the policy and legal paths forward.

[Summer 2022](#)

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### ***U.S. Abortion Retrogression in a Global Context***

By Lourdes Rivera

In recent years, 60 countries have liberalized their abortion laws, while the U.S. experiences profound retrogression on abortion rights – along with other countries where democratic institutions have eroded.

[Summer 2022](#)

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### ***A Year After the Decriminalization of Abortion in Mexico***

Araceli Lopez Nava Vazquez

What can the U.S. learn from the progress feminists are seeing in Latin America?

[September 27, 2022](#)

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### ***Overturing Roe Would Create More Barriers for Asylum-Seekers and Immigrants***

By Mary Giovagnoli

“State efforts to criminalize abortion could lead to instances where women may be denied immigration benefits or be deported.”

[May 24, 2022](#)

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### ***Building Protections for Reproductive Autonomy in State Constitutions***

By Amy Myrick and Tamar Eisen

A more expansive vision for reproductive autonomy is necessary – and state courts can lead the way.

[Summer 2022](#)

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### ***How States Can and Should Protect Abortion Access***

By Elisabeth Smith

For nearly 50 years, *Roe v. Wade* has guaranteed that abortion is legal throughout the U.S., but states policies have determined whether abortion care is in fact accessible and affordable. Looking forward, individual state laws will be paramount to securing abortion rights and ensuring abortion access in the U.S.

[Summer 2022](#)

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### ***The Urgency for Reproductive Freedom: From Slavery to the New Jim Crow***

By Michele Goodwin

“When states coerce and force women, girls and people with the capacity for pregnancy to remain pregnant against their will, they create human chattel and incubators of them.”

[May 24, 2022](#)

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### ***Ms. Podcast, On the Issues Beyond Roe: The Fight for Our Future***

Host Michele Goodwin with Melissa Murray, Lourdes Rivera and Monica Raye Simpson  
An in-depth exploration of why abortion is essential to the health of our democracy and society – and why democracy is essential to abortion, particularly given the alarming rates of maternal mortality and morbidity in the U.S.

[Episode 59](#)

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### ***Ms. Podcast, On the Issues History Matters: Understanding Abortion Rights in the U.S. and What Comes Next***

Host Michele Goodwin with Mary Ziegler, Sarah Dubow and Deborah White  
In the episode, we are live at the National History Museum for an incredibly important discussion addressing reproductive health, rights and justice from a historical point of view. In the wake of the overturn of *Roe*, we’ve seen horrific cases: a 10-year old girl fleeing the state of Ohio to terminate a pregnancy, a Wisconsin woman bleeding for more than ten days with an incomplete miscarriage before doctors could provide her the standard medical treatment; and so much more. The political situation that led to these cases becoming commonplace has deep roots in America’s history of slavery, reproductive restrictions, and controlling women’s bodies. So how did we get here?

[Episode 63](#)

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### ***Abortion Restrictions Harm LGBTQ People Now***

By Brittney Charlton

Marriage equality has been monumentally important to me, and yet, I know my community is hurt by the *Dobbs* decision now.

[August 15, 2022](#)

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### ***Doctors on Dobbs***

By Belle Taylor-McGhee

Abortion providers bear witness to the immediate and devastating effects of the Supreme Court’s decision to overturn *Roe*.

[Fall 2022](#)

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### ***Anit-Abortion ‘Crisis Pregnancy Centers’ Face New Accountability Post-Roe***

By Carrie N. Baker and Jennifer McKenna

Flooding the internet with misleading ads and abortion disinformation, thousands of fake clinics aim to confuse people seeking reproductive healthcare.

[October 18, 2022](#)

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### ***‘We Have Had Abortions’ Campaign***

The 10,000-plus signers invite you to join them in a campaign for honesty and freedom.

[Fall 2022](#)

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## **Abortion and Democracy**

### ***The Canary in the Coal Mine***

Jennifer Weiss-Wolf

Was the backsliding on women’s equality and reproductive freedom the first sign of the U.S. democracy’s decline?

[Summer 2023](#)

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### ***An ‘Ominous’ Sign for Equality***

By Carrie N. Baker

Constitutional law scholars warn that the *Dobbs* decision could head to the erosion of women’s other fundamental rights.

[Spring 2023](#)

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### ***Women and Young Voters***

#### ***Block ‘Red Wave’***

By Katherine Spillar with Linda Burnstyn  
Abortion rights voters won the day on Nov. 8, denying Republicans their predicted victory.

[Winter 2023](#)

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***Abortion Is Essential to Democracy***

By Katherine Spillar, Jennifer Weiss-Wolf, Elizabeth Hira, Madiba K. Kennie, Jackie Fielding, Izabela Tringali, Julia Kirschenbaum and Alicia Bannon

Despite the fact that a majority of Americans support *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court is poised to overturn or dramatically weaken the landmark decision. In this series, experts from the Brennan Center for Justice explain how we got here – and offer some ways forward.

[Winter 2022](#)

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***Abortion Is on the Ballot***

By Carrie N. Baker

Through voter amendments and initiatives, citizens can safeguard reproductive rights. Pay close attention – Kansas was only the beginning.

[Fall 2022](#)

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***It's Abortion, Stupid!***

By Linda Burstyn

If this year's midterms buck historical trends and the Democrats don't suffer significant losses in Congress, *Dobbs* is the reason why.

[Fall 2022](#)

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***The Equal Rights Amendment Will Help Protect Abortion Rights***

By Carrie N. Baker

The push to pass the ERA is taking on new urgency as an avenue to shore up women's rights, especially reproductive rights.

[June 23, 2022](#)

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***The Patriarch's War On Women***

By Zoe Marks and Erica Chenoweth

The backlash against feminist progress that's overtaking the U.S. is part of a global trend: the rise of authoritarianism and the decline of democracy.

[Spring 2022](#)

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**The Past Decade: Key Struggles, Setbacks and Gains**

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***With Violence At Its Back***

By Katherine Spillar and duVergnes Gains

The Supreme Court must not ignore the anti-abortion movement's long history of terrorism.

[Winter 2022](#)

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***Anti-Trans Extremists 'Come for' Doctors***

By Jude Ellison S. Doyle

If the current anti-trans tactics sound familiar, that's because they're borrowed from anti-abortion campaigns.

[Winter 2022](#)

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***Ground Zero***

Anoa Chang

Photographs by Montinique Monroe

A visit to the Pink House – the Mississippi clinic at the center of the abortion case now before the Supreme Court.

[Fall 2021](#)

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***No Choice Behind Bars***

Victoria Law

Victims of forced sterilization in California prisons push for recognition and reparations.

[Fall 2021](#)

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***Lost Women***

Leslie Absher

Interior Secretary Deb Haaland offers closure and justice to the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls.

[Fall 2021](#)

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***Birthing While Black***

By Jalicja Jolly

Organizations are working to help pregnant Black women survive three pandemics: COVID-19, racial violence and the U.S. maternal mortality crisis.

[Summer 2021](#)

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***Blood Sugar: Reproductive Coercion In India***

Sathya Saran

In India, an estimated 86,00 sugarcane cutters have been coerced into unnecessary hysterectomies.

[Winter 2021](#)

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***The Crime Was Pregnancy***

By Amber Khan

Fetal rights laws mean U.S. women can be and are being prosecuted, not just for abortion, but for miscarriages and stillborn births – for pregnancy itself.

[Summer 2019](#)

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***States v. Roe***

By Amanda Robb

Seven male-dominated state legislators attempt to ban abortion.

[Summer 2019](#)

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***Black Mamas Matter***

Dr. Joia Crear-Perry

Racism is the reason black mothers in the U.S. are far more likely to die of childbirth than white mothers.

[Winter 2019](#)

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***Periods Gone Public***

**Jennifer Weiss-Wolf**

Legislators are working to make menstrual products more accessible.

[Spring 2016](#)

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***Trapped in Texas***

**By Amanda Robb**

Even if the Supreme Court overturns Texas' devastating abortion restrictions, access to reproductive health care in the state – and across the country – will remain in peril.

[Spring 2016](#)

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***The Cruellest Weapon***

**Akila Radhakrishnan and Kristina Kallas**

With rape so prevalent in conflict zones, the U.S. must lift the unwarranted ban on funding war-related abortions.

[Fall 2014](#)

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***Mixed-Up In Mississippi***

**Andy Koposa**

Public schools in Mississippi are required to teach abstinence-only sex education. With the highest teen pregnancy rate in the country, are these programs helping?

[Winter 2013](#)

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***For the Price of a Pad***

**Linda Villarosa**

In the U.S., women take menstrual protection for granted, but millions of girls worldwide miss school or drop out because they can't afford sanitary napkins.

[Spring/Summer 2012](#)

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***Treatment Denied***

**Molly Ginty**

The opinions that count most at Catholic hospitals are those of bishops, not doctors, preventing medical staff from performing even life-saving procedures if they go against the doctrine of the church.

[Spring 2011](#)

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**Ms. Classics**

***Body Politic***

**By Barbara Ehrenrech**

"When I think of the beginnings of the women's health movement, I think, above all, of the stories women told."

[Spring 2022/1984](#)

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***If Men Could Menstruate***

**Gloria Steinem**

[Spring 2002/1978](#)

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***Never Again – Death, Politics,  
and Abortion***

**Roberta Brandes Bratz**

*Ms.* publishes shocking photo of a woman, dead from an unsafe back-alley abortion, as a way to remember thousands who died or were injured by laws outlawing abortion.

[Spring 2002/1973](#)

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**LORETTA ROSS**

Loretta Ross is a Professor at Smith College in the Program for the Study of Women and Gender where she teaches courses on white supremacy, reproductive justice, human rights, and Calling In the Call Out culture. Loretta also is a recipient of a MacArthur Fellow, Class of 2022, for her work as an advocate of Reproductive Justice and Human Rights.

Loretta was the National Coordinator of the SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective (2005-2012) and co-created the theory of Reproductive Justice. Loretta was National Co-Director of April 25, 2004, March for Women’s Lives in Washington D.C., the largest protest march in U.S. history at that time. She founded the National Center for Human Rights Education (NCHRE) in Atlanta, Georgia, launched the Women of Color Program for the National Organization for Women (NOW), and was the national program director of the National Black Women’s Health Project. One of the first African American women to direct a rape crisis center, Loretta was the third Executive Director of the D.C. Rape Crisis Center.

Loretta is a contributing editor for Ms. magazine and a member of the [Ms. Committee of Scholars](#).

**CARRIE N. BAKER, J.D., PH.D.**

[Carrie N. Baker](#), J.D., Ph.D., holds the Bauman Chair of American Studies at [Smith College](#) and is a professor and chair in the [Program for the Study of Women and Gender](#). She serves on the steering committee of the [Five College Certificate in Reproductive Health, Rights and Justice](#), of which she was a co-founder and former co-director. Her scholarship and teaching centers on gender, law and public policy, with a particular focus on reproductive rights, sexual harassment and sex trafficking.

Baker has published several books, including [The Women’s Movement Against Sexual Harassment \(Cambridge University Press, 2008\)](#), which won the National Women’s Studies Association 2008 Sara A. Whaley book prize, [Fighting the US Youth Sex Trade: Gender, Race, and Politics \(Cambridge University Press, 2018\)](#), and [Sexual Harassment Law: History, Cases, and Practice \(Carolina Academic Press, 2020\)](#), with Jennifer Ann Drobac and Rigel C. Oliveri. She has a forthcoming book, *Public Feminisms: From Academy to Community* (Lever Press, 2023), co-authored with Aviva Dove Viebahn. Baker has published widely in scholarly journals, including *Contraception*, *Feminist Studies*, *Meridians*, *Feminist Formations*, *Violence Against Women*, *Journal of Women, Politics, and Policy*, and *The Journal of Women’s History*.

Baker has a bachelor of arts degree in philosophy from Yale University, a juris doctor degree from Emory University School of Law, and master of arts and doctor of philosophy degrees from Emory’s Institute of Women’s Studies. She was editor-in-chief of the *Emory Law Journal* while in law school and later served as a law clerk to United States District Court Judge Marvin H. Shoob in Atlanta.

Baker writes extensively for the public. She is a contributing editor for Ms. magazine and is co-chair of the [Ms. Committee of Scholars](#), which encourages and trains scholars to write for the public. She also has a [monthly column](#) in the Daily Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Massachusetts).