Executive Summary

Gender, Organizing, and Movement Building at the Intersection of Environmental Justice and Reproductive Justice

Fertile Ground by Movement Strategy Center
Climate of Opportunity by the Women’s Foundation of California
Gender, Organizing, and Movement Building at the Intersection of Environmental Justice and Reproductive Justice

An executive summary of two reports:

- **Fertile Ground: Women Organizing at the Intersection of Environmental Justice and Reproductive Justice**
  Movement Strategy Center, November 2009

- **Climate of Opportunity: Gender and Movement Building at the Intersection of Reproductive Justice and Environmental Justice**
  Women's Foundation of California, November 2009

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Dear Friends,

We are delighted to share with you the following executive summary that highlights findings from two reports published in November 2009: Fertile Ground: Women Organizing at the Intersection of Environmental Justice and Reproductive Justice (published by the Movement Strategy Center) and Climate of Opportunity: Gender and Movement Building at the Intersection of Reproductive Justice and Environmental Justice (published by the Women’s Foundation of California). While these are two separate and distinct reports, they share similar foci and findings. The importance of the work they describe, and the extraordinary opportunity they represent, compelled us to create a joint executive summary that could link these efforts in a useful and proactive way.

Currently, a growing number of organizations are intentionally making the connections between environmental justice and reproductive issues. Regardless of whether a group is oriented around reproductive justice, environmental justice, or social justice, many of them grapple with the impacts of toxic exposure and environmental degradation on women, children, families, and communities. This cross-issue focus, also referred to as the EJ/RJ intersection, is a promising model for broad-based and coordinated movement building that can, and has, led to victories in policy change.

Fertile Ground is a national scan of organizations working at the intersection of environmental health and justice and reproductive justice. Climate of Opportunity shares the lessons learned from the EJ/RJ Collaborative, a two-year effort of the Women’s Foundation of California to convene a selected group of community leaders working at the EJ/RJ intersection. Both reports provide an overview of this work and the significant opportunity for foundations and community-based organizations to support and engage in movement building work.

We offer this executive summary as a welcome to all funders and community organizations interested in multi-issue movement building and in elevating the voices of women of color.

We are committed to continuing this examination of the intersection of issues as a key strategy in building a movement led by women and girls for social change.

Sincerely,

Judy Patrick, President and CEO, Women’s Foundation of California
Taj James, Executive Director, Movement Strategy Center
INTRODUCTION

Environmental justice and reproductive justice are two vibrant sectors of the broader social justice movement. Environmental justice reflects a crucial redefinition of the “environment” to include the places where people live, work, play, learn, and worship. This definition helps to link issues together and harness a powerful intersectional social justice framework.

Reproductive justice grew out of a rich legacy of grassroots organizing by women of color, building upon both the environmental justice and reproductive rights movements. By centralizing the question of how control of bodies, gender, and sexuality impacts family, economic opportunity, health, and safety, reproductive justice fundamentally links the well-being of individuals to that of their communities and families.

Currently, a growing number of organizations are intentionally making the connections between environmental justice and reproductive issues. Regardless of whether a group is oriented around reproductive justice, environmental justice, or community self-determination, many of them grapple with the impacts of toxic exposure and environmental degradation on women, children, families, and communities. This cross-issue focus, also referred to as the **EJ/RJ intersection**, is a promising model for broad-based and coordinated movement building that can, and has, led to policy wins.

Work positioned at the intersections of social justice sectors, like EJ/RJ, can generate stronger movements and social change outcomes. This work:

- Generates a shared vision and framework that can lead to deeper change in policy, communications, messaging, and public thought.
- Unifies and aligns segments of the social justice movement for greater impact.
- Connects constituents across movements and builds a broader base.
- Supports linkages across movements and builds leadership.
- Creates campaigns and outcomes that better reflect communities’ lived experiences.
- Paves the way for collaborative funding streams that are more agile and break out of single-issue agendas.

Using the twin lenses of environmental justice and reproductive justice, a growing group of community leaders is finding new ways to connect, frame, communicate, and organize around the issues that
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matter most to their communities – the health of their children, families, communities, cultures, and land. This intersectional approach is creating new alliances, political opportunities, and concrete wins.

Two reports, Fertile Ground: Women Organizing at the Intersection of Environmental Justice and Reproductive Justice (Movement Strategy Center), and Climate of Opportunity: Gender and Movement Building at the Intersection of Reproductive Justice and Environmental Justice (Women’s Foundation of California), explore the issues, impacts, and innovations of this growing field of work. Fertile Ground is a national scan of organizations working at the intersection of environmental health and justice and reproductive justice. Climate of Opportunity shares the lessons learned from the EJ/RJ Collaborative, a two-year effort of the Women’s Foundation of California to convene a selected group of community leaders working at the EJ/RJ intersection. Both reports, highlights of which are captured in this summary, provide an overview of this work and the significant opportunity for foundations to support movement building work.

Photo: Young Women United. Members of YWU’s teen group Circle of Strength hold up signs at a prayer vigil.
ABOUT THE REPORTS

**Fertile Ground: Women Organizing at the Intersection of Environmental Justice and Reproductive Justice**

*Fertile Ground* explores the ideas and work of 24 organizations that are working for reproductive justice and environmental justice. The purpose of this report is to highlight the powerful contributions EJ/RJ groups are making to secure safer and healthier environments for all women, children, and communities as well as to look at how an intersectional approach to organizing and movement building can lead to more powerful outcomes at all levels.

**The Movement Strategy Center** (MSC) is helping build the movement for social and racial justice by increasing the capacity of individuals, organizations, alliances and sectors to be more strategic, collaborative, and sustainable. MSC supports community-based organizations and their foundation partners to develop the skill, culture, analysis, and vision to work together in broad alliances and prioritizes the leadership of people of color working in low-income communities and communities of color. MSC provides a range of services, including strategy development and visioning, organizational development and capacity building, national network and alliance building, sustainability training and coaching, field building and community-based research.

**Climate of Opportunity: Gender and Movement Building at the Intersection of Reproductive Justice and Environmental Justice**

*Climate of Opportunity* examines the roles of funders and community-based organizations in policy and advocacy efforts and outlines recommendations for philanthropy as well as key learnings from convening the EJ/RJ Collaborative. It also looks at how movement building efforts can leverage foundation resources and impact systems to effect long-term change.

Since 1979, the **Women’s Foundation of California** (the Foundation) has invested in women and girls to build a more just an equitable society for all. The Foundation envisions a California that is increasingly healthy, safe, and economically prosperous. The Foundation achieves this vision by focusing on women and girls as agents of change because of their central role in families and communities and simultaneously invests in the strategies of grant-making, strengthening organizations, policy advocacy and movement building in order to accelerate systemic change.

The Foundation supports intersectional dialogue and community-driven research that highlights linkages across issues. They began to see an emergent trend of environmental justice and reproductive justice leaders seeking opportunities to come together in a more deliberate way, and established
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The Environmental Justice/Reproductive Justice (EJ/RJ) Collaborative. The goals for the EJ/RJ Collaborative are to:

- Create a learning environment that strengthens relationships and builds trust between environmental justice and reproductive justice leaders in order to foster long-term movement building and deepen the impact of these respective movements.
- Develop a shared understanding of the intersection of the two movements by exploring tensions between and within the movements and identifying opportunities for collaboration.
- Build the group’s capacity for collaboration, joint messaging, a coordinated platform, and strategy development.
- Educate funders in order to bring more resources to community-based efforts at the intersection of environmental justice and reproductive justice.

The EJ/RJ Collaborative includes twelve community leaders convened over the course of two years, beginning in 2008, to address the environmental impacts on health and the specific connections between environmental health and justice and reproductive health and justice. The EJ/RJ Collaborative created opportunities for community leaders to identify allies in other areas of the state; deepen existing relationships; and learn from each other by sharing lessons and comparing strategies for policy advocacy, public education, community organizing, and coalition building.
FINDINGS FROM THE FIELD

I. Common Issues
These reports find that EJ/RJ groups are working on similar sets of issues, including:

1. Changing environmental policies and practices on toxic chemicals and exposure

Many EJ/RJ groups work to regulate, disclose, and ultimately eliminate toxic ingredients in consumer products, including cosmetics, cleaning and household products, and toys/products for infants and children. Currently, neither manufacturers nor the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) are required to prove a chemical’s safety as a condition of use. EJ/RJ groups have joined, and in some cases founded and led, larger coalition efforts to shift the burden of proof away from those already affected to manufacturers before they are allowed to release products on the market.

Several EJ/RJ groups are working to address the disproportionate impact of chemicals in consumer products on communities of color. Additionally, EJ/RJ groups are organizing to expand chemical reform campaigns beyond a sole focus on a consumer base to include workplace exposure. Consumer exposure is miniscule in comparison to workplace exposure, as in farming and female dominated industries such as nail salons, dry cleaners, etc. The push to broaden attention from consumers to workers addresses the current emphasis on primarily white, affluent populations to strategies that highlight, prioritize, and engage low-income communities.

Recent Wins at the EJ/RJ Intersection:

- Between 2002 and 2008, Women’s Voices for the Earth influenced more than 1,000 companies to commit to the Compact for Safe Cosmetics, a pledge to remove chemicals linked to adverse health impacts from personal care products and replace them with safe alternatives. They were able to persuade some major companies, including L’Oreal and Revlon, to remove chemicals banned in Europe from cosmetics sold in the United States.

- The statewide California safe cosmetics legislation drew on the EJ/RJ analysis and approach to more effectively address disproportionate and cumulative exposure to key chemicals and draw a wider range of support, including unions and community-based worker organizations.

- CHANGE (Californians for a Healthy and Green Environment) was involved in building pressure for California’s Green Chemistry, which consists of a number of laws that seek to create a regulatory market-driven environment under which all products will be carefully evaluated so that they are in harmony with public health and the environment.
2. Articulating rights to clean, safe, and healthy environments

EJ/RJ groups are challenging corporate, military, and government practices surrounding the use of toxins and chemicals and their exposure into developed and natural environments. This is an extremely broad issue, encompassing the use of pesticides (especially agricultural) and their impacts on air, land, and water; pollution impacts from factories, industrial plants, and incinerators; the legacy of mining (e.g. uranium mining and mercury from gold mining) and weapons development as well as current mining and resource extraction of coal, uranium, etc.; ongoing military and private contractor pollution through weapons testing, military bases, etc.; and air quality issues from the transportation of goods, impacted by truck routes, diesel fumes, and exhaust.

Indigenous communities in particular are linking the impact of toxins to the capacity of their communities and cultures to reproduce themselves. Military and mining activities directly impact sacred sites, traditional food sources, and cultural practices in addition to the physical development of women and children. Access to clean water and safe, traditional food systems are critical issues for EJ/RJ groups, particularly those in rural areas and Native communities.

Recent Wins at the EJ/RJ Intersection:

- Alaska Community Action on Toxics developed and maintains the only integrated GIS computer mapping program of over 2,000 toxic sites in Alaska. They succeeded in pressuring the military to prioritize its cleanup of St. Lawrence Island, one of many areas polluted by nearby military sites.

- Several groups in California’s Central Valley (Community Water Center, Californians for Pesticide Reform, El Comite Para el Bienestar de Earlimart, and Dolores Huerta Foundation) have collectively had a major role in state and regional policy governing pesticide use and in creating emergency response and protection strategies for affected communities.

- Tewa Women United, working in collaboration with other groups also serving communities surrounding the Los Alamos National Laboratory, succeeded in ending LANL’s decades-long practice of open burning and detonation of depleted uranium on ancestral lands.
3. Adding gender and justice to climate change policy analysis and organizing

The work of integrating a reproductive justice lens into climate change policy falls into two key areas: 1) creating policy that protects and supports women before, during, and after climate crises; and, 2) developing solutions that combine a climate justice and reproductive justice approach in order to create green solutions that also ensure the health, safety, and well-being of workers. Applying an EJ/RJ lens to climate crises includes looking at addressing the social, political, and economic conditions that face women in their communities.

Women working in mid-size businesses are a strategic group to organize for reproductive and climate justice. These women are in industries like electronics and nail salons that contribute to emissions of volatile organic compounds that are one of the top four causes of climate change. The women also face long working hours, poor working conditions, and significant threats to their physical reproductive health. By using the twin lens of reproductive justice and climate justice/environmental justice, organizers are advancing a framework to create policy and organizing strategies that help communities and decision makers to “look both ways” when crafting solutions.

Recent Wins at the EJ/RJ Intersection:

- New Orleans Women’s Health & Justice Initiative successfully stopped Louisiana State Representative John LaBruzzo’s efforts to introduce legislation that would pay low-income women receiving public assistance and housing subsidies $1,000 to be sterilized rather than providing them with the support they need to recover and survive after Hurricane Katrina.
4. Improving research models and processes

In recent years, science has helped prove what EJ/RJ groups have argued for years: that poor environment negatively impacts physical health, and that pregnant women, fetuses, and children are the most vulnerable to even low exposure of chemicals and toxins. In this respect, science is an important tool in the work of EJ/RJ organizers. At the same time, medical standards, research methodologies, and research agendas are often not set up to answer the core questions posed by EJ/RJ – how environmental conditions and the cumulative impact of factors like toxins, social and economic stress, and limited access to healthcare, undermine the health and well-being of women and children. Several EJ/RJ groups are involved in efforts to challenge ineffective medical standards, research methodologies, and research agendas.

5. Promoting models and approaches that support healing and long-term sustainability

Many EJ/RJ groups are engaged in proactively moving forward alternative models and approaches that promote long-lasting community sustainability.

Native groups often lead this push for alternatives, bringing a sophisticated analysis about the relationship between the degradation of environment and the integrity of the Native culture and society. This is also exemplified by the focus of so many groups on midwifery, home births, and motherhood. These projects, many led by indigenous groups, are focused on reclaiming traditional practices of women’s health that emphasize Native women’s autonomy. In addition, some are pursuing solutions, such as alternative energy and green economy projects, as a means to solve the environmental and reproductive issues in their communities. These solutions also create a new economic infrastructure for Native American communities that is ecologically sustainable and culturally appropriate.

Recent Wins at the EJ/RJ Intersection:

- Black Mesa Water Coalition (BMWC) succeeded in shutting down half of the coal mine that pumps a huge amount of water for slurry transport. In a community with a 54% unemployment rate and where the coal mine was the largest Navajo employer, BMWC is also working to develop a green economy by reinvesting coal power plant profits in the reservation for building wind and solar power plants to supply California’s energy needs.
II. Innovations: What makes EJ/RJ organizing effective?

Groups working at the EJ/RJ intersection share a common movement building orientation that defines their work and enables them to tackle critical issues with agility and innovation.

1. **EJ/RJ leaders find solutions in the lived experiences and leadership of impacted communities.** The communities most affected by environmental degradation and toxicity are often the same as those who face the most reproductive health issues. For these communities and their leaders, the issues of women’s reproductive health and children’s developmental health are inseparable from the health of the environment and the community as a whole.

2. **EJ/RJ groups broaden the constituency.** Organizing groups find that they are able to connect and engage a broader constituency and base by using the EJ/RJ intersectional framework. This framework addresses broader fundamental needs, connects and aligns movements across different communities, and links to the concerns and interests of the broader public. For example, “reproductive rights” is commonly understood as a primary focus on abortion rights with an emphasis on privacy and choice. By contrast, “reproductive justice” expands the movement to focus on the right to have or not to have families and do it in a healthy way. As a result, coalitions across reproductive justice, environmental justice, workers groups, unions, and health organizations typical to this intersection are emblematic of its ability to engage different constituencies towards a unified vision.

3. **EJ/RJ’s analysis goes beyond single-issue politics to reframe issues in fresh ways.** Reproductive justice mirrors the environmental justice movement’s groundbreaking reframing of traditional definitions of environment and impact, redefining reproductive health and rights to include the right to have or not have a child in a supported and healthy way.

4. **EJ/RJ builds and strategically leverages the leadership of women, especially women of color.** Organizers at the intersection of reproductive justice and environmental justice are making a critical contribution to the broader social justice movement by developing and nurturing the leadership of women in general, and women of color in particular. EJ/RJ groups are modeling how women’s roles in the family, community, and society (as mothers, grandmothers, matriarchs, guardians, bridge builders, social networkers, and organizers) can be strategic assets in social justice efforts.

5. **EJ/RJ groups use multiple change strategies with agility and pragmatism.** This approach mixes short-, mid-, and long-term strategies and multiple modalities (kitchen table organizing, research, policy advocacy, community building). EJ/RJ groups also partner with organizations

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1. MSC’s definition of movement building is the coordinated effort of organizations, individuals, networks, and alliances to engage individuals, the community, and people in positions of power in addressing a systemic problem and promoting alternative visions or solutions. We know movement building is successful when alliances are formed across race, class, and sectors to bring about a large-scale change in public perception, policy, and practice.
and individual leaders that play a complementary role (i.e. local groups allied with state-level advocacy entities to provide an up-to-date picture of the issues on the ground, while staying abreast of developments in the state capitol).

6. **EJ/RJ leaders value and support different and complementary movement-building roles.**
   Many groups have partnerships with EJ/RJ groups, as well as with researchers, advocates, policymakers, scientists, and others. These alliances help local, grassroots EJ/RJ groups to build credibility and achieve a greater impact and scale in their work. Alliances are also key in ensuring state and national level groups are working for the most relevant and effective policies.

7. **EJ/RJ leaders use an approach that mirrors their core values and vision.**
   These values include: leadership of the most affected communities, relationships and collaboration, and working for long-term change. Community organizing groups often engage in spiritual and cultural work as well as alternative institution building as part of their overall theory of change.

8. **EJ/RJ leaders integrate gender, with race and class, as a central lens of analysis into social justice sectors.**
   EJ/RJ groups are reintegrating gender along with race and class as a central lens of analysis within social justice movements. These groups are not only influencing the environmental justice and climate justice sectors, but also economic justice, education justice, and housing rights. As EJ/RJ groups reinsert gender as a central lens of analysis, they are contributing to the reinvigoration of a movement that centralizes women’s leadership and cuts across community, geography, generation, and economics.

9. **EJ/RJ leaders prioritize relationship building, alliance building, and collaborative action.**
   EJ/RJ groups have a fundamental reliance on relationship building, coalition and alliance building, and collaborative action as central to building the social, intellectual, political capital, and power for change. This is exemplified by organizations that define alliance building as a formal program component and organizational goal rather than just as a strategy or means to an end.

Photo: Asian Communities for Reproductive Justice. Nail salon worker organizing meeting.
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PHILANTHROPY

EJ/RJ groups, in a relatively short period of time and with limited resources, have collected impressive energy and momentum, developed sophisticated analyses, and won key victories. And yet, the reproductive justice movement is relatively new overall, and explicit intersectional work with environmental justice is only now being formally identified and examined. It is too often that momentum and innovation is cut short by the challenges and realities of forming, resourcing, and sustaining organizational infrastructures. The following are recommendations developed by the Women’s Foundation of California for how Funders can support and nurture this promising work.

1. **Map the landscape.**
   While there is significant activity within and across environmental and reproductive justice movements, many community activists are unaware of who the leaders within and/or across the movements are or what these leaders’ roles are within each. Funders should consider support for a mapping project. Making such information easily accessible, especially statewide, will enable community leaders to identify effective strategies and strengths as well as gaps and weaknesses and will allow organizations to identify allies in other locales.

2. **Develop measures of success for intersectional organizing in collaboration with community-based organizations.**
   It is premature to identify definitive measures of success for EJ/RJ intersectional efforts as the groups themselves have not developed them. Instead, a scan of their work and how groups talk about their success yields compelling anecdotal information and key conclusions about broad areas to consider when assessing impact. A deeper examination could happen through a separate evaluation study. In addition to the desired outcomes of organizing and advocacy campaigns, EJ/RJ intersectional groups also talk about outcomes that are often not included in traditional notions of success for community organizing and policy advocacy efforts, but should be considered in order to best capture the impact of intersectional movement building.

3. **Invest in movement building and movement capacity.**
   Whenever possible, funders should devote a portion of grant-making dollars to movement building investments. The most important factor in successful movement building is that it be field-driven and funder supported, rather than funder-driven. Once an emergent movement is identified, grant-making should include providing strategic support to networks, intermediaries, and “bridge builder” organizations, although this type of support must be balanced with direct funding to individual organizations doing longer-term work on the ground. Grants to organizations should be larger, multiyear, and flexible in the form of general operating support.

4. **Convene organizations working across issues.**
   Funders should invest in convenings where community-based organizations can come together to engage in more cross-issue organizing and movement-building. Cross-issue convenings allow participants to build relationships, share local strategies and expertise, decrease a sense of isolation
and competition, strengthen strategic partnerships, build power, and align strategies across movements. Funders can play a role in convening groups when there is no clear leadership to do this within the field. Consider utilizing intermediary organizations and public foundations to conduct convenings and make sure convening strategies are coordinated among funders so that organizations are not invited to multiple funder initiated convenings with similar objectives.

5. **Build the capacity of organizations.**
   Organizations need the capacity and organizational effectiveness to tackle multiple issues. Capacity issues include strengthening organizational infrastructure as well as organizational knowledge on multiple issues. In order to develop a shared agenda and shared language, organizations will need time to build their own political education on the intersections between multiple issues.

6. **Invest in policy advocacy.**
   Funders should invest in policy advocacy training efforts. Leaders from both of these movements are needed to work together to build their capacity to engage in policy work and develop a cohesive strategy that recognizes shared goals and objectives for bringing about a more equitable landscape where reproductive and environmental needs are equally met. Because the rules for such efforts vary depending on whether a grant maker is public or private, there is strategic value for both kinds of foundations to partner with one another in building the capacity of organizations to educate policy makers on the needs of their communities and the specific policy measures that will bring positive, long-term change. The Women’s Foundation of California’s Women’s Policy Institute is one concrete way to build this kind of capacity in California, and funders may want to consider making investments in the Institute and in working with the Foundation to replicate it in other areas of the country.

7. **Focus strategic support on groups led by women of color that are creating innovative policy solutions.**
   Organizations led by women of color tend to be underfunded and yet are often the organizations that are winning key policy victories. A survey of grant partners of the Catalyst Fund, an initiative of the Tides Foundation that supports women of color led organizations engaged in innovative reproductive justice work, identifies 30 percent of the 63 funded organizations that are working in environmental justice. Given the important strategic role of these organizations and the contribution they can make to movement building, funders should make strategic and focused investments in these organizations.
8. **Invest in intermediaries.**
Funders should increase investments to intermediary organizations and other funders that have deep relationships with organizations, expertise in convening, and a track record in funding and supporting movement building. Intermediaries, like state-based women’s funds, statewide organizations, and national networks, have strong relationships with organizations in multiple regions and a deep understanding of the context of the work.

9. **Build the capacity of foundation staff.**
Funders should encourage their colleagues to move beyond traditional issue-specific areas of funding and strengthen communications and relationships with colleagues funding other issues that impact their core funding priorities. Funders don’t always know how to support movement building work that addresses multiple issues, and it will be important to find ways to build the capacity of foundation staff.

10. **Coordinate across funder affinity groups.**
Foundation staff belong to a number of funder affinity groups, which are also very focused on their specific issues. Just as funders want to see organizations build alliances across issues, funder affinity groups should seek out natural linkages and intentionally coordinate work, attending one another’s meetings when possible. For example, partly as a result of the EJ/RJ Collaborative, the Women’s Foundation of California has taken a lead role in connecting the Health and Environmental Funders Network, Environmental Grantmakers Association, and the Funders Network on Population, Reproductive Health, and Rights.

11. **Keep in mind that different regions and communities have different needs.**
There are distinct regions with differing kinds of activities and levels of awareness and readiness to act on the intersection of reproductive and environmental justice. For instance, as members of the EJ/RJ Collaborative came to learn, communities in the Central Valley of California are much more likely than those elsewhere in the state to grasp the connection between environmental toxins and reproductive health risks. Funders should respond to each region with the appropriate focus and level of support for organizational and community capacity building.

12. **Help accelerate the engagement of community leaders across issue areas.**
Funder support, in the form of convenings, stipends, and capacity-building grants can help activists explore their shared interests and better understand the challenges and benefits of partnership on linked issues touching their communities.
CONTINUING THE WORK

_Fertile Ground_ and _Climate of Opportunity_ highlight both funding opportunities and gaps that need to be filled. The reports highlight opportunities for involvement for community-based organizations and funders interested in multi-issue movement building and in elevating the voices of women leading both within organizations and in communities throughout California and across the country.

Photo: New Orleans Women’s Health and Justice Initiative