

DESIGNED to DECEIVE

A STUDY OF THE CRISIS PREGNANCY CENTER INDUSTRY IN NINE STATES

Global, National, Regional Anti-Abortion Organizations Supporting CPCs

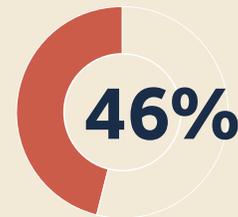
Glossary of CPC Networks & Their Presence in Alliance Study States.....2

Anti-Abortion Organizations Directing the CPC Industry5

Spotlight: CPCs in the Radical Anti-Abortion Movement..... 12

While individual crisis pregnancy centers (CPCs) may appear to be small, local, and independent facilities, the broader CPC industry is a sophisticated global network led by large anti-abortion organizations. Most of these organizations advance a conservative Christian ideology that opposes abortion, supports traditional gender and family roles, and encourages proselytizing to convert CPC clients.¹ Many are overtly connected with evangelical Christian and Catholic institutions.^{2 3 4} Some have ties to the white Christian nationalist activism.⁵ Almost 50% of the CPCs in the Alliance Study were affiliated with one or more of these groups.

While severe legislative restrictions on abortion make headlines, the modernized and proliferating CPC industry's critical role in the anti-abortion, anti-LGBTQ+ movement is relatively obscured from public view. Modern CPCs are plugged into the global anti-abortion movement's sophisticated digital infrastructure, which facilitates expansion, client surveillance, and systemic, coordinated promotion of anti-abortion disinformation.



THE ALLIANCE FOUND 45.8% OF CPCs IN OUR STUDY STATES ARE AFFILIATED WITH ONE OR MORE OF THESE GROUPS:

Organizational Affiliation*	
Any national/regional org	239 (45.8)
Care Net	117 (19.3)
Heartbeat International	65 (10.7)
Birtright	35 (5.8)
Real Alternatives	27 (4.4)
Obria	15 (2.5)
Elevate Life	13 (2.1)
Religious Institution	10 (1.6)
NIFLA	4 (0.7)
Culture of Life Family Services	2 (0.3)
Other	58 (9.6)
None Specified	280 (46.1)

*Some CPCs have more than one affiliation

Glossary of CPC Networks & Their Presence in Alliance Study States

CARE NET (www.care-net.org) was founded in Virginia in 1975 as the Christian Action Council to engage evangelicals in responding to the “historic death sentence decision, *Roe v. Wade*.”⁶ In the 1990s the Care Net mission shifted to helping “anyone considering abortion by presenting them with realistic alternatives and Christ-centered support through our life-affirming network of pregnancy centers, churches, organizations, and individuals.”⁷ Programs include a Pro Abundant Life ministry connecting churches and crisis pregnancy centers⁸ and Care Net requires activists in affiliated CPCs to sign a “Statement of Faith” adapted from the National Association of Evangelicals.⁹

Care Net claims over 1,100 affiliated CPCs in North America and 30,000 volunteers.^{10 11} Almost 20% of CPCs in the Alliance Study were Care Net affiliates; there were Care Net affiliates in all nine Study states. The states with the highest percentage of Care Net affiliates were Alaska, Oregon, and Washington.

PRESENCE OF CARE NET AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



HEARTBEAT INTERNATIONAL (HBI) (www.heartbeatinternational.org), founded in 1971 and based in Columbus, Ohio, identifies as the first network of pro-life pregnancy resource centers in the United States and the most expansive network in the world.¹² HBI identifies as “an explicitly Christian organization”¹³ whose stated goal is to convert women through a born-again experience to “save the mother, save the baby.”¹⁴ HBI has close ties to members of the former Trump Administration.¹⁵

Heartbeat International claims a worldwide network of more than 2,700 affiliated pregnancy centers.¹⁶ Almost 11% of the CPCs in the Alliance Study were affiliated with HBI; there were HBI affiliates in all nine Study states. The states with the highest percentage of HBI affiliates were New Mexico, Idaho, Oregon, Montana, and Washington.

PRESENCE OF HBI AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



All CPCs in the Alliance Study that made referrals for “abortion pill reversal” (27% of CPCs studied), whether affiliates of Heartbeat International or not, directed people to the HBI-sponsored Abortion Pill Rescue website and replicated HBI messaging about APR.¹⁷ For more information, see “Heartbeat International: Mainstreaming ‘Abortion Pill Reversal’ through CPCs,” below.

PERCENTAGE OF CPCs REFERRING CLIENTS TO HBI FOR “ABORTION PILL REVERSAL”



BIRTHRIGHT INTERNATIONAL (<https://birthright.org>) is a Catholic CPC chain founded in 1968 in Toronto, Canada. Birthright receives annual support from Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Toronto.¹⁸ Unlike Care Net and HBI affiliates, Birthright International centers do not evangelize to clients.¹⁹ Birthright International presents itself as a provider of free, nonjudgmental support for people facing unplanned pregnancies, providing pregnancy tests, maternity and infant supplies, and referrals. Birthright centers do not mention abortion or contraception on their websites.

Birthright claims to operate some 200 centers in the United States and 100 across Canada.²⁰ Almost 6% of CPCs in the Alliance Study were Birthright International affiliates; there were Birthright affiliates in all states except Alaska. The states with the highest percentage of Birthright affiliates were Idaho, New Mexico, and Minnesota.

PRESENCE OF BIRTHRIGHT INTERNATIONAL AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



OBRIA (www.obria.org, www.obriagroup.org, www.omcsocal.org) is a nonprofit based in Southern California operating Obria Medical Clinics and The Obria Group. Obria Medical Clinics of Southern California was founded in 1981 by Kathleen Eaton Bravo, who pioneered the “medical model” crisis pregnancy center to draw funding away from Planned Parenthood.²¹ In 2014, Bravo formed the Obria Group to expand the Obria CPC network nationally,²² branded as fully licensed community care clinics that provide comprehensive health care.²³ Contrary to this branding Obria does not offer contraception.²⁴ Catholic organizations are major funders of Obria, including the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops.²⁵ In 2015, Bravo told *Catholic World Report* that abortion “threatens our culture’s survival... When [European] nations accepted contraception and abortion, they stopped replacing their population...with Europeans having no children, immigrant Muslims came in to replace them.”²⁶

As of 2019, Obria reported 45 clinics around the country, with locations in California, Iowa, Georgia, Oregon, and Washington.²⁷ There were 15 Obria affiliates in the Alliance Study states: nine in California, four in Washington, and two in Oregon.

PRESENCE OF OBRIA AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FAMILY AND LIFE ADVOCATES (NIFLA) (<https://nifla.org>) is an evangelical Christian law firm founded in 1993 and based in Fredericksburg, Virginia. NIFLA brings impact litigation on behalf of the anti-abortion movement and provides legal services to over 1,500 affiliated CPCs across the United States. NIFLA provides legal advice, training, and audits to affiliates; advocates against pro-choice bills; and sues federal, state, and local entities to block pro-choice laws from being enacted and overturn pro-choice court rulings.²⁸

NIFLA claims more than 1,500 affiliated CPCs around the country. The Alliance found NIFLA affiliates in two of the nine Study states, Minnesota and Washington.

PRESENCE OF NIFLA AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



While only 6% of CPCs in the Alliance Study were NIFLA affiliates, more than one-half (56%) of the CPCs in the Study offered “non-diagnostic” or “limited medical ultrasound” that NIFLA promotes as a tool to persuade clients to carry their pregnancies to term and signal medical legitimacy.^{29 30} For more information, see “NIFLA: Mainstreaming Use of Ultrasound by CPCs,” below.

PERCENTAGE OF CPCs USING NIFLA-PROMOTED ULTRASOUND



REAL ALTERNATIVES (RA) (www.realalternatives.org) is an anti-abortion Christian organization based in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Founded in 1996, Real Alternatives operates 82 “service provider centers” in Alliance Study state Pennsylvania, including CPCs (the Alliance identified 27 RA-funded CPCs in Pennsylvania), as well as maternity residences, adoption agencies, and social service agencies. Real Alternatives also claims to operate 21 programs in Indiana (17 CPCs and 4 social service agencies).³¹

PRESENCE OF REAL ALTERNATIVES AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



ELEVATE LIFE USA (<https://elevatelifeusa.org>) is an anti-abortion Christian organization founded in 1974 in Eagan, Minnesota. Elevate Life emphasizes its role in supporting and expanding the CPC movement through “training, resources, and thought-leadership” to established CPCs including marketing, website, social media, management and financial support, and start-up of new centers.³² Elevate Life claims to operate 32 crisis pregnancy centers in Minnesota and western Wisconsin.³³

PRESENCE OF ELEVATE LIFE AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



CULTURE OF LIFE FAMILY SERVICES (CLFS) (www.colfsclinic.org) operates two CPCs in California: one in San Diego and one in Escondido. CLFS brands itself as medical clinics providing “holistic family and women’s health care” but provides no abortion or contraception, and promotes “abortion pill reversal” as one of its primary services.³⁴

PRESENCE OF CULTURE OF LIFE FAMILY SERVICES AFFILIATES IN STUDY STATES



Anti-Abortion Organizations Directing the CPC Industry

These global, national, and regional organizations advance anti-abortion movement goals through networks of crisis pregnancy centers across the country by providing digital strategy, infrastructure, and content; marketing, messaging, and public relations tools; and training and technical support to engage volunteers, start new CPCs, and secure private and public funds.

Four of these groups — **Care Net, Heartbeat International, Obria, and NIFLA** — direct central CPC industry tactics:

- Marketing, messaging, and digital strategies to target clients and collect client data
- Promoting “abortion pill reversal” and other forms of abortion disinformation and stigma
- Mainstreaming use of “non-diagnostic” ultrasound
- Branding CPCs as medical clinics and signaling medical legitimacy
- Expanding the CPC network nationwide

The other four groups — **Birthright International, Real Alternatives, Elevate Life, and Culture of Life Family Services** — employ many of these tactics and utilize centralized CPC industry messaging, resources, and digital platforms within their respective networks.

Care Net & Heartbeat International: Steering CPC Messaging & Digital Strategies

Care Net and Heartbeat International are the drivers of CPC industry rhetoric and digital strategy.³⁵

MARKETING AND MESSAGING

Care Net and HBI publish most of the client-focused advertising and materials used by local CPCs including radio spots, billboards, and bus ads; counseling materials and volunteer training manuals; and website content and pop-ups.³⁶ Together these two organizations are considered “the public relations arm of the CPC movement.”³⁷

Both groups organize annual conferences — Care Net conferences were held in-person during the pandemic³⁸ — providing CPC “ministry leaders,” staff, board members, and volunteers with training that ranges from marketing, fundraising, legal and financial operations, and “best practices in the performance of medical services,” to responding to pro-choice arguments and “embracing Christ, marriage, fatherhood.”³⁹

HBI also hosts “Heartbeat Academy,”⁴⁰ a website promoting and selling materials, webinars, courses, and other resources to CPCs on organizational development, messaging, medicalizing, building relationships on the state and local level, and more. Current HBI webinars include training on messaging with donors about *Dobbs v. Jackson* (the upcoming U.S. Supreme Court case that anti-abortion advocates hope will overturn *Roe v. Wade*), and uniting Catholics and Evangelicals in CPC leadership and staff.⁴¹

Both organizations produce podcasts. Care Net’s CareCast⁴² and HBI’s Pregnancy Help⁴³ promote central narratives of the anti-abortion movement, including that abortion is not really a choice and that abortion providers coerce vulnerable women,⁴⁴ which CPCs amplify on their websites.



It's Your Choice

The Supreme Court has given you the right to choose abortion. "Choice" assumes that you are fully informed and understand all your options including alternatives to abortion. Our job is to empower you with the information you need to make a **truly informed choice**. We offer a safe, quiet place for you to think through your options. Our trained client advocates provide information and insight in a warm, friendly, non-judgmental atmosphere in which you can thoughtfully consider your options and plan for your future.

Abortion is not a word we are afraid to say or talk about, and it's not intimidating or taboo to us. We just want to equip and support you in making **the best choice for your life** in a truthful and honest manner. Whatever you choose to do with your pregnancy —it's **YOUR choice**. We offer free, medically-sourced, up-to-date abortion information along with **free pregnancy tests, free ultrasounds** and information about all your options

▶ Screenshot from Care Net Pregnancy Center of Santa Fe, New Mexico
<https://santafepregnancy.com/abortion/>



FORCED TO ABORT?

It is unlawful for anyone to force you to have an abortion; anyone — your mother, your father, the baby's father, a sibling, a doctor. Any physician who performs an abortion on a woman...

READ MORE

▶ Screenshot from Real Alternatives home page (CPCs in Pennsylvania and Indiana)
<https://www.realalternatives.org/abortion/>

Messaging and mobilizing publications for the CPC industry include "Pregnancy Help News"^{45 46} published by Heartbeat International and "At the Center," a Christian magazine aimed at evangelical CPCs.⁴⁷ National evangelic organizations also provide public relations support for CPC industry, including the Family Research Council, which conducts marketing research for CPCs and Heritage House, which publishes pamphlets and films local CPC activists use in lay counseling.⁴⁸

DIGITAL STRATEGIES

As detailed in the Alliance report⁴⁹ the CPCs industry uses sophisticated digital tactics to target prospective clients online and on mobile phones, intercept people seeking abortion information online, direct clients to centralized hotlines and online chat services, and collect massive amounts of data on the reproductive and sexual histories of people who contact or visit a CPC.⁵⁰

An in-depth investigation of CPCs by Privacy International found that Heartbeat International is leading the anti-abortion movement's effort to collect and store client information. Heartbeat International hosts its own content management system, called Next Level, that affiliated CPCs around the country use to collect and store extensive information on people who contact and visit their center.⁵¹ HBI's Heartbeat Academy website recently moved to a platform that requires users to register or log in with an email address.⁵²

HBI also collects client data through online chat service Option Line,⁵³ which requires people to enter their name, demographic information, location information, and indicate whether they are considering an abortion before the chat can begin,⁵⁴ and through their Abortion Pill Reversal helpline portal via calls, live chats, emails, and texts.⁵⁵ Both sites use the same chat "support agent" (Clarissa) and message.

The CPC industry has its own software company and client data management system: eKYROS. Local CPCs use eKYROS software to maintain files on clients that access their services, including demographic data, as well as the purpose and outcome of the visit regarding abortion decision-making, and status of each client's potential conversion to evangelical Christianity.⁵⁶



“eKYROS.com has been serving the Pregnancy Resource Center (PRC) ministry through its center management software solution called CenterPiece™ since 1999. CenterPiece supports the challenging demands of Christ-centered PRCs around the globe, allowing them to spend more time on their core mission of saving LIVES.”⁵⁷

► Screenshot of eKYROS PRC Statistics home page
<https://ekyros.com/Pub/default.aspx?tabindex=3&tabid=16>

eKYROS links CPCs to centralized call centers, including HBI’s APR hotline, where caller data is collected:

The Privacy International report provides a critical look at how the CPC industry is leveraging big data, the lack of transparency regarding how it uses and shares client data, and the serious potential for privacy violations.⁵⁸ As most CPCs are not subject to federal privacy laws, the confidentiality, uses, and potential sharing of massive amounts of data about people who visit, call, chat with, or otherwise contact a CPC is unknown.

Heartbeat International: Mainstreaming “Abortion Pill Reversal” Through CPCs

“Abortion pill reversal” (APR) is an anti-abortion movement term that refers to the experimental practice of administering high doses of progesterone to pregnant people who have ingested the first of the two medicines taken during medication abortion. Anti-abortion activists promote this rogue practice by claiming it can “reverse” a medication abortion.

In April 2018 Heartbeat International took over the Abortion Pill Rescue Network (APRN)⁵⁹ and now operates a 24-hour “abortion pill reversal” helpline accessible via phone, live chat, email, and text 24/7.⁶⁰ HBI claims to have a referral network of “over 1,000 healthcare professionals” who provide APR⁶¹ and that they are expanding that network by “recruit[ing] more physicians, physician assistants and nurse practitioners” and advising them on how to administer APR.⁶²

HBI promotes APR advertising and provision by CPCs through its Heartbeat Academy website, which markets and sells APR materials, webinars, courses, and trainings.⁶³ The HBI Abortion Pill Reversal's FAQ page features disinformation about medication abortion, selective and misleading use of quotes from the American Academy of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, as well as marketing materials for promoting APR via social media, and APR materials, brochures, and yard signs for sale.⁶⁴

Medical professionals call APR "unproven and experimental,"⁶⁵ and "unethical" and "not based on science."⁶⁶ In 2019, Dr. Mitchell Creinin, an OB-GYN and professor at the University of California, Davis, led a research project that attempted to test the APR treatment promoted by the CPC industry in a rigorous, ethically designed controlled study. Dr. Creinin and his colleagues halted the study after three of the 12 women enrolled were taken to the hospital with severe vaginal bleeding.⁶⁷ As a result, the researchers concluded, "We could not estimate the efficacy of [APR] ... Patients in early pregnancy who use only mifepristone may be at high risk of significant hemorrhage."⁶⁸ For now, such a treatment is experimental and should be offered only in institutional review board-approved human clinical trials to ensure proper oversight.⁶⁹

Despite these warnings from medical professionals, Heartbeat International is promoting "abortion pill reversal" through a centralized nationwide CPC infrastructure. Every CPC in the Alliance Study that made referrals for APR sent people to the HBI-sponsored APR website and hotline.

In May 2020, the nonprofit watchdog group Campaign for Accountability (CfA) submitted a letter to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration requesting the agency seize website domains of any entity improperly marketing "abortion pill reversal" and specifically named HBI's Abortion Pill Reversal site as well as Obria Medical Clinics. CfA also called on the FDA to investigate the treatments these groups claim to provide.⁷⁰

An openDemocracy investigation in 2021 found that Heartbeat International has connected with doctors in countries in North and South America, Europe, and Africa who are prescribing APR to women "under the radar of medical regulators and health authorities."⁷¹ The investigation also found that Abortion Pill Rescue Network hotline operators "will email women dosage instructions if they can't make a connection with a doctor."⁷²

NIFLA: Mainstreaming Use of "Non-Diagnostic" Ultrasound by CPCs

National Institute of Family and Life Advocates is a major driver of the CPC industry's use of ultrasound. Various descriptions on CPC websites as "non-diagnostic," "limited," and "limited obstetrical" ultrasound, the CPC industry increasingly offers free ultrasound as a tool to signal medical legitimacy and persuade clients to carry their pregnancies to term.^{73 74}

Non-diagnostic ultrasounds are not recognized by medical professionals as a medical service. Also known as "keepsake" or "souvenir" ultrasounds, they cannot study placenta or amniotic fluid, or detect fetal abnormality, ectopic pregnancy, or fetal distress. Limited ultrasounds are recognized by the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology (ACOG) as a medical service, but only in narrow circumstances.



Abortion Pill Rescue Network Training

Brand: Heartbeat Academy
Product Code: 44

Price: \$119.95

Available Options

- * Assign to Email Address/Username

The following trainings complement the Abortion Pill Rescue training and can be purchased for an additional bundle discount.

- APR Ultrasound Training (+\$50.00)
- I'm a Life Affirming Specialist or have completed LOVE Approach training through my organization.
- Life Affirming Specialist Training (+\$75.00)
- The LOVE Approach Online (+\$20.00)

▶ Screenshot, Heartbeat Services, APR Training
<https://www.heartbeat-services.org/resources/store/heartbeat-academy/abortion-pill-rescue-network->

According to ACOG, “a limited ultrasound exam is done to answer a specific question. For example, if you are in labor, a limited ultrasound exam may be done to check the fetus’ position in the uterus. If you have vaginal bleeding, ultrasound may be used to see if the fetus’ heart is still beating or if the placenta is too low.”⁷⁵

In 1998, NIFLA created the Institute of Limited Obstetric Ultrasound to “introduce mothers to their unborn children.” NIFLA is clear that CPCs should use ultrasound technology because it is “a powerful medical tool ... that empowers mothers to choose life.”⁷⁶ A number of other anti-abortion organizations, including Focus on the Family,⁷⁷ support this NIFLA initiative by providing funding for CPCs to purchase ultrasound equipment.

Scholarly research notes that CPCs use ultrasound to further their religious goals, imparting “evangelical ideas about personhood, motherhood, and morality that shape the experience of pregnancy for clients.”⁷⁸ The American Institute of Ultrasound in Medicine condemns the use of ultrasounds for any non-medical purpose: “The use of ultrasound without a medical indication to view the fetus, obtain images of the fetus, or identify the fetal external genitalia is inappropriate and contrary to responsible medical practice.”⁷⁹

By 2001, NIFLA was leading the CPC movement to use ultrasound as a tool to “medicalize” clinics and entice more clients and donors. NIFLA markets “The Life Choice Project (TLC)” as a comprehensive medical conversion program to support pregnancy centers in their transition to medical clinic status.⁸⁰ According to NIFLA: “Medical clinics report improved credibility within their community which results in an increase of donors.”⁸¹ NIFLA now sponsors a three-day “Institute in Limited Obstetric Ultrasound.”⁸²



Established pro-life medical clinics report that more than 80 percent of abortion-minded mothers choose life after they see their unborn baby via ultrasound. Through the window to the womb provided by ultrasound, the personhood of these unborn children becomes undeniably evident.

Our goal is to have more pro-life medical clinics in operation using the invaluable tool of ultrasound, with clinics nationwide averaging 1,500 at-risk mothers a year. By achieving this goal, 1.5 million mothers contemplating abortion will have the opportunity to see the wonderful handiwork of the Creator move, kick and dance in celebration of life.

- ▶ Screenshots from NIFLA | Medical Clinic Conversion for Pregnancy Resource Centers
<https://nifla.org/life-choice-project-tlc/>

ULTRASOUND IMPACT

Opening a window into the womb

HOW DOES AN ULTRASOUND WORK?

High-frequency sound waves are sent into the womb where they bump into the baby's tissues and echo back. A computer analyzes the echoes and transforms them into images on a monitor.

WHEN IS IT PERFORMED?

This is typically performed around week six or seven to locate the heartbeat and estimate the age of the baby.

WHY DOES IT MATTER FOR PRO-LIFE MEDICAL CLINICS?

80% of abortion-minded mothers choose life after they see their unborn baby via ultrasound.

www.nifla.org

FALSE CLAIM CORRECTION: *Despite NIFLA claims about ultrasound impact, research shows that viewing an ultrasound does not change people’s minds about abortion.*⁸³

Use of ultrasound has spread in the CPC movement. Over half of the CPCs in the Alliance Study (56%) offered “non-diagnostic” ultrasounds. Care Net and its affiliated CPCs now market limited ultrasound services to “confirm an intrauterine pregnancy, measure fetal heart rate, and provide an estimated gestational age.”⁸⁴ Obria clinics routinely offer ultrasound services.⁸⁵ Heartbeat International markets an online ultrasound training for \$495 through its Heartbeat Academy website. Notably, HBI requires those registering to accept a “Training Acknowledgement” that specifies: “I understand I am purchasing a web-based resource intended for a pro-life audience I understand that this is an educational resource and is considered off the record.”⁸⁶

OBRIA: Medicalizing CPCs & Co-Opting the Wellness Movement

While NIFLA, Care Net, and HBI move to medicalize their affiliated centers, Obria has branded its CPC network itself as “fully licensed medical clinics” that offer “comprehensive reproductive care,”⁸⁷ despite the fact that Obria does not provide contraception or abortion care.

Obria has also expressly positioned itself as the holistic alternative to Planned Parenthood. Obria’s CEO told the *Catholic World Report*, “to be successful in our mission, we have to get patients out of Planned Parenthood clinics and into our centers. We’re doing this by matching their services, minus contraception and abortion.”⁸⁸



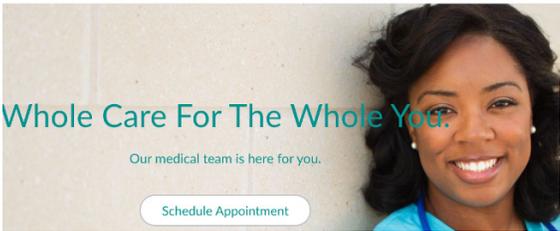
strength IN NUMBERS

Some of the main reasons for Planned Parenthood’s success is its national brand recognition and unified front. As part of a nationwide network, the organization can offer its clinics more services, more funding, and more recognition to attract a greater number of patients.

Effectively offering compassionate, reproductive health care to more Americans requires the same concept, but with better strategy and execution. Over the next three years, we’re adding hundreds of clinics to our network in order to serve more people in more areas with better care. Will you join us?

[Join Obria](#) [Have Questions?](#)

► Screenshot from Obria.org:
<https://www.obriagroup.org/affiliate-program>



Whole Care For The Whole You.

Our medical team is here for you.

[Schedule Appointment](#)

► Screenshot, Obria Medical Clinics: <https://www.obria.org/#tab-id-4>

In 2019, Obria realized a long-time goal of securing federal funds and wresting funding away from Planned Parenthood.⁸⁹ While in 2018 Obria’s application for a federal Title X family planning grant was denied because the organization did not provide hormonal birth control, in 2019 Obria secured \$1.7 million in Title X funds from the Trump administration after allegedly promising to provide birth control. At the same time, the Trump administration’s Department of Health and Human Services announced it was cutting funds to Planned Parenthood affiliates in Hawaii, North Carolina, Ohio, Wisconsin, and Virginia.⁹⁰ After securing Title X funding, Obria CEO Kathleen Bravo wrote in an email to supporters that the group would “never provide hormonal contraception.”⁹¹

Instead of FDA-approved contraception, Obria promotes “natural family planning.” Obria uses the rhetoric of the wellness industry and frames its services as being for women who don’t want to use hormones, while at the same time prominently advertising the high-progesterone “abortion pill reversal” treatment on its websites. Obria also uses the language of the wellness industry to promote abortion stigma.



After Abortion Help

It is common for some who have gone through an abortion to experience thoughts and emotions that are difficult to process. These uneasy feelings can come on immediately or suddenly hit you weeks or even years after the procedure.

Has your mind, body, or soul been impacted? Obria Medical Clinics is working with an online after-abortion wellness program called abortionchangesyou.com. It is a confidential space that serves as a refuge for those who wish to begin the process of healing. This process includes building support, exploring emotions, and identifying loss. This pathway is a starting point for reflection and healing regarding the personal impact of abortion. Each person will go through the process differently. We encourage you to explore the site.

► Screenshot of Obria Medical Clinics | After Abortion Help:
<https://www.obria.org/services/after-abortion-help/>

Expanding the CPC Network

In 2006, CPCs outnumbered reproductive health clinics providing abortion care in the United States by approximately two to one.⁹² Today, CPCs outnumber abortion clinics nationwide by more than three to one. In many states that directly fund CPCs the disparity is exponentially higher: in Pennsylvania, CPCs outnumber abortion clinics by nine to one; in Minnesota, by eleven to one.⁹³

The CPC umbrella groups play a central role in feeding the expansion of the CPC industry, offering extensive resources to create new crisis pregnancy centers, benefits to expand their affiliate base, and strategies to increase the number of volunteers and anti-abortion activists.



Obria is operating under a strategic plan for 2019-2025 that includes national expansion to “compete more effectively with abortion providers” by growing the number of Obria’s branded clinics to 200 by the end of 2025. The plan states the goal of developing a network of 200 clinics will be accomplished “by adding Affiliates at a national level.”⁹⁴

Care Net’s online “Center of Excellence University and Caring Foundations” provides training on “the basics of pregnancy center ministry” and starting new pregnancy centers, including marketing, fundraising, and training volunteers.⁹⁵

Heartbeat International provides trainings and materials to start a “pregnancy help ministry,”⁹⁶ including “Built By Design,” a new guide starting a CPC from scratch,⁹⁷ matching grants of \$30,000 for CPC start-ups,⁹⁸ and extensive benefits for affiliated CPCs.⁹⁹

CARE NET

Centers of Excellence University

Essential Online Learning for Pregnancy Centers

Centers of Excellence University is Care Net's online professional development program for pregnancy center team members: from the board of directors to staff and volunteers. These quality courses teach best practices and spiritual truths that will increase your center's effectiveness. The user-friendly online learning platform makes it easy and engaging to access the courses.

Tap into the knowledge gleaned from Care Net's 45-year history equipping pregnancy centers to minister to women and men considering abortion.

▶ Screenshot of Centers of Excellence University by Care Net: <https://resources.care-net.org/centers-of-excellence-university/>

Want to Start a Pregnancy Help Ministry?

Every day, in every corner of the world, God is moving His people to launch new efforts on behalf of mothers and children at-risk for abortion, as well as efforts aimed at healing those affected by previous abortions and reaching communities with positive pro-life messages focusing on *imago Dei* and Sexual Integrity.

Heartbeat International is here to support front-line life-savers carry out the unique call of God with excellence in real-life settings and circumstances. Through support and resources, Heartbeat is available to answer your questions and provide guidance as you journey down this new path. Just email our Ministry Services department at Support@HeartbeatInternational.org and a specialist will connect with you.

▶ Screenshots from Heartbeat International / Want to Start a Pregnancy Help Ministry? <https://www.heartbeat-services.org/about-us/why-affiliate/starting-a-ministry>

Birthright International and Elevate Life also offer assistance and resources to open new centers.^{100 101}

According to the most reliable estimate, more than 2,500 crisis pregnancy centers are currently operating in the United States.¹⁰² Some anti-abortion groups claim the number to be much higher, approaching 4,000.¹⁰³ Fewer than 800 abortion clinics now serve patients in this country¹⁰⁴ (95% of abortions take place in clinics).¹⁰⁵

With CPCs outnumbering abortion clinics in almost every state,¹⁰⁶ this unregulated and expanding network of ideological, deceptive, and manipulative providers of mostly non-medical services is increasingly more likely to be the most logistically accessible facility in the landscape of services for pregnant people with limited resources.

Opening a Center

Help extend Birthright's compassion, love and support to more women facing unplanned pregnancies.



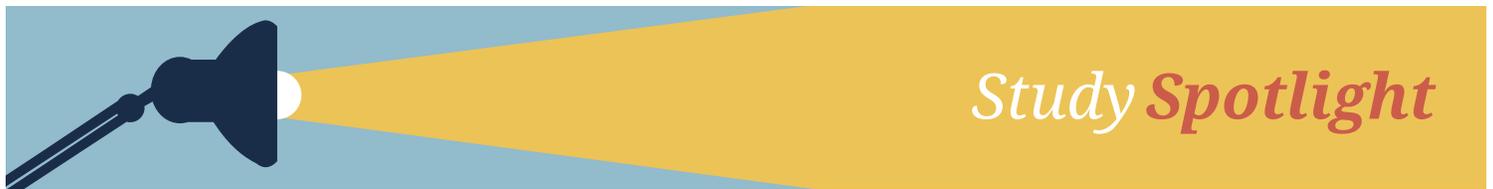
From our humble beginnings in a one-room office to our hundreds of centres across the globe, Birthright continues to help thousands of women facing unplanned pregnancies.

If you are interested in opening a centre in your area, we would love to hear from you. Birthright works alongside you to provide guidance and training to support your journey in opening a Birthright centre.

Please Contact:

Birthright International

► Screenshot from Birthright International | Opening a Center
<https://birthright.org/get-involved/?tab=3>



CPCs in the Radical Anti-Abortion Movement

According to crisis pregnancy center researchers, the CPC movement is the oldest and largest anti-abortion movement in the United States,¹⁰⁷ encompassing "more organizations, volunteers, and volunteer hours than all other forms of pro-life/anti-abortion activism."¹⁰⁸

CPCs operate as part of a multi-sector anti-choice movement — comprising lawmakers, direct-action street protesters, and national anti-abortion groups — working together to roll back women's rights and LGBTQ+ equality and promote a fundamentalist Christian agenda. Beyond manipulating pregnant people to prevent their access to abortion, CPCs offer female faces and caring language to feminize and rehabilitate the harsh tactics and language of the overwhelmingly white and male lawmakers who promote abortion restrictions and lead the large anti-abortion groups that mobilize the movement.

CPCs often locate near an abortion clinic, providing a hub where anti-abortion protesters can mobilize and where volunteers are recruited and radicalized to participate in more aggressive tactics. Even during COVID pandemic-related closures of essential services, Alliance organization staff and allies were witness to CPCs continuing to operate as gathering places for protesters heading en masse to demonstrations in front of their nearby abortion clinic.

CPCs may not be effective in realizing their fundamentalist evangelical goals, but they are effective in radicalizing donors and volunteers as anti-abortion movement activists.¹⁰⁹



Abortion is many things, but at its worst, it is a sin

We must show up at abortion facilities, not because we are sinless, but because we are sinners who know Jesus Christ will forgive any sin and set us free. Sin is at the root of the abortion crisis - the sins that lead to abortion, the sins of silence surrounding abortion, and the sins of those who do the abortions.

► Screenshot of Doors of Hope Pregnancy Care Center, Madera, CA
<https://www.lifesitenews.com>

Endnotes

- 1 Kimberly Kelly, "The Spread of 'Post Abortion Syndrome' as Social Diagnosis," *Social Science & Medicine* 102 (2014): 19, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2013.11.030>.
- 2 Kendra Hutchens, "'Gummy Bears' and 'Teddy Grahams': Ultrasounds as Religious Biopower in Crisis Pregnancy Centers," *Social Science & Medicine* 277 (2021): <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2021.113925>.
- 3 Kimberly Kelly and Amanda Gochanour, "Racial Reconciliation or Spiritual Smokescreens?: Blackwashing the Crisis Pregnancy Center Movement," *Qualitative Sociology* 41, no. 3 (July 2018): 424, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11133-018-9392-0>.
- 4 Kimberly Kelly, "Evangelical Underdogs: Intrinsic Success, Organizational Solidarity, and Marginalized Identities as Religious Movement Resources," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 43, no. 4 (2014): 421-422, doi:10.1177/0891241613516627.
- 5 Claire Provost & Nandini Archer, *Exclusive: Trump-Linked Religious 'Extremists' Target Women With Disinformation Worldwide*, Open Democracy (Feb. 10, 2020), <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/trump-linked-religious-extremists-global-disinformation-pregnant-women/>.
- 6 Robert Case, "Harold O.J. 'Joe' Brown, the Christian Action Council and Me," *The Aquila Report*, (May 15, 2011), <https://www.theaquilareport.com/harold-o-j-joe-brown-the-christian-action-council-and-me/>.
- 7 "About Care Net," *Care Net*, accessed September 24, 2021, <https://www.care-net.org/about>.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Kelly, "Evangelical Underdogs."
- 10 Care Net, <https://www.care-net.org/about>.
- 11 "Care Net," *Ministry Watch*, <https://briiinstitute.com/mw/ministry.php?ein=541382723>.
- 12 *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 24, 2021, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/>.
- 13 "Heartbeat History," *Heartbeat International*, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/heartbeat-history>.
- 14 Meaghan Winter, "Save the Mother, Save the Baby: An Inside Look at a Pregnancy Center Conference," *Cosmopolitan*, (April 6, 2015), <https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a38642/heartbeat-international-conference-crisis-pregnancy-centers-abortion/>.
- 15 Claire Provost & Nandini Archer, "Exclusive: Trump-Linked Religious 'Extremists' Target Women With Disinformation Worldwide," *Open Democracy*, (Feb. 10, 2020), <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/trump-linked-religious-extremists-global-disinformation-pregnant-women/>.
- 16 Heartbeat International, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/>.
- 17 "Abortion Pill Reversal," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 15, 2021, <https://www.abortionpillreversal.com/>.
- 18 "Birthright marks half a century of service," *The Catholic Register*, (June 5, 2018), <https://www.catholiccharities.org/Member-Agencies/Affiliated-Organizations/Birthright.aspx>.
- 19 Kelly and Gochanour, "Racial Reconciliation."
- 20 "Birthright marks half a century of service."
- 21 Patricia Miller, "Catholic Bishops Fund Anti-Choice 'Clinics' Set to Receive Trump Title X Funding," *Rewire News Group*, (April 2, 2019): <https://rewirenewsgroup.com/religion-dispatches/2019/04/02/catholic-bishops-fund-anti-choice-clinics-set-to-receive-trump-title-x-funding/>.
- 22 "Developing a Sustainable Pro-Life Medical Business Model," Obria Strategic Plan 2019-2025, *Obria Group*, <https://www.guidestar.org/ViewEdoc.aspx?eDocId=6944160&approved=true>
- 23 "About Obria," *Obria Medical Clinics*, accessed September 20, 2021, <https://www.obria.org/about/>.
- 24 "Birth Control," *Obria Medical Clinics*, accessed September 20, 2021, <https://www.obria.org/birth-control/>.
- 25 Miller, "Catholic Bishops Fund Anti-Choice 'Clinics' Set to Receive Trump Title X Funding."
- 26 Jim Graves, "Fighting the Culture of Death - and Planned Parenthood - in California," *The Catholic World Report*, (January 9, 2015), <https://www.catholicworldreport.com/2015/01/09/fighting-the-culture-of-death-and-planned-parenthood-in-california/>.
- 27 Obria Group, "Developing a Sustainable Pro-Life Medical Business Model."
- 28 "Legal Services," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://nifla.org/legal-services/>.
- 29 "Medical Clinic Conversion," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://nifla.org/medical-clinic-conversion/>.
- 30 Are We a Medical Clinic?," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/are-we-a-medical-clinic>.
- 31 "About Us," *Real Alternatives*, accessed September 25, 2021, <https://www.realalternatives.org/about-us/service-provider/>.
- 32 "About Us," *Elevate Life*, accessed September 25, 2021: <https://elevatelifeusa.org/about/>.
- 33 "Building a Culture of Life", *Elevate Life*, accessed September 25, 2021, <https://elevatelifeusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/2021-About-Us-Elevate-Life-Booklet-p-office-Copy-for-website.pdf>.
- 34 *Culture of Life Family Services*, accessed September 27, 2021: <https://colfsclinic.org/>.
- 35 Kimberly Kelly, "In the Name of the Mother: Renegotiating Conservative Women's Authority in the Crisis Pregnancy Center Movement," *Signs*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2012, pp. 203-230: www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/665807.
- 36 Kelly, "Evangelical Underdogs."
- 37 Kelly, "In the Name of the Mother."

- 38 Emily Shugerman, "'Pro-Life' Group Plans 1,300 Person Conference in Virus' Deadly Path", *Daily Beast* (July 20, 2020), <https://www.the-dailybeast.com/pro-life-care-net-plans-conference-in-coronavirus-deadly-florida-path>.
- 39 Program (2020 Conference), *Care Net*, accessed August 20, 2021, <https://carenet.eventsair.com/2020-care-net-national-conference/program>.
- 40 "Heartbeat Academy," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 30, 2021, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/academy>.
- 41 "Heartbeat Academy, Available Courses," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 30, 2021, <https://heartbeatacademy.org/>.
- 42 CareCast Podcast, *Care Net*, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://www.care-net.org/podcast>.
- 43 Pregnancy Help News, *Heartbeat International*, accessed August 25, 2021, <https://pregnancyhelpnews.com/>.
- 44 CareCast, *Care Net*, accessed July 15, 2021, <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/care-nets-carecast/id1097970270?i=1000473128277>.
- 45 Pregnancy Help News, *Heartbeat International*.
- 46 Kelly, "In the Name of the Mother."
- 47 "At the Center," *Life Matters Worldwide*, accessed September 9, 2021: <https://www.atcmag.com/>.
- 48 Kelly, "Evangelical Underdogs."
- 49 The Alliance: State Advocates for Women's Rights & Gender Equality, "Designed to Deceive, Appearing Local, Acting Global: CPCs are Key Players in the International Anti-Abortion Movement," (October 2021), <https://alliancestateadvocates.org/>.
- 50 "A Documentation of Data Exploitation in Sexual and Reproductive Rights," *Privacy International*, April 21, 2020, <https://privacyinternational.org/long-read/3669/documentation-data-exploitation-sexual-and-reproductive-rights>.
- 51 Ibid.
- 52 As of March 1, 2021, new clients are directed from the original Heartbeat Academy website, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/academy>, to www.HeartbeatAcademy.org, where email information is required for accessing most information.
- 53 "Option Line," *Heartbeat International*: <https://optionline.org/>.
- 54 Privacy International "Exploiting Data."
- 55 "Abortion Pill Reversal," *Heartbeat International*: <https://www.abortionpillreversal.com/>.
- 56 Kelly, "Evangelical Underdogs."
- 57 eKyros, accessed September 30, 2021: <https://ekyros.com/Pub/default.aspx?tabindex=0&tabid=1>.
- 58 Privacy International "Exploiting Data."
- 59 "Life-Saving Abortion Pill Reversal Network, Hotline, Change Hands, *Pregnancy Help News*, (April 12, 2018): <https://pregnancyhelpnews.com/life-saving-abortion-pill-reversal-network-hotline-change-hands>.
- 60 "Abortion Pill Reversal," *Heartbeat International*, <https://www.abortionpillreversal.com/>.
- 61 "The Abortion Pill Reversal Team," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 22, 2021: <https://www.abortionpillreversal.com/about-us>.
- 62 Mai Bean et al., "Pregnancy Centers Stand the Test of Time: A Legacy of Life & Love Report Series," *The Charlotte Lozier Institute* (2020), accessed September 29, 2021, https://lozierinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Pregnancy-Center-Report-2020_FINAL.pdf.
- 63 "Introduction to Abortion Pill Reversal," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 22, 2021: <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/resources/resources-by-topic/abortion/introduction-to-abortion-pill-reversal>.
- 64 "Frequently Asked Questions, Abortion Pill Reversal," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 10, 2021, <https://www.abortionpillreversal.com/abortion-pill-reversal/faq>.
- 65 Daniel Grossman and Kari White, "Abortion 'Reversal' — Legislating without Evidence," *The New England Journal of Medicine* 379, no. 16 (October 2018): 1491: <https://www.nejm.org/doi/full/10.1056/nejmp1805927>.
- 66 "Facts Are Important: Medication Abortion 'Reversal' Is Not Supported by Science," *The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists*, accessed April 8, 2021: <https://www.acog.org/advocacy/facts-are-important/medication-abortion-reversal-is-not-supported-by-science>.
- 67 Mitchell D. Creinin et al., "Mifepristone Antagonization with Progesterone to Prevent Medical Abortion: A Randomized Controlled Trial," *Obstetrics & Gynecology* 135, no. 1 (January 2020): 162, https://journals.lww.com/greenjournal/fulltext/2020/01000/mifepristone_antagonization_with_progesterone_to.21.aspx.
- 68 Ibid. 158.
- 69 Ibid. 164.
- 70 Press release, "Watchdog Calls on FDA to Seize Website Domains Promoting Dangerous and Unproven 'Abortion Reversal' Medication," *Campaign for Accountability*, (May 20, 2020), campaignforaccountability.org/watchdog-calls-on-fda-to-seize-website-domains-promoting-dangerous-and-unproven-abortion-reversal-medication/.
- 71 "Doctors worldwide offer 'dangerous' treatment to 'reverse' abortions," *openDemocracy*, (May 2021), <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/abortion-pill-reversal/>.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 "Medical Clinic Conversion," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed September 29, 2021: <https://nifla.org/medical-clinic-conversion/>.
- 74 "Are We a Medical Clinic?," *Heartbeat International*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/are-we-a-medical-clinic>.
- 75 "Ultrasound Exams, Frequently Asked Questions," *The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists*, accessed September 28, 2021, <https://www.acog.org/womens-health/faqs/ultrasound-exams>.
- 76 "The Life Choice Project (TLC)," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://membership.nifla.org/the-life-choice-project.asp>.

- 77 Kelly, "In the Name of the Mother."
- 78 Hutchens, "Gummy Bears" and "Teddy Grahams."
- 79 "Prudent Use and Safety of Diagnostic Ultrasound in Pregnancy," *American Institute of Ultrasound in Medicine*, May 19, 2020, <https://www.aium.org/officialStatements/79>.
- 80 "Medical Clinic Conversion," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://nifla.org/medical-clinic-conversion/>.
- 81 "The Life Choice Project (TLC)," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed September 29, 2021, <https://membership.nifla.org/the-life-choice-project.asp>.
- 82 "Institute in Limited Obstetric Ultrasound," *National Institute of Family and Life Advocates*, accessed October 1, 2021, <https://membership.nifla.org/institute-in-limited-obstetric-ultrasound.asp>.
- 83 "Ultrasound Viewing," *Advancing New Standards in Reproductive Health*, accessed September 30, 2021, <https://www.ansirh.org/research/ongoing/ultrasound-viewing>.
- 84 "Policy and Procedure Guide for Ultrasound Clients, Family Members and Visitors," *Care Net Pregnancy Centers of Albuquerque*, Brochure revised 1/19/2020, received by Care Net client in May 2021. For more information contact Southwest Women's Law Center, info@swwomenslaw.org.
- 85 "Services, Ultrasound," *Obria Medical Clinics*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.obria.org/services/ultrasound/>.
- 86 "Heartbeat's Online Ultrasound Training," *Heartbeat International*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.heartbeat-services.org/resources/resources-by-topic/medical/heartbeat-s-online-ultrasound-training>.
- 87 Obria Group: <https://www.obriagroup.org/comprehensive-care>.
- 88 Graves, "Fighting the Culture of Death – and Planned Parenthood – in California."
- 89 Anna North, "Obria, the anti-abortion group that's tapping into the 'wellness culture, explained,'" *Vox*, (August 29, 2019), <https://theslot.jezebel.com/obrias-abortion-fake-out-is-working-1834733331>.
- 90 Doug Stanglin, "Trump administration awards \$1.7 million family planning grant to anti-abortion group," *USA Today*, (March 30, 2019), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2019/03/30/trump-admin-gives-family-planning-grant-anti-abortion-group-obria/3320141002/>.
- 91 North, "Obria, the anti-abortion group that's tapping into the 'wellness culture, explained.'"
- 92 "Crisis Pregnancy Centers: An Affront to Choice," *National Abortion Federation*, 2006, http://prochoice.org/pubs_research/publications/downloads/public_policy/cpc_report.pdf.
- 93 The Alliance: State Advocates for Women's Rights & Gender Equality, "Designed to Deceive: Full Findings & Study Methods" (October 2021), <https://alliancestateadvocates.org/>.
- 94 "Developing a Sustainable Pro-Life Medical Business Model," *Obria Group*, <https://www.guidestar.org/ViewEdoc.aspx?eDocId=6698276&approved=true>.
- 95 "Centers of Excellence University," *Care Net*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://resources.care-net.org/centers-of-excellence-university/>.
- 96 "Want to Start a Pregnancy Help Ministry?," *Heartbeat International*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.heartbeat-services.org/about-us/why-affiliate/starting-a-ministry>.
- 97 "Built by Design," *Heartbeat International*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.heartbeat-services.org/resources/resources-by-topic/leadership-management/built-by-design>.
- 98 "Pregnancy Center Life Launch Grant," *Heartbeat International*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.heartbeat-services.org/life-launch-grant>.
- 99 "Benefits of Being a Heartbeat International Affiliate," *Heartbeat International*, accessed October 3, 2021, <https://www.heartbeatinternational.org/about-us/why-affiliate/benefits>.
- 100 "Opening a Center," *Birthright International*, accessed October 4, 2021, <https://birthright.org/get-involved/?tab=3>.
- 101 "About Us/Our Work," *Elevate Life*, accessed October 4, 2021, <https://elevatelifeusa.org/about/>.
- 102 Andrea Swartzendruber and Danielle N. Lambert, "A Web-Based Geolocated Directory of Crisis Pregnancy Centers (CPCs) in the United States: Description of CPC Map Methods and Design Features and Analysis of Baseline Data," *JMIR Public Health and Surveillance*, March 2020, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7148549/>.
- 103 Swartzendruber and Lambert, "A Web-Based Geolocated Directory."
- 104 Alice F. Cartwright et al., "Identifying National Availability of Abortion Care and Distance from Major US Cities: Systematic Online Search," *Journal of Medical Internet Research* 20, no. 5 (May 2018), <https://www.jmir.org/2018/5/e186>.
- 105 Rachel K. Jones, Elizabeth Witwer, and Jenna Jerman, "Abortion Incidence and Service Availability in the United States, 2017," *Guttmacher Institute*, September 2019, <https://www.guttmacher.org/report/abortion-incidence-service-availability-us-2017#>.
- 106 Swartzendruber and Lambert, "A Web-Based Geolocated Directory."
- 107 Kelly, "Evangelical Underdogs."
- 108 Laura S. Hussey, "Crisis Pregnancy Centers, Poverty, and the Expanding Frontiers of American Abortion Politics," *Politics & Policy*, (December 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12054>.
- 109 Kelly, "The spread of 'Post Abortion Syndrome' as social diagnosis."