



STATE OF INDIANA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
State House, Second Floor
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

Eric J. Holcomb
Governor

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL ONLY

July 14, 2022

Mehreen Rasheed
Counsel, American Oversight
records@americanoversight.org

Re: Public Records Request

Dear Ms. Rasheed:

You submitted the following public records request to the Office of Governor Eric J. Holcomb (Governor's Office) seeking:

1. *All email communications (including emails, email attachments, complete email chains, and calendar invitations) and text messages or messages on messaging platforms (such as Slack, GChat or Google Hangouts, Lync, Skype, Twitter direct messages, Facebook messages, WhatsApp, Signal, Telegram, The Buzz, or Parler) between (a) Governor Eric Holcomb or anyone serving as his chief of staff, scheduler or assistant, and (b) any of the following individuals or entities, regarding abortion policy.*

- a. *Marjorie Dannenfelser, including, but not limited to, at mdannenfelser@sbalist.org*
- b. *Frank Cannon, including, but not limited to, at fcannon@sbalist.org*
- c. *Autumn Christensen, including, but not limited to, at achristensen@sbalist.org*
- d. *Marilyn Musgrave, including, but not limited to, at mmusgrave@sbalist.org*
- e. *Mallory Quigley, including, but not limited to, at mquigley@sbalist.org*
- f. *Kristie McCrary, including, but not limited to, at kmccrary@sbalist.org*
- g. *Anyone communicating on behalf of the Susan B. Anthony List, including, but not limited to, anyone using an email address ending in sbalist.org or sba-list.org*
- h. *Anyone communicating on behalf of the Charlotte Lozier Institute, including, but not limited to, anyone using an email address ending in lozierinstitute.org*

2. *Any handouts, agendas, summaries, or notes provided or produced in connection with any meeting between the Indiana Governor's Office and the individuals or entities listed in part 1 of this request, including, but not limited to: (a) electronic or hard-copy records provided by attendees, participants, or organizers of the meeting, or (b) formal or informal notes, descriptions, or analyses of the event created by the Indiana Governor's Office.*

Please note that American Oversight does not seek, and that this request specifically excludes, the initial mailing of news clips or other mass-distribution emails. However, subsequent communications forwarding such emails are responsive to this request. In other words, for example, if one of the listed officials received a mass-distribution news clip email from the Susan B. Anthony List, that initial email would not be responsive to this request. However, if they responded to that email or forwarded that email to another individual with their own commentary, that subsequent message would be responsive to this request and should be produced.

Please provide all responsive records from January 1, 2022, through the date the search is conducted.

After reviewing your request, our Office notified you that clarification might be needed for some aspects of your request. Specifically, we indicated that:

- Regarding part 1 of your request, we would conduct a search for records between the Governor, his chief of staff, scheduler, and assistant, with Marjorie Dannenfelser, Frank Cannon, Autumn Christensen, Marilyn Musgrave, Mallory Quigley, and Kristie McCrary, but would need you to specifically identify any additional individuals “communicating on behalf of the Susan B. Anthony List” or “the Charlotte Lozier Institute” to enable us to search for those records; and
- Regarding part 2 of your request, we would conduct a search for meeting-related records of the Governor, his chief of staff, scheduler, and assistant with the individuals specifically named in part 1, but would need you to specifically identify any additional members of the Governor’s staff (or provide position titles as in part 1) and any additional individuals “communicating on behalf of the Susan B. Anthony List” or “the Charlotte Lozier Institute” to enable us to search for those additional records.

You then provided the following clarifications:

- *Part 1: In lieu of subparts g and h concerning “anyone communicating on behalf of” the Susan B. Anthony List and the Charlotte Lozier Institute, please include the following specified individuals:*
 - *Billy Valentine, Vice President of Political Affairs, Susan B. Anthony List*
 - *Chuck Donovan, President of the Charlotte Lozier Institute*
 - *Stephen Billy, Executive Director of the Charlotte Lozier Institute*
 - *Jamie Bowers, Communications Director of the Charlotte Lozier Institute*
 - *Genevieve Plaster, Deputy Director of Policy and Administration of the Charlotte Lozier Institute*
 - *Gabriela Szostak, Executive Assistant to the President and Executive Director of the Charlotte Lozier Institute*

This clarification is also intended to apply to Part 2 where it states, “the individuals or entities listed in part 1 of this request”
- *Part 2: In interpreting “the Indiana Governor’s Office,” in addition to Governor, his chief of staff, scheduler, and assistant, please also include the following Governor’s Office staff:*
 - *Sam Rourke, or anyone acting as Communications Director*
 - *Michele Holtcamp, or anyone acting as Deputy Communications Director*
 - *Ethan Lawson, Communications*
 - *Alec Gray, Communications*
 - *Erin Murphy, Communications*
 - *Rebecca Holwerda, or anyone acting as Policy Director*
 - *Rachel Bibler, Policy*
 - *Caitlin Smith, External Operations*
 - *Samuel Frain, External Operations*
 - *Hannah Gregory, External Operations*
 - *Andrew Forrester, or anyone acting as Director of Intergovernmental Affairs*
 - *Anyone acting as Deputy Chief of Staff to the Governor*

Our Office acknowledged those clarifications and indicated that we would search for records as you described.

First, please note that Sam Rourke, Rebecca Holwerda, Rachel Bibler, and Caitlin Smith were not employed by the Governor’s Office during the requested timeframe.

Second, enclosed are records responsive to your request. As a courtesy, we are providing these records to you free of charge. Certain records and/or portions of records have been withheld from disclosure and are not being produced in this response in accordance with and as permitted by the laws of the State of Indiana, as follows: Indiana Code §§ 5-14-3-4(b)(6)-(7)(*records that are advisory or deliberative material, and diaries, journals, or other personal notes serving as the functional equivalent of a diary or journal*). The person responsible for withholding the records, or portions thereof, is Joseph R. Heerens, General Counsel.

Accordingly, we have completed our response to your public records request and are closing our file at this time. If you have any questions regarding this request, please do not hesitate to contact our Office.

Sincerely,

Michael Nossett

Deputy General Counsel
Office of the Governor



Dobbs Supreme Court Case Messaging Guide

Four Top Messages

SBA List has conducted extensive polling, message testing, and focus groups. From this research, we've developed four key messages:

Focus on the humanity of the unborn child at 15 weeks, especially the child's developmental features and ability to feel excruciating pain – all proven by modern medicine and science.¹

- Thanks to advances in modern medicine and science, the humanity of a 15-week-old child in the womb is undeniable.
- Children at this stage have fully formed noses and lips, eyelids and eyebrows; they can suck their thumbs, and can even feel pain.²
- *Roe* is based on outdated science. It's time for the courts to allow the law to catch up.

Emphasize that the likely outcome in *Dobbs* will be to allow the American people to debate this issue through their elected representatives – NOT a complete nationwide ban on abortion. Elected officials rather than unelected judges will set abortion policy based on where consensus is found.

- *Roe* puts unelected judges in charge of abortion policy. Abortion laws should be debated and decided by the American people, not dictated by judges. *Roe* imposes a one-size-fits-all legal system that leaves Americans without a voice.
- Overturning *Roe* gets the courts out of the abortion business and allows Americans to have a discussion and come to consensus through their elected officials. Consensus will look different in different places.

Hammer Democrats for their extremist position in favor of abortion on demand, even painful late-term abortions when the child can feel excruciating pain.

- Politicians who support *Roe* support court-imposed abortion on demand up until the moment of birth.³ They oppose allowing Americans to even debate the issue through their

¹ <https://lozierinstitute.org/15-facts-at-15-weeks/>

² [voyageoflife.com](https://www.voyageoflife.com)

³ <https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/supporting-roe-means-supporting-abortion-until-birth/>

⁴ <https://www.sba-list.org/hyde>

⁵ <https://www.nationalreview.com/corner/virginia-governor-defends-letting-infants-die/>

⁶ <https://www.sba-list.org/newsroom/press-releases/pro-life-leaders-launch-discharge-petition-to-push-for-a-vote-on-born-alive-protections-for-babies>

⁷ <https://www.kofc.org/en/news-room/polls/americans-support-legal-limits-on-abortion.html>

elected representatives. These same politicians support taxpayer funding of abortion⁴ and even infanticide.^{5,6} They are way out of step with the American people.

- 71% of Americans support significant limits on abortion⁷ and most Americans would prefer that the people set abortion policy through their elected officials, not unelected judges.⁸
- Because of *Roe* and *Casey*, the United States is more in line with China and North Korea when it comes to abortion policy.⁹ Even in progressive Europe, 47 out of 50 countries have limits on abortion prior to 15 weeks.¹⁰

Demonstrate that the pro-life movement cares not only about the unborn child, but about the mother as well, and providing the resources necessary for her to choose life.

- The pro-life movement cares not only about the unborn child, but also for vulnerable mothers.
- This is demonstrated by the more than 2,700 pregnancy care centers nationwide that serve millions of people annually.¹¹
- It is also demonstrated by government-funded programs like the Texas Alternatives to Abortion program¹² – with a \$100 million annual budget¹³ – that provide counseling, material assistance, care coordination, and housing support.

Q&A – Answering Tough Questions

Q: If *Roe* is overturned, do you want to see all abortions made illegal?

A: Unborn children and mothers should be protected under the law. If *Roe* is overturned, the issue is returned to the people to decide it through their elected representatives in Congress and in the states. We should save as many children as we can under the law based on where consensus is found, and work toward the day when all children and mothers are protected. That won't happen overnight, but reversing *Roe* begins the process of the people being able to act to protect life.

Q: If *Roe* is overturned and abortion is criminalized, how would you enforce it? Who should be punished under the law? The doctor? The mother? Both?

A: The pro-life movement believes that in every abortion there are two victims: the mother and the child. The mother should always be held harmless under the law. The abortionist who performed the illegal abortion should be punished, not the mother.

Q: Poll after poll shows the majority of Americans do not want to see *Roe* overturned. You talk a lot about letting the people have a say, but isn't it clear most Americans prefer the status quo of the *Roe* decision?

A: Any poll asking just about *Roe* is superficial. Polling conducted for SBA List shows a third of American voters believe *Roe* only allows for abortions during the first trimester, and another third

⁸ <https://www.sba-list.org/polling#scotus>

⁹ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/10/09/is-the-united-states-one-of-seven-countries-that-allow-elective-abortions-after-20-weeks-of-pregnancy/>

¹⁰ <https://lozierinstitute.org/comparing-mississippi-limit-with-european-laws/>

¹¹ <https://lozierinstitute.org/pregnancy-center-reports/>

¹² <https://www.hhs.texas.gov/services/health/women-children/alternatives-abortion>

¹³ <https://lozierinstitute.org/alternatives-to-abortion-programs-support-for-mothers-and-families/>

of voters say they don't know when *Roe* limits abortions, if at all. Only 20% of voters correctly identified *Roe* as allowing for abortions up until birth. There are plenty of polls that demonstrate the American people, even many who identify as pro-choice, reject abortion on demand until birth¹⁴ and support limits.¹⁵ Further, polling also demonstrates that most Americans prefer that their elected representatives, not unelected judges, determine abortion policy.¹⁶

Q: If *Roe* is overturned and pro-life states ban abortion, the impact is going to be hardest on poor women, especially poor women of color who cannot afford to travel out of state to get an abortion. Why are you advocating for laws that will hurt poor people of color?

It is a travesty that abortion disproportionately impacts people of color and has done so for decades.¹⁷ America is better than that. The pro-life movement believes in the dignity of all people, regardless of race or income. If *Roe* is overturned and unborn children can be protected, we will be able to save these vulnerable children. That should be celebrated. The pro-life movement stands ready to support these moms who no longer have access to abortion. The pro-life movement has been serving women and families for the past 50 years through existing networks like America's 2,700 pregnancy centers that provide vital services to millions of people each year at virtually no cost.¹⁸ Programs like Her PLAN (Pregnancy and Life Assistance Network)¹⁹ have launched to identify and fill gaps in the safety net across states so that the needs of mothers and babies are met.

Q: Why is your side insistent on telling a woman what to do with her body, yet when it comes to COVID-19 which has killed millions of people, your side resists vaccine mandates that can save lives under the same premise of individual liberty? Your side is effectively saying "my body, my choice" when it comes to vaccines. Isn't that hypocritical and inconsistent with being "pro-life?"

A: You're comparing apples and oranges. With the COVID-19 vaccine, you're talking about a vaccine meant to protect against illness. When you're talking about abortion, you're talking about a procedure that is considered successful when it results in the death of an unborn child. The goal of an abortion is to deliver a dead baby. When refusing a vaccine, death is not the goal, and it doesn't mean precautions aren't being taken elsewhere to protect oneself and others from serious illness. There are many reasons for vaccine reluctance, but none of those reasons involves intentionally causing the death of another human being.

Q: Won't the overturning of *Roe* cause women turn to "back alley" abortions that could kill them?

A: The pro-life movement cares deeply about the health, safety and well-being of women. The reality is that currently under *Roe*, abortion is not safe for either unborn children or their mothers.

¹⁴ <https://www.sba-list.org/polling>

¹⁵ <https://www.kofc.org/en/news-room/polls/americans-support-legal-limits-on-abortion.html>

¹⁶ SBA List/MacLaughlin & Associates, July 2018

¹⁷ <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC7436774/>

¹⁸ <https://lozierinstitute.org/pro-life-pregnancy-centers-served-2-million-people-with-essential-medical-education-and-support-services-in-2019/>

¹⁹ <https://herplan.org/>

Abortion in many states is vastly unregulated, leading to horrific conditions in facilities like those of Kermit Gosnell and severe injury or even death at the hands of incompetent so-called doctors like Steven Chase Brigham, Leroy Carhart, and many others.²⁰ Further, a recent study reviewing abortions that were paid for by state Medicaid funds found that for every 100 abortions performed, there were 35 ER visits for abortion complications.²¹ We must do everything we can as a society – both the public and private sector – so that mothers never reach a point of desperation where they feel the need to seek an illegal abortion. There should be bipartisan consensus on that point, regardless of how one feels about abortion.

Q: Won't overturning *Roe* set back women's rights and equality to men? Women have come to rely on reproductive freedom to advance economically and achieve their dreams.

The pro-life movement rejects the false and paternalistic argument that women have meaningful lives only because seven male justices in *Roe* invented a "right" to abortion in 1973. As a legal brief filed in *Dobbs* authored by 240 female scholars and professionals²² argues, *Roe* has had no impact on women's equality in American society: "Even a cursory review of history reveals that the expansion of opportunities for women – as well as their increased participation in political, social, and economic spheres – predated *Roe*." Further, another brief filed by pro-life women legislators representing nearly every state in the country²³ demonstrated how women's representation in public office has soared since 1973. It also demonstrated that women in public office are representing both sides of the abortion debate. If *Roe* is overturned and the issue is handed back to the people to decide, women's voices on both sides of the debate will be strongly represented. The brief states: "Because of the substantial changes that even a minority of women bring to a legislative body, there is no longer a need — if there ever was — for this Court to assume that women cannot adequately protect their own interests through state political processes... Because women can now advance their own policy preferences in legislatures throughout the Nation, the Court can and should give greater deference to state legislators' judgments about how to regulate abortion within their states' borders."

Q: If *Roe* is overturned and you can pass laws to criminalize abortion, why do you think it's OK to impose your own religious beliefs on everyone else?

A: You do not have to be a religious person to believe that the unborn child developing in the womb is a person who is entitled to legal protection. It is a scientific and biological fact that life begins at conception. Sure, people's religious views can also come into play, believing that this life was created by God. But it's fundamentally a matter of science and biology. Show an ultrasound of an unborn child to a five-year-old and they'll tell you it's a child. And it's very doubtful they'd bring up a religious view in explaining why.

²⁰ <https://www.sba-list.org/negligence>

²¹ <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/23333928211053965>

²² https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/19/19-1392/185586/20210803111413494_19-1392%20Brief%20of%20240%20Women%20Scholars%20et%20al%20In%20Support%20of%20Petitioners%20REPLACEMENT%20COPIES.pdf

²³ <https://s27319.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/SBA-List-Final.pdf>

Q: Justice cannot be achieved until every person can make their own decisions about their bodies, their lives, and their futures. Why do you want to take a huge step backwards for women by taking away their autonomy?

A: The premise of the question only makes sense if the unborn child isn't a distinct, living human being. Basic biology tells us that the unborn child is a distinct person who should be entitled to the same freedom and future that you talked about. There are two lives at stake here, not one.

Q. It seems cruel to force a victim of rape or incest to carry her abuser's baby to term. Mississippi's 15-week limit does not have exceptions in these cases.

A: Rape and incest are horrific crimes and the perpetrators of these violent acts should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. The value of human life is not determined by the circumstances of his or her conception and abortions carried out following these horrific crimes only compound the crisis that the mother is enduring. Abortion advances a cycle of violence forward on yet another innocent victim. For what other crime do we punish the child, let alone a vulnerable unborn baby, for the sin of one of his or her parents? We should also not assume that abortion is what survivors want. Estimates show that as many as 64% of women who become pregnant from rape already choose to keep and raise their babies (Shauna Prewitt, Georgetown Law Journal^{24,25}). They are courageous and deserve support, not stigma. Further, "Hard cases" constitute a tiny minority of U.S. abortions – over 98% are elective/for socioeconomic reasons (Wm. Robert Johnston, 2016²⁶).

Q: The American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists says a fetus isn't able to feel pain until 24 weeks gestation. Justice Sotomayor said fetal pain is only accepted by fringe scientists. Why do you want to take away a woman's right to health care based on fringe science?

ACOG is using outdated research. They ought to catch up with modern science that shows unborn children do feel pain at least by 15 weeks, if not earlier.²⁷ One of the world's top neuroscientists, Dr. Stuart Derbyshire, was for many years considered a "leading voice against the likelihood of fetal pain"²⁸ and was on record rejecting the possibility of fetal pain prior to 24 weeks. Not only is he not "fringe," he co-wrote one of the studies ACOG relies on to deny the science of fetal pain and his decade-old work is even cited in the abortion industry's *Dobbs* response brief.²⁹ What the abortion lobby won't tell you is that, in response to growing evidence, he changed his mind and now he writes that fetal pain is possible "from as early as 12 weeks." Following the evidence is what science is all about.

²⁴ <https://cga.ct.gov/2016/JUDdata/Tmy/2016HB-05605-R000314-Stacy,%20Nicole%20%20-%20Public%20Policy%20Assistant,%20Family%20Institute%20of%20Connecticut-TMY.PDF>

²⁵ <https://thoughtcatalog.com/gaby-dunn/2012/08/giving-birth-to-a-rapists-child-one-womans-story/>

²⁶ <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/policy/abortion/abreasons.html>

²⁷ <https://lozierinstitute.org/the-acog-should-reconsider-fetal-pain/#:~:text=%20The%20ACOG%20Should%20Reconsider%20Fetal%20Pain%20,and%20psychological%20experience%20that%20requires%20conscious...%20More%20>

²⁸ <https://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/17/health/complex-science-at-issue-in-politics-of-fetal-pain.html>

²⁹ https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/19/19-1392/192267/20210913143126849_19-1392bs.pdf

Q: You are trying to take us backwards and make decisions that should be made between a woman and her doctor. Roe has been the law for 50 years to protect women. Justice Kagan made the point that nothing has changed since then. Give me one reason we should take these rights away from women now.

A: The reality is that science and medicine have made tremendous advancements since 1973. Back then, sonogram images were made up of grainy, black and white dots – it was hard even to see major body parts clearly. Now, we have 4D ultrasound that makes it possible to see the baby smile, yawn, hiccup, suck his or her thumb, and even cry in response to a painful injection.³⁰ We can know if the baby will be right-handed or left-handed. Through advances in surgery, doctors can treat conditions like spina bifida right in the womb³¹ – and the babies are treated as patients in their own right and given anesthesia for their pain. Justice Kagan was right about one thing: the baby hasn't changed. We know he or she is a living human being. Thanks to modern technology, we simply know so much more about life and development before birth,³² and it's time our laws reflected this.



³⁰ 4D ultrasound video of a baby (third trimester) reacting to an injection of anesthetic prior to surgery in utero: https://cdn-links.lww.com/permalink/pr9/a/pr9_2020_11_25_diandrade_painreports-d-20-0059_sdc1.mp4

³¹ <https://lozierinstitute.org/dive-deeper/fetal-surgery-treating-babies-before-they-are-born/>

³² <https://lozierinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/CLI-Dobbs-Amicus-Brief.pdf>



Indiana

Unborn children and their mothers are protected at 20 weeks gestation. If Roe is reversed, this will not change.

Current Law in Indiana

Abortion is illegal in Indiana at 20 or more weeks gestation unless “the abortion is necessary to prevent a substantial permanent impairment of the life or physical health of the pregnant woman.”ⁱ Indiana also prohibits partial-birth abortions. Indiana has enacted laws that prohibit dismemberment abortions and discriminatory abortions (sought because of unborn baby’s race, sex, or genetic anomaly); however, these provisions are presently enjoined.

Additional statutes and regulations protecting women and unborn children throughout pregnancy: Indiana maintains numerous safeguards for unborn children and their mothers, including: informed consent, reflection, and ultrasound requirements; a written parental consent requirement; public funding and insurance coverage restrictions; abortion facility health and safety standards; a requirement that only licensed physicians perform abortions; a requirement that a physician examine a patient prior to providing abortion-inducing drugs; and recognition of unborn children as victims of violent acts committed against their mothers.

Indiana’s constitution: The Indiana Supreme Court has never held that Indiana’s constitution protects a right to abortion.ⁱⁱ

Impact in Indiana if *Roe* is Reversed

Before the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated most state-enacted protections for unborn children and their mothers in *Roe v. Wade* in 1973, Indiana prohibited abortion unless it was “necessary to preserve [the mother’s] life.”ⁱⁱⁱ The statute was repealed in 1977, after *Roe*.^{iv}



Action needed to better protect unborn children and their mothers: If the Supreme Court returns to the states the authority to ban pre-viability abortions, abortion will remain legal in Indiana before 20 weeks gestation; however, state constitutional law does not preclude the enactment of new safeguards for unborn children and their mothers. The attorney general can immediately (a) petition the federal district court to lift the injunction on the dismemberment and discriminatory abortion bans, and (b) provide immediate notice when the preliminary injunctions are no longer in effect to all state and local officials who are responsible for enforcing the requirements of the Acts. Further, state legislators should introduce a more comprehensive abortion ban.

ⁱ Ind. Code Ann. § 16-34-2-1(a)(3). Twenty weeks is on the edge of viability; however, these laws remain in effect in numerous states.

ⁱⁱ Further, the state has enacted a law stating that “[c]hildbirth is preferred, encouraged, and supported over abortion.” Ind. Code Ann. § 16-34-1-1.

ⁱⁱⁱ Ind. Code Ann. § 35-1-58-1 (Burns 1971).

^{iv} 1977 Ind. Acts 1513, 1524, Pub. L. No. 335, § 21.

Additional sources: Paul Benjamin Linton, ABORTION UNDER STATE CONSTITUTIONS: A STATE-BY-STATE ANALYSIS (2d. ed. 2012) and DEFENDING LIFE: 2018 EDITION (Steven H. Aden, J.D. ed., 2018).

Updated January 2022



Talking Points – Leaked Draft of *Dobbs* Decision Overturning *Roe*

If the draft opinion holds, the outcome is that the American people will be able to decide the issue of abortion through their elected officials in the states in Congress. *Roe* puts unelected judges in charge of abortion policy. Abortion laws should be debated and decided by the American people, not dictated by judges.

The pro-abortion lobby and the Democratic Party want to impose on the entire country abortion on-demand, even painful late-term abortions, up until the moment of birth, paid for by the taxpayer. Leading Washington Democrats are already calling to abolish the legislative filibuster in the Senate so they can pass legislation mandating abortion on-demand nationwide. Contrast this with the pro-life movement and the GOP who embrace letting the people debate and building consensus for pro-life protections.

The humanity of the unborn child is undeniable thanks to advances in modern medicine and science. At six weeks, an unborn child has a beating heart and by 15 weeks unborn children can suck their thumbs, have fully formed noses and lips, eyes and eyebrows, and they can feel excruciating pain. These children deserve a voice in the American democratic process.

The pro-life movement stands strongly in support of providing the resources necessary for mothers to embrace life. This is demonstrated by the more than 2,700 pregnancy care centers across the country that serve millions of people annually, and government programs like the Texas Alternatives to Abortion Program, which provides counseling, material assistance, care coordination, and housing support with a \$100 million annual budget.