



Memo

TO: Interested Parties

DATE: October 15, 2026

RE: Anti-Choice Ecosystem Mobilization in the 2026 Midterms

As part of our ongoing monitoring of nearly 10,000 organizations working to roll back science-based reproductive and maternal health policy in the United States, Reproductive Health and Freedom Watch (RHFV) is tracking how this ecosystem is mobilizing for the 2026 midterm elections. RHFV research shows the anti-choice movement is tapping into a mature and interconnected political infrastructure capable of moving resources, messaging, and organizing capacity from the national level into local communities quickly and at scale.

The anti-choice movement's strength lies in its ability to mobilize through institutions that aligned voters already know and trust. National organizations supply funding, data, and field infrastructure; state groups evaluate candidates and coordinate campaigns; and churches, local organizations and organization chapters (e.g., Right to Life), and unregulated pregnancy clinics (UPCs) carry these efforts into communities. Church mobilization and voter guides allow nonprofit 501(c)(3) organizations to conduct ostensibly nonpartisan voter education while affiliated 501(c)(4) advocacy groups and political action committees (PACs) endorse candidates and finance explicitly electoral activity.

While most reporting has focused on substantial financial investments by large national anti-choice organizations like Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America, this accounting fails to capture the broader anti-choice ecosystem's true capacity for influence. RHFV research finds the anti-choice movement is leveraging extensive existing grassroots networks – including unregulated pregnancy clinics and churches — to reach individuals outside traditionally political settings with midterm election messages that speak to their deeply held conservative ideologies.

KEY FINDINGS

1. **At least 72 anti-choice organizations have announced plans to engage in the 2026 election, including an \$80 million commitment from Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America. Yet, the movement's footprint is larger than its disclosed spending:** voter guides, canvassing, church mobilization, candidate events, prayer guides, ballot campaigns, and volunteer networks repeatedly reach the same voters through different trusted institutions.

2. **The anti-choice movement is leveraging messaging about abortion (with emphasis on access to medication abortion and later-term abortion care) and gender-affirming care for minors** to give conservative voters an urgent reason to turn out for the 2026 midterms.
3. **Unregulated pregnancy clinics (UPCs) are largely overlooked as one of the grassroots networks for local delivery of anti-choice election messaging and organizing.** By presenting themselves as health or social-service providers, UPCs have broad grassroots connections and can leverage trusted relationships to deliver political messages in a way that does not look or feel like conventional campaign activity.

Detailed Findings

1. At least 72 anti-choice organizations have announced plans to engage in the 2026 election, yet the movement's footprint is larger than its disclosed spending. Through a preliminary anti-choice ecosystem review in September 2026, RHFw identified 72 national, state, and local organizations announcing election-related activity and investments across the country. Of these, Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America is the largest with a \$80 million initiative to reach 10.5 million voters. Significantly, we also found that most of these organizations do not disclose – or only partially disclose – a 2026 election budget. Moreover, tallying disclosed financial investments alone does not capture staff time, volunteer labor, donated and earned media, or election activity conducted through affiliated 501(c)(4) organizations or church networks.

To understand the scale and reach of the anti-choice movement's midterm activism, it is more illustrative to look at the many tactics the movement uses to reach voters through overlapping national, state, religious, and community networks. Key tactics RHFw is tracking include:

- Candidate endorsements, voter guides, and scorecards
 - *Organizations include:* Alliance Defending Freedom (Freedom Voter Guide)¹, American Family Association (iVoter Guide)², Students for Life³, state and local Right to Life chapters (e.g., Missouri Right to Life⁴), state Family Policy Councils (e.g., North Carolina Family Policy Council⁵), and Eagle Forum affiliates (e.g., Eagle Forum of California⁶).

¹ Alliance Defending Freedom. (2026). Freedom voter guide: 2026 candidate questionnaire. <https://freedomvoterguide.com/>

² iVoterGuide. (n.d.). iVoterGuide. <https://ivoterguide.com/>

³ Students for Life Action. (2026). *Approved & vetted pro-life candidates*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.studentsforlifeaction.org/vettedcandidates/>

⁴ Missouri Right to Life Political Action Committees. (n.d.). *Missouri Right to Life PAC*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://missourilifepac.org/>

⁵ NC Family Policy Council. (n.d.). *NC Family Voter: 2026 North Carolina voter guide*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.ncfamilyvoter.com/>

⁶ Eagle Forum of California. (2026). *California election 2026: CA voter guides*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.eagleforumca.com/ca-voter-guides>

- Voter registration and get-out-the-vote organizing, including canvassing, church-based voter mobilization, ballot chasing, and campaigns to encourage early voting and election day turnout
 - *Organizations include:* Priests for Life⁷, Moms for Liberty⁸, Students for Life⁹, Faith & Freedom Coalition¹⁰
- Candidate meet-and-greets and political networking events: Anti-choice organizations are using conferences, fundraising dinners, chapter gatherings, and dedicated candidate receptions to connect supporters with political leaders.
 - *Organizations include:* Right to Life of Livingston County (Michigan), which included a candidate meet-and-greet at its 2026 annual dinner¹¹, and Right to Life Michigan, which featured a state senator at its annual conference¹².
- Prayer guides and church-specific resources that fold church engagement into overall voter turnout models.
 - *Organizations include:* Alliance Defending Freedom¹³, American Family Association¹⁴, Citizens for a New Louisiana¹⁵, Concerned Women for America (“She Prays, She Votes Tour”)¹⁶, Faith and Freedom Coalition¹⁷, Pray Vote Stand¹⁸

These interlocking tactics create a voter-contact system in which the same person may encounter similar and mutually reinforcing information through their church, voter guides, social-media posts, a door knock, pregnancy clinics, or community events. The scale of this infrastructure is visible in leading anti-choice organizations’ stated goals for 2026:

- **SBA Pro-Life America** plans to contact 10.5 million voters, including through 4.5 million visits to voters’ homes.¹⁹ On October 6, 2026, the organization’s Super PAC,

⁷ Pro-Life Vote. (n.d.). State voter guides. <https://www.prolifevote.com/states/index.aspx>

⁸ Moms for Liberty. (n.d.). Moms for Liberty voter guide. <https://vote.momsforliberty.org/>

⁹ Students for Life Action. (n.d.). Vote. <https://www.studentsforlifeaction.org/vote/>

¹⁰ <https://www.ffcoalition.com/faith-freedom-launches-2026-project-vote-chase/>

¹¹ Right to Life of Livingston County. (2026). Celebrate life.

<https://righttolifelivingston.org/events-2/celebrate/>

¹² Right to Life of Michigan. (2026). 2026 annual conference. <https://rtl.org/event/conference/>

¹³ Alliance Defending Freedom. (n.d.). Election guide for churches.

<https://www.adfchurchalliance.org/electionguide>

¹⁴ American Family Association. (2026, August). Leading the church to action. The Stand.

<https://afa.net/the-stand/magazine/2026/august/leading-the-church-to-action/>

¹⁵ Young, J. (2026, October 10). Midterm prayer guide: October 11–17. Citizens for a New Louisiana.

<https://www.newlouisiana.org/midterm-prayer-guide-october-11-17/>

¹⁶ Concerned Women for America. (2026). CWA announces She Prays She Votes national bus tour starting October 2.

<https://concernedwomen.org/cwa-announces-she-prays-she-votes-national-bus-tour-starting-october-2/>

¹⁷ Faith & Freedom Coalition. (2026). Voter guides 2026.

<https://www.ffcoalition.com/voter-guides-2026/>

¹⁸ Pray Vote Stand. (n.d.). Register to vote. <https://prayvotestand.org/register>

¹⁹ Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America. (n.d.). Nation’s largest pro-life voter contact program exceeds 3 million visits to battleground voters’ homes [Press release].

<https://sbaprolife.org/newsroom/press-releases/nations-largest-pro-life-voter-contact-program-exceeds-3-million-visits-battleground-voters-homes>

Women Speak Out PAC, announced an \$8 million October digital advertising and turnout campaign covering Senate, House, and gubernatorial races in eight states.²⁰

- **The Faith & Freedom Coalition** plans an extensive voter mobilization campaign targeting 40 competitive House races and six gubernatorial contests, deploying approximately 2,000 paid canvassers and more than 4,000 volunteers. Its outreach strategy includes 12 million AI-driven text messages, more than 2 million phone calls, 16 million pieces of direct mail, voter guides distributed to more than 190,000 churches, and a digital advertising campaign projected to reach 23.6 million voters and generate 52 million impressions.²¹
- **American Family Association Action's** iVoterGuide plans to invest 54,000 hours researching 15,000 candidates across 5,000 races, working with more than 70 partner organizations to cover federal races in all 50 states, statewide races in 41 states, and state legislative races in 32 states.²²

2. The anti-choice movement is leveraging messaging about continued and expanded access to abortion alongside messaging about access to gender-affirming care for minors – sometimes even combining the two– to give conservative voters an urgent reason to turn out for the midterms. This strategy links base activation – identifying, educating, and turning out voters who already hold conservative views on abortion and related social issues – with the larger strategic goal of reinforcing and elevating anti-choice identity as a decisive factor in whether and how to vote. Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America describes its target demographic as “pro-life voters who do not consistently vote in midterm elections”, and Students for Life warns supporters, “as the Pro-Life Generation, we MUST fight for the protection of the preborn, starting with every election.”

Mid-term anti-choice messaging is focused on increased access to medication abortion and later-term abortion care. While the Trump White House has signaled it will wait until after the midterms to restrict abortion access²³, messaging about medication abortion and late-term abortion enables the anti-choice movement to create urgency about this election even for voters in abortion-ban states:

- **SBA Pro-Life America** president Marjorie Dannenfelser, warns Republican politicians that voters will sit out the election without action to curb medication abortion: “*The GOP as a whole must take back the fight for unborn children and*

²⁰ Susan B. Anthony Pro-Life America. (n.d.). \$8M campaign slams Democrats in key races on extreme abortion agenda [Press release]. <https://sbaprolife.org/newsroom/press-releases/8m-campaign-slams-democrats-in-key-races-on-extreme-abortion-agenda>

²¹ Faith & Freedom Coalition. (n.d.). Faith & Freedom launches 2026 Project Vote Chase. <https://www.ffcoalition.com/faith-freedom-launches-2026-project-vote-chase/>

²² iVoterGuide. (n.d.). About iVoterGuide. <https://ivoterguide.com/about?culture=en-us>

²³ Katz, E., & González, O. (2026, October 2). White House officials told the DOJ to delay action on abortion ahead of the midterms. The Washington Sun. <https://www.washingtonsun.com/campaigns/abortion-white-house-todd-blanche-susie-wiles>

*their mothers and go on offense to stop the bleeding at the polls.*²⁴ Noting the repeal of Massachusetts' gestational limit for abortion care, Dannenfelser circulated a memo to GOP candidates: *"Democrats' extremism on late-term abortion" is "the winning abortion message for Republicans in the midterms."*²⁵ SBA Pro-Life spokeswoman Kelsey Pritchard added *"Through our program that will reach 10.5 million low-turnout and persuadable voters by Election Day, we are making sure the Democrats can't hide their abortion-up-until-birth agenda."*²⁶ At the state level, anti-choice candidates and activists have been amplifying this messaging (e.g., in **Georgia**²⁷, **Iowa**²⁸, **South Carolina**²⁹ and **Wisconsin**³⁰).

- **Family Research Council** president Tony Perkins authored an op-ed earlier this year claiming "The abortion pill will cost Republicans the midterm elections."³¹

Abortion ballot initiatives this year in Idaho, Missouri, Nevada, and Virginia offer an organizing vehicle for organizations that might otherwise play only a limited role in federal or state candidate contests. Nonprofit 501(c)(3) organizations can engage in ballot-measure advocacy within applicable legal limits, allowing advocacy groups, churches, UPCs, educational organizations, and local volunteer networks to rally base voters without advocating for specific political candidates.

- In **Idaho**, the Church of Latter-Day Saints and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Boise have so far contributed a combined \$1.4 million against the state's abortion rights

²⁴ Dannenfelser, M. (2026, February 26). *Red alert for GOP: Widest enthusiasm gap in years ahead of midterms*. SBA Pro-Life America. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://sbaprolife.org/newsroom/press-releases/red-alert-for-gop-widest-enthusiasm-gap-in-years-ahead-of-midterms>

²⁵ Dannenfelser, M. (2026, August 18). *The winning abortion message for Republicans in the midterms* [Memorandum]. SBA Pro-Life America. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://sbaprolife.org/wp-content/uploads/2026/08/Memo-MA-Late-Term.pdf>

²⁶ LifeNews. (2026, October 9). *Pro-life group launches massive campaign to defeat pro-abortion Democrats*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.lifenews.com/2026/10/09/pro-life-group-launches-massive-campaign-to-defeat-pro-abortion-democrats/>

²⁷ Davies, E. (2026, October 13). *Election Dispatches: Tensions Simmer in Maine While Georgia Turns Combative in Senate Debate Showdowns*. New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/live/2026/10/13/us/midterms-elections>

²⁸ Miller, A.M., McDonald, K. (2026, October 8). *Top conservative group unveils full-court press in key battleground state to expose 'shocking' Dem platform*. Fox News. <https://www.yahoo.com/news/politics/articles/top-conservative-group-unveils-full-090043239.html>

²⁹ South Carolina For A Pro-Life Nation (2026, October 7). *SC-01 Debate: Jenny Honeycutt shares her story of raising a baby while going to college—and calls out Nancy Lacore for refusing to support ANY limits on abortion up to birth*. <https://www.facebook.com/share/v/1DKKbQkTGt/>

³⁰ SBA Pro-Life. (2026, October 7). *Wisconsinites are HORRIFIED by late-term abortion*. [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved October 14, 2026, from <https://www.facebook.com/SBAProLife/posts/pfbid02BCgJyJei5ndRGUj74VwAAZ9x9JHs4CCa4tR35Yqz7vH6LFic5Fdhtiofag9MQL5UL>

³¹ Perkins, T. (2026, March 4). *The abortion pill will cost Republicans the midterm elections*. The Christian Post. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.christianpost.com/voices/the-abortion-pill-will-cost-republicans-the-midterm-elections.html>

ballot initiative.³² Additionally, the Church of Latter-Day Saints' U.S. Central Area Presidency issued a letter opposing Prop 1 that was read in about 1,300 congregations across the state.³³

Notably, several of the anti-choice ballot campaigns foreground messages about parental rights, gender-affirming care for minors, medical regulation, and “extremism” over their objective of restricting abortion:

- **Missouri's** Amendment 3 builds this strategy directly into the amendment language itself. The measure seeks to simultaneously re-impose abortion restrictions voters voted to remove in 2024 and impose a ban on gender affirming care for minors. Gender affirming care for minors is already illegal in Missouri.³⁴

In fact, **messaging related to gender-affirming care for minors is especially prominent this cycle** – providing a mobilizing frame centered on protecting children, preserving parental authority, and perceived medical risk. By explicitly connecting fears about gender-affirming care with fears about abortion access, the anti-choice movement can broaden its base of supporters and increase the urgency of this election. For example:

- Arguing against the abortion rights ballot initiative in **Virginia**, Victoria Cobb of the Virginia Family Foundation connects abortion to gender-affirming care for minors and parental control: *“If voters approve the abortion amendment this fall, which enshrines a sweeping “reproductive right” into the state constitution, Virginia could see a rise in suicide attempts among youth as gender-transition procedures become more accessible and shielded from parental involvement.”*³⁵
- In an advertisement supporting U.S. Senate candidate Ken Paxton in **Texas**, Texas PAC leveraged messaging related to gender-affirming care to attack Democratic candidate James Talarico: *“Talarico supported using taxpayer dollars for sex change surgeries on young children.”*³⁶

3. Unregulated pregnancy clinics (UPCs) are largely overlooked as one of the major grassroots networks for local delivery of anti-choice election messaging. Trading on

³² Kemsley, T. (2026, October 13). *LDS Church kicks in \$1M to fight Idaho abortion measure*. The Salt Lake Tribune. Retrieved October 14, 2026, from <https://www.sltrib.com/religion/2026/10/13/lds-church-kicks-1m-fight-idaho/>

³³ Pro Life Press. (2026, October 11). *Billionaire donors behind Idaho Prop 1 did not see the LDS Church coming*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://prolifepress.com/billionaire-donors-behind-idaho-prop-1-did-not-see-the-lds-church-coming/>

³⁴ Kohler, J. (2026, August 21). *Missouri Republicans are trying to repeal abortion rights by leaning into anti-trans sentiment*. ProPublica. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.propublica.org/article/missouri-abortion-gender-transition-minors-amendment-3>

³⁵ LifeNews.com. (2026, September 25). *Virginia “abortions up to birth” amendment would push trans agenda on kids*. [LifeNews article](#)

³⁶ Brasch, B. (2026, September 28). *Fact check: James Talarico transgender [claim]*. Houston Chronicle. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.houstonchronicle.com/politics/texas/politifact/article/fact-check-james-talarico-transgender-22449583.php>

their established community presence as health care or social-service providers, UPCs can leverage the credibility of community services to present political messages. This allows the anti-choice movement to reach voters through trusted local messengers whom traditional political organizations cannot access.

This election cycle, we have observed UPCs distributing election information and voter guides, registering voters, supporting or opposing ballot measures, and hosting elected officials and candidates. Examples of 2026 UPC election-related activity to date include:

- Pregnancy Center of Okeechobee in **Florida**: Hosted congressional candidate Ben Butler; during the visit, a center board member also prayed for Butler, his family, and his campaign³⁷
- Reliance Center of North Central Idaho in **Idaho**: Hosted a community dinner to encourage supporters to vote against the abortion rights ballot initiative³⁸
- Aid for Women in **Illinois**: Hosted IL State Representative Scott Doody, who is up for reelection, and IL State Senator Paul Jacobs³⁹
- Caring Hearts Pregnancy Resource Center in **Missouri**: Promoted the 2026 ballot measure restricting abortion access⁴⁰
- Smoky Mountain Pregnancy Care Center in **North Carolina**: Hosted NC State Senator Kevin Corbin, who is up for re-election this year, to celebrate the UPC's new building, purchased with state taxpayer funding⁴¹
- Elizabeth's Hope Pregnancy Resource Center in **Ohio**: Hosted U.S. Senator Jon Husted, who is up for re-election.⁴²
- Alternatives Laurel Highlands Pregnancy Center in **Pennsylvania**: Publicly thanked State Senator Pat Stefano, who is up for re-election, for sponsoring their annual gala⁴³

³⁷ [Instagram post]. (2026, July 24). *Instagram*. <https://www.instagram.com/p/DbL8O3wDL5U>

³⁸ Idaho County Free Press. (2026, September 30). *Encouragers to meet Thursday with Stevens as special speaker*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from https://www.idahocountyfreepress.com/community/encouragers-to-meet-thursday-with-stevens-as-special-speaker/article_8afb6f97-24d1-4407-bcc2-1f45308405ca.html

³⁹ Friends of Aid for Women (2026, September) *Aid for Women is making an impact in Carbondale!* [Status Update]. Facebook. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/FriendsOfAidForWomen/posts/pfbid0rq6p9sxFSdtULWKgfPqx4dimFPCTA7fsebKBx6nCd5tKoJUZrHE5wQnYh88XbdDyl>

⁴⁰ Caring Hearts Pregnancy Resource Center. (n.d.). [Facebook post]. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/share/p/19L38MAbiU/>

⁴¹ Smoky Mountain Pregnancy Care Center (2026, August) *The Smoky Mountain Pregnancy Care Center is thrilled to announce the purchase of our new property...* [Reel]. Facebook. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/reel/1245947754327640>

⁴² Husted, J. (2026, September 8). *Husted visits Circleville women's center, Cincinnati manufacturer*. U.S. Senator Jon Husted. <https://www.husted.senate.gov/media/press-releases/husted-visits-circleville-womens-center-cincinnati-manufacturer/>

⁴³ Friends of Alternatives.Yes. (2026, September) *With our Gala less than a week away we want to take a moment to thank...* [Status Update]. Facebook. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/PregSupport/posts/pfbid02uA68VDDqP9YBc1cozdPh45oMBXtTJuhKEZJyF4Hjtqj6HDMxePX9myntnQ1YuRpbI>

- Carolina Pregnancy Center in **South Carolina**: Hosted a campaign event for Darline Graham, candidate for U.S. Senate. Graham praised the center as “a model for the whole state.” The executive director of Carolina Pregnancy Center confirmed that U.S. Representative and Senate candidate Ralph Norman also visited the center during the 2026 Republican Senate primary⁴⁴
- Community Pregnancy Center in **Tennessee**: Hosted a visit from Congressman Matt Van Epps, who is up for re-election⁴⁵
- Care Net Peninsula in **Virginia**: Called on supporters to oppose the state’s reproductive-rights ballot measure through prayer and encourage others to oppose it by distributing videos and handouts ⁴⁶

In addition to direct advocacy by UPCs, we are seeing individual UPC leaders leveraging their visibility and credibility to influence voters. Examples include:

- Brian Westbrook, the executive director of Coalition Life, endorsed Her Health Her Future, the anti-choice ballot initiative campaign in **Missouri**.⁴⁷
- Brandi Swinton, CEO of Stanton Healthcare, a UPC in Idaho, is urging voters to vote against the abortion rights ballot initiative in **Idaho**.⁴⁸

Note: The examples presented in this memo are illustrative, not exhaustive, of the broader trends RHPW is tracking across the anti-choice movement’s extensive and interconnected electoral infrastructure in 2026. For additional examples or more detailed information, please contact press@reproductivehealthfreedom.us.

⁴⁴ Maultsby, B. (2026, August 23). Graham discusses anti-abortion politics at campaign stop in Spartanburg. *Greenville News*.

<https://www.aol.com/articles/graham-discusses-anti-abortion-politics-090633000.html>

⁴⁵ [Instagram post]. (n.d.). *Instagram*. <https://www.instagram.com/p/Dak67e7mmjf/>

⁴⁶ Care Net Peninsula. (n.d.). *No abortion amendment in Virginia*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://cnpeninsula.org/noabortionamendment>

⁴⁷ Her Health Her Future. (n.d.). *Endorsements*. Retrieved October 1, 2026, from <https://www.herhealthherfuture.com/endorsements>

⁴⁸ Stanton International. (2026). An Idaho abortion voter initiative qualified for the ballot... [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/StantonInternational/photos/an-idaho-abortion-voter-initiative-qualified-for-the-ballot-this-november-the-ba/1482563243915150>