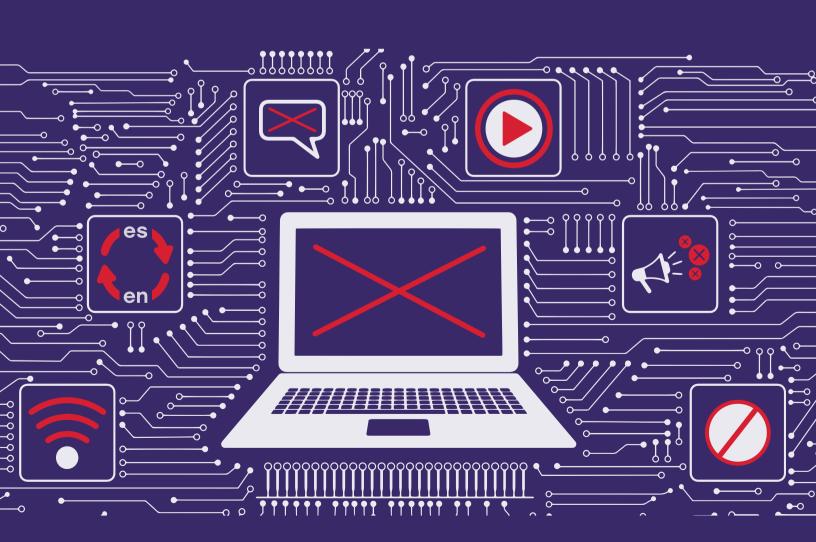


Translating Abortion Disinformation

The Spanish-Language Anti-Choice Landscape



Executive Summary

NARAL Pro-Choice America's research team is committed to exposing the anti-choice movement's use of disinformation to attack abortion access and reproductive freedom. In 2021, we began a long-term research project aiming to expand our understanding of how anti-choice disinformation disseminates online in Spanish-language spaces and how it could impact Spanish-speaking communities in the United States.

Our research sought to identify influential Spanish-language activists and Facebook pages that oppose abortion and spread disinformation and determine what overlap exists between English-language and Spanish-language anti-choice groups, influencers, and messages. We also wanted to understand more about social media engagement with Spanish-language news coverage of abortion and expose what messages anti-choice groups and activists advertised to Spanish speakers in the United States, particularly in a political context.

Our research uncovered several baseline findings, including that:

- High-engagement Spanish-language articles about abortion policy in the United States overwhelmingly lean anti-choice and originate from religiously-affiliated outlets.
- Anti-choice influencers and pages on Facebook largely promote the same messages and disinformation about abortion in Spanish as their English-language counterparts. A key difference, however, is that Spanish-language pages and influencers often promote explicitly anti-feminist messages, whereas English-language activists often co-opt feminism to attack abortion.
- Overlap between English- and Spanish-language anti-choice groups and activists exists, particularly with respect to graphics and content from Live Action, a primarily English-language anti-choice organization and "news" site.
- Catholicism plays a major role in anti-choice messages about abortion from Spanish-language influencers and outlets, pushing a false narrative pitting religious identity against support for abortion access.
- Spanish-language political advertisements during the 2020 cycle rarely mentioned abortion, and those that did dubiously framed Democrats as "extreme" on abortion and fearmongered about abortion later in pregnancy.

As we approach the 2022 midterm elections and a U.S. Supreme Court decision on *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization* with the potential to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and radically shift the landscape of abortion access across the United States, it is more important than ever to combat anti-choice messages and disinformation targeting Spanish-speaking communities.

In addition to supporting and following the lead of groups that have advanced abortion advocacy in the Latinx community, we must adopt a multifaceted approach, including:

- Working to increase accurate and timely reporting on abortion and reproductive freedom among Spanish-language news outlets.
- Elevating Spanish-speaking messengers who can authentically discuss how their identity and faith inform their support for abortion access and reproductive freedom.
- Filling the gap in Spanish-language political ads about abortion to reach voters with proactive, positive, and accurate messages about reproductive freedom.
- Continued research on how anti-choice disinformation has the potential to cause real-world harm in Spanish-speaking communities and detract from the Latinx community's support for reproductive freedom and abortion care.

A Brief Note

Throughout this report, we use the term "Latinx" when discussing communities and individuals of Latin American descent. We recognize that many people do not use the term "Latinx" to describe their identity and ethnicity, preferring descriptors specific to their country of origin or terms such as Hispanic, Latino, or Latina. We chose to use "Latinx" to reflect our commitment to gender inclusivity, particularly given the importance of including transgender and nonbinary people in conversations about abortion access and reproductive freedom.

We would also like to acknowledge that we began this project from a U.S.-centric point of view given NARAL's focus on political advocacy within the United States and our research team's expertise on the U.S.-based anti-choice movement. While we do discuss some dynamics related to abortion access outside of the United States in order to contextualize distinctions in Spanish-language narratives we observed, this report is not intended to be a comprehensive overview of anti-choice disinformation impacting Spanish speakers and countries outside of the United States.

Common Anti-Choice Narratives and Themes

Broadly speaking, many of the same narratives and disinformation about abortion spread by English-language anti-choice organizations are also spread by anti-choice activists and Facebook groups in Spanish. Such content demonizes abortion providers, promotes medical disinformation about abortion, erases the lived experiences of pregnant people, and argues for so-called "fetal personhood," which would ban virtually all abortion care by locking ideological language about when life begins into law. The content encourages support for policies that restrict or ban access to abortion care, such as Texas' vigilante-enforced ban on abortion (SB 8) and those that enable institutions or individuals to deny abortion care to people on religious grounds.

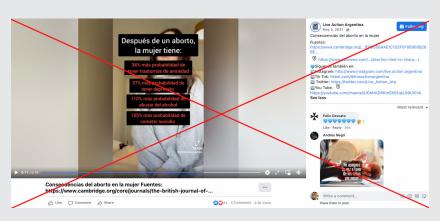


Post by NO AL ABORTO arguing against abortion access, including false claims that abortion is "not healthcare," "not a right," and "not safe."



Post by Carlos Ramirez Oficial celebrating a judicial decision allowing Texas' extreme ban on abortion (SB 8) to remain in effect and advocating for other states to pass similar bills.

Many Spanish-language anti-choice pages spread demonstrably false claims about the safety of abortion. For example, in March 2021, NO AL ABORTO shared a graphic that falsely claimed abortion increased the risk of breast cancer, infertility, and depression. As of January 2022, the post remains live and has been shared 65 times without any fact-check from Facebook. In another case, Live Action Argentina shared a TikTok on its Facebook page falsely claiming abortion increased the risk of anxiety, depression, alcohol abuse, and suicide among women. The group cited discredited research by antichoice activist Priscilla Coleman as the basis for its claims.¹ As of January 2022, the post had been viewed on Facebook approximately 2,300 times, again with no fact-check or intervention. The original TikTok video has accumulated over 10,000 likes with no fact-check or intervention by the platform.



Facebook post of a TikTok from Live Action Argentina which spreads disinformation about the psychological safety of abortion care. The post links to a study by anti-choice activist Priscilla Coleman that was discredited by researchers for being methodologically unsound and biased.

Both English- and Spanish-language activists use such disinformation about the safety of abortion care to support the false narrative that restrictions and bans on abortion are "pro-woman." However, Spanish-language content often contains an additional dimension juxtaposing the safety of legal versus illegal abortion due to more restrictive policies, and in some cases total bans, on abortion care in many Latin American countries.² In an effort to "debunk" evidence demonstrating that such bans and restrictions increase the risk of death and injury among pregnant people,³ activists and pages often circulate anecdotes about individual cases. Such anecdotes promote the false idea that abortion is "dangerous" regardless of whether it is legal or illegal, bolstering efforts to keep extreme bans and restrictions in place.

Another area of overlap among English- and Spanish-language activists are attempts to falsely equate abortion to "femicide," or the intentional murder of women because of their gender. However, these narratives from Spanish-language activists take on a different context given the realities of gender-based violence, inequality, and extreme restrictions on abortion—including those that have led to women being incarcerated for miscarriages—in some Latin American countries.⁴

Additionally, while English-language groups use such narratives to attempt to frame their activism as true "feminism," at least six of the Spanish-language pages we tracked ardently oppose feminist activism, painting feminists as violent and unreasonable. They often defend "traditional" family and gender roles and also ignore transgender and non-binary people in conversations about pregnancy and abortion care.



Post from NO AL ABORTO featuring a meme falsely implying that feminists are violent and hateful toward anti-choice activists. The post includes the hashtag "feminism is cancer."



Post from Carlos Ramirez Oficial featuring a meme attacking feminists as being opposed to "reasoning."

In addition to falsehoods and extreme rhetoric about abortion, virtually all of the Spanish-language anti-choice pages we monitored also trafficked in disinformation about LGBTQ rights (targeting transgender people in particular), election integrity, racial justice, and vaccines (including pushing the false claim that vaccines endanger pregnant people). Several pages also fearmongered about communism, including falsely claiming President Joe Biden is a communist and categorizing movements for gender and racial equity as "Marxist."



Post from Daniel y Maria Online fearmongering about COVID vaccines being "experimental" and falsely arguing that survival rates for COVID make taking the vaccine riskier than getting the virus.



Post from Estamos Unidos fearmongering about the state of the U.S. economy, amplifying disinformation about the 2020 election being "stolen," and falsely claiming President Biden is a "puppet" and his administration is "leftist."

Facebook Influencers and Catholicism

Religion, particularly Catholicism, played a heavy role in much of the content about abortion care on the Facebook pages we monitored, especially when it came to Spanish-language influencers. Much of this content falsely pits faith and religious identity against support for abortion access and reproductive freedom. Such arguments gloss over the reality that people of all faiths support abortion, including the 62% percent of Catholics who say the Supreme Court should uphold Roe v. Wade.⁶

Among the anti-choice Spanish-language influencers we tracked, Eduardo Verástegui has the largest audiences with over 1.91 million followers on Facebook. Verástegui is a Mexican actor who pivoted to anti-choice activism and now leads an anti-choice advocacy group called Movimiento Vida México. The vast majority of Verástegui's content centers around Catholicism, and his star power and vocal anti-choice advocacy has led U.S.-based groups and politicians to promote him. For example, Live Action recently honored him at its 2021 "Life Awards Gala" and the organization's president, Lila Rose, retweeted his statement opposing the Mexican Supreme Court's decision to decriminalize abortion care.8

Other influencers include Daniel Y Maria Online, a U.S.-based page with 59,000 Facebook followers. Much of the page's content focused on Catholicism in the context of abortion and family planning, with occasional commentary on broader political issues in the United States such as immigration, vaccines, and transgender equality. We also tracked Carlos Ramirez, another Mexico-based activist, Catholic, and leader of an anti-choice organization called Pro-Life Army. Ramirez has over 85,100 followers on Facebook, and while comparatively less vocal about his Catholicism, he frequently criticizes the feminist movement and promotes homophobic and transphobic rhetoric in addition to his content attacking abortion rights.

Spanish-Language Media Coverage of Abortion

Over a period of seven months, we tracked the Spanish-language news articles focused on abortion policy in the United States that garnered the most likes, comments, and shares on Facebook and other platforms. These high-performing articles tend to have broader audience reach given platforms' use of engagement-based algorithms. Our analysis found that the outlets that regularly published articles about abortion with higher levels of engagement were typically religiously affiliated. Such outlets include ACI Prensa, InfoCatólica, Noticia Cristiana, and Religión en Libertad.

Within the broader Spanish-language media landscape, ACI Prensa consistently garnered the most interactions on its articles about abortion on social media. A sister outlet of the Catholic News Agency, the vast majority of ACI Prensa's high-performing articles centered on Catholicism and abortion, particularly promoting criticism of Catholic politicians in the United States who support reproductive freedom. For example, following President Joe Biden's virtual meeting with Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador in March 2021, the outlet published an article criticizing Biden for showing López Obrador his rosary and discussing the Virgen de Guadalupe, implying Biden's religious beliefs conflicted with his support for reproductive freedom and abortion.9 The article garnered approximately 22,000 interactions across social media platforms, among the highest of any article published during the period we tracked. Similarly, an article about the Archbishop of San Francisco publicly declaring that Catholic politicians who support reproductive freedom should not be able to receive communion accumulated approximately 20,000 interactions.10

Our analysis also found that mainstream Spanish-language outlets such as Telemundo, Univision, and CNN en Español rarely published high-engagement articles about abortion policy in the United States. In contrast to ACI Prensa, which had high-engagement articles that leaned anti-choice in 20 out of the 32 weeks we tracked, these three outlets combined had high-engagement articles with more neutral, factual coverage during only five of the weeks. A notable exception to this trend was the week of August 30, when Texas' SB 8 went into effect. Articles from CNN Español¹¹ and Spanish outlet El Diario¹² about the six-week ban on abortion each garnered more interactions than an article from ACI Prensa focused on President Biden's statement disagreeing with the notion that life begins at conception, a view often espoused by antichoice activists to promote bans and restrictions on abortion care.¹³

Overlap with English-Language Anti-Choice Groups

Given NARAL's extensive monitoring of U.S.-based anti-choice groups and their tactical use of disinformation to attack abortion care, we wanted to determine whether their content also spread in Spanish-language spaces and identify whether they appeared to influence narratives and strategies among anti-choice activists and outlets in Spanish.

We found that many Spanish-language Facebook pages we monitored amplified content from U.S.-based anti-choice organizations and activists, including Live Action, Students for Life, and Abby Johnson. Notably, over our initial research period, none of the target pages shared content from Susan B. Anthony List (SBA List), arguably the most prominent anti-choice advocacy group in the United States. SBA List's absence in Spanish-language spaces is likely due to the limited number of graphics and videos they produce, almost all of which are focused on lobbying and promoting anti-choice lawmakers and policies in the United States.

On the other hand, graphics from Live Action were particularly popular and shared with the most frequency on Spanish-language pages. Live Action Argentina, a Spanish-language offshoot of Live Action, often translated Live Action's content into Spanish in addition to creating its own original content using similar talking points and framing.



Argumentos contra la Ideología de Género's post features a translated quote from Englishlanguage anti-choice activist Abby Johnson claiming there is nothing "empowering" to women about abortion. The post's text erroneously implies arguments supporting abortion as a gender equity issue are a "marketing" tactic to help abortion providers earn money.



Live Action Argentina's post is a direct translation of a TikTok originally published in English by Live Action. It amplifies conspiracy theories and disinformation about Planned Parenthood and falsely implies abortion care is unsafe.



A post from Daniel y Maria Online claiming to depict a child who "survived" a medication abortion, falsely claiming the method of care is "reversable," and promoting Heartbeat International's website.

Additionally, some of the Facebook pages we monitored cited articles from LifeNews.com, an anti-choice outlet that also frequently promotes right-wing disinformation, as sources for their content.

Crossover also exists in Spanish-language media coverage. ACI Prensa has published articles citing U.S.-based anti-choice organizations such as SBA List, Charlotte Lozier Institute, and Students for Life. Some of this content is directly translated from Catholic News Agency articles.

Another notable point of crossover exists around Heartbeat International, a network of fake health centers (FHCs or "crisis pregnancy centers") with affiliates throughout the United States and around the world. Heartbeat International and other FHCs lie to people to dissuade them from having an abortion. They are key players in disseminating anti-choice disinformation about abortion care, including promoting an unproven practice they call abortion "reversal" that is not supported by scientific evidence or methodologically-sound research. We found that Spanish-language anti-choice influencers and pages have promoted Heartbeat International's "reversal" website in addition to other falsehoods about medication abortion. Media outlets such as InfoCatólica have also promoted "reversal," citing individuals from Heartbeat International and the American Association of Pro-Life Obstetricians and Gynecologists (AAPLOG) as sources. 15

Spanish-Language Advertisements About Abortion

We reviewed dozens of right-wing Spanish-language advertisements in order to understand how anti-choice groups and politicians communicated about abortion when targeting Latinx voters. Our research ultimately surfaced only eight Spanish-language political ads from the 2020 cycle that mentioned abortion, four of which focused on the presidential election:

- The Trump campaign ran two radio ads discussing abortion targeting Spanish speakers in New Mexico.
 (It is unclear whether the campaign ran variations of the ads in different states.) Both ads fearmongered about abortion later in pregnancy and supposed so-called "abortion extremism" in the Democratic Party.¹⁶
 One of the ads also falsely implied abortion care endangered pregnant people.¹⁷
- Betty Cárdenas, former chairwoman of the Republican National Hispanic Assembly and member of Trump's "Latinos Board," ran an ad falsely accusing Kamala Harris of supporting "infanticide" and opposing care for "babies who survive an abortion."¹⁸
- Though not explicitly about abortion, the Trump campaign also published an ad in Spanish praising Amy Coney Barrett's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court and accusing Democrats of attacking her faith and being anti-Catholic.¹⁹

The other four ads targeted races on the federal and state levels:

- Women Speak Out PAC—a super PAC affiliated with SBA List—released Spanish-language ads that ran on Facebook during the group's \$4.1 million campaign targeting the Georgia U.S. Senate runoffs.²⁰ The 15-second and 60-second ads feature Mexican anti-choice activist Eduardo Verástegui discussing the candidates' positions on abortion.^{21 22} In the ads, he makes false and incendiary claims that Democrats support abortion "up to the moment of birth" and also refers to "taxpayer-funded abortion," in addition to claiming the Democratic party has a "socialist agenda." These were the only Spanish-language political ads in 2020 from an English-language anti-choice group that surfaced during this research.
- In Florida's 27th Congressional District, Frank Polo Sr.'s campaign ran an advertisement that said he would "fight against abortion."²³
- An ad by Texas Values Action targeting pro-choice candidate Erin Zweiner in Texas' 45th House district falsely implied she supported "infanticide" based on her opposition to a bill mandating political interference in family decisions.²⁴
- Tom McCullagh, who ran for a state senate seat in Illinois' 49th District, attacked his opponent Meg Cappel's support for abortion later in pregnancy.²⁵





Susan B. Anthony List's digital ads featuring Mexican anti-choice activist Eduardo Verástegui. While Verástegui is speaking in Spanish, both ads featured prominent English-language subtitles.

In addition to political advertisements, we examined Facebook's ad library for other Spanish-language ads opposing abortion. No prominent English-language anti-choice groups posted Facebook advertisements in Spanish in 2021, though Live Action ran a series of advertisements in May and July 2020. One ad that falsely claimed abortion was not medical care featured footage from Unplanned, a 2019 film about anti-choice activist Abby Johnson.²⁶ Other ads compared abortion to the COVID pandemic and gun violence epidemic.^{27 28}

Other anti-choice Spanish-language ads posted on Facebook in 2021 included:

- An ad by a fake health center claiming to provide "education about abortion."²⁹
- An ad targeting people in Arizona by anti-choice activist Mayra Rodriguez, who is affiliated with Abby Johnson's organization, And Then There Were None. Prior to pivoting to anti-choice activism, Rodriguez worked for Planned Parenthood and now promotes false claims that the organization targets and coerces undocumented immigrants.³⁰
- Multiple ads posted by the Western Journal en Español about whether Catholic politicians who support reproductive freedom such as President Biden should be denied communion.^{31 32}
- Ads by the San Francisco Archdiocese³³ and the Catholic Charities of Eastern Oklahoma³⁴ promoting "retreats" for people who have had an abortion.



Conclusion & Recommendations

Social Media Platforms

Researchers and advocacy groups have repeatedly pointed out the failure of social media platforms such as Facebook to fact-check and remove Spanish-language mis- and disinformation—even when they take action against similar posts in English.³⁵ Such content not only has the potential to harm communities within the United States, but also throughout the larger Spanish-speaking world.

NARAL's research has also consistently found that social media platforms do little to fact-check or remove disinformation about abortion from their sites in either language, despite stated commitments to removing medical misinformation. Facebook has been particularly problematic in its moderation decisions around content promoting anti-choice disinformation. Reporting has indicated that Mark Zuckerberg himself was involved in the platform's decision to bow to a right-wing pressure campaign and censor a fact-check by medical experts of a demonstrably false English-language post about abortion.³⁶ Facebook has also allowed anti-choice groups to advertise their stigmatizing and medically unproven claims that medication abortion can be "reversed," including after reporting revealed that these ads targeted minors.³⁷³⁸

Though Facebook is not alone among tech companies in refusing to remove disinformation about abortion care (in English and Spanish), its failure to do so has direct implications for the 72% of Latinx people in the United States who use its platform.³⁹ Such disinformation directly aids the anti-choice movement in its efforts to stigmatize abortion, coerce pregnant people who deserve the freedom to make the decisions that are best for their families and lives, and pass draconian bans and restrictions on abortion.

Social media platforms like Facebook must:

- 1 Recognize that disinformation about abortion is medical disinformation with real-world harms in the same vein as falsehoods about vaccines, the COVID pandemic, and other health-related topics.
- 2 Take steps to limit the spread of falsehoods about abortion in English, Spanish, and other languages by proactively removing content promoting disinformation or (at minimum) fact-checking and labeling such content to provide additional context.
- 3 Rely on the expertise of non-ideological medical experts such as the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists and the American Medical Association when fact-checking content about abortion. Such groups are premier professional associations of doctors and reflect widespread medical consensus on the topic of abortion care.
- Deplatform anti-choice actors who repeatedly spread disinformation about abortion care and inflammatory rhetoric about abortion providers which contributes to real-world harassment of patients, doctors and nurses, and other workers at clinics.

Social media platforms have a responsibility to take proactive steps to limit the spread of disinformation about abortion care. Every person, regardless of what language they speak, deserves to have accurate, unbiased information when making personal decisions about pregnancy and abortion care.

Advocates for Reproductive Freedom

As advocates continue to demonstrate the dire need for adequate multilingual content moderation on platforms such as Facebook,⁴⁰ we must continue to research how disinformation about abortion in Spanish and other languages has been allowed to flourish online and hold platforms accountable for enabling bad actors time and again. However, the work of combating disinformation and other problematic narratives around abortion care in Spanish cannot be limited to calling for platform accountability.

Organizations working to support abortion access must support and follow the lead of groups who have spearheaded abortion advocacy within the Latinx community for decades. The continued investment of time and resources in understanding the broad range of experiences and perspectives about abortion care among the Latinx diaspora in the United States will allow advocates for reproductive freedom to create and amplify proactive and authentic messages about abortion care in Spanish that reflect the diversity of Latinx communities throughout the country.

Increasing outreach to Spanish-language news outlets has the potential to change the existing media landscape around abortion care and provide Spanish speakers with more accurate sources of information on abortion care and existing bans and restrictions. The lack of right-wing Spanish-language political advertisements focused on abortion also provides an opportunity to shift the conversation toward a positive narrative about abortion care in Spanish and bolster the widespread support for abortion care among Latinx communities.⁴¹ Ultimately, amplifying Latinx people as messengers who can speak authentically about their support for reproductive freedom, including those whose Catholic faith informs that support, will be essential in pushing back against anti-choice narratives falsely pitting identity and faith against support for abortion access.

Research Methodology

This report is based on a combination of qualitative research projects conducted over a nine-month period. The first phase of research involved monitoring anti-choice activity on Facebook given its widespread use among Latinx people. Beginning in March 2021, we closely monitored nine Facebook pages with a combined audience of over 2.79 million followers over a three-month period: Directo y Sin Censura, NO AL ABORTO, Daniel Y Maria Online, Eduardo Verástegui, Carlos Ramirez Oficial, Estamos Unidos, Argumentos contra la Ideología de Género, Generación Provida Latinoamericana, and Live Action Argentina. The pages broadly fall into two categories: groups specifically focused on opposing abortion (e.g. NO AL ABORTO) and right-wing groups covering U.S. politics more broadly (e.g. Estamos Unidos).

In addition to monitoring Facebook, we utilized NewsWhip Spike to track high-performing Spanish-language articles about abortion over a period of seven months. We included U.S.-specific keywords in our searches in order to limit the results to articles focused on policies and discussions about abortion in the United States given the high volume of articles about abortion focused on countries throughout the larger Spanish-speaking world. Each week we noted the top articles ranked by social media engagement to understand which stories about abortion generated the most impressions and what outlets published the most popular news stories focused on abortion during that week.

The second phase of the project focused on identifying what anti-choice messages about abortion were prevalent in online advertisements, particularly in a political context. We began by examining Spanish-language advertisements from the 2020 election cycle. We conducted this research using Facebook's ad library and Google's transparency report, as well as looking at the YouTube pages of over 31 right-leaning, anti-choice political groups and actors, including:

- Prominent anti-choice groups such as Susan B. Anthony List
- Republican PACs such as the Congressional Leadership Fund
- The Trump campaign and affiliated PACs such as America First Action
- Right-wing groups targeting Latinx voters, such as the Republican National Hispanic Assembly

After identifying the video and radio advertisements from these groups that were available online, we analyzed their content for messages about abortion. We did not analyze all banner and sidebar ads published by these groups on Google given the extremely large volume of such ads from the Trump campaign and other groups. In addition to reviewing political ads, we also used Facebook's ad library to examine Spanish-language ads about abortion purchased in 2020 and 2021.

Given the large population of Spanish-speakers globally and limited tools to restrict research to content viewed by Spanish speakers located in the United States, our initial phase of research on Facebook primarily focused on understanding what narratives about abortion care were prevalent and what crossover with U.S.-based anti-choice groups existed. While some of our target pages had U.S.-based managers, many also had page managers based in Latin American countries such as Mexico and Argentina. This dynamic highlights the differences in how Spanish-language disinformation disseminates online, its potential to affect both domestic and international audiences, and the challenges in monitoring the impact of such narratives on the diverse Latinx diaspora in the United States.

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