

FIGURE 1. A spectrum of conscientious objection

EXTREME OBJECTORS

- Oppose “unnatural” birth control and abortion in all cases
- Often refuse to refer
- Use inaccurate legal and medical information to try to dissuade patients

MODERATE OBJECTORS

- Appreciate need for safe services
- Quickly refer to non-objectors
- Provide accurate medical and legal information, but may still try to dissuade patients

PARTIAL OBJECTORS

- Case-by-case: refuse to provide abortion for certain indications (e.g., to protect mental health)
- Gestational age: Set own limit because no limit is specified in law
- Use informal, ad hoc referral systems

