



PRO-LIFE AND PRO-CHOICE TAKE BATTLE TO THE BALLOT

AN ANALYSIS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO ABORTION-RELATED
BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES IN 2005 AND 2006

By
SCOTT JORDAN

JUNE 8, 2007

This publication was made possible by grants from:

JEHT Foundation, *Fair and Participatory Elections*
Carnegie Corporation of New York, *Strengthening U.S. Democracy*
Ford Foundation, *Program on Governance and Civil Society*
The Pew Charitable Trusts, *State Policy Initiatives*
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *Program on Democratic Practice*

OVERVIEW

In 2005 and 2006, citizens in three states voted down ballot measures that would have restricted abortion. South Dakota voters defeated a law passed previously by the state legislature that would have prohibited abortion in most forms. Meanwhile, voters in California and Oregon rejected measures that would have required a waiting period and parental notification prior to a minor receiving an abortion.

The measures reflect the actions by abortion opponents to strip abortion rights gradually on both the federal and state levels, while also attempting to outlaw abortion procedures completely.¹ These actions have put abortion-rights advocates on the defensive against the momentum created by anti-abortion victories,² causing advocates to pour money into thwarting any threat to abortion rights.

The 2005 and 2006 abortion measure battles in the three states attracted nearly \$28 million in contributions. Opponents of the measures raised nearly \$18 million, or 78 percent more than the \$10 million raised by proponents.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ABORTION BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES, 2005-2006

STATE	YEAR	MEASURE	PROponents	OPponents	TOTAL
California	2006	Proposition 85	\$3,448,669	\$6,897,686	\$10,346,355
California	2005	Proposition 73	\$2,593,602	\$5,429,039	\$8,022,641
South Dakota	2006	Referred Law 6	\$2,914,334	\$3,728,525	\$6,642,859
Oregon ³	2006	Measure 43	\$1,121,273	\$1,931,248	\$3,052,521
TOTAL			\$10,077,878	\$17,986,498	\$28,064,376

The closely watched campaign in South Dakota attracted attention — and money — from out-of-state donors, who accounted for 56 percent of the money raised. The campaigns in California and Oregon, by comparison, were funded primarily by in-state donors, who gave 96 percent and 89 percent of the totals raised, respectively.

MAJOR DONORS

A few large donors were responsible for most of the contributions in each of the three states. The top 10 supporting donors contributed 69 percent of the money raised in support of the measures. Similarly, the top 10 opposing donors accounted for 63 percent of all money raised in opposition to the three measures.

¹ Judy Peres, "States See New Fights on Abortion," *Chicago Tribune*, April 27, 2007 [newspaper on-line]; available from: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-0704270158apr27,1,6401993.print.story?coll=chi-newsnationworld-hed>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

² Tracy Jan, "Protesters Decry Upholding of Ban on Abortion Procedure," *Boston Globe*, April 29, 2007 [newspaper on-line]; available from: http://www.boston.com/news/local/articles/2007/04/29/protesters_decry_upholding_of_ban_on_abortion_procedure/; Internet, accessed May 10, 2007.

³ All figures for Oregon do not include money raised by petition committees, which form to place a measure on the ballot. After a petition qualifies for the ballot, petition committees must close and disburse their remaining funds or re-form as a ballot measure committee.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO ABORTION COMMITTEES, 2005-2006

PROPOSERS OF ABORTION RESTRICTIONS	INDUSTRY	TOTAL
Holman, James E.	Printing & Publishing	\$3,492,668
Oregon Right to Life	Abortion Policy, Pro-Life	\$826,379
Sebastiani, Don	Beer, Wine, Liquor	\$825,000
Promising Future Inc.	Ideology/Single Issue	\$750,000
Monaghan, Tom	Religious Conservative	\$250,000
Arkley II, Robin P.	Real Estate	\$227,000
American Family Association	Religious Conservative	\$150,000
Fieldstead & Co.	Religious Conservative	\$140,900
South Dakota Family Policy Council	Religious Conservative	\$123,166
California Republican Party	State Party	\$123,069
TOTAL		\$6,908,182
OPPONENTS OF ABORTION RESTRICTIONS		
Planned Parenthood*	Health Care Services	\$8,837,266
American Civil Liberties Union*	Ideology/Single Issue	\$433,108
Morgan, Rebecca Q.	Former State Legislator	\$427,500
National Abortion Rights Action League/NARAL*	Abortion Policy, Pro-Choice	\$326,305
California Teachers Association	Public Sector Unions	\$275,000
California Family Health Council	Health Care Services	\$258,035
Orr, Susan P.	Computer Software	\$210,000
Kauffman, Marta	Television Production	\$150,000
Leaders For An Effective Government	Democratic-Based Group	\$150,000
Packard, Julie	General Business	\$150,000
TOTAL		\$11,217,214

* Includes contributions from national, state and local affiliates.

Individual donors with deep pockets proved to be major sources of contributions for both sides. Fifty-six individual donors contributed \$20,000 or more, totaling \$7.9 million, or 28 percent of the total raised.

Newspaper publisher James Holman gave \$3.5 million, all in support of the California ballot measures. Holman, who played a large role in getting the measures on the California ballot in both years, was one of eight individuals who contributed more than \$90,000 in 2005 and one of seven who did so in 2006 in California.

In South Dakota, oilman Lee Fikes led all individual contributors in the state, giving \$100,000 in opposition to Referred Law 6. Fikes was one of 15 donors who contributed \$20,000 or more in support or opposition to the measure in South Dakota.

In Oregon, publisher Susan Brown Burmeister and investor Henry Hillman Jr. each contributed \$20,000. Both opposed the Oregon measure.

GIVING IN MULTIPLE STATES

Opponents of the abortion measures proved to be more coordinated in their giving across state lines than proponents. State and local affiliates of three of the top 10 donors — Planned Parenthood, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) — contributed to ballot measures in more than one state. The ACLU and

NARAL also gave in all three states, contributing \$433,108 and \$326,305, respectively. In addition, the Feminist Majority Foundation gave in both South Dakota and California.

Planned Parenthood and its affiliates led the opposition in each state, either by making significant contributions to the opposing committees or forming their own ballot measure committees. The organization was the single-largest contributor in South Dakota, Oregon, and California in 2005 and 2006, and accounted for 49 percent of all money raised against the measures in the three states. Planned Parenthood sponsored its own ballot committees in both South Dakota and California.

Several major individual donors who gave in opposition to the California measures also made smaller yet still sizable contributions in opposition to the South Dakota measure.

By comparison, just one supporting donor — Focus on the Family — gave to ballot measures in more than one state.

MAJOR MULTI STATE CONTRIBUTORS, 2005-2006

CONTRIBUTOR	STATE	MEASURE POSITION	TOTAL
Planned Parenthood*	California	Con	\$7,029,453
	South Dakota	Con	\$960,924
	Oregon	Con	\$846,889
TOTAL			\$8,837,266
American Civil Liberties Union*	South Dakota	Con	\$209,415
	California	Con	\$106,961
	Oregon	Con	\$116,732
TOTAL			\$433,108
Morgan, Rebecca Q.	California	Con	\$425,000
	South Dakota	Con	\$2,500
TOTAL			\$427,500
National Abortion Rights Action League/NARAL*	California	Con	\$152,244
	Oregon	Con	\$137,748
	South Dakota	Con	\$36,313
TOTAL			\$326,305
Orr, Susan P.	California	Con	\$200,000
	South Dakota	Con	\$10,000
TOTAL			\$210,000
Working Assets	California	Con	\$58,089
	South Dakota	Con	\$55,620
TOTAL			\$113,709
Grove, Eva	California	Con	\$101,008
	South Dakota	Con	\$10,000
TOTAL			\$111,008

CONTRIBUTOR	STATE	POSITION	TOTAL
Focus on the Family	South Dakota	Pro	\$60,000
	California	Pro	\$3,381
TOTAL			\$63,381
Feminist Majority Foundation	South Dakota	Con	\$46,820
	California	Con	\$12,403
TOTAL			\$59,223

* Includes contributions from national, state and local affiliates.

CALIFORNIA 2005 & 2006

California voters rejected the same abortion ballot measure two years in a row. The two measures — Proposition 73 in 2005 and Proposition 85 in 2006 — both called for a waiting period and parental notification prior to abortions performed on a minor. The measures reached the ballot both years largely because of two men: newspaper publisher James Holman, and former state senator Don Sebastiani. Holman and Sebastiani financed the petition drives, as well as the major supporting committee in each election.

Committees supporting and opposing the 2005 measure combined raised slightly more than \$8 million. The 2006 measure attracted \$10.3 million in contributions.

Each election pitted the contributions of a small group of wealthy donors who financed both the campaign and the ballot process against Planned Parenthood, abortion-rights forces and other individual donors.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CALIFORNIA'S PROPOSITION 73 COMMITTEES, 2005

PROPOSONENTS	TOTAL
Life on the Ballot	\$2,182,418
California Parents' Rights Coalition-Yes on 73	\$263,296
Parents for Prop. 73	\$146,088
Californians for Family Rights Yes on Prop. 73	\$1,800
TOTAL	\$2,593,602
OPPONENTS	
Campaign for Teen Safety-No on 73 ⁴	\$5,291,142
No on 73 A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California ⁵	\$69,770
Californians Against Arnold's Special Election – No on 73 74 75 76 77 & 78 & Yes On 79 & 80*	\$47,960
Asian Pacific Americans for an Informed California Against Propositions 73 74 75 76 & 77	\$12,194
No on Proposition 73	\$7,975
No Special Election-41st Ad Fighting Propositions 73 74 75 76 & 78	\$0
TOTAL	\$5,429,041
OVERALL TOTAL	\$8,022,643

*Active on other ballot measures.

⁴ The No on 73 A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California committee gave \$33,986 to this committee, making it likely the amount was in the disclosure reports twice.

⁵ Campaign For Teen Safety – No on 73 committee gave \$5,000 to this committee, making it likely the amount was in the disclosure reports twice.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO CALIFORNIA'S PROPOSITION 83 COMMITTEES, 2006

PROPONENTS	TOTAL
Yes on 85	\$3,440,208
Catholics for 85	\$8,461
TOTAL	\$3,448,669
OPPONENTS	
Campaign for Teen Safety – No on 85 ⁶	\$6,352,134
No on 85 A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California	\$481,624
Citizens for Responsible Elections	\$30,000
Committee for California's Future*	\$29,500
Vote No on Prop 85	\$4,429
TOTAL	\$6,897,687
OVERALL TOTAL	\$10,346,356

*Active on other ballot measures.

PROPONENTS

A single committee operating under a different name each election⁷ dominated support of the measure in 2005 and 2006. The 2005 committee, Life on the Ballot, raised nearly \$2.2 million, or 84 percent of all funds raised in support of the measure. In 2006, the committee became the Yes on 85 committee and raised \$3.4 million, garnering more than 99 percent of all the money raised in support of the measure.

The committee was principally the project of two donors. James E. Holman, publisher of the *San Diego Reader*, contributed nearly \$3.5 million over the two years — \$1.4 million in 2005 and \$2.1 million in 2006. His contributions totaled 62 percent of all the money raised by the committee.

Don Sebastiani, former state senator and owner of Sebastiani Vineyards, contributed \$825,000, or 12 percent all the money raised by the committee over the course of the two elections — \$350,000 in 2005 and \$475,000 in 2006.

The committee also had several other major donors.

- Domino's Pizza founder and conservative activist Tom Monaghan contributed \$250,000 in 2005, but nothing in 2006.
- Homebuilder Paul Griffin III and his wife, Marsha, each contributed \$45,000 in 2005 and \$48,000 in 2006, for a total of \$186,000.

In 2005, the California Parents' Rights Coalition-Yes on 73-A Project of California ProLife Council Inc. committee raised \$263,296 in contributions. The committee had two main sources

⁶ The No on 73 A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California committee gave \$27,839 to this committee, making it likely the amount was in the disclosure reports twice.

⁷ "Campaign Finance: Yes on 85, Major Funding Provided by Jim Holman, Don Sebastiani, and Others to Reform Parents' Right to Know and Child Protection Laws in California. (Aka "Life on the Ballot – Parents' Right To Know")" California Secretary of State [on-line]; available from <http://cal-access.ss.ca.gov/Campaign/Committees/Detail.aspx?id=1257969&session=2005>; Internet; accessed April 16, 2007.

that combined to account for \$205,900, or 78 percent of all contributions it received. These contributors also gave to the 2006 Yes on 85 campaign.

- Fieldstead & Co, a private philanthropic organization funded by Howard and Roberta Ahmanson that gives to religious conservative causes,⁸ contributed \$115,900 in 2005 and \$25,000 in 2006.
- Robin P. Arkley II, chief executive officer of real estate investment firm Security National Holding Co., contributed \$90,000 in 2005 and \$137,000 in 2006.

Other committees of note in 2005 that supported the measure:

- Parents for Prop. 73 raised \$146,088 in contributions. The primary source of funds was the California Republican Party, which contributed \$123,069, or 84 percent of the committee's funds.
- Californians for Family Rights Yes on Prop. 73 raised only \$1,800. All funds came from Judy Barrett, co-owner of the winery Chateau Montelena.

OPPONENTS

The biggest opponent to the measures in both elections was the Campaign for Teen Safety, which altered its name between the two elections from Campaign for Teen Safety-No on 73-A Project of Planned Parenthood Affiliates of Northern California in 2005 to the Campaign for Teen Safety – No on 85 in 2006.⁹

The committee raised \$11.6 million over the two elections — \$5.3 million in 2005 and \$6.3 million in 2006. Planned Parenthood affiliates provided a large share of the committee's money in both elections. In 2005, Planned Parenthood affiliates gave \$2.9 million, or 55 percent of the committee's total. In 2006, \$4.1 million, or 65 percent of the committee's total, came from these groups.

Other pro-choice organizations were also major donors in both 2005 and 2006 to the Campaign for Teen Safety:

- The California Family Health Council, an organization that provides family services, contributed \$150,000 in 2005 and \$108,035 in 2006.
- NARAL affiliates gave \$152,299 — \$ 110,927 in 2005 and \$41,317 in 2006.

⁸ "Time Names the 25 Most Influential Evangelicals in America," *Time*, Jan. 30, 2005, [magazine on-line]; available from http://www.time.com/time/press_releases/article/0,8599,1022576,00.html; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

⁹ "Campaign Finance: Campaign for Teen Safety - No on 85 - A Project of Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California" *California Secretary of State* [on-line]; available from <http://cal-access.ss.ca.gov/Campaign/Committees/Detail.aspx?id=1257969&session=2005>; Internet; accessed April 16, 2007.

- The California Chapter of the National Organization for Women contributed \$46,359: \$13,180 in 2005 and \$33,179 in 2006.

Eight individuals contributed over \$100,000 or more over the two elections to the Campaign for Teen Safety. Leading the pack was former State Sen. Rebecca Q. Morgan, who contributed \$250,000 in 2005 and \$175,000 in 2006. Another major donor was Telosa Software executive Susan P. Orr, who contributed \$100,000 in each election. Marta Kaufman, creator and former executive producer of the television show *Friends*,¹⁰ contributed \$150,000.

The ACLU was a significant player in both elections. ACLU ballot measure committees and ACLU affiliates were both major contributors to the Campaign for Teen Safety. In both years, ACLU affiliates gave more money directly to the Campaign for Teen Safety than to their own committee, giving \$72,473 in 2005 and \$20,372 in 2006. In November 2006, the No on 85 - A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California committee contributed \$60,000 to the Campaign for Teen Safety. In December 2006, the Campaign for Teen Safety sent most of the money — \$50,000 — back to No on 85.

Several other committees were active in opposing the ballot measure in 2005 and 2006.

- In 2005, the No on 73 A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California committee raised \$69,770. San Francisco-based wireless and credit card provider Working Assets contributed \$25,000. ACLU affiliates contributed only \$3,700.
- No on 85 - A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California committee raised \$481,624 in contributions. The California Teachers Association contributed \$275,000, or 57 percent of that money to the committee. ACLU affiliates contributed \$10,416.

Two contributions came from Eleni Tsakopoulos-Kounalakis & Affiliated Entities to the ACLU committees: \$20,000 in 2005 and \$25,000 in 2006. Eleni Tsakopoulos-Kounalakis is the president of AKT Development, a Sacramento-based real estate development company.

Working Assets also had a presence in its home state of California sponsoring and funding Californians Against Arnold's Special Interest Election-No on 73 74 75 76 77 & 78 and Yes on 79 & 80. As its lengthy title suggests, the committee took a position on every ballot measure featured in the election. The committee raised \$47,960 for the 2005 election and received 62 percent, or \$29,876, from itself. Working Assets also gave \$25,000 to No on 73 A Project of American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California in 2005 and \$3,214 to No on 85 in 2006.

The Feminist Majority Foundation sponsored a separate committee in each election and funded both entirely through in-kind contributions. The No on Proposition 73 committee raised \$7,975 in 2005, and the Vote No on Prop 85 committee raised \$4,429 in 2006.

¹⁰ Bruce Handy, "Roll Over, Ward Cleaver," *Time*, April 14, 1997 [magazine on-line], available from <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,986188-3,00.html>; Internet; accessed May 4, 2007.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO CALIFORNIA ABORTION MEASURES, 2005 & 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	PRO/CON	2005	2006	TOTAL
Planned Parenthood*	Con	\$2,909,723	\$4,119,730	\$7,029,453
Holman, James E.	Pro	\$1,356,398	\$2,136,270	\$3,492,668
Sebastiani, Don	Pro	\$350,000	\$475,000	\$825,000
Morgan, Rebecca Q.	Con	\$250,000	\$175,000	\$425,000
California Family Health Council	Con	\$150,000	\$108,035	\$258,035
Monaghan, Tom	Pro	\$250,000	\$0	\$250,000
Arkley II, Robin P.		90000	137000	\$227,000
Orr, Susan P.	Con	\$100,000	\$100,000	\$200,000
California Teachers Association	Con	\$0	\$275,000	\$275,000
National Abortion Rights Action League/NARAL*	Con	\$110,927	\$41,313	\$152,244
TOTAL		\$5,567,048	\$7,567,348	\$13,134,400

* Includes contributions from national, state and local affiliates.

OREGON

As in California, Oregon voters went to the polls in 2006 to vote on a ballot measure that would require a minor's parents to be notified of an abortion 48 hours prior to the procedure. Measure 43 failed, garnering just 44 percent of the vote.

Oregon Right to Life brought the measure to voters by funding Keep Our Daughters Safe/DBA Committee to Protect Our Teen Daughters (Keep Our Daughters Safe), the committee that undertook and financed the petition process.

Eight committees, four on each side of the measure, raised just over \$3 million. Supporting committees raised more than \$1 million dollars, while the opposition raised \$1.9 million.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OREGON'S MEASURE 43 COMMITTEES, 2006

PROPOSERS	TOTAL
Keep Our Daughters Safe/DBA Committee to Protect Our Teen Daughters ¹¹	\$1,032,014
Oregon Family Council Issues PAC	\$53,241
Parents Education Association PAC*	\$34,154
Oregon Right to Life Issues PAC*	\$1,864
TOTAL	\$1,121,273
OPPONENTS	
No on 43 Committee	\$1,634,416
Nurses United PAC*	\$294,852
Special Righteousness PAC	\$1,980
Traditional Prejudices Coalition	\$0
TOTAL	\$1,931,248
OVERALL TOTAL	\$3,052,521

*Active on other ballot measures.

A single organization did most of the heavy financial lifting for the main committee on both sides of the measure. Oregon Right to Life and Planned Parenthood affiliates contributed more than half of the total money raised in support or opposition to the measure.

SUPPORTERS

The Keep Our Daughters Safe committee was responsible for getting the measure on the ballot. As required in Oregon, the committee files separate campaign finance reports during the petition process. The Keep Our Daughters Safe petition committee was largely funded by Oregon Right to Life, which contributed nearly all of the \$350,000 raised to get the measure on the ballot.¹²

A group of intersecting committees supported Measure 43 once it qualified for the ballot.

¹¹ The Keep Our Daughters Safe/DBA Committee to Protect Our Teen Daughters received \$95,367 from the Oregon Family Council Issues PAC. According to expenditure reports for the Oregon Family Council Issues PAC ballot measure committee, much of the \$53,241 it raised was given to this committee in the form of in-kind contributions, making it likely that the amount was in the disclosure reports twice.

¹² "Keep Our Daughters Safe Committee/DBA Committee to Protect Our Teen Daughters September Supplemental Report," *Oregon Secretary of State* [on-line]; available from http://egov.sos.state.or.us/elec/pkg_e1_web_ce_cmitee_query.p_ce_reports_query; Internet; accessed May 25, 2007.

The Keep Our Daughters Safe ballot committee led the charge, raising just over \$1 million. The committee was largely bankrolled by Oregon Right to Life, which contributed \$826,379, or 80 percent of the total it raised. Unitemized contributions, those that fall under the state’s reporting threshold of \$100 per election, totaled \$55,868.

The Oregon Right to Life Issues PAC raised \$1,864 in unitemized contributions. The committee was also active on two other ballot measures regarding campaign finance during the 2006 election.

The Oregon Family Council, which describes itself as working “towards encouraging and equipping the Christian community to take an active role in society through the elections and legislative process,”¹³ contributed \$95,367 to Keep Our Daughters Safe. The separate ballot question committee set up by the Oregon Family Council — the Oregon Family Council Issues PAC — raised \$53,241. The Oregon Family Council contributed \$12,000 to the PAC, while \$34,531 came from donations under the Oregon reporting threshold.

OPPONENTS

The No on 43 Committee led the opposition to the measure and was largely supported by Planned Parenthood affiliates, which gave \$846,889, or 52 percent of the money raised by the committee.

Large contributors to the No on 43 committee included NARAL affiliates, which gave \$137,748; ACLU affiliates, which gave \$116,732; and the campaign committee of current Oregon Gov. Ted Kulongoski — a Democrat — contributed \$45,000.

The political action committee of the Oregon Nurses Association — the Nurses United PAC, which was also active on five other ballot measures — raised \$294,852. Unitemized contributions made up more than 99 percent of the committee’s total.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO MEASURE 43

Contributors in Oregon can largely be divided into the big and the small. The top 10 contributors combined to contribute \$2.1 million, or 70 percent of the money raised around the measure. Unitemized contributions totaled \$562,205, or 18 percent of the money raised around the measure.

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO OREGON’S MEASURE 43, 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	PRO/CON	TOTAL
Planned Parenthood*	Con	\$846,889
Oregon Right to Life	Pro	\$826,379
National Abortion Rights Action League/NARAL*	Con	\$137,748
American Civil Liberties Union	Con	\$116,732
Oregon Family Council	Pro	\$107,367
Kulongoski for Governor	Con	\$45,000
Burmeister-Brown, Susan	Con	\$20,000
Hillman Jr., Henry	Con	\$20,000
McCormack, Winthrop	Con	\$17,000
Our Oregon	Con	\$14,500
TOTAL		\$2,151,615

* Includes contributions from national, state and local affiliates.

¹³“Welcome,” *Oregon Family Council* [on-line]; available from <http://www.defenseofmarriagecoalition.org/>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

SOUTH DAKOTA

South Dakota voters flatly rejected Referendum 6, which would have upheld a state law passed earlier in the year by the Legislature. HB1215 would have prohibited any abortion unless the life or health of the mother was in danger. Abortion-rights advocates who wanted to overturn the law put the measure on the ballot after a successful petition process.

The law would have been the most restrictive ban on abortion in the nation, setting the precedent for both similar laws in other states as well as the inevitable legal challenges.¹⁴

The national implications of Referendum 6 brought the national spotlight and significant contributions from all over the country. Committees active on the measure raised a total of \$6.6 million.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOUTH DAKOTA'S REFERENDUM 6 COMMITTEES, 2006

PROPONENTS		TOTAL
South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com ¹⁵		\$2,768,369
South Dakota Family Policy 2006 Issue Fund*		\$123,166
Catholic Chancery Office		\$17,215
National Right to Life Committee		\$5,583
	TOTAL	\$2,914,333
OPPONENTS		
South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families ¹⁶		\$2,496,025
Planned Parenthood MN ND SD Action Fund		\$856,126
Working Assets		\$120,497
American Civil Liberties Union		\$106,797
Feminist Majority Foundation		\$84,641
Focus: South Dakota		\$49,440
Nix on Six		\$15,000
	TOTAL	\$3,728,526
	OVERALL TOTAL	\$6,642,859

*Active on other ballot measures.

PROPONENTS

The four committees supporting the abortion ban raised a total of \$2.9 million, most of which was raised by South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com.

¹⁴ Evelyn Nieves, "S.D. Abortion Bill Takes Aim at 'Roe'," *Washington Post*, Feb. 23, 2006 [newspaper on-line]; available from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/02/22/AR2006022202424_pf.html; Internet; accessed May 10, 2007.

¹⁵ The Catholic Chancery committee contributed \$8,000 to this committee, making it likely that the money is reported twice in disclosure reports.

¹⁶ Two other committees contributed to this committee, making it likely that the money is reported twice in disclosure reports. The Planned Parenthood MN ND SD Action Fund contributed \$13,684 and the Working Assets ballot measure committee contributed \$96,280.

The campaign was financed largely by a few sources, including several conservative religious organizations and a controversial ballot measure committee funded by a single, anonymous donor.

The largest and most controversial donor was Promising Future Inc., which gave \$750,000 to South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com. Just where exactly that money came from, however, was at the heart of the debate.

Promising Future Inc. was created in September 2006 by Republican State Rep. Roger Hunt, who sponsored the original law to ban abortion. Hunt reported to the state that Promising Future Inc. received a \$750,000 contribution. However, Hunt argued that since Promising Future Inc. is a corporation, not a ballot question committee, he did not have to reveal the source of that money, which he claims to be a single South Dakota resident. Hunt also argued that not revealing the source of the funds is a First Amendment issue. The state filed a civil lawsuit against Rep. Hunt and his corporation, asking a judge to decide if Hunt should reveal the source.¹⁷ The case has not been settled, at time of print.

The top donors among the conservative religious groups were members of the Arlington Group, a coalition of conservative religious and social groups known for their support of same-sex marriage bans.¹⁸ Arlington Group members gave a combined \$264,005 to the committee, most of which came from two large donors: the American Family Association, which contributed \$150,000; and Focus on the Family, which gave \$60,000.

Churches and church groups contributed a total of \$256,669 to South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com. Top givers included local and the national chapters of the Catholic Fraternal Organization the Knights of Columbus, which contributed \$82,450; St. John the Baptist Catholic Church in Edmond, Okla., at \$43,564; and the Abiding Savior Free Lutheran Church in Sioux Falls, S.D., which contributed \$15,000.

Other conservative religious and anti-abortion forces formed and funded their own committees:

- The South Dakota Family Policy 2006 Issue Fund, a ballot measure committee of the South Dakota Family Policy Council and a member of the Arlington Group,¹⁹ raised \$123,166, all of which came from the Council itself. The committee was also active on two other ballot measures.
- The Catholic Chancery Office Ballot Committee raised \$17,215, with all contributions coming from the Catholic Chancery office itself.
- The National Right to Life Committee also set up a self-financed committee, which raised \$5,583.

¹⁷ Monica LaBelle, "South Dakota Secretary of State Chris Nelson This Week Rejected Roger Hunt's Motion to Dismiss a Complaint Against Him," *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, March 17, 2007.

¹⁸ Sue O'Connell, "The Money Behind the 2004 Marriage Amendments," *National Institute on Money in State Politics*, January 2006.

¹⁹ As listed on Arlington Group letterhead; available from <http://www.flfamily.org/uploadfile/event/Hate%20Crimes%202007.pdf>; Internet; accessed April 18, 2007.

Eleven individuals made contributions of \$10,000 or more to the South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com committee, totaling \$182,000. Adams Terminal Systems owner Michael Adams of Sioux Falls, S.D., led the giving contributing \$70,000.

Two individuals made large loans to South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com. The loans were later repaid. Dwight Beukelman, owner of mail service provider Qualified Presort Services, loaned \$250,000, while Suzette Kirby of Sioux Falls loaned \$26,000.

OPPONENTS

Seven committees opposed to the measure raised a total of \$3.7 million, or 28 percent more than supporters of the measure.

South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families, which undertook the signature-gathering process to place the referendum on the ballot,²⁰ raised roughly \$2.5 million, leading all opposing committees.

Included in the top donors to the Campaign for Healthy Families were some of the sponsors of other committees opposing the measure, as well as the committees themselves.

The ACLU, Planned Parenthood and Working Assets each had their own ballot question committee. However, the parent organizations of each committee were also major contributors to the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families.

- Planned Parenthood affiliates contributed \$453,444. The Planned Parenthood MN ND SD Action Fund ballot committee contributed \$13,684.
- Working Assets contributed a total of \$127,683 — \$96,280 from its ballot measure committee and \$31,403 from the company itself. Laura Scher, chief executive officer of Working Assets, contributed another \$30,000.
- The ACLU affiliates contributed \$163,439.

Thirty-one individuals made contributions of \$10,000 or more to South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families, 29 of whom were from out of state. Top individual contributors included: Lee Fikes of Dallas, Texas, who contributed \$100,000; Sharon and Tom Warner of Rapid City, S.D., who contributed \$50,200; Agnes Gund of New York City, who contributed \$50,000; and Donald Sussman of Greenwich, Conn., who contributed \$50,000.

Other notable contributors included NARAL affiliates, which contributed \$36,313, and the Service Employees International Union, which contributed \$50,000.

The Planned Parenthood MN ND SD Action Fund was largely funded by its affiliates, which contributed \$521,165, or 61 percent of its total.

²⁰ Kevin Woster, "HB 1215 Foes Pick Up Signatures," *Rapid City Journal*, April 4, 2006 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.rapidcityjournal.com/articles/2006/04/04/news/top/news02.prt>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

Individual donors comprised a large portion of the remaining contributions to the Action Fund. Top individual contributors included Lewis Cullman of New York City, who contributed \$50,100 and Shayna Berkowitz of Minneapolis, Minn., who contributed \$50,000.

The ACLU also had its own ballot measure committee, simply named the American Civil Liberties Union, which raised \$106,797 in contributions. The committee’s funds came from three sources: the ACLU itself, \$45,976; the Buddey Fund of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, \$20,000; and \$40,821 in unitemized contributions, those that fall under the state’s reporting threshold for disclosing donor information.

Working Assets, “a wireless, long distance, and credit card company” that donates part of its fees to “progressive organizations working for peace, human rights, economic justice, education, and the environment,”²¹ was a large contributor, as well as a ballot committee. Two sources largely supported the Working Assets ballot measure committee — unitemized contributions and Working Assets itself — which totaled \$95,980 and \$24,217, respectively.

The Feminist Majority Foundation Committee was yet another South Dakota ballot measure committee that was largely supported by its namesake organization and unitemized contributions, which totaled \$45,571 and \$33,295, respectively. Twenty-three individuals who contributed more than \$100 each gave a combined \$5,775.

Focus: South Dakota was created “to alert moderate and swing voters to the dangers of supporting extremist candidates and positions.”²² The committee raised \$49,440. Ninety-one percent of the contributions came from Northwest Engineering of Rapid City, S.D., in the form of a \$20,000 loan and a contribution of \$25,000. Republican State Sen. Stan Adelstein, president of Northwestern Engineering,²³ is also a co-chair of South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families.²⁴

TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO SOUTH DAKOTA’S REFERENDUM 6 COMMITTEES, 2006

CONTRIBUTORS	PRO/CON	TOTAL
Planned Parenthood*	Con	\$960,924
Promising Future Inc.	Pro	\$750,000
American Civil Liberties Union*	Con	\$209,415
American Family Association	Pro	\$150,000
South Dakota Family Policy Council	Pro	\$123,166
Knights of Columbus	Pro	\$82,450
Adams, Michael	Pro	\$70,000
Focus on the Family	Pro	\$60,000
Working Assets	Con	\$55,620
Warner, Sharon & Tom	Con	\$50,200
	TOTAL	\$2,511,775

*Includes contributions from national, state and local affiliates.

²¹ *Working Assets* [on-line]; available from <http://www.workingassets.com/index.cfm>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

²² “About Focus: South Dakota,” *Focus: South Dakota* [on-line]; available from <http://focussouthdakota.com/aboutus.html>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

²³ “Legislator Information,” *South Dakota Legislature*; [on-line]; available from <http://legis.state.sd.us/sessions/2003/mbrdt375.htm>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

²⁴ “About the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families,” *South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families* [on-line]; available from <http://www.sdhealthyfamilies.org>; Internet; accessed June 6, 2007.

DONOR ANALYSIS

Over half of all funds raised by Referendum 6 committees came from outside the Mount Rushmore State. Opponents of the measure raised 75 percent of their funds outside of South Dakota. In sharp contrast, proponents generated 31 percent of their revenue from outside sources.

Out-of-state money proved to be a contentious issue. South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com put out a press release on Nov. 1 claiming that 65 percent of their funds came from within South Dakota, showing that “financial records prove that South Dakotans provided the majority of VoteYesForLife.com support.”²⁵ On Nov. 4, however, the South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families asserted on their Web site that the \$750,000 donation from Promising Future Inc. to South Dakotans for 1215/VoteYesForLife.com was from an out-of-state donor,²⁶ a claim disputed by Roger Hunt, the creator of Promising Future Inc.²⁷

Individual donors contributed \$2.28 million, or 34 percent of all contributions to abortion ballot measure committees in South Dakota. Individual donors provided 44 percent, or \$1.6 million of the out-of-state money. Non-resident individuals opposed the measure in far greater numbers, contributing slightly more than \$1.2 million to opposing committees and only \$419,366 to committees supporting the measure.

Individuals from California, New York and Texas led individual donors, combining to contribute \$730,961, slightly more than individuals from South Dakota who contributed \$660,046. Of the nearly 500 individual donors from these states, 22 donors contributed \$10,000 or more, accounting for more than \$450,000.

State residents greatly favored the measure, contributing \$493,606 to supporting committees compared to \$166,441 to opposing committees.

Non-individual supporters of the measure accounted for 54 percent, or \$483,297, of the money raised from out-of-state donors in support of the law. Abortion-rights organizations, religious conservative organizations, and churches provided 90 percent, or \$432,901, of these funds.

Three groups dominated the \$2.2 million raised by non-individuals for the opposition. Planned Parenthood, the ACLU, NARAL and Working Assets combine to account for 55 percent, or \$1.2 million.

Though South Dakota committees mostly received big checks from large donors, some of the money came from low-dollar grassroots fundraising.

Unitemized contributions accounted for \$1.2 million, or 17 percent of all contributions to the abortion ballot measure. Opponents of the measure raised \$712,538, or 22 percent of their funds, in unitemized contributions, while supporters raised \$444,119, or 15 percent of their funds through unitemized contributions.

²⁵ “South Dakotans Fund Majority of VoteYes ForLife.com Campaign,” *Vote Yes For Life Blog* [on-line]; available from http://blog.voteyesforlife.com/blog/PressReleases/_archives/2006/11/1/2466285.html; Internet; accessed May 10, 2007.

²⁶ “Hunt Can’t Keep Donor Secret,” *South Dakota Campaign For Healthy Families* [on-line]; available from <http://www.sdhealthyfamilies.org>; Internet; accessed May 10, 2007.

²⁷ Monica LaBelle, “South Dakota Secretary of State Chris Nelson This Week Rejected Roger Hunt’s Motion to Dismiss a Complaint Against Him,” *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, March 17, 2007.

UNITEMIZED CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMITTEES, 2006

COMMITTEES	UNITEMIZED	% OF TOTAL
Working Assets	\$95,980	80%
Feminist Majority Foundation	\$33,295	39%
American Civil Liberties Union	\$40,821	38%
South Dakota Campaign for Healthy Families	\$499,964	20%
South Dakotans For 1215/VoteYesForLife.com	\$444,119	16%
Planned Parenthood MN ND SD Action Fund	\$39,888	5%
Focus: South Dakota	\$2,590	5%
TOTAL	\$1,156,657	17%