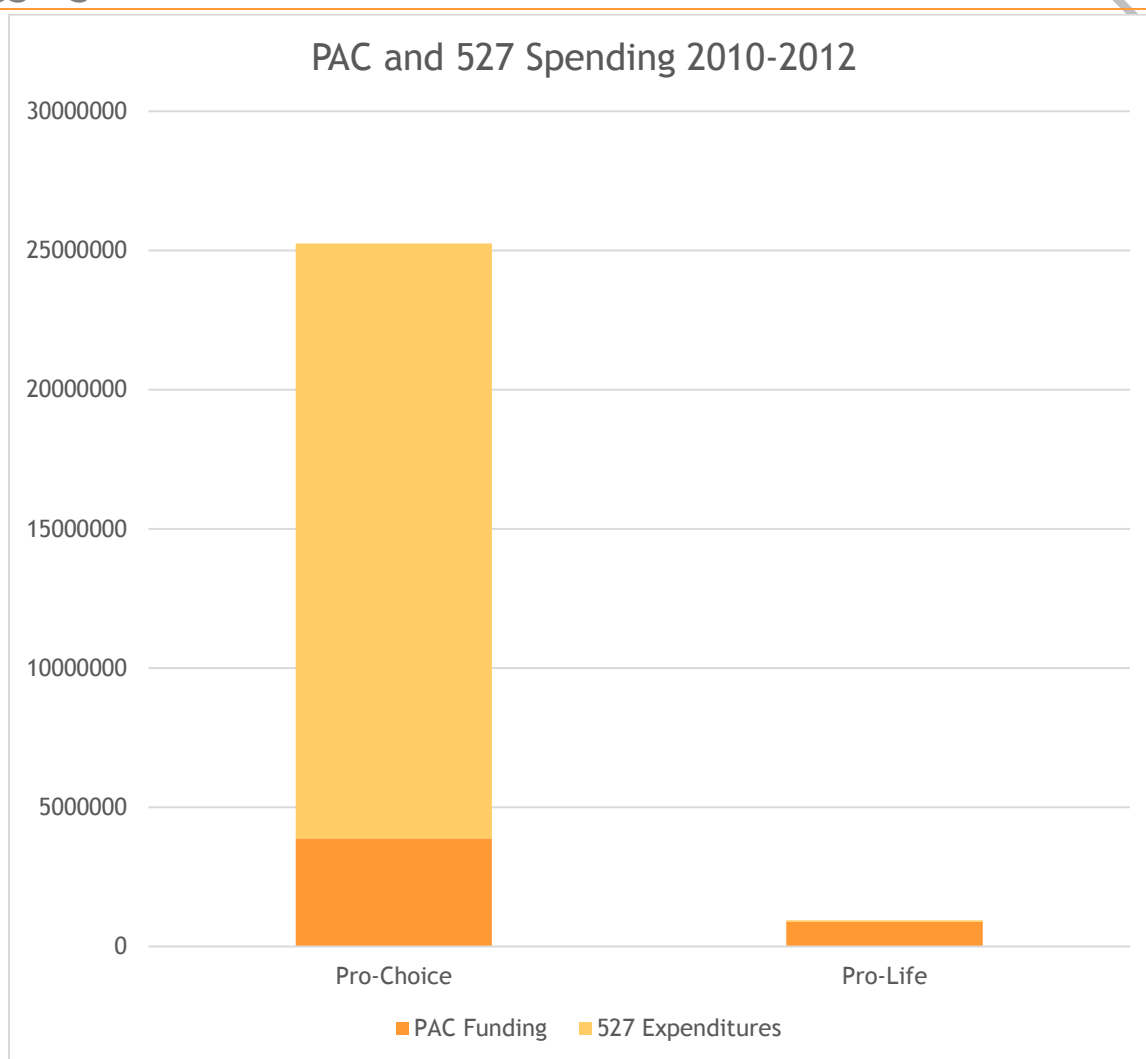


Abortion Campaign Contributions 2010-2012

Data collected by Feminists Choosing Life, July 2013

Aggregate Data: Pro-Choice & Pro-Life*



	Pro-Choice	Pro-Life
PAC Funding	3,882,890	886,755
527 Expenditures	21,373,236	56,449
Total	25,256,126	943,204

* Throughout this report, the terms "Pro-Choice" and "Pro-Life" have been used for consistency. Different sources used different terms, including "Anti-Abortion", "Pro-Abortion-Rights", and "Anti-Choice" and referenced support for "Reproductive Rights."

Analysis of Aggregate Data

Pro-Choice 527 Contributions

527 Name	2010 ¹	2012 ²	Total
Arizona List	340,986	521,443	862,429
Planned Parenthood Votes	68,668	0	68,668
Planned Parenthood – Wisconsin	14,308	16,800	31,108
Total	423,962	538,243	962,205

The following 527s are filed under “Women’s Issues.” They are included here because abortion rights are central to their stated public mission. See Appendix on page 9 for further explanation.

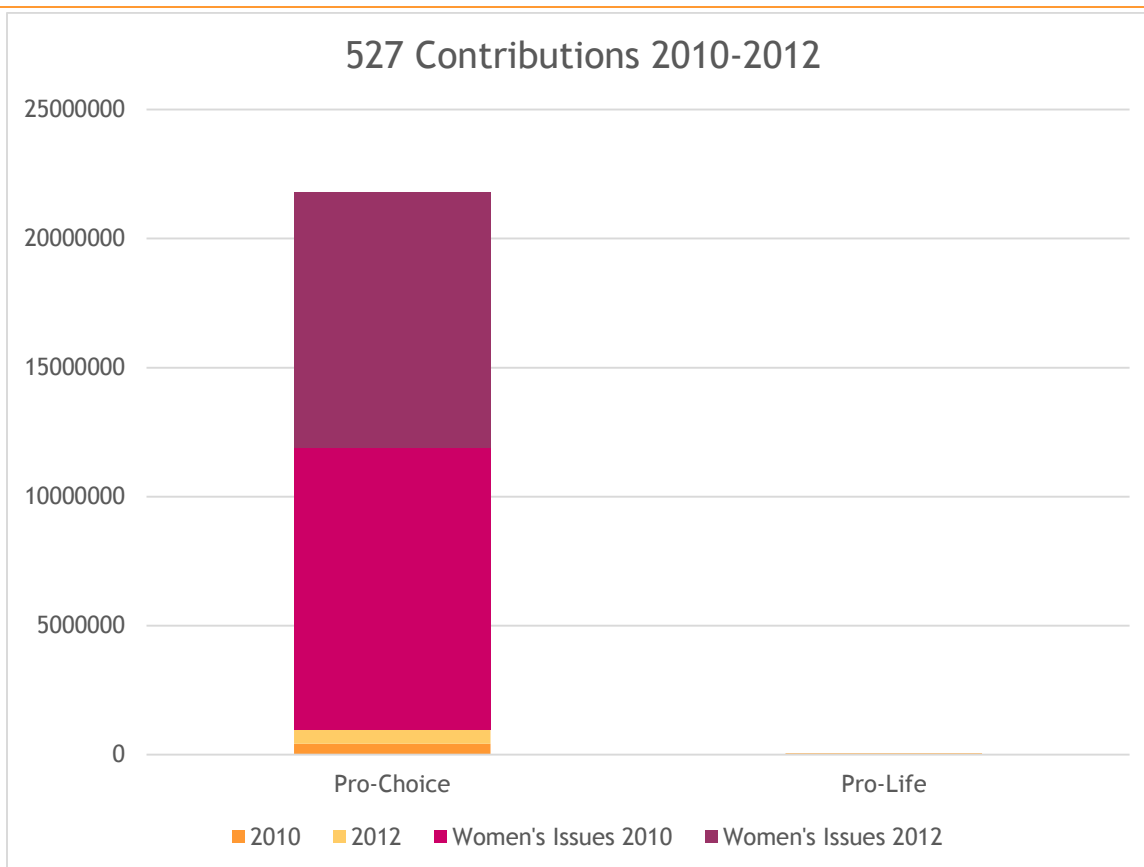
527 Name	2010 ³	2012 ⁴	Total
EMILY’s List Non-Federal	10,439,329	9,894,653	20,333,982
WISH List Non-Federal	62,655	14,394	77,049
Total	10,501,984	9,909,047	20,411,031

Grand Total	10,925,946	10,447,290	21,373,236
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Pro-Life 527 Contributions

527 Name	2010 ⁵	2012 ⁶	Total
Born Alive Truth	43,197	3,909	47,106
Right to Life – Alaska	5,308	1,685	6,993
Clapham PAC	1,540	810	2,350
Total	50,045	6,404	56,449

Discussion: 527s



- Technically, the term 527 applies to PACs, political committees, and Super PACs. In this report, we have used the vernacular application of 527s as filed by the Center for Responsive Politics. 527s are groups or organizations that work to influence an election without expressly advocating particular candidates, but rather the particular position of a candidate on an issue⁷. 527s are tax-exempt and do not have donor limits.
- EMILY's List ranks in the top five of 527 Federally-Focused Groups for the past four election cycles⁸. No pro-life 527 ranks in the top 50 for the past five election cycles.
- NARAL New York took in \$40,750 in the 2010 Cycle and \$65,250 in the 2012 Cycle, but has \$0 in Expenditures⁹. Where this money has gone is unclear.
- The WISH List, an acronym for Women in the Senate and House, supports pro-choice Republican women¹⁰. WISH List expenditures have decreased dramatically in the past few cycles. In 2004, expenditures amounted to over \$700,000¹¹. The biggest contributor to WISH List in every listed cycle has been the Republican Future Fund, which consistently gave about \$50,000¹². Funding for the Republican Majority for Choice has also dipped from over \$170,000 in 2004 to only \$62,000 in 2012¹³. The organizations joined forces in 2010 but maintained separate funding¹⁴.

Pro-Choice PAC Contributions

PAC Name	2010 ¹⁵	2012 ¹⁶	Total
NARAL Pro-Choice America	585,500	683,500	1,269,000
Planned Parenthood	265,235	738,818	1,004,053
Washington Women for Choice	90,000	85,000	175,000
Republican Majority for Choice	92,500	59,430	151,930
New York Choice PAC	43,500	53,500	97,000
NARAL New York	6,900	6,000	12,900
Planned Parenthood Houston & SE TX	3,050	0	3,050
NARAL Washington	1,350	100	1,450
Prochoice Voter	1,195	0	1,195
Trust Women PAC	1,000	0	1,000
Total	1,090,230	1,626,348	2,716,578

The following PACs are filed under “Women’s Issues.” They are included here because abortion rights are central to their stated public mission. See Appendix on page 9 for further explanation.

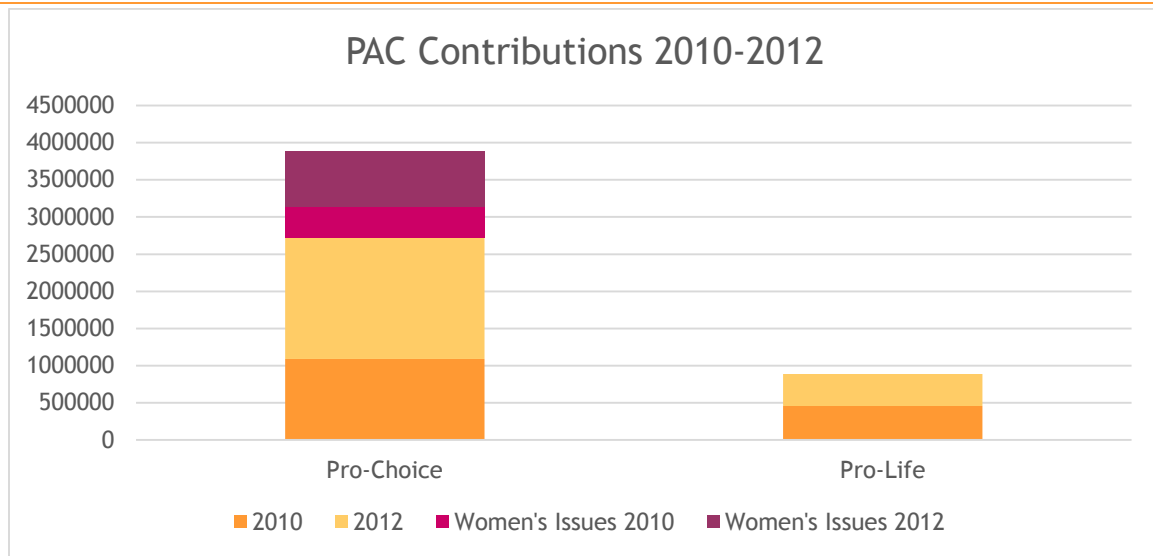
PAC Name	2010 ¹⁷	2012 ¹⁸	Total
EMILY’s List	177,788	268,980	446,768
Women’s Political Committee	170,000	161,000	331,000
Tri-state Maxed Out Women	0	187,000	187,000
National Organization for Women	2,000	64,320	66,320
Feminist Majority Foundation	34,295	28,250	62,545
Women Winning	15,000	20,000	35,000
Women in Leadership	9,000	7,200	16,200
National Women’s Political Caucus	7,500	7,000	14,500
Santa Barbara Women’s PAC	1,500	39,000	5,400
Wish List	1,579	0	1,579
Total	418,662	747,650	1,166,312

Grand Total	1,508,892	2,373,998	3,882,890
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Pro-Life PAC Contributions

PAC Name	2010 ¹⁹	2012 ²⁰	Total
Susan B. Anthony List	183,191	254,511	437,702
National Pro-Life Alliance	131,449	80,500	211,949
Republican National Coalition for Life	69,450	64,250	133,700
Right to Life – National	13,000	8,942	21,942
Life & Liberty PAC	13,750	3,750	17,500
Right to Life – New Jersey	8,700	6,500	15,200
Right to Life – Kansas	10,862	0	10,862
Right to Life – Illinois	9,100	1,500	10,600
New Jersey Republican Pro-Life Co.	4,250	4,000	8,250
Pro-Life Victory Federal PAC	0	7,470	7,470
Democrats for Life of America	7,000	0	7,000
Right to Life – Minnesota	2,400	0	2,400
Illinois Citizens for Life	625	0	625
Right to Life – Michigan	555	0	555
Kentucky Pro-Life PAC	500	0	500
Right to Life – Texas	350	0	350
Right to Life	100	0	100
Total	455,332	431,423	886,755

Discussion: PACs



- A PAC or Political Action Committee influences elections by directly funneling money into a campaign for or against a candidate. Contributions by individuals, corporations, and unions are regulated and limited²¹. There are over 4,000 registered PACs²².
- In 2010, two judicial decisions (Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission and Speechnow.org v. FEC) made Super PACs possible. Super PACs do not have limits on contributions, but can only use funding for independent campaign expenditures, i.e., those that are made without consultation and cooperation with the candidate.
- EMILY's List is ranked 15th in expenditures out of over 4,000 PACs²³. Of Non-Party PACs, EMILY's List is ranked 6th.
- WOMEN VOTE! is a Super PAC created by EMILY's List that mobilizes women voters. In 2012, WOMEN VOTE! spent \$7,749,991, ranking 13th out of 1,310 Super PACs²⁴. \$6 million was spent to defeat Republican candidates, while \$1.5 million was used to win campaigns for Democrat candidates. Planned Parenthood Votes, the Super PAC for the eponymous organization, ranked 17th.
- Women Speak Out is a Super PAC created by the Susan B. Anthony List²⁵. Women Speak Out spent a total of \$843,346 on the 2012 Federal Election, most of which was spent to defeat Democrat candidates²⁶.
- In 2012, NARAL had active state PACs based in New York, Oregon, and Washington²⁷. NARAL New York spent five times more than Oregon and Washington combined in 2010 and 2012²⁸. NARAL was a top contributor to 33 candidates in 2012 and to 40 candidates in 2010 (Some of these candidates overlap.) Of contributions from NARAL Pro-Choice America to the House of Representatives, a sixth was spent on New York candidates²⁹.

Discussion: General

Other than electing candidates, how might campaign contributions from special interest groups influence public viewpoint?

In a Gallup Poll conducted May 2-7, 2013, public opinion on abortion was nearly evenly divided, as it has been since polling began³⁰. 45% identified as pro-choice and 48% identified as pro-life. Significantly, however, 51% of people polled thought that most Americans were pro-choice, compared to only 31% who thought most were pro-life. Considerable funding and media prowess may have influenced this perception.

How do special interest groups hide campaign funding?

A single organization may have several political advocacy affiliates. Special interest groups may choose to split funding into several designations in order to maximize tax exemptions and minimize awareness of the extent of their funding. In 2012, Planned Parenthood had at least the following: a 527 Committee, two Lobbying Clients, three Organizations, 13 PACs, and 22 Outside Spending Groups³¹.

One of these PACs, the Planned Parenthood Action Fund, demonstrates the complexity of this research. In 2012, they contributed over \$135,000 to other Planned Parenthood affiliates in the 2012 Election Cycle, in addition to \$150,000 to the America Votes Action Fund and \$75,000 to We Vote – Nosotros Votamos³².

In the 2012 Cycle, We Vote – Nosotros Votamos spent \$121,758, of which more than half came directly from Planned Parenthood³³. We Vote – Nosotros Votamos files under “Human Rights” and “Minority/Ethnic Groups” and does not have any listed affiliates. However, the official name for the PAC is “We Vote – Nosotros Votamos – PPAMM Committee³⁴.” PPAMM is an acronym for Planned Parenthood Advocates Mar Monte, the political advocacy arm of Planned Parenthood Mar Monte in California and Nevada.

The America Votes Action Fund was created in part by Ellen Malcolm, the founder of EMILY’s List. Since the stated mission is to advance progressive policies, it files under the Democratic/Liberal industry³⁵. Its leadership team of 2008 (the latest year for which data was available) included Cecile Richards, President of Planned Parenthood; Nancy Keenan, then-President of NARAL Pro-Choice America; Mary Jean Collins, former Vice President of the National Organization for Women; Ilana Goldman, President of the Women’s Campaign Forum; Shamina Singh, board member of Planned Parenthood; Joe Solmonese, former CEO of EMILY’s List; and Gloria Trotten, former political director of NARAL³⁶.

In the special interest/non-profit sector, are tax-exempt/non-tax-exempt monies interchanged or diverted?

Trust Women PAC advocates for the easy availability of late-term abortions³⁷. A federal complaint was filed against Trust Women PAC for eight categories of violations, including diverting campaign funding to the operation of its connected abortion clinic³⁸. The report also cites an unexplained disappearance of \$37,118.13.

How might party affiliated PACs affect pro-choice and pro-life campaign contributions?

In the past nine years since its inception, donors may have funneled their pro-choice contributions to Democratic candidates through ActBlue. ActBlue contributed a total of \$84,904,934 in the past 5 cycles³⁹. The Center for Responsive Politics lists ActBlue as the top organization out of over 20,000⁴⁰. No equivalent for the Republican Party was listed in the top 100⁴¹. As of July 22, 2013 at 5:17 PM, ActBlue has raised over \$398 million dollars online⁴².

Do candidates benefit by demonstrating a pro-choice position?

Wendy Davis, a Democrat in the Texas Senate, recently attempted to filibuster a piece of Anti-Abortion legislation. Within three weeks, she fundraised almost \$1 million, despite her not being up for election for another two years.⁴³

In the 2012 cycle, Women Vote!, a Super PAC affiliated with EMILY's List, spent \$5,942,503 against candidates that did not fit their pro-choice mission⁴⁴. Planned Parenthood Votes spent \$4,072,732 against pro-life candidates the same year⁴⁵.

National Right to Life Victory Fund, the biggest pro-life Super PAC, spent \$340,257 against Democratic candidates that same year⁴⁶.

Do campaign contributions proportionally affect election results?

In 2012, EMILY's List spent more than \$50,000 against fifteen different candidates. Thirteen lost their races, resulting in an 87% success rate for EMILY's List in terms of highly-funded elections⁴⁷.

EMILY's List raised \$52 million in the 2012 cycle⁴⁸. The Susan B. Anthony List operates on an annual budget of just over \$7 million⁴⁹. Despite spending more than seven times less, there are not seven times fewer pro-life legislators, indicating that voters do not entirely follow the dollars⁵⁰.

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Addendum

- Most groups categorized under “Women’s Issues” have direct support for abortion rights. While abortion rights is central to the mission of the groups listed in this report, they may be allowed to file under a different category than “Abortion Policy.” “Women’s Issues” donors that directly reference abortion (either pro-life or pro-choice) as a requirement for their giving are included here.
 - EMILY’s List – “Elects pro-choice Democratic women to office”⁵¹
 - Feminist Majority Foundation – “Supports safe, legal and accessible abortion”⁵²
 - National Organization for Women – “Fully supports access to safe and legal abortion”⁵³
 - National Women’s Political Caucus – “Supports pro-choice women candidates”⁵⁴
 - Santa Barbara Women’s PAC – “We support... the right to affordable, safe, legal abortion”⁵⁵
 - Tri-state Maxed Out Women – We could not find a website or mission statement for this organization, but all references indicate that it has a pro-choice position, including leadership by Marcia Dickstein Sudolsky⁵⁶. All recipients received high NARAL ratings and were endorsed by EMILY’s List.⁵⁷
 - WISH List – “Support[s] and elect[s] pro-choice Republican women”⁵⁸
 - Women in Leadership – “Supporting and promoted pro-choice women candidates”⁵⁹
 - Women’s Political Committee – “Candidates must support the National Feminist Agenda, that includes choice”⁶⁰
 - Women Winning – “The mission is to... support pro-choice women’s leadership”⁶¹
- Expenditures by EMILY’s List found in the attached list of Top 20 PACs include administrative costs, salaries, campaign expenses, fundraising, media, and other expenses, which are not included in PAC Contributions.
- Feminists Choosing Life of New York gathered this information as carefully and objectively as possible. Any miscalculation amounts to human error and the complexity of the current system. This report is by no means comprehensive.

Sources

Sources have been cited simply with URLs for convenience.

¹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527indus.php?sort=N&code=Q15&cycle=2010>
² <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527indus.php?sort=N&code=Q15&cycle=2012>
³ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527indus.php?sort=N&code=Q08&cycle=2010>
⁴ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527indus.php?sort=N&code=Q08&cycle=2012>
⁵ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527indus.php?sort=N&code=Q14&cycle=2010>
⁶ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527indus.php?sort=N&code=Q14&cycle=2012>
⁷ http://www.fec.gov/ans/answers_general.shtml#527
⁸ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527cmtes.php?level=C&cycle=2012>
⁹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527cmtedetail.php?ein=134128303&cycle=2012>
¹⁰ <http://www.thewishlist.org/Mission.htm>
¹¹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527cmtedetail.php?ein=223145929&cycle=2010>

¹² http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527cmtdetail_contribs.php?cycle=2012&ein=223145929
¹³ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00346635&cycle=2012>
¹⁴ <http://www.gopchoice.org/wish-list/>
¹⁵ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.php?txt=Q15&cycle=2010>
¹⁶ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.php?txt=Q15&cycle=2012>
¹⁷ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.php?txt=Q08&cycle=2010>
¹⁸ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.php?txt=Q08&cycle=2012>
¹⁹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.php?txt=Q14&cycle=2010>
²⁰ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/industry.php?txt=Q14&cycle=2012>
²¹ <http://www.fec.gov/rad/pacs/FederalElectionCommission-RAD-PACs.shtml>
²² <http://www.fec.gov/press/press2008/20080812paccount.shtml>
²³ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/toppacs.php?cycle=2012&Type=E&filter=P>
²⁴ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/superpacs.php?cycle=2012>
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²⁶ <http://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/detail.php?cmte=C00530766&cycle=2012>
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²⁸ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00337451&cycle=2010> &
<http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00401455&cycle=2012> &
<http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00456673&cycle=2012>
²⁹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/pacgot.php?cycle=2012&cmte=C00079541>
³⁰ <http://www.gallup.com/poll/1576/abortion.aspx>
³¹ http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/index.php?q=planned+parenthood&searchButt_clean.x=-942&searchButt_clean.y=-57&searchButt_clean=Submit&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkv0jvam&cof=FORID%3A11
³² http://www.opensecrets.org/usearch/index.php?q=planned+parenthood&searchButt_clean.x=-942&searchButt_clean.y=-57&searchButt_clean=Submit&cx=010677907462955562473%3Anlldkv0jvam&cof=FORID%3A11
³³ <http://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/contrib.php?cmte=C00527226&cycle=2012>
³⁴ <http://www.opensecrets.org/pacs/lookup2.php?strID=C00527226&cycle=2012>
³⁵ <http://www.americavotes.org/about>
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³⁷ <http://www.trustwomenpac.org/about/>
³⁸ <http://www.lifesitenews.com/news/complaints-filed-against-wichita-abortion-clinic-owner-over-missing-37000-i>
³⁹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/totals.php?id=D000021806&cycle=2012>
⁴⁰ <http://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/>
⁴¹ <http://www.opensecrets.org/orgs/list.php>
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⁴⁶ <http://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/recips.php?cmte=C00509893&cycle=2012>
⁴⁷ <http://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/recips.php?cmte=EMILY%27s+List&cycle=2012>
⁴⁸ <http://emilyslist.org/news/releases/emily%E2%80%99s-list-warns-%E2%80%9Cnotice%E2%80%9D-republicans-ryan-budget-women-are-watching-how-republican>
⁴⁹ http://www.sba-list.org/sites/default/files/content/shared/sba_list_2013_biz_plan_web_0.pdf
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⁵² <http://www.feminist.org/welcome/mandp.asp>
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⁵⁸ <http://www.thewishlist.org/Mission.htm>
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⁶¹ http://www.womenwinning.org/about_us
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