



# THE MONEY BEHIND THE 2006 MARRIAGE AMENDMENTS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Overview..... 3

The Political Climate..... 6

Those in Favor of the Same-Sex Marriage Bans ..... 7

Those Against the Same-Sex Marriage Bans..... 10

Top Contributors Across the States..... 15

State-By-State Summaries

Alabama ..... 17

Arizona..... 18

Colorado..... 22

Idaho ..... 26

South Carolina..... 28

South Dakota ..... 30

Tennessee ..... 32

Virginia ..... 35

Wisconsin ..... 38

## OVERVIEW

In 2006, voters in nine states faced ballots with constitutional amendments banning same-sex marriage. While the measures passed overwhelmingly in Alabama, Idaho, South Carolina and Tennessee, vote tallies in Colorado, South Dakota, Virginia and Wisconsin were closer than votes in states where same-sex marriage bans passed in previous election cycles. The Arizona measure became the first same-sex marriage ban to be defeated by voters.

An analysis of campaign-finance reports filed by committees active on the same-sex marriage bans reveals:

- Committees working for or against the ballot measures raised slightly more than \$18 million, with opponents collecting more than three times as much as proponents.
- Nearly \$9.3 million, or 51 percent of the total funds raised, came from four sources: gay- and lesbian-rights interests, donors connected with gay- and lesbian-rights activist Tim Gill, the Arlington Group and Christian conservative groups.
- Opponent committees outraised proponents in every state except Tennessee even though the same-sex marriage bans passed in all states except Arizona.
- The Arlington Group — a Christian conservative network whose 2004 efforts to ban same-sex marriage in 13 states were outlined in a previous Institute analysis — continued to be a potent force, contributing \$1.65 million through member groups and affiliates. These contributions comprised 40 percent of proponent committee funds.

In addition to their roles as financiers, Arlington Group associates had a hand in forming ballot measure committees in every state where money was raised.

- Gay- and lesbian-rights interests contributed the largest share of money: \$5.64 million, accounting for 31 percent of the total raised. Just 7 percent of gay- and lesbian-rights contributions came from national groups active on 2004 same-sex marriage bans. Instead, a new national group, the Gill Action Fund, stepped to the forefront, providing almost \$3.8 million, or 27 percent of opponent funds.

Gill Action founder Tim Gill also inspired wealthy individual donors who gave almost \$1.5 million either directly or through political action committees. All told, the Gill-connected contributions totaled \$5.28 million, or 38 percent of opponent funds.

- Churches and church employees, a lucrative funding source for 2004 same-sex marriage ban committees, were not major contributors in 2006. Churches and their employees gave \$234,344 in 2006, significantly less than the \$1.9 million they contributed in 2004.

- Committees in Colorado, where voters faced both a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage as well as a measure to allow same-sex domestic partnerships, raised more than one-third of the \$18 million. Colorado is also the home state of the top two contributors — Gill Action Fund and Focus on the Family — who worked on opposite sides of the issue and sunk a large portion of their funds into the battle there. Same-sex marriage opponents were successful on both fronts: the same-sex marriage ban passed and the domestic partnership referendum failed.

Opponent committees in Colorado and Wisconsin raised much more than other 2006 committees and also surpassed the fund raising by committees formed around the 2004 and 2005 same-sex marriage bans. The votes were close in these states, as well as in Arizona and Virginia, two other states where ballot measure committees raised large sums. Another state where voters were closely divided on the same-sex marriage ban was South Dakota, but little money was raised there in comparison to other states with close vote tallies.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BANS, 2006

STATE	CONTRIBUTIONS			VOTES	
	FOR	AGAINST	TOTAL	%FOR	% AGAINST
Colorado	\$1,369,754	\$5,459,145	\$6,828,899	55%	45%
Wisconsin	\$647,491	\$4,313,365	\$4,960,856	59%	41%
Arizona	\$1,039,093	\$1,899,948	\$2,939,041	48%	52%
Virginia	\$413,490	\$1,545,257	\$1,958,747	57%	43%
South Carolina	\$108,545	\$370,427	\$478,972	78%	22%
Tennessee	\$299,279	\$158,814	\$458,093	81%	19%
South Dakota	\$123,166	\$171,578	\$294,744	52%	48%
Idaho	\$27,104	\$106,378	\$133,482	63%	37%
Alabama <sup>1</sup>	\$0	\$0	\$0	81%	19%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$4,027,922</b>	<b>\$14,024,912</b>	<b>\$18,052,834</b>		

Individuals contributed 43 percent of the funds raised, or \$7.75 million of the \$18 million. That is significantly more than the 31 percent that was donated by individuals to the 2004 same-sex marriage bans that passed in 13 states.<sup>2</sup> Committees opposed to the amendments received more than \$6.56 million from individuals.

Much of the money from individuals came from a small number of contributors. Twenty-six individuals contributed more than \$25,000 each, totaling almost \$3.5 million, and representing 45 percent of money given by individuals.

Unitemized contributions, those that fall under a state's threshold for reporting names and other identifying information about the contributor, added another \$378,692, with 78 percent going to committees working against the same-sex marriage bans.

<sup>1</sup> The Institute did not identify any ballot committees working for or against the Alabama constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage.

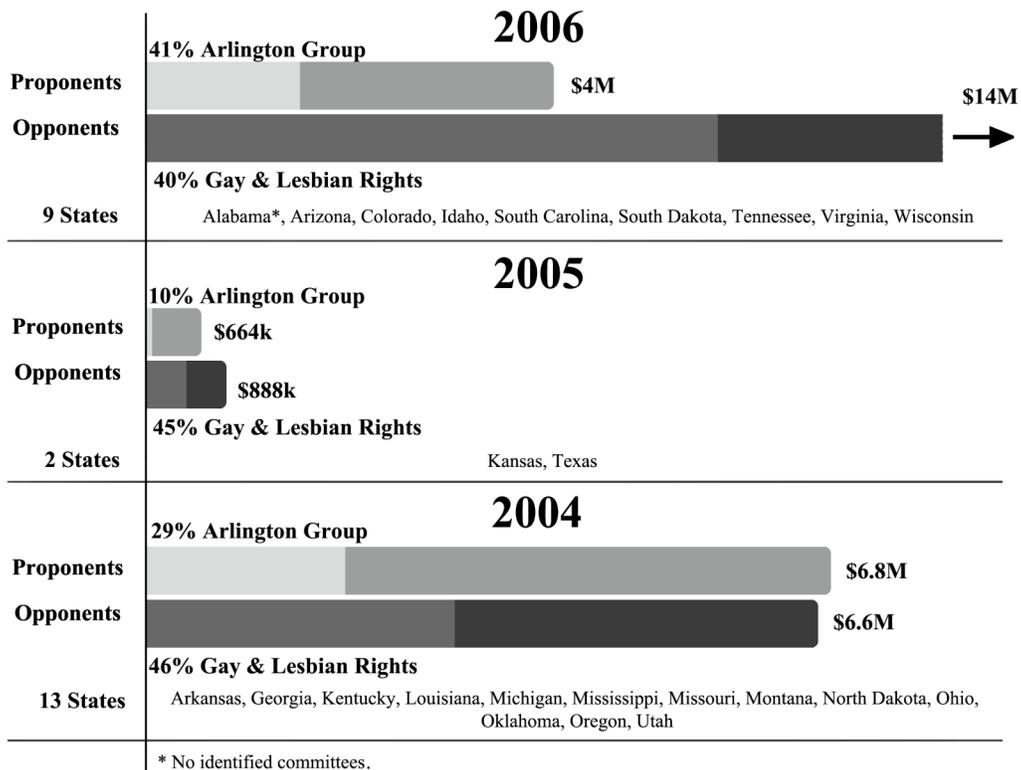
<sup>2</sup> Sue O'Connell, "The Money Behind the 2004 Marriage Amendments," *National Institute on Money in State Politics*, January 2006, p. 5.

Though the 2006 same-sex marriage bans were not the driving force in voter turnout that they were in 2004, these measures were still hotly contested as evidenced by the large sums raised around the measures and the close votes in five states. Committees that worked on the nine 2006 same-sex marriage bans raised 34 percent more than those active on the 13 measures on the 2004 ballots. Opponents also vastly outraised proponents in 2006 but in 2004 proponent and opponent committees raised roughly the same amounts.

Arlington Group contributions declined from 2004 to 2006 but they accounted for a larger share of proponent funds: 41 percent in 2006 compared to 29 percent in 2004. Conversely, gay- and lesbian-rights interests increased their contributions from 2004 to 2006 but the 2006 contributions comprised a smaller share of opponent funds: 46 percent in 2004 compared to 40 percent in 2006.

In 2005, Kansas and Texas were the only states with same-sex marriage bans on the ballot and both measures passed handily. Kansas ballot measure committees raised slightly more than one-quarter of a million dollars with proponents raising more than opponents. Opponents collected more than proponents in Texas and both sides combined to collect nearly \$1.3 million.

### Contributions to Same-Sex Marriage Ban Committees, 2004-2006



## THE POLITICAL CLIMATE

Prior to 2006, constitutional amendments banning same-sex marriage existed in 18 states.<sup>3</sup> From 2004 to 2005, voters in 15 states enshrined same-sex marriage bans in their state constitutions. These amendments were driven by concerns stemming from two 2003 court decisions: the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court ruling that the state's law banning same-sex marriage was unconstitutional and the U.S. Supreme Court decision that a Texas law barring homosexual sex violated the right to privacy.<sup>4</sup>

The 2006 election cycle saw both the first defeat of a same-sex marriage ban in Arizona and closer votes in several other states on the amendments than in previous elections. This outcome was notable because eight out of the nine measures passed even while voters delivered victories to Democrats across the country.

Amid waning support for President Bush and the war in Iraq — as well as brewing scandals involving then-U.S. Rep. Mark Foley, a Florida Republican, and evangelical leader Rev. Ted Haggard — Democrats took control of the U.S. Congress and made gains in state legislatures and governorships. Indeed, in an article published two weeks before the November 2006 election, *New York Times* reporter Kirk Johnson wrote of the amendments, “And while most of the measures are expected to pass, their emotional forces in drawing committed, conservative voters to the polls, many political experts say, has been muted or spent.”<sup>5</sup> Typically, the same-sex marriage bans had been a rallying point for conservative voters, who tend to vote Republican.

One factor that may have contributed to passage of the amendments, despite the political climate, was the Oct. 25, 2006, ruling by the New Jersey Supreme Court that “committed same-sex couples must be afforded on equal terms the same rights and benefits enjoyed by opposite-sex couples under the civil marriage statutes.”<sup>6</sup> Republicans, including President Bush, used the decision to muster support for the same-sex marriage bans and boost conservative voter turnout.<sup>7</sup>

Citizens initiated fewer same-sex marriage bans in 2006 than in 2004. In 2004, six of the amendments were driven by citizens, who gathered signatures to get the measures on the ballots. But in 2006, only the Arizona and Colorado bans were initiated by citizens. Instead, most of the same-sex marriage amendments were referred to the ballot by state legislatures. A Colorado referendum to permit domestic partnerships was also referred by the state legislature.

The 2006 ballot measures can be divided into two categories: those that outlawed same-sex marriage only and those that prohibited any type of union that would approximate marriage. Amendments in Arizona, Idaho, South Carolina, South Dakota, Virginia and Wisconsin banned same-sex marriage as well as civil unions, while those in Alabama and Tennessee simply defined marriage as an institution between a man and a woman. Colorado saw both an amendment to ban same-sex marriage and a separate referendum to allow domestic partnerships.

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<sup>3</sup> In addition to the 18 states with same-sex marriage bans, Hawaii has a constitutional amendment that gives the Legislature the right to define marriage. It defines marriage as a union between a man and a woman. Christine Vestal, “Gay Marriage Ripe for Decision in 3 Courts,” *Stateline.org*, June 15, 2007 [on-line]; available from <http://www.stateline.org/live/details/story?contentId=20695>; Internet; accessed July 13, 2007.

<sup>4</sup> Sue O’Connell, “The Money Behind the 2004 Marriage Amendments,” *National Institute on Money in State Politics*, January 2006, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Kirk Johnson, “Gay Marriage Losing Punch As Ballot Issue,” *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 2006, sec. A, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> “Supreme Court Summaries,” *New Jersey Judiciary* [on-line]; available from <http://www.judiciary.state.nj.us/opinions/index.htm>; Internet; accessed June 18, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Sheryl Gay Stolberg, “G.O.P. Moves Fast to Reignite Issue of Gay Marriage,” *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 2006, sec. A, p. 1.

## THOSE IN FAVOR OF THE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BANS

Arlington Group members and affiliates<sup>8</sup> led proponent contributors, giving \$1.65 million or 41 percent of the \$4 million raised by committees working for the passage of the same-sex marriage bans. The Arlington Group was also connected to the main proponent committees formed in every state where money was raised.

Other proponent funders without ties to the Arlington Group included individuals — who added \$1.17 million, or 29 percent of the money collected by proponents — and other Christian conservative and conservative leaning organizations, which gave \$481,865 or 12 percent of proponent funds.

### ARLINGTON GROUP

Arlington Group members and affiliates spread \$1.65 million across eight states. The more than \$1 million contributed by Arlington Group members in Colorado was the most given in any state in 2006 and accounted for 78 percent of the money raised in support of the same-sex marriage ban. Focus on the Family and the group's lobbying arm, Focus on the Family Action, contributed 98 percent of the Arlington Group money given in Colorado.

In South Dakota, Arlington Group member South Dakota Family Policy Council created and funded the sole proponent committee: South Dakota Family Policy 2006 Issue Fund.

### ARLINGTON GROUP MEMBER CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE, 2006

STATE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL RAISED IN FAVOR
South Dakota	\$123,166	100%
Colorado	\$1,073,239	78%
Virginia	\$150,665	36%
Wisconsin	\$139,189	21%
Tennessee	\$55,066	18%
Idaho	\$4,500	17%
Arizona	\$112,889	11%
South Carolina	\$848	.08%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,659,560</b>	<b>41%</b>

Focus on the Family was the only group that contributed in both 2004 and 2006. In fact, Focus on the Family upped its contributions significantly, from \$255,604 in 2004 to \$1.1 million in 2006. Much of this increase can be traced to Colorado, where the group is headquartered. Just over \$100,000 of Focus on the Family's contributions were made outside of its home state.

In addition to its role as a funder of same-sex marriage bans, Focus on the Family also has a network of state family policy councils that were important state players. These groups were active in four states and contributed \$226,133.

<sup>8</sup> Arlington Group members are listed on Arlington Group letterhead from a Jan. 17, 2007, letter to President Bush available from <http://www.flfamily.org/uploadfile/event/Hate%20Crimes%202007.pdf>; Internet; accessed April 18, 2007. Focus on the Family State Policy Councils are available from "State FPC Family Policy Councils," *Focus on the Family* [on-line], available from <http://www.citizenlink.org/fpc>; Internet, accessed April 30, 2007.

- In Virginia, the Family Foundation contributed \$110,230 to VA4Marriage.org, a committee it formed. Valley Family Forum, a Family Foundation affiliate, added another \$13,500 to the group's coffers. Together they contributed 35 percent of the committee's funds.
- Wisconsin Family Action gave \$79,055 to Vote Yes for Marriage.
- Colorado Family Action, which was created with the assistance of a Focus on the Family employee<sup>9</sup> and formed its own proponent committee, gave \$23,000 to Coloradans for Marriage.
- In South Carolina, the Palmetto Family Council contributed \$348 to the committee it formed to promote the same-sex marriage ban in that state.

For the first time, the Arlington Group itself made a contribution, which came in the form of an in-kind donation of \$5,970 to VA4Marriage.org. Virginia is the state where the Arlington Group originally met, in the city of Arlington.<sup>10</sup>

#### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ARLINGTON GROUP AND AFFILIATES, 2006\*

CONTRIBUTOR	AMOUNT
Focus on the Family**	\$1,148,831
South Dakota Family Policy Council	\$123,166
Family Foundation	\$110,230
Center for Arizona Policy	\$95,765
Wisconsin Family Action	\$79,055
Colorado Family Action	\$23,000
RealMarriage.org	\$20,000
Valley Family Forum	\$13,500
Arlington Group	\$5,970
National Association of Marriage Enhancement	\$5,000
United Families Idaho	\$4,500
Family Leader Network	\$4,110
Tennessee Eagle Forum	\$2,870
Palmetto Family Council	\$348
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,636,345</b>

\*Table does not include contributions from individuals.

\*\*This includes contributions from the group's lobbying arm, Focus on the Family Action.

<sup>9</sup> Myung Oak Kim, "Focus on the Family Sets Sights on Colorado," *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 5, 2006 [newspaper on-line]; available from [http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/elections/article/0,2808,DRMN\\_24736\\_4896482,00.html](http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/elections/article/0,2808,DRMN_24736_4896482,00.html); Internet; accessed May 30, 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Scott Helman, "Coalition Seeks to Reframe GOP Race: Leaders of Secretive Group Interview 2008 Candidates," *Boston Globe*, March 25, 2007 [newspaper on-line]; available from [http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2007/03/25/coalition\\_seeks\\_to\\_reframe\\_gop\\_race/](http://www.boston.com/news/nation/articles/2007/03/25/coalition_seeks_to_reframe_gop_race/); Internet; accessed June 5, 2007.

*Arlington Group Organizes*

In addition to contributing in support of same-sex marriage ban amendments, Arlington Group affiliates formed ballot measure committees in every state where money was raised.

Proponent committees associated with the Arlington Group were the primary (and sometimes only) committees formed in support of the same-sex marriage bans in all the states in which they were formed. In three states — Tennessee, Virginia and Wisconsin — two or more proponent committees were affiliated with the Arlington Group.

**ARLINGTON GROUP AFFILIATED BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES, 2006**

<b>STATE</b>	<b>COMMITTEE</b>	<b>AMOUNT RAISED</b>
CO	Colorado Family Action Issue Committee	\$1,021,045
AZ	Protect Marriage Arizona C-02-2006	\$1,019,143
WI	Vote Yes for Marriage	\$605,491
VA	VA4Marriage.org	\$352,456
TN	Family Action of Tennessee	\$210,393
SD	South Dakota Family Policy 2006 Issue Fund	\$123,166
SC	Palmetto Family Council	\$99,940
TN	RealMarriage.org	\$74,631
WI	Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment	\$35,134
TN	Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment Committee	\$28,400
ID	United Families Idaho Action Fund	\$14,469
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$3,583,818</b>

## THOSE AGAINST THE SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BANS

Contributions from gay- and lesbian-rights interests accounted for 40 percent of opponent funds, or \$5.64 million of the \$14 million raised by opponents. The largest gay- and lesbian-rights contributor was the Gill Action Fund, a new national group founded by activist Tim Gill, which gave \$3.8 million in six of the eight states where money was raised.

Another major source of opponent funds was individuals connected with Gill. Five individuals, and a political action committee founded by one of the individuals, contributed \$1.4 million, or 10 percent of opponent funds. Contributions from individuals not connected with gay- and lesbian-rights organizations or Gill comprised another 37 percent of opponents' funds, or nearly \$5.2 million.

## GAY- AND LESBIAN-RIGHTS GIVING

Rather than relying on the traditional national gay- and lesbian-rights groups for funding, many opponent committees instead depended on the newly formed Gill Action Fund and state gay- and lesbian-rights groups. This is a shift from 2004, when the major players were more established national groups such as the Human Rights Campaign and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

## TOP NON-INDIVIDUAL GAY- AND LESBIAN-RIGHTS CONTRIBUTORS, 2006

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	\$3,796,884
Action Wisconsin	Madison, WI	\$816,898
Human Rights Campaign	Washington, DC	\$376,498
Equality Virginia	Richmond, VA	\$168,322
Commonwealth Coalition	Richmond, VA	\$132,171
South Carolina Equality Coalition*	Columbia, SC	\$96,354
Alliance for Full Acceptance	Charleston, SC	\$41,314
National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	Washington, DC	\$28,854
Tennessee Equality Project	Nashville, TN	\$18,000
PFLAG of Washington Metropolitan Area	Washington, DC	\$10,120
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,485,415</b>

\*This includes contributions from the group's lobbying arm, South Carolina Equality Coalition Foundation.

### *The Gill Strategy*

The Gill Action Fund, founded by gay- and lesbian-rights activist Tim Gill, was the top contributor to same-sex marriage ballot measure committees, giving nearly \$3.8 million to counter the measures in six states. In addition, Gill's activism inspired other well-off individuals to fund opponent committees across the country,<sup>11</sup> bringing the Gill network's total to nearly \$5.3 million.

Gill earned his fortune as the developer of the software company, Quark, which he sold in 2000 to concentrate on his charitable work.<sup>12</sup> He gained attention recently for his strategic giving to

<sup>11</sup> Joshua Green, "They Won't Know What Hit Them," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 2007 [magazine on-line]; available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200703/tim-gill>; Internet; accessed May 23, 2007.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

legislative races in states with closely divided legislatures.<sup>13</sup> Gill's focus on state races was a response to constitutional amendments in 2004 banning same-sex marriage in 13 states, combined with the realization that many laws influencing gay- and lesbian-rights occur at the state level.<sup>14</sup>

Gill contributed \$150,000 of his personal money in 2004 to fight the effort to ban same-sex marriage in Oregon. By the 2006 election season, Gill founded a new outlet to fund his agenda<sup>15</sup> and his personal contributions to ballot measure committees dropped off. The Gill Action Fund, as it is known, has a mission of "securing equal opportunity for all people regardless of sexual orientation or gender expression,"<sup>16</sup> and is funded solely by Gill.<sup>17</sup>

Gill's philanthropy around gay- and lesbian-rights also motivated a network of wealthy contributors who gave hefty sums to fight the 2006 same-sex marriage amendments. Gill's network includes:

- "The Four Millionaires" — **Gill** combined with three other Coloradans "to find a way to moderate the state's politics and loosen the grip of Republican social conservatives."<sup>18</sup> The other millionaires are: **Pat Stryker**, who inherited her fortune through the family business — medical-supplier Stryker Corp.; **Jared Polis**, formerly of greeting card company Blue Mountain Arts and a member of the Colorado State Board of Education through 2006; and **Rutt Bridges**, who now runs the Bighorn Center, a Colorado public policy organization,<sup>19</sup> and earned his money in the oil and software industries.<sup>20</sup>

Including Gill's personal contributions, these four contributed a combined \$300,421 to the Colorado effort to prevent passage of the same-sex marriage ban and push for a domestic partnership referendum.

- **Jon Stryker** is the brother of Pat Stryker and also an heir to the Stryker Corp. fortune. Jon Stryker, who is openly gay, resides in Kalamazoo, Mich., and formed the political action committee (PAC) Coalition for Progress. Through individual and PAC contributions, Stryker worked to secure Democratic control of the Michigan state House and re-elect

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<sup>13</sup> Joshua Green, "They Won't Know What Hit Them," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 2007 [magazine on-line]; available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200703/tim-gill>; Internet; accessed May 23, 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> "Gill's D.C. Office to Promote Gay Aims," *Rocky Mountain News*, Jan. 27, 2007 [newspaper on-line]; available from [http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/local/article/0,1299,DRMN\\_15\\_5309338,00.html](http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/local/article/0,1299,DRMN_15_5309338,00.html); Internet; accessed May 25, 2007.

<sup>16</sup> "What Is Gill Action?," *Gill Action* [on-line]; available from <http://www.gillaction.org/>; Internet; accessed May 25, 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Eric Gorski, "Benefactor's Group to Fight Effort to Ban Gay Marriage," *Denver Post*, Dec. 6, 2005, sec. B, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Joshua Green, "They Won't Know What Hit Them," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 2007 [magazine on-line]; available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200703/tim-gill>; Internet; accessed May 23, 2007.

<sup>19</sup> *Bighorn Center* [on-line]; available from <http://www.bighorncenter.org/index.cfm>; Internet; accessed June 29, 2007.

<sup>20</sup> Rita Healy, "The Gay Mogul Changing U.S. Politics," *Time*, April 4, 2007 [magazine on-line]; available from <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,1606679,00.html>; Internet; accessed May 29, 2007.

Democratic Gov. Jennifer Granholm in 2006.<sup>21</sup> Stryker contributed \$950,000 in personal money and his PAC gave another \$200,000 to fight the amendments to ban same-sex marriage in seven states: Arizona, Colorado, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia and Wisconsin. Stryker and the Coalition for Progress were the only Gill contributors aside from the Gill Action Fund that gave to oppose the measures outside of Colorado.

- **David Dechman** is a board member of the Gill Foundation,<sup>22</sup> which shares the same mission as the Gill Action Fund but provides grants rather than funding candidates.<sup>23</sup> Dechman contributed \$25,000 to a Colorado committee opposing the same-sex marriage ban and working for the domestic partnership referendum.

Contributions from Gill’s network accounted for 38 percent of the money raised in opposition to the same-sex marriage bans on the 2006 ballots. Gill Action Fund was the largest of the Gill-related contributors, accounting for 72 percent of Gill network contributions and 27 percent of opposition funds overall.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM TOP GILL NETWORK CONTRIBUTORS, 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	AMOUNT
Gill Action Fund	\$3,796,884
Stryker, Jon L.	\$950,000
Stryker, Pat	\$250,000
Coalition for Progress	\$200,000
Polis, Jared	\$42,421
Dechman, David	\$25,000
Bridges, Rutt	\$5,000
Gill, Tim	\$3,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,272,305</b>

Gill and his network gave largely in Colorado, where most reside. Individuals or groups affiliated with Gill contributed 82 percent of funds raised by Colorado opponent committees. In addition, South Carolina, South Dakota and Tennessee opponent committees each received more than 20 percent of their funds from the Gill network.

The Gill Action Fund did not contribute to ballot measure committees in two of the eight states where money was raised around the same-sex marriage bans. Instead, the group gave to 501(c)4 organizations connected with ballot measure committees in Arizona and Wisconsin.<sup>24</sup> A 501(c)4 is

<sup>21</sup> Kerry Eleveld, “There Is a Gay Agenda – Winning Elections,” *Salon.com*, Nov. 29, 2006 [on-line]; available from [http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2006/11/29/gay\\_millionaires/index\\_np.html](http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2006/11/29/gay_millionaires/index_np.html); Internet; accessed May 25, 2007.

<sup>22</sup> “Who We Are,” *Gill Foundation* [on-line]; available from <http://www.gillfoundation.org/what/>; Internet; accessed May 29, 2007.

<sup>23</sup> “What We Do,” *Gill Foundation* [on-line]; available from <http://www.gillfoundation.org/what/>; Internet; accessed May 29, 2007.

<sup>24</sup> E-mail correspondence with state Rep. Kyrsten Sinema, Chair, Arizona Together, June 14, 2007 and phone interview with Mike Tate, Campaign Director, Fair Wisconsin, July 2, 2007.

a tax-exempt, nonprofit organization to promote social welfare that reports to the Internal Revenue Service but is not required to disclose specific contributors.

#### GILL NETWORK CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE, 2006

STATE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL RAISED IN OPPOSITION
Colorado	\$4,511,591	83%
Tennessee	\$50,000	31%
South Dakota	\$50,000	29%
South Carolina	\$80,000	22%
Idaho	\$15,000	14%
Virginia	\$175,000	11%
Wisconsin	\$300,000	7%
Arizona	\$100,000	5%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,281,141</b>	<b>38%</b>

#### *Other Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Contributors*

Excluding contributions from the Gill Action Fund, only 7 percent of gay- and lesbian-rights giving was from nationally recognized gay- and lesbian-rights activist groups. This is a notable shift from the 2004 election cycle, when 29 percent of opposition money came from national gay- and lesbian-rights groups.<sup>25</sup>

Other than the Gill Action Fund, national gay- and lesbian-rights contributors included:

- The Human Rights Campaign (HRC) spread \$376,498 to committees in seven states. By comparison, HRC gave more than \$1 million to opponent committees in five states in 2004.
- The National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) contributed \$28,854 in three states. NGLTF contributed \$789,358 in six states in 2004.
- The National Stonewall Democrats, “a grassroots network connecting LGBT Democratic activists,”<sup>26</sup> gave \$3,770 through in-kind donations in South Dakota. The group did not contribute in 2004.

State-level gay- and lesbian-rights groups played a prominent role in four states where voters faced same-sex marriage bans in 2006:

- Action Wisconsin formed the Fair Wisconsin opponent committee and contributed \$816,898 through direct and in-kind donations.
- In Virginia, both the Commonwealth Coalition and Equality Virginia formed committees to fight the same-sex marriage ban. Equality

<sup>25</sup> Sue O’Connell, “The Money Behind the 2004 Marriage Amendments,” *National Institute on Money in State Politics*, January 2006, p. 14.

<sup>26</sup> “About Us,” *National Stonewall Democrats* [on-line]; available from <http://www.stonewalldemocrats.org/about/>; Internet; accessed June 4, 2007.

Virginia contributed \$168,322, with \$55,000 going to its committee and the rest to the Commonwealth Coalition. The Commonwealth Coalition financed its committee with \$132,171.

- The South Carolina Equality Coalition Foundation and the South Carolina Equality Coalition are affiliated gay- and lesbian-rights groups concentrating on education and lobbying, respectively. Both groups formed similarly named ballot measure committees. The South Carolina Equality Coalition Foundation fully funded its committee, South Carolina Equality Coalition Commission. The South Carolina Equality Coalition contributed \$78,329 to its South Carolina Equality Committee.
- Also in South Carolina, the Alliance For Full Acceptance created a committee, known as Every Family Matters, and provided all of the committee's \$36,500. The Alliance also gave \$4,814 to the South Carolina Equality Committee.
- The Tennessee Equality Project contributed \$18,000 to the Fairness Campaign.

*Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Contributions in the States*

Opponent committees in the eight states where money was raised collected anywhere from 10 percent to 67 percent of their funds from gay- and lesbian-rights interests.

Arizona is the only state where the attempt to include a same-sex marriage ban in the state constitution failed and also is the state where opponents raised the smallest percentage of funds from gay- and lesbian-rights sources. Gay- and lesbian-rights contributions accounted for just 10 percent, or \$182,085, of the nearly \$1.9 million raised by ballot committees to fight the Arizona measure.

Opponent committees in Colorado collected 67 percent of their funds from gay- and lesbian-rights interests. The nearly \$3.7 million contributed in Colorado was almost twice as much as the amount of gay- and lesbian-rights money given in the other states combined. Gill Action Fund contributions made up 99.6 percent of non-individual gay- and lesbian-rights contributions in Colorado.

**GAY- AND LESBIAN-RIGHTS GIVING BY STATE, 2006**

<b>STATE</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>% OF TOTAL RAISED IN OPPOSITION</b>
Colorado	\$3,665,485	67%
South Carolina	\$189,642	51%
South Dakota	\$60,810	35%
Virginia	\$427,526	28%
Tennessee	\$43,000	27%
Idaho	\$28,169	26%
Wisconsin	\$1,043,564	24%
Arizona	\$182,085	10%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,640,281</b>	<b>40%</b>

## TOP CONTRIBUTORS ACROSS THE STATES

The 2006 same-sex marriage bans were financed largely by a small group of organizations and wealthy donors. The \$11.95 million in contributions from the top 20 non-individual and individual donors accounted for two-thirds of the \$18 million raised around the amendments.

The \$8.6 million doled out by the top non-individual contributors accounted for 48 percent of the money raised. Seventy-four percent of the money given by these major donors, or \$6.35 million, went to committees working against the same-sex marriage bans.

Only four of the top 20 non-individual contributors gave in more than one state. These cross-state contributors were led by the Gill Action Fund, which led gay- and lesbian-rights giving, and Focus on the Family, which contributed the most among Christian conservative groups. Human Rights Campaign and the Coalition for Progress also gave in multiple states.

Top contributors also included two labor unions, a law firm, a public affairs firm and a state network of Catholic churches.

### TOP 20 NON-INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO MARRIAGE AMENDMENTS, 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	LOCATION	POSITION	TOTAL
<i>Gill Action Fund*</i>	Denver, CO	Con	\$3,796,884
<i>Focus on the Family**†</i>	Colorado Springs, CO	Pro	\$1,148,831
Action Wisconsin	Madison, WI	Con	\$816,898
Coalition for America's Families	Middleton, WI	Pro	\$391,580
<i>Human Rights Campaign</i>	Washington, DC	Con	\$376,498
Wisconsin Education Association Council	Madison, WI	Con	\$325,000
<i>Coalition for Progress*</i>	Kalamazoo, MI	Con	\$200,000
Arnold & Porter	Washington, DC	Con	\$190,642
Equality Virginia	Richmond, VA	Con	\$168,322
Service Employees International Union	Washington, DC	Con	\$150,000
Christian Family Care Agency	Phoenix, AZ	Pro	\$149,929
Commonwealth Coalition	Richmond, VA	Con	\$132,171
South Dakota Family Policy Council**	Sioux Falls, SD	Pro	\$123,166
Family Foundation**	Richmond, VA	Pro	\$110,230
Riester Public Affairs	Phoenix, AZ	Con	\$100,000
South Carolina Equality Coalition†	Columbia, SC	Con	\$96,354
Center for Arizona Policy**	Scottsdale, AZ	Pro	\$95,765
Colorado Catholic Conference	Denver, CO	Pro	\$93,596
United Families International	Gilbert, AZ	Pro	\$83,605
Wisconsin Family Action**	Madison, WI	Pro	\$79,055
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>\$8,628,526</b>

\*Gill network affiliate. Contributions totaled \$3,996,884.

\*\*Arlington Group members or affiliates of Arlington Group members. Contributions totaled \$1,557,047.

† This includes contributions from the group's lobbying arm.

*Contributors in italics gave in more than one state.*

The top 20 individual contributors gave \$3.3 million, or 18 percent of the funds raised around the 2006 same-sex marriage bans. These major donors gave overwhelmingly to opponent committees,

which collected 89 percent of top individual contributor money, or \$2.95 million of the \$3.3 million.

As with top non-individual contributors, only four of the top individuals spread their contributions to more than one state. The top individual contributor was Jon L. Stryker, whose giving was driven by the example of Tim Gill. Stryker contributed either personal money or via his political action committee to opponent committees in every state where money was raised, except Idaho.

Other top individual contributors donating in more than one state were David Bohnett, manager of a private equity firm<sup>27</sup> and founder of the David Bohnett Foundation, which is “committed to improving society through social activism;”<sup>28</sup> literary agent Esmond Harmsworth; and gay- and lesbian-rights activist Bruce W. Bastian.

#### TOP 20 INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS TO MARRIAGE AMENDMENTS, 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	LOCATION	POSITION	TOTAL
<i>Stryker, Jon L.*</i>	Kalamazoo, MI	Con	\$950,000
Lewis, William C.	Phoenix, AZ	Con	\$715,000
Leibowitz, Dale	Madison, WI	Con	\$275,000
Stryker, Pat*	Fort Collins, CO	Con	\$250,000
Uihlein, Lynde B.	Milwaukee, WI	Con	\$250,000
McVaney, C. Edward	Greenwood Village, CO	Pro	\$100,000
Templeton, John M.	Bryn Mawr, PA	Pro	\$100,000
Sperling, John G.	Phoenix, AZ	Con	\$91,000
Gregory, John M.	Bristol, TN	Pro	\$70,000
Soros, George	New York, NY	Con	\$65,000
Uhlmann, Barbara & Steve	Scottsdale, AZ	Pro	\$51,000
Field, Thomas F.	Arlington, VA	Con	\$50,650
<i>Bohnett, David</i>	Beverly Hills, CA	Con	\$50,000
Hubbard, David & Carolyn	Mesa, AZ	Pro	\$50,000
Sandler, Herbert & Marion	Oakland, CA	Con	\$50,000
<i>Harmsworth, Esmond</i>	Boston, MA	Con	\$45,000
Polis, Jared*	Boulder, CO	Con	\$42,421
<i>Bastian, Bruce W.</i>	Orem, UT	Con	\$41,000
Herzing, Stacey	Shorewood, WI	Con	\$38,240
Krueger, Jeffrey	Madison, WI	Con	\$36,750
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>\$3,321,061</b>

\*Gill network affiliate. Contributions total \$1,242,421.

*Contributors in italics gave in more than one state.*

<sup>27</sup> “David Bohnett Biography,” *David Bohnett Foundation* [on-line]; available from <http://www.bohnettfoundation.org/About/Bio/>; Internet; accessed June 12, 2007.

<sup>28</sup> “Our Mission,” *David Bohnett Foundation* [on-line]; available from <http://www.bohnettfoundation.org/About/Mission/>; Internet; accessed June 12, 2007.

## **ALABAMA**

Alabama's same-sex marriage ban appeared on the June 2006 primary-election ballot rather than the November general-election ballot. The measure was placed on the ballot by the state Legislature, where there was discord over when voters should face the amendment. Democrats wanted the ban placed on the primary-election ballot to avoid drawing additional conservative voters into the general election and Republicans wanted it on the general-election ballot so conservative voters would not unduly influence primary races.<sup>29</sup> Democrats, who controlled the Legislature, won the battle.

The Alabama same-sex marriage ban enjoyed strong support and ultimately passed with 81 percent of the vote. The Institute did not identify any groups that raised money and filed campaign finance reports with the Alabama Secretary of State. Those organizations mentioned in news accounts as taking positions on the ban relied on media attention and spent money for educational purposes only.

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<sup>29</sup> Phillip Rawls, "Many in Ala. Blast Same-Sex Marriage," *Sun Herald*, Feb. 9, 2005; sec. A, p. 9.

## ARIZONA

Bucking the national trend, Arizona voters became the first in the nation to reject a constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage. The measure would have amended the state constitution to prohibit same-sex marriage, as well as prohibiting any level or branch of government from extending legal status to unmarried couples. Opponents of Proposition 107 tried unsuccessfully to get it removed from the ballot, claiming that it violated the law requiring measures to deal with just one subject.<sup>30</sup> In the end, the very fact that the measure aimed to deny benefits to unwed couples, regardless of sexual orientation, likely led to its defeat.<sup>31</sup> The ban failed with 52 percent opposing the measure.

Four committees formed around the Arizona same-sex marriage ban, raising more than \$2.9 million. Opponents of the measure combined to gather just under \$1.9 million, 45 percent more than the proponents' \$1.04 million.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROPONENTS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Protect Marriage Arizona C-02-2006	\$1,019,143
Defend Marriage Arizona C-02-2006	\$19,950
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,039,093</b>
<b>OPPONENTS</b>	
Arizona Together Opposed to C-02-2006	\$1,833,759
No On 107 (Opposed to C-02-2006)	\$66,189
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,899,948</b>
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,939,041</b>

Because of the amendment's broad scope, the fight to outlaw same-sex marriage took a different shape in Arizona than in other states where voters chose to amend their constitutions to ban same-sex marriage. Tapping into the concerns of the state's sizable retiree population, opponents of the measure emphasized how it would affect all unmarried couples since "elderly couples frequently forgo marriage to preserve higher benefits under Social Security, Medicare and private pensions."<sup>32</sup> Advertisements run by the main opponent committee, Arizona Together, did not even mention gay marriage and used opposite-sex couples to illustrate their objections to the measure.<sup>33</sup>

Though this strategy ultimately paid off for opponents, the Protect Marriage Arizona committee actually received more money from retirees than the two committees fighting the measure. Protect Marriage Arizona received almost \$71,000 from retirees compared to nearly \$49,000 given to Arizona Together and more than \$9,000 contributed by retirees to No On 107.

The traditional funding sources for committees working on same-sex marriage bans — gay- and lesbian-rights groups and the Arlington Group — were not as prevalent in Arizona as in other

<sup>30</sup> Michael Foust, "Ruling Makes Ariz. 8<sup>th</sup> State to Vote on Marriage Amendment," *BP News*, Sept. 1, 2006 [online]; available from <http://www.sbc Baptist press.org/printerfriendly.asp?ID=23899>, Internet; accessed April 20, 2007.

<sup>31</sup> Howard Fischer, "Prop. 107 Backer Concedes," *Arizona Daily Star*, Nov. 16, 2006 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.azstarnet.com/metro/156256.php>; Internet; accessed June 21, 2007.

<sup>32</sup> Kim Cobb, "Retirees Help Defeat Gay-Marriage Ban," *Houston Chronicle*, Nov. 13, 2006, sec. A, p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

states. Instead, contributions from individuals not affiliated with those sources gave more than two-thirds of the money raised by the four committees working on Proposition 107.

Roughly \$2 million of the \$2.9 million raised around the Arizona same-sex marriage amendment came from individuals. More than \$500,000 went to the Protect Marriage Arizona committee, while Arizona Together received \$1.4 million and No On 107 gathered \$64,008. The Defend Marriage Arizona committee received no money from individuals; it was funded entirely by United Families International.

More than half of the individual money came from 10 top contributors. Individual donors were led by investor William C. Lewis, who gave \$715,000, accounting for 38 percent of opponent funds.

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Gay- and lesbian-rights organizations and their employees contributed \$182,085 in Arizona. The bulk of this money was given by the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), which gave \$155,055 to the Arizona Together committee. HRC board member Bruce W. Bastian of Orem, Utah,<sup>34</sup> also gave \$20,000 to Arizona Together. Bastian earned his fortune in the software industry and created a foundation that provides grants to organizations working on gay- and lesbian-rights issues.

One notable contributor absent from campaign disclosure reports filed with the Arizona Secretary of State is the Gill Action Fund, which gave in most of the other states with constitutional amendments banning same-sex marriage on the ballot in 2006. The Gill Action Fund did, however, contribute \$75,000 to Arizona Together's 501(c)4; those funds were used for legal fees associated with the group's court challenge of the measure.<sup>35</sup> A 501(c)4 is a tax-exempt, nonprofit organization working to promote social welfare that reports to the Internal Revenue Service but is not required to disclose specific contributors. Despite this fact, Arizona Together chose to list all supporters on its Web site, albeit without specific contribution amounts or indications of whether the money went to the ballot committee or the 501(c)4.

Though the Gill Action Fund did not contribute to the Arizona ballot committees, the Coalition for Progress gave \$100,000 to Arizona Together. That political action committee was formed by Jon Stryker, whose activism on this issue was inspired by Tim Gill.

#### *Arlington Group Involvement*

The Protect Marriage Arizona ballot measure committee was a coalition, of which two participants were Arlington Group members: the Center for Arizona Policy and the National Association of Marriage Enhancement.<sup>36</sup>

Those groups, as well as a third Arlington Group member, Focus on the Family, contributed 11 percent of Protect Marriage Arizona's funds:

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<sup>34</sup> "About the Human Rights Campaign," *Human Rights Campaign* [on-line], available from [http://www.hrc.org/Content/NavigationMenu/About\\_HRC/HRC\\_Board.htm](http://www.hrc.org/Content/NavigationMenu/About_HRC/HRC_Board.htm), Internet; accessed April 23, 2007.

<sup>35</sup> E-mail correspondence with state Rep. Kyrsten Sinema, Chair, Arizona Together, June 14, 2007.

<sup>36</sup> "News," *Protect Marriage Arizona* [on-line]; available from <http://www.protectmarriageaz.com/marriage/news/index.php>; Internet; accessed June 5, 2007.

- The Center for Arizona Policy gave \$95,765 in contributions and in-kind donations.
- Focus on the Family contributed \$11,924 via in-kind services.
- The National Association for Marriage Enhancement gave \$5,000.

Individual and unitemized contributions — those that fall under a state’s threshold for reporting identifying information — accounted for another 56 percent of the committee’s funds. In addition, Christian Family Care Agency, United Families International and Crises Pregnancy Centers of Greater Phoenix provided more than one-quarter of the committee’s total.

#### TOP NON-INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN ARIZONA, 2006

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Human Rights Campaign	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$155,055
Christian Family Care Agency	Phoenix, AZ	Welfare & Social Work	Pro	\$149,929
Coalition for Progress	Kalamazoo, MI	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$100,000
Riester Public Affairs	Phoenix, AZ	Business Services	Con	\$100,000
Center for Arizona Policy	Scottsdale, AZ	Republican/Conservative	Pro	\$95,765
United Families International	Gilbert, AZ	Republican/Conservative	Pro	\$83,605
Crises Pregnancy Centers of Greater Phoenix	Phoenix, AZ	Health Services	Pro	\$30,000
American Openings	Tucson, AZ	Manufacturing & Distributing	Pro	\$15,000
Focus on the Family	Colorado Springs, CO	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$11,924
Barney Family Investments	Mesa, AZ	Real Estate	Pro	\$10,000
CH Vineyard Group	Mesa, AZ	Beer, Wine & Liquor	Pro	\$10,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$761,278</b>

**TOP INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN ARIZONA, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Lewis, William C.	Phoenix, AZ	Finance	Con	\$715,000
Sperling, John G.	Phoenix, AZ	Education	Con	\$91,000
Uhlmann, Barbara & Steve	Scottsdale, AZ	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	Pro	\$51,000
Hubbard, Carolyn & David	Mesa, AZ	Health	Pro	\$50,000
Coles, Scott	Phoenix, AZ	Real Estate	Con	\$25,000
Farnsworth, Ross N.	Mesa, AZ	Real Estate	Pro	\$25,000
Quinlan, Stephen E.	Tucson, AZ	Real Estate	Con	\$20,350
Bastian, Bruce W.	Orem, UT	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$20,000
Willett, Carol & Craig	Mesa, AZ	Real Estate	Pro	\$20,000
Howard, Wayne	Phoenix, AZ	Lawyers & Lobbyists	Con	\$15,500
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$1,032,850</b>

## COLORADO

Colorado was the only state with both a constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage and a referendum to confer legal rights to same-sex couples on the 2006 ballot. Seven committees formed around Measure 43, the same-sex marriage ban, and most worked on Referendum I as well, which would have allowed domestic partnerships. Measure 43 passed with 55 percent of the vote and Referendum I failed with 48 percent of the vote.

The issue of same-sex marriage was especially contentious in Colorado as it serves as the headquarters of vocal same-sex marriage opponent Focus on the Family, as well as the home state of gay- and lesbian-rights activist Tim Gill, founder of the Gill Action Fund.

The Colorado battle was the most expensive same-sex marriage ban campaign to date, topping the \$5.37 million raised by Oregon committees in 2004. The committees raised a combined \$6.8 million with opponents raising nearly four times as much as proponents.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROPOSERS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Colorado Family Action Issue Committee*†	\$1,021,045
Coloradans For Marriage <sup>37</sup>	\$348,708
Family Leader Network of Colorado	\$0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,369,753</b>
<b>OPPONENTS</b>	
Coloradans for Fairness Issue Committee*	\$5,107,495
Don't Mess With Marriage	\$346,550
Bell Ballot Action*†	\$5,000
People For the American Way Voters Alliance of Colorado*†	\$100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,459,145</b>
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$6,828,898</b>

\*Also active on Referendum I.

†Active on ballot measures other than Measure 43 and Referendum I.

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Gay- and lesbian-rights interests contributed almost \$3.7 million of the \$5.5 million raised by the opponent committees, accounting for 68 percent of opponents' money.

The fight to prevent an amendment banning same-sex marriage in Colorado was largely a state-led effort with little support from national gay- and lesbian-rights organizations other than the Gill Action Fund. The only other national gay- and lesbian-rights contributor was the Human Rights Campaign, which gave a \$408 in-kind donation.

The Gill Action Fund was the largest gay- and lesbian-rights contributor giving more than \$3.6 million — \$3.28 million to the Coloradans for Fairness Issue Committee and \$346,000 to Don't Mess With Marriage.

<sup>37</sup> The Colorado Family Action Issue Committee contributed \$23,000 to this committee, making it likely the money is reported twice in disclosure reports.

Employees of the Gill Foundation or Gill Action Fund and others allied with Tim Gill contributed an additional \$884,256. Notable contributors were:

- Jon and Pat Stryker, Stryker Corp. heirs and siblings who gave \$550,000 and \$250,000, respectively.
- Jared Polis and Rutt Bridges, who contributed \$42,421 and \$5,000, respectively. Polis and Bridges are members of the “Four Millionaires” along with Gill and Pat Stryker. They worked “to find a way to moderate the state’s politics and loosen the grip of Republican social conservatives.”<sup>38</sup>
- David Dechman, Gill Foundation board member and a former partner at Goldman Sachs, who gave \$25,000.

In addition to these direct contributions, two members of a group of wealthy Colorado donors known as the “Four Millionaires” — Gill and Pat Stryker — contributed to two 527 committees that gave in Colorado: the Colorado Voter Project and New West Fellowship Group. A 527 committee is formed as a nonprofit with a primarily political purpose. Contribution reports filed with the Internal Revenue Service show:

- Colorado Voter Project received \$250,000 from Gill and \$200,000 from Stryker.<sup>39</sup> The group contributed \$25,000 to the Coloradans for Fairness Issue Committee.
- New West Fellowship Group collected \$380,960 from Gill and \$107,980 from Stryker<sup>40</sup> and gave \$28,000 to the Coloradans for Fairness Issue Committee.

Another prominent gay- and lesbian-rights activist, James C. Hormel of San Francisco, Calif., contributed \$10,000. Hormel is an heir to the Hormel family fortune and was the first openly gay U.S. ambassador.<sup>41</sup>

#### *Arlington Group Involvement*

The Colorado Family Action Issue Committee formed to promote the constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage in Colorado and to oppose the domestic partnership measure. Arlington Group member Focus on the Family had a hand in creating the group<sup>42</sup> and a spin-off organization, the Colorado Family Institute, which is now one of the state family policy councils aligned with

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<sup>38</sup> Joshua Green, “They Won’t Know What Hit Them,” *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 2007 [magazine on-line]; available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200703/tim-gill>; Internet; accessed May 23, 2007.

<sup>39</sup> From reports filed with the Internal Revenue Service; available from <http://forms.irs.gov/politicalOrgsSearch/search/basicSearch.jsp?ck>; Internet; accessed May 29, 2007.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> James C. Hormel, “*San Francisco Public Library* [on-line]; available from <http://sfpl.lib.ca.us/librarylocations/main/glc/hormel.htm>; Internet; accessed May 2, 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Myung Oak Kim, “Focus on the Family Sets Sights on Colorado,” *Rocky Mountain News*, Aug. 5, 2006 [newspaper on-line]; available from [http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/elections/article/0,2808,DRMN\\_24736\\_4896482,00.html](http://www.rockymountainnews.com/drmn/elections/article/0,2808,DRMN_24736_4896482,00.html); Internet; accessed May 30, 2007.

Focus on the Family.<sup>43</sup> Focus on the Family and the group's lobbying arm, Focus on the Family Action, provided 95 percent of the funds raised by the Colorado Family Action Issue Committee.

The Coloradans for Marriage committee was active in getting Measure 43 on the ballot but raised nearly one-third less than the Colorado Family Action Issue Committee. Coloradans for Marriage coalition members included two Arlington Group members — Focus on the Family and the National Association of Evangelicals.

There was some discord among coalition members as to whether the proposed amendment should define marriage as a union between a man and a woman or go one step further and also outlaw civil unions.<sup>44</sup> Focus on the Family was in favor of the latter<sup>45</sup> as its contributions indicate: the group contributed 13 times more to the Colorado Family Action Issue Committee than to Coloradans for Marriage, which did not take a position on Referendum I.

### *Churches Chip In*

Unlike Focus on the Family, church groups tended to support a same-sex marriage amendment limited in scope. Three Catholic bishops as well as then-president of the National Association of Evangelicals, Ted Haggard, preferred an amendment that did not include a provision against domestic partnerships.<sup>46</sup>

For the most part, church contributions echoed this preference. Sixty-three percent of the \$134,846 given by churches went to Coloradans for Marriage, which only supported Measure 43. Prominent church contributors were:

- The Colorado Catholic Conference, which gave \$44,260 to Coloradans for Marriage and \$49,336 to the Colorado Family Action Issue Committee via in-kind contributions. This was the only church that gave to the Colorado Family Action Issue Committee, which worked against Referendum I's domestic partnership provision.
- The Archdiocese of Denver contributed \$20,000 to Coloradans for Marriage.
- New Life Church gave \$12,000 to Coloradans for Marriage. At the time of the contributions, Ted Haggard was the church's pastor. Haggard resigned just days before the November election amid accusations that he had paid a male prostitute for sex and bought methamphetamine.<sup>47</sup> Though some speculated this scandal would lead to a decrease in conservative Christian voter turnout, polls

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<sup>43</sup> Perry Swanson, "Traditional-Marriage Group Expands Mission," *The (Colorado Springs) Gazette*, Feb. 12, 2007 [newspaper on-line]; available from [http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi\\_qn4191/is\\_20070212/ai\\_n18639659](http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qn4191/is_20070212/ai_n18639659); Internet; accessed May 30, 2007.

<sup>44</sup> Eric Gorski, "Push to Nix Gay Nuptials But Groups Not All on Same Page," *Denver Post*, Dec. 9, 2005, sec A, p. 1.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> John Holusha and Neela Banerjee, "Evangelical Leader Says He Bought Drugs," *New York Times*, Nov. 3, 2006 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/03/us/04pastorcnd.html?ex=1320210000&en=3677113ba86de78f&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>; Internet; accessed May 30, 2007.

commissioned by the Gill Action Fund indicate that Referendum I lost support after the Haggard story broke.<sup>48</sup> A Gill advisor suggested the attention given to homosexual sex led to some squeamishness and caused would-be supporters of civil unions to change their votes at the last minute.<sup>49</sup>

Just one church gave to opponents of the same-sex marriage ban. The First Universalist Church of Denver contributed \$500 to the Coloradans for Fairness Issue Committee.

#### TOP NON-INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN COLORADO, 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	LOCATION	INDUSTRY	POSITION	TOTAL
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$3,626,884
Focus on the Family*	Colorado Springs, CO	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$1,046,704
Service Employees International Union	Washington, DC	Labor Organizations	Con	\$150,000
Colorado Catholic Conference	Denver, CO	Churches & Clergy	Pro	\$93,596
New West Fellowship Group	Edgewater, CO	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$28,000
Colorado Voter Project	Denver, CO	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$25,000
Colorado Family Action	Castle Rock, CO	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$23,000
Archdiocese of Denver	Denver, CO	Clergy	Pro	\$20,000
Ballot Initiative Strategy Center	Washington, DC	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$17,500
New Life Church	Colorado Springs, CO	Clergy	Pro	\$12,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$5,042,684</b>

\*This includes contributions from Focus on the Family Action, the lobbying arm of Focus on the Family.

#### TOP INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN COLORADO, 2006

CONTRIBUTOR	LOCATION	INDUSTRY	POSITION	TOTAL
Stryker, Jon L.	Kalamazoo, MI	Construction Services	Con	\$550,000
Stryker, Pat	Fort Collins, CO	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$250,000
McVaney, C. Edward	Greenwood, CO	Computer Equipment & Sales	Pro	\$100,000
Sandler, Herbert & Marion	Oakland, CA	Securities & Investment	Con	\$50,000
Polis, Jared	Boulder, CO	Candidates & Elected Officials	Con	\$42,421
Bohnett, David	Beverly Hills, CA	Securities & Investment	Con	\$25,000
Dechman, David	New York, NY	Securities & Investment	Con	\$25,000
Fikes, Amy & Lee	Dallas, TX	Oil & Gas	Con	\$25,000
Harmsworth, Esmond	Boston, MA	Printing & Publishing	Con	\$15,000
Matthews, Caz	Denver, CO	Health Professionals	Con	\$10,250
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$1,092,671</b>

<sup>48</sup> Joshua Green, "They Won't Know What Hit Them," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 2007 [magazine on-line]; available from <http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200703/tim-gill>; Internet; accessed May 23, 2007.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

## IDAHO

Idaho's constitutional amendment to ban same-sex unions of any kind, House Joint Resolution 2, easily passed with 63 percent of the vote even though opponents raised nearly four times as much as proponents.

The four committees formed in Idaho to advocate for or against the same-sex marriage ban raised just \$133,483, the second-lowest amount collected among the eight states with similar measures on the November ballot. Idaho Votes No, the only committee working against passage of the amendment, raised \$106,378. Three proponent committees combined to gather just over \$27,000.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROponents</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
United Families Idaho Action Fund	\$14,469
IVA Action Fund	\$9,385
Marriage Protection Alliance, Inc.	\$3,250
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$27,104</b>
<b>OPponents</b>	
Idaho Votes No	\$106,378
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$133,482</b>

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

The traditional national gay- and lesbian-rights groups did not contribute in Idaho but newcomer Gill Action Fund gave \$15,000. Gay- and lesbian-rights activist Bruce W. Bastian of Orem, Utah, also gave \$10,000. Combined, the two accounted for just under one-quarter of opponent funding.

#### *Arlington Group Involvement*

Arlington Group member United Families Idaho created the United Families Idaho Action Fund to push for passage of House Joint Resolution 2. The group raised \$14,469, more than the other two proponent committees combined.

Melaleuca, Inc., a personal and household products direct sales company, was the top contributor to United Families Idaho Action Fund, giving \$6,827 in direct and in-kind contributions. The company's CEO, Frank Vandersloot, and his wife, Belinda, contributed a combined \$2,000.

United Families Idaho also gave its ballot measure committee \$4,500. The remainder of the contributions were from individuals, except for a \$500 contribution from Idaho Senate Majority Leader Bart M. Davis' campaign committee.

**TOP CONTRIBUTORS IN IDAHO, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$15,000
Bastian, Bruce W.	Orem, UT	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$10,000
Western States Center	Portland, OR	Nonprofit Institutions	Con	\$10,000
Melaleuca, Inc.	Idaho Falls, ID	Retail Sales	Pro	\$6,827
ACLU of Idaho	Boise, ID	Ideology/Single Issue	Con	\$6,700
Beswick TTEE, Daniel K.	Menlo Park, CA	Retired	Con	\$5,000
Seidl, John & Marie	Aspen, CO	Manufacturing & Distributing	Con	\$5,000
United Families Idaho	Blackfoot, ID	Republican/Conservative	Pro	\$4,500
PFLAG Treasure Valley	Boise, ID	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$3,000
Bills, David	Nampa, ID	Real Estate	Pro	\$2,500
		<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$68,527</b>

## SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina's constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage, Amendment 1, passed overwhelmingly with 78 percent of the vote.

Six committees formed around Amendment 1 and the four opponent committees raised more than three times as much as the two proponents, even though the vote was lopsided in the proponents' favor.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROPOSERS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Palmetto Family Council	\$99,490
SCForMarriage.org	\$9,055
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$108,545</b>
<b>OPPONENTS</b>	
South Carolina Equality Committee	\$301,861
Every Family Matters	\$36,500
South Carolina Equality Coalition Commission	\$18,025
South Carolina Log Cabin Republicans	\$14,041
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$370,427</b>
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$478,972</b>

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Nearly half of the money raised by opponent committees, or \$189,642, came from gay- and lesbian-rights interests.

The South Carolina Equality Committee and the South Carolina Equality Coalition Commission are affiliated with two similarly named nonprofit organizations, which are themselves connected: the South Carolina Equality Coalition and the South Carolina Equality Coalition Foundation. The former lobbies on behalf of gay- and lesbian-rights, while the latter exists for educational purposes.<sup>50</sup> The South Carolina Equality Coalition contributed more than one-quarter of the money raised by the South Carolina Equality Committee, or \$78,329. The South Carolina Equality Coalition Commission was funded entirely by the South Carolina Equality Coalition Foundation.

The Every Family Matters Committee was formed by the Alliance for Full Acceptance, which provided all of the committee's \$36,500 in funding. In addition, the Alliance for Full Acceptance gave \$4,814 to the South Carolina Equality Committee through in-kind donations.

Contributors connected with Tim Gill gave \$80,000, or 22 percent of opponent funds. The Gill Action Fund contributed \$30,000 to the South Carolina effort: \$25,000 to the South Carolina Equality Committee and \$5,000 to South Carolina Log Cabin Republicans. In addition, the Coalition for Progress, the political action committee founded by Jon Stryker, gave \$50,000 to the South Carolina Equality Committee.

<sup>50</sup> "About SC Equality," *South Carolina Equality* [on-line]; available from [http://scequality.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=47](http://scequality.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=18&Itemid=47); Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

Other national gay- and lesbian-rights groups contributing in South Carolina were the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force and the Human Rights Campaign, which gave \$10,000 and \$5,000, respectively, to the South Carolina Equality Committee.

*Arlington Group Involvement*

Focus on the Family affiliate Palmetto Family Council was the top proponent committee, which raised \$99,490.

Top contributors to the committee were: the Yager Freedom Foundation, founded by evangelical Dexter Yager,<sup>51</sup> which gave \$15,000 and Stokes Honda Stokes Toyota, which contributed \$10,000.

Leadership committees of two Republican presidential candidates gave \$5,000 each to the Palmetto Family Council: Mitt Romney’s Commonwealth PAC and John McCain’s Straight Talk America. Commonwealth PAC also contributed \$5,000 to SCForMarriage.org.

**TOP CONTRIBUTORS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
South Carolina Equality Coalition*	Columbia, SC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$96,354
Coalition for Progress	Kalamazoo, MI	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$50,000
Alliance for Full Acceptance	Charleston, SC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$41,314
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$30,000
Yager Freedom Foundation	Fort Mill, SC	Nonprofit Institutions	Pro	\$15,000
Commonwealth PAC	Boston, MA	Leadership PACs	Pro	\$10,000
Laughlin, Michael	Aiken, SC	Business Services	Con	\$10,000
National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$10,000
Stokes Honda Stokes Toyota	Beaufort, SC	Automotive	Pro	\$10,000
Milliken, Weston F.	Los Angeles, CA	Business Services	Con	\$7,500
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$280,168</b>

\*Includes contributions from the South Carolina Equality Coalition Foundation, the lobbying arm of the South Carolina Equality Coalition.

<sup>51</sup> Jim Morrill and Nancy Stancill, “Amway the Yager Way,” *Charlotte Observer*, March 19, 1995 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.amquix.info/tosp/YAGER1.HTM>; Internet; accessed May 30, 2007.

## **SOUTH DAKOTA**

Just 52 percent of South Dakotans voted to amend the state constitution to ban same-sex marriage, the closest vote of any state where similar amendments passed.

Two committees formed to work on Amendment C and they raised less than \$300,000 combined. The opponents raised 28 percent more than the proponents, even though the proponents were raising money for both the same-sex marriage amendment and an abortion ban.

### **CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006**

<b>PROPOSERS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
South Dakota Family Policy 2006 Issue Fund	\$123,166
<b>OPPOSERS</b>	
South Dakotans Against Discrimination	\$171,578
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$294,744</b>

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Contributions from the traditional national gay- and lesbian-rights groups to South Dakotans Against Discrimination accounted for 19 percent of opponent funding, more than in any other state with a same-sex marriage ban on the ballot in 2006.

The Human Rights Campaign contributed \$25,695 in direct and in-kind contributions. The National Stonewall Democrats, an organization of gay and lesbian Democrats, gave \$3,700 and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force contributed \$1,500. These contributions comprised 18 percent of the money raised by opponents.

Additional gay- and lesbian-rights contributors added almost \$30,000 to the coffers of South Dakotans Against Discrimination, \$25,000 of which came from the Gill Action Fund. Taken altogether, gay- and lesbian-rights interests were responsible for 35 percent of the money raised by opponents.

The Coalition for Progress also gave \$25,000. That political action committee was started by Jon Stryker, who is one of the wealthy donors allied with Tim Gill, founder of the Gill Action Fund.

#### *Arlington Group Involvement*

The South Dakota Family Policy Council, an Arlington Group member, created the South Dakota Family Policy 2006 Issue Fund to raise money for the same-sex marriage and abortion bans. The committee was funded entirely with contributions from the South Dakota Family Policy Council.

**TOP CONTRIBUTORS IN SOUTH DAKOTA, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
South Dakota Family Policy Council	Sioux Falls, SD	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$123,166
Human Rights Campaign	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$25,695
Coalition for Progress	Kalamazoo, MI	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$25,000
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$25,000
ACLU of the Dakotas	Fargo, ND	Ideology/Single Issue	Con	\$5,010
Lewis, Jonathan	Coral Gables, FL	Real Estate	Con	\$5,000
Northwestern Engineering	Rapid City, SD	Construction Services	Con	\$4,000
National Stonewall Democrats	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$3,700
Van Hove, Scott	Washington, DC	Computer Equipment & Services	Con	\$2,000
National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$1,500
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$220,071</b>

## TENNESSEE

Tennessee was the only state where proponents of the ballot measure to ban same-sex marriage raised more money than opponents. Constitutional Amendment 1 also passed by the greatest margin of the eight amendments banning same-sex marriage on the November 2006 ballot. The 81 percent voter approval of the Tennessee amendment was second only to the Mississippi vote in 2004, where 86 percent of ballots cast were in favor of that state’s amendment, and tied with the June 2006 vote in Alabama.

Five committees formed in Tennessee to work on the same-sex marriage ban, four in favor and one against, and raised just under \$500,000 combined. The proponents, led by Family Action of Tennessee, collected 47 percent more than the sole opponent committee.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROPOSERS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Family Action of Tennessee <sup>52</sup>	\$210,393
RealMarriage.Org	\$74,631
Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment Committee	\$13,715
Calvary Baptist Church	\$540
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$299,279</b>
<b>OPPONENTS</b>	
Fairness Campaign	\$158,814
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$458,093</b>

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Gay- and lesbian-rights contributions, including contributors connected with Gill Action founder Tim Gill, accounted for 43 percent of opponent funds.

The Gill Action Fund was the largest gay- and lesbian-rights contributor in Tennessee, contributing \$25,000. The Coalition for Progress, founded by Jon Stryker, also gave \$25,000 to the Fairness Campaign.

The Tennessee Equality Project, a statewide gay- and lesbian-rights organization, contributed \$18,000.

#### *Arlington Group Involvement*

Three of the four proponent committees can be traced to the Arlington Group. RealMarriage.org is listed on the Arlington Group letterhead used for a January 2007 letter to President George W. Bush and is a “project of Family Action of Tennessee,” the proponent committee that raised the most money.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>52</sup> RealMarriage.org contributed \$20,000 to this committee, making it likely the money is reported twice in disclosure reports.

<sup>53</sup> RealMarriage.org [on-line]; available from <http://www.marriage2006.homestead.com/>; Internet; accessed July 13, 2007.

The committee raised almost \$75,000, with \$50,000 contributed by John M. Gregory of Bristol, Tenn., who made his money in the pharmaceutical industry.<sup>54</sup> Gregory is a lucrative source of funding for conservatives in Tennessee, giving his personal money and chairing and funding the Tennessee Conservative PAC “to support pro-life, family values-driven, conservative Republican candidates.”<sup>55</sup> Gregory also gave \$20,000 to Family Action of Tennessee.

Family Action of Tennessee is the lobbying arm of the Family Action Council of Tennessee, an affiliate of Arlington Group-member Focus on the Family.<sup>56</sup> Family Action of Tennessee, which collected \$210,393, led all five committees in fund raising.

Arlington Group member Focus on the Family formed the Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment Committee, which was funded entirely by Focus on the Family.

In addition to Focus on the Family’s funding of the Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment committee, Arlington Group affiliates contributed \$41,351 to the three committees mentioned above:

- RealMarriage.org gave Family Action of Tennessee \$20,000. However, that money is likely counted twice in disclosure reports: as contributions received by the RealMarriage.org ballot committee and as a contribution from the RealMarriage.org committee to Family Action of Tennessee.
- RealMarriage.org received \$18,481, mostly through in-kind services from Jerry Wayne Flowers, a consultant for RealMarriage.org.
- The Tennessee Eagle Forum, whose president signed the January 2007 letter to President Bush, contributed \$2,870 to Family Action of Tennessee.

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<sup>54</sup> “About,” *Leitner Pharmaceuticals* [on-line]; available from <http://www.leitnerpharma.com/about.html>; Internet; accessed June 13, 2007.

<sup>55</sup> “About Us,” *Tennessee Conservative PAC* [on-line]; available from <http://www.tennesseeconservative.org/about-us.php>; Internet; accessed June 13, 2007.

<sup>56</sup> “State FPC Family Policy Councils,” *Focus on the Family* [on-line], available from <http://www.citizenlink.org/fpc>; Internet, accessed April 30, 2007.

**TOP CONTRIBUTORS IN TENNESSEE, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Gregory, John M.	Bristol, TN	Pharmaceuticals	Pro	\$70,000
Citizens for David Fowler	Signal Mountain, TN	Candidate Committee	Pro	\$28,000
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$25,000
Coalition for Progress	Kalamazoo, MI	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$25,000
RealMarriage.org	Brentwood, TN	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$20,000
Flowers, Jerry Wayne	Brentwood, TN	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$18,481
Tennessee Equality Project	Nashville, TN	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$18,000
Focus on the Family*	Colorado Springs, CO	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$13,715
Card Jr., Lewis	Hixson, TN	Manufacturing & Distributing	Pro	\$10,000
Southern Champion Tray	Chattanooga, TN	Manufacturing & Distributing	Pro	\$10,000
			<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$238,196</b>

\*Includes contributions from Focus on the Family Action, the lobbying arm of Focus on the Family.

## VIRGINIA

Six committees formed around Question 1, Virginia's measure to ban same-sex marriage and civil unions. Opponents raised more than three times as much as proponents but the measure still passed with 57 percent of the vote.

The leading proponent committee, VA4Marriage.org, raised \$352,456, and was the only proponent not financed in large part by one or two sources. Two other proponent committees, Virginia Catholic Conference and Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment Committee, were funded by frequent supporters of same sex marriage bans: two Catholic dioceses and Focus on the Family, respectively.

Virginia Lt. Gov. Bill Bolling's leadership committee, Building a Better Virginia, started the Building a Better Virginia Referendum Committee.<sup>57</sup> Other than \$2,082 in unitemized contributions, all of the committee's money came from the leadership committee.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROPONENTS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
VA4Marriage.org	\$352,456
Virginia Catholic Conference	\$27,567
Building a Better Virginia Referendum Committee	\$18,782
Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment Committee	\$14,686
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$413,491</b>
<b>OPPONENTS</b>	
Commonwealth Coalition, Inc.	\$1,396,920
Equality Virginia Referendum Committee	\$148,337
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,545,257</b>
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,958,748</b>

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Gay- and lesbian-rights interests contributed a total of \$427,526 to opponent committees, which accounted for 28 percent of their funds.

Equality Virginia contributed \$168,322 — \$113,322 to the Commonwealth Coalition and \$55,000 to finance the Equality Virginia Referendum Committee. In addition, the Commonwealth Coalition transferred \$132,171 to its committee.

The Gill Action Fund contributed \$75,000 to the Commonwealth Coalition and Jon Stryker, whose giving was motivated by Tim Gill, added \$100,000.

Human Rights Campaign, which contributed \$29,814 in direct and in-kind donations, was the only other national gay- and lesbian-rights organization contributing in Virginia.

<sup>57</sup> "Building a Better Virginia Referendum Committee," *The Virginia Public Access Project* [on-line]; available from [http://www.vpap.org/cands/cand\\_index.cfm?ToKey=COM01272](http://www.vpap.org/cands/cand_index.cfm?ToKey=COM01272); Internet; accessed May 1, 2007.

### *Arlington Group Involvement*

Arlington Group members and affiliates created two of the four proponent committees and raised the bulk of the money in favor of the same-sex marriage ban.

The top recipient of proponent funds, VA4Marriage.org, was formed by the Family Foundation, a state family policy council of Arlington Group-member Focus on the Family. Nearly one-third of VA4Marriage.org's funds came from the Family Foundation as direct or in-kind contributions, such as the use of staff time or office space. In addition, Valley Family Forum, a chapter of Family Foundation,<sup>58</sup> contributed \$13,500 to VA4Marriage.org

Arlington Group member Family Leader Network also contributed \$4,110 in campaign literature to VA4Marriage.org.

The Arlington Group contributed \$5,970 through in-kind polling services to VA4Marriage.org. Virginia is the only state to date where Arlington Group is listed as a contributor to a same-sex marriage ballot committee.

Focus on the Family created the Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment Committee. The committee's \$14,686 came entirely from Focus on the Family.

### *Churches Chip In*

Virginia was just one of two states where a church-created ballot committee raised money. The Virginia Catholic Conference committee raised \$27,567 to support the measure. Contributions were almost evenly split between the Catholic Diocese of Arlington and the Catholic Diocese of Richmond.

In addition to the Catholic dioceses' contributions, proponents received \$7,780 from churches and individuals employed by churches. More important than monetary support from religious organizations, however, was the ability to get out the conservative Christian vote. According to a *Washington Post* analysis of fund raising around Question 1 published two weeks before the vote, "[s]upporters said they weren't concerned about being outspent because their main focus — organizing the church community — is a grass-roots one that does not depend on large sums of cash."<sup>59</sup>

Proponents did not hold a monopoly on church and church employee contributions, however; church interests gave \$12,264 to the two committees opposing the same-sex marriage ban.

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<sup>58</sup> "Grassroots Organization," *The Family Foundation* [on-line]; available from <http://www.familyfoundation.org/grassroots.html>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

<sup>59</sup> Chris L. Jenkins, "Funds From National Groups Go to Both Sides," *Washington Post*, Oct. 23, 2006, sec. B, p. 2.

**TOP NON-INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN VIRGINIA, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Arnold & Porter	Washington, DC	Lawyers & Lobbyists	Con	\$190,642
Equality Virginia	Richmond, VA	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$168,322
Commonwealth Coalition	Richmond, VA	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$132,171
Family Foundation	Richmond, VA	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$110,230
Gill Action Fund	Denver, CO	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$75,000
Weinstein Properties	Richmond, VA	Real Estate	Con	\$50,000
Human Rights Campaign	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$29,814
One Virginia PAC	Alexandria, VA	Leadership PACs	Con	\$25,000
Landmark Strategies	Springfield, VA	Business Services	Con	\$23,420
Building a Better Virginia	Richmond, VA	Leadership PACs	Pro	\$17,700
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$822,299</b>

**TOP INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN VIRGINIA, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Stryker, Jon L.	Kalamazoo, MI	Construction Services	Con	\$100,000
Templeton, John M.	Bryn Mawr, PA	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$100,000
Field, Thomas F.	Arlington, VA	Education	Con	\$50,650
Kirk, Randal J.	Radford, VA	Pharmaceuticals & Health Products	Con	\$25,000
Perkinson, Ruth	Richmond, VA	Real Estate	Con	\$12,578
Hershey, Loren W.	Oakton, VA	Lawyers & Lobbyists	Con	\$12,500
Massey Jr., Ivor	Richmond, VA	Securities & Investment	Con	\$10,000
Strange, Julie J.	Richmond, VA	Homemakers	Pro	\$10,000
Whitlock, John D.	Richmond, VA	Computer Equipment & Services	Pro	\$10,000
Ziegler, Scott L.	Richmond, VA	Insurance	Pro	\$9,932
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$340,660</b>

## WISCONSIN

Opponents of the Wisconsin constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage and civil unions collected more than six times as much as proponents but the measure, Question 1, still passed with 59 percent of the vote.

Twenty-six committees registered with the Wisconsin State Elections Board as working for or against the amendment. However, two committees — Fair Wisconsin and Vote Yes for Marriage — raised a majority of the funds, and 11 committees did not raise any money.

### CONTRIBUTIONS TO SAME-SEX MARRIAGE BAN COMMITTEES, 2006

<b>PROPOSERS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Vote Yes for Marriage	\$605,491
Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment	\$35,134
Highland Community Church	\$2,697
Marriage Amendment Committee	\$2,140
Marriage is 1 Man and 1 Woman	\$1,584
Marinette/Oconto County Churches	\$400
WI Catholic Conf-Affm Marriage	\$44
Calvary Chapel of Wausau	\$0
Citizens United Bible Ethics	\$0
Immanuel Baptist Church	\$0
Physicians for Traditional Marriage	\$0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$647,490</b>
<b>OPPONENTS</b>	
Fair Wisconsin	\$4,285,664
Good for Wisconsin	\$12,535
ACLU of Wisconsin Against the Ban	\$7,033
Catholic Families Basic Rights	\$3,950
Attorneys Against the Ban	\$1,849
Wisconsin Coalition Against the Ban	\$1,127
Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence	\$916
UW Oshkosh Coalition Against Amendment	\$292
Eau Claire Lawyers	\$0
First Unitarian Society Madison	\$0
First Universalist Unitarian Church	\$0
Friends Opposed to Marriage Amendment	\$0
Milwaukee Monthly Meeting	\$0
Olympia Brown Unitarian Universalist	\$0
UW Whitewater Impact	\$0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$4,313,366</b>
<b>OVERALL TOTAL</b>	<b>\$4,960,856</b>

Opponent committees raised 62 percent of their funds from individuals, but just 14 percent of the money given to proponents came from individual donors.

Proponent committees instead were funded mostly by three Christian Conservative organizations: Coalition for America's Families, \$391,580; Wisconsin Family Action, \$79,055; and Focus on the Family, \$60,134.

Wisconsin was one of just four states where labor unions contributed to committees working on same-sex marriage bans in 2006 and the state where labor money played the largest role. All of the labor organizations' contributions went to opponents of the constitutional amendment.

Wisconsin unions contributed \$377,700 to Fair Wisconsin and were led by teachers' unions, which gave \$350,000. The Wisconsin Education Association Council gave \$325,000, followed by the Wisconsin Federation of Teachers, which gave \$15,000; Madison Teachers added \$7,500, and Capital Area Uniserv contributed \$2,500.

#### *Gay- and Lesbian-Rights Giving*

Fair Wisconsin received more than \$1 million of its \$4.2 million from gay- and lesbian-rights interests and it was the only committee that received support from these groups. Action Wisconsin, which formed the Fair Wisconsin ballot committee, was the top gay- and lesbian-rights contributor, giving more than \$800,000.<sup>60</sup>

Two national gay- and lesbian-rights groups contributed to Fair Wisconsin. Human Rights Campaign gave \$160,525 and the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force contributed \$17,354. Both groups contributed monetarily as well as through in-kind donations.

Two individuals whose names are often connected with the gay- and lesbian-rights movement contributed in Wisconsin:

- Bruce W. Bastian of Orem, Utah, gave \$11,000. Bastian was a co-founder of WordPerfect software and served as that corporation's chair through the mid-90s.<sup>61</sup> Bastian also founded the B.W. Bastian Foundation, which furthers equality.
- James C. Hormel of San Francisco, Calif., contributed \$10,000. Hormel was the first openly gay U.S. ambassador, serving in Luxembourg, and is an heir to the Hormel family fortune.

Wisconsin is one of only two states with a 2006 same-sex marriage ban on the general election ballot where the Gill Action Fund did not contribute directly to a ballot measure committee. Gill Action did, however, give \$200,000 to a 501(c)4 organization affiliated with Fair Wisconsin. That money ultimately ended up in the ballot measure account as a part of the \$800,000 contributed by Action Wisconsin to its Fair Wisconsin ballot measure committee.<sup>62</sup> A 501(c)4 is a tax-exempt, nonprofit organization working on social welfare that reports to the Internal Revenue Service but is not required to disclose specific contributors.

Jon Stryker, who has followed Gill's example of supporting candidates and committees that promote gay- and lesbian-rights, gave \$300,000 to Fair Wisconsin. Stryker resides in neighboring Kalamazoo, Mich.

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<sup>60</sup> Action Wisconsin officially changed its name to Fair Wisconsin following the November 2006 elections. "About Us," *Fair Wisconsin* [on-line]; available from <http://www.fairwisconsin.com/about.html>; Internet; accessed April 14, 2007.

<sup>61</sup> "Bruce Bastian Bio," *BWB Properties* [on-line]; available from <http://www.bwbproperties.com/Bastianbio.html>; Internet; accessed May 2, 2007.

<sup>62</sup> Phone interview with Mike Tate, Campaign Director, Fair Wisconsin, July 2, 2007.

### *Arlington Group Involvement*

The main proponent committee, Vote Yes for Marriage, was connected to the Arlington Group. Julaine Appling, president of the Vote Yes for Marriage committee, is also the CEO of the Family Research Institute of Wisconsin (now known as the Wisconsin Family Council),<sup>63</sup> which is an associated family policy council of Focus on the Family. Wisconsin Family Action, the lobbying affiliate of the Family Research Institute of Wisconsin,<sup>64</sup> also gave \$79,055 to Vote Yes for Marriage.

Arlington Group member Focus on the Family formed the Focus on the Family Marriage Amendment committee and contributed the entire \$35,000 that committee raised. Focus on the Family also contributed \$25,000 to Vote Yes for Marriage.

### *Churches Chip In*

Twelve church-related committees registered with the state as referenda committees active on Question 1. These committees raised little, if any, money. Just three of the six church committees favoring the same-sex marriage ban raised money: a combined \$3,142. Among the opponent committees affiliated with churches, only one collected contributions, which totaled \$3,950.

Committees working against the ban raised more from churches and church employees than did committees pushing for the amendment's passage. Fair Wisconsin collected \$21,162 from church interests, while proponents raised slightly more than \$9,000 from churches and church employees.

## **TOP NON-INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN WISCONSIN, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Action Wisconsin	Madison, WI	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$816,898
Coalition for America's Families	Middleton, WI	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$391,580
Wisconsin Education Association Council	Madison, WI	Public Sector Unions	Con	\$325,000
Human Rights Campaign	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$160,525
Wisconsin Family Action	Madison, WI	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$79,055
People For the American Way	Washington, DC	Democratic/Liberal	Con	\$70,000
Focus on the Family	Colorado Springs, CO	Christian Conservative	Pro	\$60,134
Tammy Baldwin for Congress	Madison, WI	Candidate Committees	Con	\$36,000
National Gay & Lesbian Task Force	Washington, DC	Gay & Lesbian Rights	Con	\$17,354
Wisconsin Federation of Teachers	Madison, WI	Public Sector Unions	Con	\$15,000
			<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,971,546</b>

<sup>63</sup> "Meet the Wisconsin Family Council Staff," *Family Research Institute of Wisconsin* [on-line]; available from <http://www.fri-wi.org/index.html>; Internet; accessed June 5, 2007.

<sup>64</sup> The Family Research Institute of Wisconsin is now known as Wisconsin Family Council "About Us," *Wisconsin Family Action, Inc.* [on-line]; available from <http://www.wisconsinfamilyaction.org/aboutus.html>; Internet; accessed May 7, 2007.

**TOP INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTORS IN WISCONSIN, 2006**

<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>INDUSTRY</b>	<b>POSITION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Stryker, Jon L.	Kalamazoo, MI	Construction Services	Con	\$300,000
Leibowitz, Dale	Madison, WI	Nonprofit Institutions	Con	\$275,000
Uihlein, Lynde B.	Milwaukee, WI	Nonprofit Institutions	Con	\$250,000
Soros, George	New York, NY	Finance	Con	\$65,000
Herzing, Stacey	Shorewood, WI	Education	Con	\$38,240
Krueger, Jeffrey	Madison, WI	Health Services	Con	\$36,750
Streckert, Sondra	Abbotsford, WI	Business Services	Pro	\$35,261
Bohnett, David	Beverly Hills, CA	Securities & Investments	Con	\$25,000
Harmsworth, Esmond	Boston, MA	Printing & Publishing	Con	\$25,000
Hiller, Jaren E.	Milwaukee, WI	Real Estate	Pro	\$20,500
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$1,070,751</b>