



HOW CONSERVATIVES TOOK OVER NORTH CAROLINA

A CASE STUDY ON THE
MONEY, STRUCTURE, AND
INFLUENCE OF THE
CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT

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Introduction

Once a more moderate state amid the South's sea of red, since 2010 North Carolina's state legislature has pushed one of the most aggressive right-wing agendas in the country, advancing the interests of the Tea Party and big business at the expense of the middle class. Republicans in charge of the General Assembly have introduced legislation on a wide set of conservative priorities and managed to enact increasingly extreme policies. Republican lawmakers made it harder for minorities and students to vote, reduced a woman's right to choose, opposed the minimum wage, slashed unemployment benefits, and gave tax cuts to the wealthy while raising them on the working class, small businesses, and seniors.

Republicans hold such power in North Carolina thanks to changes that began with the 2010 elections, when an influx of outside cash helped the GOP obtain control of both halves of the General Assembly for the first time in more than a century. Their majorities gave them power over once-a-decade redistricting, and with assistance from national groups and Republican operatives, they redrew North Carolina's federal and state districts in a way that all but ensured Republican victories in 2012. In the next election cycle, the state's new districts and some additional outside spending delivered to Republicans the governor's mansion, a majority of the state's U.S. House seats, and a supermajority in the state House to complement the one they had earned in the state Senate in 2010.

The GOP's success in North Carolina wasn't merely a mirror of the Tea Party wave that benefitted Republicans across the nation in 2010; it was part of a strategy crafted on the national level and carried out with the cooperation of prominent conservative interest groups and donors, including the Koch brothers. Chief among these are the Republican State Leadership Committee, which planned and largely bankrolled a nationwide strategy to control redistricting; Americans for Prosperity, the Koch-backed group that made North Carolina a 'model state' for its political efforts; and the network of conservative North Carolina-focused super PACs and advocacy groups funded almost entirely by longtime political operative and Koch ally Art Pope. Using his personal, family, and business money, Pope created and sustains groups including the Civitas Institute, the John Locke Foundation, and Real Jobs NC, which collaborate on electoral strategy and public policy to advance conservative reforms.

After the 2012 election, North Carolina's new Republican governor, Pat McCrory, repaid his political debts by appointing Art Pope to his cabinet, where he oversees the state budget. Then, with the assistance of Senate Leader Phil Berger and House Speaker Thom Tillis, this conservative quartet began enacting the Tea Party's wish list into law.

Other groups that played a role in North Carolina's conservative takeover include Karl Rove's Crossroads GPS and ALEC.

How The GOP Took Over North Carolina

THE 2010 REPUBLICAN TAKEOVER

Prior To 2010, North Carolina Was Far From A Conservative Stronghold. According to the New Yorker, “Barack Obama carried the state in 2008 and remained popular. The Republicans hadn’t controlled both houses of the North Carolina General Assembly for more than a century.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Leading Up To 2010, Republicans Poured Money Into Easily Influenced State-Level Races. According to ProPublica, “The strategy began in the run-up to the 2010 elections. Republicans poured money into local races in North Carolina and elsewhere. It was an efficient approach. While congressional races routinely cost millions, a few thousand dollars can swing a campaign for a seat in the state legislature.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

“Independent Spending In 2010 More Than Quadrupled From 2006.” According to FollowTheMoney.org, “Independent spending in 2010 more than quadrupled from 2006, the last comparable election. Since most of the 2010 spending occurred after the new law (HB 748) went into effect, it is possible that the increase was, at least in part, due to the lifting of the state ban. The most independent spending happened in 2008 with \$8.8 million, most of which targeted the competitive open gubernatorial race.”

TABLE 1: Independent Spending Compared to Direct Campaign Contributions in North Carolina, 2006–2010				
Year	Race	Total Independent Spending on Candidates	Total Direct Contributions to Candidates	Independent Spending Compared to Direct Campaign Contributions
2006	Legislature, Judicial	\$570,734	\$32,593,877	2%
2008	Governor, Other Statewide, Legislature, Judicial	\$8,790,647	\$82,128,780	11%
2010	Legislature, Judicial	\$2,673,595	\$37,740,501	7%
	Total	\$12,034,976	\$152,463,158	8%

[FollowTheMoney.org, [12/20/11](#)]

In 2010, The GOP Took Over Both The State House And State Senate. According to the News & Observer, “Republicans made history on Election Day as they seized control of North Carolina's legislature for the first time in more than a century. Democratic leaders in both the state House and Senate conceded to their Republican counterparts late Tuesday. [...] Unofficial returns indicate that Republicans won at least 28 Senate seats and 62 in the House, according to an Associated Press tally. The current House is a 68-52 Democratic majority and the Democrats control the Senate with 30 of the 50 seats.” [News & Observer, [11/3/10](#)]

POLITICIZED REDISTRICTING AFTER 2010 ELECTIONS

Controlling The State Legislature Gave North Carolina Republicans The Power To Control Redistricting Maps. According to the American Prospect, “Because they took control of the legislature in 2010, Republicans were in charge of redistricting.” [American Prospect, [6/6/13](#)]

North Carolina Legislators Solicited Public Input On Redistricting, But It “Had Little Influence On The Districts That Were Eventually Drawn.” According to ProPublica, “Through the spring and summer, legislators in charge of redistricting traveled the state holding public meetings at local colleges, soliciting comment and proposed maps from citizens — though the Republicans on the committee would not produce draft maps themselves. ‘We are not here to answer questions. We are not here drawing maps,’ state Senate redistricting committee chairman Bob Rucho told the crowd at a hearing in Durham. ‘What we are here for is to basically hear your thoughts and dreams about redistricting.’ But that input had little influence on the districts that were eventually drawn.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

“The Real Maps Were Being Produced...At Republican Party Headquarters” Without Consideration Of Public Input. According to ProPublica, “Instead, the real maps were being produced behind the scenes by a team that based its operations at Republican Party headquarters on Hillsborough Street in Raleigh. Armed with advanced mapping software, Hofeller and others crafted districts that would virtually guarantee big gains for the party. Hofeller did not attend or read transcripts of any of the public meetings, according to his deposition.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

- **A Dark Money Nonprofit Hired Mapping Personnel, And GOP Legislators “Frequently Visited And Consulted With The Mapping Team.”** According to ProPublica, “A mysterious state dark money nonprofit that sprung up just in time for the process, called Fair and Legal Redistricting for North Carolina, hired a technician to operate the mapping workstation day-to-day, and another Republican mapping expert. [...] Republican state legislators tasked with redistricting frequently visited and consulted with the mapping team, according to depositions.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

Conservative Financier Art Pope Was Given A Direct Role In Redistricting. According to ProPublica, “Even Art Pope, the most influential conservative donor in the state, was appointed ‘co-counsel’ to the legislative leadership and allowed in the room to give direct instructions to the technician. ‘We worked together at the workstation,’ said Joel Raupe, the technical expert paid by Fair and Legal Redistricting, in a deposition. ‘He sat next to me.’ Pope, who is a lawyer but does not actively practice, was made co-counsel to the state legislature, offering his services pro bono.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

The GOP-Drawn Maps Stuffed Democratic Voters Into Just A Few Of The State’s Congressional Districts. According to the American Prospect, “The new maps diluted the impact of minority voters by stuffing African American, Latino, and other Democratic voters into a handful of state and congressional districts that are already minority-controlled. The whiter districts, in turn, got even whiter and more difficult for Democrats to win. The purpose was clear: to ensure that the GOP could continue to be strong on the state level for years to come, even if North Carolinians continue to lean Democratic.” [American Prospect, [6/6/13](#)]

- **GOP’s Mapping Consultant Emailed About Strategy To “Incorporate All The Significant Concentrations Of Minority Voters In The Northeast Into The First District.”** According to ProPublica, “In two of those districts, African-American

incumbents been already been winning by large margins for years. Republicans' maps added yet more African-Americans to the districts, what's known in redistricting parlance as 'packing.' As Hofeller wrote in an email about one of the districts, the plan was to 'incorporate all the significant concentrations of minority voters in the northeast into the first district.' A third district was 120-mile long, and sea monkey-shaped, connecting pockets of African-Americans from three different, distant cities. Republicans justified it on the basis of a common media market." [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

REDISTRICTING HELPED GOP WIN FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN 2012

Redistricting Packed North Carolina Democrats Into A Few Districts, Handing A Majority Of The State's Congressional Seats To Republicans. According to ProPublica, "Documents show that national Republican operatives, funded by dark money groups, drew the crucial lines which packed as many Democrats as possible into three congressional districts. The result: the state's congressional delegation flipped from 7-6 Democratic to 9-4 in favor of Republicans." [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

In 2012, Republicans Won Nine Of 13 U.S. House Seats Even Though "Nearly 51 Percent Of North Carolina Voters Picked A Democrat." According to the American Prospect, "The effectiveness of the GOP's new district lines can be measured in members of Congress. In 2012, nearly 51 percent of North Carolina voters picked a Democrat for U.S. House. But thanks to where those voters had been placed, Republicans won 9 of the state's 13 House seats." [American Prospect, [6/6/13](#)]

2012 STATE ELECTIONS SOLIDIFIED GOP'S HOLD ON NORTH CAROLINA

In 2012, Pat McCrory Became First Republican Governor Of North Carolina In 20 Years. According to USA Today, "North Carolina voters put a Republican in the Executive Mansion for the first time in 20 years on Tuesday. [...] Former Charlotte mayor Pat McCrory won the governor's race over Democrat Walter Dalton with 55 percent of the vote, according to unofficial results. [...] McCrory will take the oath of office in January. Jim Martin was the last Republican governor, leaving office in 1993." [USA Today, [11/7/12](#)]

- **After Election, Gov. McCrory Named Major Conservative Donor Art Pope As "Top Budget-Writer."** According to the Charlotte News & Observer, "Gov.-elect Pat McCrory expanded his cabinet selections by three on Thursday, and named a trio of key staffers that includes controversial political financier Art Pope. Pope – whose network of organizations promotes a limited-government agenda – will be the new governor's top budget-writer. A multimillionaire, he will take a leave from his retail chain store business, as well as from his family foundation and all public and nonprofit boards he serves on in order to take the job

without pay. [...] It was the selection of Pope that sparked the most reaction. Liberal groups and campaign finance watchdogs have been highly critical of the wealthy opinion-shaper in recent years for spending millions of dollars to push conservative candidates and causes. He was the subject of a long profile in The New Yorker magazine last year that portrayed him as a power-broker out to buy off the state of North Carolina. Soon after McCrory announced the choice Thursday, the state Democratic Party issued a statement calling him a 'puppet-master' for 'extreme right-wing causes.'" [News & Observer, [12/20/12](#)]

The GOP Gained "A Veto-Proof Majority" In The State House And Retained One In The Senate. According to USA Today, "Republicans expanded their control in the General Assembly by gaining a veto-proof majority in the House and keeping one in the Senate." [USA Today, [11/7/12](#)]

- **GOP Holds 77 Out Of 120 State House Seats And 33 Out Of 50 State Senate Seats.** According to the Charlotte Observer, "The difference this year, in substance and tone, grew from the 2012 elections, which installed a Republican governor and legislative supermajorities. The GOP holds a 77-43 advantage in the House and a 33-17 Senate edge." [Charlotte Observer, [7/28/13](#)]
- **Redrawing Of State Legislature's Districts Helped GOP Gain Seats In General Assembly.** According to the News & Observer, "In 2010, Republicans took control of both chambers of the General Assembly for the first time in more than a century and led the redrawing of lines. Though the new maps were immediately challenged after they were drawn in 2011, the districts were used in the 2012 elections and have been shown to favor Republicans. The GOP expanded its majority in the state legislature in the 2012 elections. In the House, Republicans picked up nine seats and now dominate Democrats 77-43. The Senate added two Republican members, and the GOP holds a 33-17 advantage." [News & Observer, [1/3/14](#)]

With Help From Outside Money, Republicans Remained In The Majority On North Carolina's Supreme Court. According to USA Today, "North Carolina Supreme Court Justice Paul Newby won re-election to his seat, allowing Republicans to keep a majority on the state's highest court. [...] The race was officially nonpartisan but had plenty of political ramifications. Four of the seven current justices are Republican by voter registration. The court is expected to consider legal challenges to redistricting in the near future. Outside groups raised at least \$2 million to back Newby's re-election." [USA Today, [11/7/12](#)]

- **88 Percent Of Money In Supreme Court Race Came From Super PACs Supporting Newby.** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, "Money may have had the most influence in the election for a N.C. Supreme Court seat -- a race where many voters didn't know much about the candidates beyond what they saw in ads. The race attracted an unprecedented \$2.3 million in outside spending, 88 percent of which came from super PACs supporting conservative incumbent Paul Newby, including a last-minute attack ad described by one newspaper as sleazy. Despite trailing in the polls, Newby ended up winning with 51.9 percent of the vote." [Institute for Southern Studies, [11/9/12](#)]

Radical Post-Takeover Policy Changes

North Carolina Republicans “Are Pushing A Hard-Right Agenda On A Broad Range Of Issues.” According to the American Prospect, “For the first time since Reconstruction, the GOP controls both North Carolina’s governor’s mansion and its general assembly. These are not the moderate, business-minded Republicans that North Carolinians have long been accustomed to. They are pushing a hard-right agenda on a broad range of issues, from taxes to social services to schools and election laws. They are scrambling to turn back the clock before demographic changes push their brand of right-wing politics to the margins.” [American Prospect, [6/6/13](#)]

RESTRICTING VOTING RIGHTS

North Carolina Republicans Passed One Of The Country’s “Most Wide-Ranging Voter ID Laws” That Shortened Early Voting, Ended Pre-Registration For Teens, And Eliminated Same-Day Registration. According to the Washington Post, “North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory (R) on Monday signed into law one of the nation’s most wide-ranging Voter ID laws. [...] The measure requires voters to present government-issued photo identification at the polls and shortens the early voting period from 17 to 10 days. It will also end pre-registration for 16- and 17-year-old voters who will be 18 on Election Day and eliminates same-day voter registration. [...] The state legislature gave the law final approval in late July. The changes come as the state has fallen under Republican control for the first time in more than a century.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly’s website, HB 589 passed the state Senate with “Aye” votes from 33 Republicans and zero Democrats. The law passed the state House with “Aye” votes from 73 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Washington Post, [8/12/13](#); North Carolina HB 589, House Vote #1337, [7/25/13](#); North Carolina HB 589, Senate Vote #882, [7/25/13](#)]

- **The Voter ID Requirement Would “Disproportionately Affect Black Americans” And Potentially Impact Over 300,000 Registered Voters In North Carolina.** According to NPR, “A study by North Carolina’s Department of Motor Vehicles suggests that the voter ID requirement disproportionately affects black Americans who are already registered to vote. Other data in the state suggests that more than 300,000 registered voters lack a driver’s license or another form of special ID.” [NPR.org, [9/30/13](#)]
- **The U.S. Department Of Justice, The North Carolina NAACP And The League Of Women Voters Are Challenging The GOP Voter ID Law In Court.** According to the News & Record, “The U.S. Department of Justice, along with a group of plaintiffs that include the North Carolina NAACP and the League of Women Voters, is contesting the state’s Voter Information Verification Act, or VIVA. [...] Defenders say it will help prevent voter fraud, but opponents contend it will disproportionately harm black voters. Advocacy groups filed two lawsuits in August challenging the law, and the Justice Department filed its own lawsuit in September. At a hearing in December, Peake consolidated the three lawsuits for purposes of scheduling and discovery. She also set a trial date of July 2015.” [News & Record, [2/21/14](#)]

TAKING AWAY A WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Republicans Passed A Law Applying Restrictive Surgical Center Standards To Abortion Clinics, Which Could Force Most Of The State's Clinics To Close. According to the Associated Press, "North Carolina Gov. Pat McCrory on Monday signed into law a measure directing state officials to regulate abortion clinics based on the same standards as those for outpatient surgical centers, a change that critics say will force most to close. [...] The measure was passed by the Republican-majority legislature in the session's waning days. Critics say the move will effectively close most of North Carolina's 16 abortion clinics because only one now meets the standards of an outpatient surgical center. An ambulatory surgical center costs about \$1 million more to build than an abortion clinic, the director of the state's Division of Health Service Regulation told lawmakers earlier this month. It's unclear how much it would cost existing clinics to convert to higher standards once they are set by DHHS." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, the Health and Safety Law Changes passed the state Senate with "Aye" votes from 32 Republicans and zero Democrats. The law passed the state House with "Aye" votes from 74 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Associated Press, [7/29/13](#); North Carolina SB 353, House Vote #1159, [7/11/13](#); North Carolina SB 353, Senate Vote #885, [7/25/13](#)]

- **The Law Permits Any Provider To Refuse To Perform An Abortion, And Prohibits Abortion Coverage Under Health Care Plans From Local Governments Or Those Purchased On The Exchanges.** According to the Associated Press, "The law also prohibits abortions for gender selection and allows any health care provider to opt out of participating in abortions, extending that option beyond doctors and nurses. The measure also prohibits abortion coverage in insurance plans offered by cities, counties or the online marketplace for private policies being established under the federal health overhaul law." [Associated Press, [7/29/13](#); SB 353, [7/25/13](#)]

In 2011, The GOP-Led Legislature Passed A Law Requiring Women Seeking Abortions To Have An Ultrasound And Hear A Description Of The Image; That Provision Was Later Found Unconstitutional. According to the Associated Press, "A North Carolina law requiring women who want an abortion to have an ultrasound and then have a medical provider describe the image to them is a violation of constitutional free-speech rights, a federal judge ruled Friday. U.S. District Judge Catherine Eagles ruled that states don't have the power to force a health care provider to be the bearer of what she called an 'ideological message in favor of carrying a pregnancy to term.' Eagles, who was nominated to the court by President Barack Obama, had put the law on hold a few months after the Republican-led state legislature passed it in 2011. [...] The law required abortion providers to place an ultrasound image next to a pregnant woman so she can view it, describe its features, and offer the patient the chance to listen to the heartbeat." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, the Woman's Right to Know Act passed the state Senate with "Aye" votes from 29 Republicans and zero Democrats. The law passed the state House with "Aye" votes from 68 Republicans and 4 Democrats. [Associated Press, [1/18/14](#); North Carolina HB 854, House Vote #1273, [7/26/11](#); North Carolina HB 854, Senate Vote #925, [7/28/11](#)]

- **The North Carolina Law Still Requires Women To Wait 24 Hours Before Obtaining An Abortion, And They Must Be Notified About Abortion Alternatives.** According to the Charlotte Observer, "The judge's ruling on Friday dealt only with the ultrasound provision in the 2011 Woman's Right to Know Act. Other parts of the law still stand. They include: Patients must wait at least 24 hours between scheduling the abortion and having the

procedure. Women must be given extensive information, including material about the medical risks of abortion, the gestational age of the fetus at the time of the operation, whether the surgeon has liability insurance for abortions, the resources available for birth and child care, the abortion-alternative centers on the state website and told that the father of the child is liable for financial support. The law also states that doctors who violate it can be sued not only by the patient, but by the woman's spouse, parent or sibling." [Charlotte Observer, [1/17/14](#)]

In 2011, The Legislature Approved A "Choose Life" License Plate Whose Sales Supported Pregnancy Counseling Centers But Rejected Pro-Choice Plates; The Anti-Abortion Plate Was Found Unconstitutional. According to the Associated Press, "North Carolina's anti-abortion license plate is unconstitutional because the state doesn't provide the same forum for motorists on the other side of the contentious issue, a federal appeals court ruled Tuesday. [...] Lawmakers approved the anti-abortion plates in 2011 and rejected proposals to offer plates with messages 'Trust Women' and 'Respect Choice.' That constitutes 'blatant viewpoint discrimination squarely at odds with the First Amendment,' wrote appeals court Judge James A. Wynn, who is from North Carolina. [...] In North Carolina, the 'Choose Life' plate was one of 80 specialty tags approved by the General Assembly in 2011. Each 'Choose Life' plate would cost \$25, with \$15 of that going to the Carolina Pregnancy Care Fellowship, an association of nonprofit pregnancy counseling centers." [Associated Press, [2/11/14](#)]

GUN LAWS

Republicans In North Carolina Passed Legislation Allowing Concealed Weapons On Playgrounds, In Parks, In Vehicles On College And School Campuses, And Inside Establishments Serving Alcohol. According to Al Jazeera America, "In October, concealed weapons became legal inside bars and restaurants serving alcohol and on college and school campuses, provided they are locked in vehicles. The new law also allows concealed weapons in parks and on playgrounds and strips municipalities of power to regulate firearms. [...] The move, largely a slam dunk for the state's Republican-controlled legislature and governor's office, has ignited fierce opposition from those arguing for greater regulation in the name of public safety." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, HB 937 passed the state Senate with "Aye" votes from 31 Republicans and 1 Democrat. The law passed the state House with "Aye" votes from 73 Republicans and zero Democrats. [Al Jazeera America, [12/9/13](#); North Carolina HB 937, House Vote #1274, [7/23/13](#); North Carolina HB 937, Senate Vote #834, [7/23/13](#)]

- **The Bill Originally Eliminated Background Checks For Handgun Purchases, But Was Changed Before Final Passage.** According to the Associated Press, "North Carolina lawmakers have approved a bill greatly expanding where concealed handguns are legally allowed. [...] The final bill dropped a controversial provision that would have repealed the long-standing law requiring a background check and permit issued by county sheriffs for handgun purchases." [Associated Press, [7/24/13](#)]

Republicans Unanimously Voted For North Carolina's "Stand Your Ground" Law In 2011. According to the Chatham Journal, "As of December 1, 2011, citizens throughout North Carolina had the legal right to defend themselves from a threat of violence without first being required to retreat. This was the date that North Carolina's Stand Your Ground law took effect. Since the death

of Trayvon Martin on February 26, 2012 and with the ongoing criminal case of George Zimmerman in Florida, North Carolina's own self-defense laws have been questioned. Zimmerman was charged with second-degree murder felony charges in the shooting death of 17-year-old Martin; he asserted that he acted in self defense and should be exempt from prosecution under Florida's Stand Your Ground Law [...] Stand your ground laws remove the duty to retreat and generally allow for the use of deadly force under reasonable circumstances. You do not have to try to get away before reacting to a threat with reasonable, and sometimes deadly, force.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly’s website, HB 650 passed the state Senate with “Aye” votes from 40 Republicans and 6 Democrats. The law passed the state House with “Aye” votes from 106 Republicans and 13 Democrats. One Republican representative missed the vote, but no Republican state senator or representative voted against the bill. [Chatham Journal, [7/15/13](#); North Carolina HB 650, House Vote #1092, [6/16/11](#); North Carolina HB 650, Senate Vote #659, [6/14/11](#)]

A Republican Lawmaker Introduced A Bill That Would Arm Teachers And Volunteers In North Carolina Schools. According to the News & Observer, “Gun-toting teachers and armed school volunteers would be permitted in North Carolina’s public schools under legislation that would expand who could legally have firearms on campus. A bill introduced Thursday in the state Senate would create the position of ‘school safety marshal,’ allowing people who complete a new state-designed training course to carry guns on campus. School boards would be able to hire people for the position or take applications from school employees and school volunteers to serve as marshals. According to the North Carolina General Assembly’s website, SB 27 was introduced by Republican State Senator Stan Bingham on January 31, 2013 and was last referred to the Committee on Rules and Operations of the Senate. The bill is sponsored by 11 Republican state senators and 1 Democrat. [News & Observer, [1/31/13](#); North Carolina SB 27 via NCGA.State.NC.US, accessed [2/25/14](#)]

CUTTING TAXES FOR THE WEALTHY WHILE RAISING THEM ON THE WORKING CLASS, SMALL BUSINESSES, AND SENIORS

Republicans In The State Assembly Eliminated The Earned Income-Tax Credit For The Working Poor And Removed Several Tax Breaks For The Working Class. According to the Associated Press, “Gov. Pat McCrory and his Republican allies at the North Carolina legislature have hammered home a simple message about the tax reform package they passed into law this year: Taxpayers will soon be able to keep more of their hard-earned money thanks to the GOP-backed changes. [...] But McCrory failed to mention that he and Republican lawmakers allowed the expiration of the state's Earned Income Tax Credit, a measure that boosted the income of the state's poorest workers. The tax reform package also eliminates several exemptions and deductions that benefited working class taxpayers, including a popular program that allowed families a deduction on pre-tax income into a college savings account.” [Associated Press, [12/30/13](#)]

Republicans Repealed The Estate Tax, Helping The “Ultra-Wealthy” And Costing The State Nearly \$300 Million In Revenue Over Five Years. According to the News & Record, “For supporters of repealing the estate tax, the passage serves as a big neon ‘come on home’ message to the ultra-wealthy North Carolinians who keep a primary residence in another state to avoid the tax. For opponents, the repeal is an example of conservative state legislators favoring the wealthy few, costing the state nearly \$300 million in revenue over five years.” [News & Record, [8/4/13](#)]

Republican Tax Reforms Will “Mostly Benefit The Rich” While Small-Business Owners And Senior Citizens Are Expected To Pay More In Taxes. According to the News & Observer, “The new tax form is just the first of many changes taxpayers will see in the year ahead as the state converts to a new system that Republican lawmakers say will promote economic growth. Critics warn, however, that the new system will hurt government programs and mostly benefit the rich. [...] However, other scenarios found that senior citizens on retirement income and small-business owners are likely to pay more in income taxes. The law eliminated a \$50,000 income exemption for small-business owners.” [News & Observer, [12/7/13](#)]

North Carolina Republican Lawmakers Want To Eliminate The State’s Income Tax During The 2015 Legislative Session. According to The Washington Post, “At the moment, seven states across the country don’t levy a tax on income, and North Carolina Republicans want to make it eight, according to a powerful member of the state legislature. State Sen. Bob Rucho, a Mecklenburg County Republican and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, said Wednesday that he hoped to use the 2015 legislative session to eliminate the state income tax, replacing it with a consumption-based sales tax to make up for the lost revenue.” [Washington Post, [9/4/13](#)]

DRUG TESTING WELFARE RECIPIENTS

North Carolina General Assembly Republicans Overrode Governor’s Veto And Passed A Bill That Expanded Drug Testing For Welfare And TANF Recipients. According to the Washington Post, “The North Carolina House of Representatives on Tuesday voted to override two vetoes issued by Gov. Pat McCrory (R), the first time in state history a Republican-controlled legislature bucked a governor of their own party. [...] Republicans, who hold overwhelming majorities in both chambers of the state legislature, largely stuck together to override McCrory’s veto of a bill that would expand drug testing for recipients of welfare and TANF, a state-administered federal assistance program for low-income families.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly’s website, the state Senate overrode Gov. McCrory’s veto of HB 392 with “Aye” votes from 31 Republicans and 3 Democrats. The state House overrode Gov. McCrory’s veto of HB 392 with “Aye” votes from 71 Republicans and 6 Democrats. [Washington Post, [9/4/13](#); North Carolina HB 392, House Vote #1358, [9/3/13](#); North Carolina HB 392, Senate Vote #916, [9/4/13](#)]

OPPOSING MARRIAGE EQUALITY

Republican Lawmakers Unanimously Approved Placing A State Constitutional Amendment Banning Same-Sex Marriage And Civil Unions On A Ballot, A Measure Later Passed By State Voters. According to the New York Times, “As expected, North Carolinians voted in large numbers on Tuesday for an amendment that would ban same-sex marriages, partnerships and civil unions, becoming the 30th state in the country and the last in the South to include a prohibition on gay marriage in the state constitution. [...] North Carolina, a religious but also relatively moderate state on social issues, already has a law banning same-sex marriage. But Republican lawmakers pushed an amendment out of concern that the law was in danger of being struck down by judges. [...] A group of family law professors across the state called the language vague and untested, and warned that, in addition to applying to all variations of same-sex unions, it could also apply to the

more than 150,000 straight couples in the state who live together but are unmarried. This could invalidate domestic-violence protections, undercut child custody arrangements and jeopardize hospital visiting rights, they said.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly’s website, SB 514 passed the state Senate with “Aye” votes from 30 Republicans and zero Democrats. The law passed the state House with “Aye” votes from 65 Republicans and 10 Democrats. No Republican state senator or representative voted against the bill. [New York Times, [5/8/12](#); North Carolina SB 514, House Vote #1295, [9/12/11](#); North Carolina SB 514, Senate Vote #932, [9/13/11](#)]

SLASHING UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

North Carolina’s GOP-Controlled Legislature Passed “Far-Reaching” Cuts To Unemployment Benefits That Disqualified The State From A Federal Program Providing Additional Help To The Unemployed. According to the New York Times, “North Carolina’s sharp cuts in benefits to the unemployed went into effect this week, amid a swelling public outcry. The far-reaching changes enacted by the Republican-controlled legislature in February decreased the maximum benefit payout by more than one-third, which will result in a decline in the average weekly benefit, making the state ineligible for about \$700 million in federal aid. The measure also reduced the number of weeks residents can receive unemployment aid. [...] By trimming unemployment benefits as it did, North Carolina abandoned its participation in a federal Labor Department program that helps jobless residents whose state payouts have run their course. States lose their eligibility if they decrease average weekly benefits, although they are permitted to make other changes to fine-tune their individual programs, said George Wentworth of the National Employment Law Project, a policy group. He added that the Labor Department, which said North Carolina’s exit from the program would affect 170,000 residents by the end of the year, had no authority to maintain the payments in the wake of the overhaul.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly’s website, the state House passed unemployment insurance changes with “Ayes” from 74 Republicans and two Democrats. The state Senate passed the changes with “Ayes” from 32 Republicans and four Democrats. [New York Times, [7/1/13](#); North Carolina HB 4, House Vote #17, [2/5/13](#); North Carolina HB 4, Senate Vote #25, [2/13/13](#)]

As A Result Of Unemployment Insurance Cuts, North Carolinians’ Benefits Are “The Lowest In The Country.” According to the Washington Post’s Wonkblog, “Some potential clues come from North Carolina, which effectively withdrew from the federal unemployment insurance program back in July 2013. As a result, the state went from offering up to 73 weeks of jobless benefits down to just 20 weeks — the lowest in the country.” [Washington Post, Wonkblog, [1/24/14](#)]

DENYING HEALTH CARE

North Carolina’s Republican Lawmakers Opted Out Of Medicaid Expansion, Potentially Causing Hundreds Of Preventable Deaths Each Year. According to North Carolina CBS affiliate WRAL, “Two studies out this month say turning down the federal Medicaid expansion could cost North Carolina the lives of hundreds of low-income uninsured people per year and leave businesses on the hook for tens of millions of dollars annually in tax penalties, beginning in 2015.

[...] Another new analysis by health policy experts from Harvard University and City University of New York finds that opting out of Medicaid expansion will cost between 455 and 1,145 lives a year in North Carolina. The study's authors looked primarily at preventive screenings and chronic disease management in states across the country. Medicaid expansion would extend those services to currently uninsured low-income workers making between 100 and 138 percent of the poverty level a year." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, SB 4, passed the state Senate with "Aye" votes from 31 Republicans and zero Democrats. The law passed the state House with "Aye" votes from 74 Republicans and 1 Democrat. [WRAL.com, [1/31/14](#); North Carolina SB 4, House Vote #69, [2/26/13](#); North Carolina SB 4, Senate Vote #44, [2/26/13](#)]

Republicans Tried To Exempt North Carolina Residents From The Health Care Law's Individual Mandate And Force State AG To Join A Lawsuit Against The Law, But Failed To Override Democratic Governor's Veto. According to the News & Record, "State House lawmakers voted 66-50 Wednesday in favor of efforts to stymie the 2009 federal health care law. The state bill now goes to the N.C. Senate, where it is likely to pass as well. [...] The measure orders N.C. Attorney General Roy Cooper to file or join an ongoing suit against the federal health care law. It also purports to exempt North Carolina residents from the federal mandate to buy health insurance." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, the Protect Health Care Freedom bill, HB 2, passed the state Senate with "Aye" votes from 30 Republicans and zero Democrats. The bill passed the state House with "Aye" votes from 67 Republicans and 2 Democrats. Then-Gov. Bev Perdue (D) vetoed the bill and the House failed to override the veto despite "Aye" votes from 68 Republicans. [News & Record via Nexis, 2/3/11; North Carolina HB 2, House Vote #42, [2/22/11](#); North Carolina HB 2, Senate Vote #19, [2/16/12](#); North Carolina HB 2, House Vote #94, [3/9/11](#)]

CUTTING EDUCATION

Republicans Phased Out Tenure For Public School Teachers, Eliminated Pay Increases For Teachers With Master's Degrees, And Cut Nearly 4,000 Teacher Assistant Positions In The 2013 State Budget. According to the News & Observer, "Teachers on Monday said cuts in the state budget released Sunday amount to the legislators forsaking public education. Teacher pay will remain near the bottom of national rankings. More than 3,850 teacher assistant positions will be gone. The extra pay for teachers who earn master's degrees will be phased out, though teachers who already make the extra money will be able to keep it. The budget also phases out tenure so that teachers who don't already have it won't be able to earn it, and it will be gone for all teachers in 2018. [...] The N.C. Association of Educators is threatening to sue over the tenure provisions." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, SB 402 passed the state Senate with "Aye" votes from 32 Republicans and zero Democrats. The bill passed the state House with "Aye" votes from 65 Republicans and zero Democrats. [News & Observer, [7/22/13](#) North Carolina SB 402, House Vote #1297, [7/24/13](#); North Carolina SB 402, Senate Vote #836, [7/24/13](#)]

- **Despite Cuts To Public Education, Republican Lawmakers Agreed To A \$10 Million Program That Would Use Taxpayer Money For Private School Tuition.** According to the Charlotte Observer, "The budget that House and Senate budget writers agreed to Sunday includes a \$10 million program that would allow families that meet income guidelines to use taxpayer money for private school tuition for their children, starting with the 2014-2015

school year. This week, the legislature is set to give final approval to a voucher for children with disabilities that would pay as much as \$6,000 for private school tuition or for therapy for home-schooled children with disabilities. [...] The budget is a disappointment for public school supporters. ‘We’re just paddling backward as fast as we can go,’ said Yevonne Brannon, a volunteer with the group Public Schools First NC. ‘This budget reflects a very aggressive campaign to privatize public education and dismantle the teaching profession.’ [Charlotte Observer, [7/22/13](#)]

Republicans Proposed Eliminating Law Requiring At Least Half Of Charter School Teachers To Have Teaching Certificates. According to the News & Observer, “Frustrated by current restrictions, Republican lawmakers are crafting an entirely new system to manage charter schools, establishing a separate governing board filled with advocates and eliminating requirements for licensed teachers. [...] Republican state Sen. Jerry Tillman, the sponsor and committee co-chairman, gave a gruff assessment of the state board’s view on charters since lawmakers eliminated a cap on the number of schools in 2011. [...] Senators and education advocates raised pointed questions about the rules governing school employees, particularly the part that deletes a current law requiring at least 50 percent of charter instructors to hold teaching certificates.” [News & Observer, [3/27/13](#)]

- **The Removal Of Teaching Certificate Requirements Was Eliminated From The Final Bill.** According to the Associated Press, “A negotiated final version of the bill passed the House and Senate on Tuesday. [...] The proposal retains the current requirement that at least half the teachers at charter schools meet state certification requirements.” [Associated Press, [7/23/13](#)]

FRACKING

North Carolina Republicans Overrode Democratic Governor’s Veto Of A Bill That Could Clear The Way For Fracking In North Carolina. According to the News & Observer, “Republicans successfully overrode Gov. Bev Perdue’s veto of a fracking bill during a dramatic vote taken just after 11 p.m. Monday. [...] Democrats denounced Stam’s quick parliamentary maneuver as a dirty trick that resulted in the passage of a landmark energy overhaul that could create a natural gas production industry in the state. [...] The new law will reshape the state’s energy landscape by clearing [*sic*] creating an Energy and Mining Commission that will conduct studies and create new regulations to govern natural gas production through horizontal drilling and hydraulic fracturing, or fracking. The commission would complete its work by October 2014. The legislature would then have to take a separate vote at that time to approve the Energy and Mining Commission’s work before drilling rigs and derricks could be permitted.” [News & Observer, [7/3/12](#)]

ATTACKING WORKING FAMILIES AND OPPOSING THE MINIMUM WAGE

State Republican Lawmakers Are Sponsoring A Bill To Add “Right To Work” Law To The State Constitution, Void All Agreements Between Unions And Local Governments, And Require A Secret Ballot For Union Elections. According to the CBS affiliate WRAL, “HB 6: NC Right to Work Secret Ballot Amendments. This would make North Carolina's union-weakening right to work law a part of the state constitution. It would also require a secret ballot for union elections and void any agreements between unions and local governments.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, HB 6, is sponsored by 43 Republican state representatives and 1 Democrat. The bill was introduced on January 30, 2013, and was last referred to the Committee on Rules, Calendar and Operations of the House. [WRAL.com, accessed [2/24/14](#); North Carolina HB 6 via NCGA.State.NC.US, accessed [2/24/14](#)]

North Carolina's Minimum Wage Bill Is Languishing In Committee. According to the Wilson Times, “Two local lawmakers want to give North Carolina's poorest workers a raise. State Sens. Don Davis and Angela Bryant have introduced a bill to tie the state minimum wage to inflation as measured by the consumer price index. Wages would be adjusted to keep pace with inflation on Jan. 1 of each year. [...] Davis and Sen. Earline Parmon, a Winston-Salem Democrat, are Senate Bill 220's primary sponsors. Bryant, a Rocky Mount Democrat whose district includes north-central Wilson County, signed on as a co-sponsor. [...] State Rep. Alma Adams, a Greensboro Democrat, has introduced a companion bill in the North Carolina House. Davis knows both bills face an uphill climb with Republican majorities in the House and Senate and Republican Pat McCrory in the governor's mansion.” According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, both the House and the Senate versions of the bill have seen no movement since being referred to committee in February and March 2013, respectively. [Wilson Times, [3/17/13](#); North Carolina HB 115, Viewed [2/24/14](#); North Carolina SB 220, Viewed [2/24/14](#)]

- **New Yorker: “Pope-Funded Think Tanks Have Repeatedly Assailed Minimum-Wage Laws.”** According to the New Yorker, “Variety employs some seven thousand people, and the bottom rung earns the minimum wage. Pope insisted that his political activism ‘has not been motivated by narrow corporate interest,’ but fellows at Pope-funded think tanks have repeatedly assailed minimum-wage laws. Roy Cordato, a vice-president at the John Locke Foundation, told me that ‘the minimum wage hurts low-skilled workers, by pricing them out of the market,’ and that concern about worker exploitation was “the kind of thinking that comes from Karl Marx.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]
- **Thom Tillis Called Increasing The Minimum Wage “Dangerous” And Suggested There Should Not Be Any “Artificial” Minimum Wage.** According to the Charlotte Observer, “U.S. Senate candidate Thom Tillis on Wednesday said he opposes President Barack Obama's plan to increase the federal minimum wage, calling it a ‘dangerous idea.’ The Republican went even further to suggest government shouldn't set a minimum wage, labeling it an ‘artificial threshold.’ ‘I have serious concerns with the discussion around minimum wage because it drives up costs and it could harm jobs,’” Tillis said after making his bid official at the State Board of Elections in Raleigh. [...] But when asked whether he supported repealing the current minimum wage, Tillis stopped short. He said he would be concerned about whether it would destabilize the private market. ‘I think you should consider anything that frees up the market to create more jobs,’ he said. ‘But the reality is you can't unring that bell.’” [Charlotte Observer, [2/26/14](#)]

TORT REFORM

Republican Lawmakers Overrode Democratic Governor's Veto To Approve A Cap On Medical Malpractice Damages. According to the Star News Online, "A medical malpractice reform bill set to go into effect in October could deter North Carolina attorneys from accepting those cases, according to a nonprofit trial lawyers group. [...] Those in favor of the law, which caps certain kinds of damages a person can receive at \$500,000, say the measure will cut medical insurance costs and aid economic growth. The cap is for noneconomic damages, which refers to compensation for pain, suffering or emotional distress. Damages related to lost wages or medical bills will remain uncapped. [...] Gov. Beverly Perdue vetoed the malpractice bill, but lawmakers voted last week to override the veto." According to the North Carolina General Assembly's website, the state Senate overrode Gov. Perdue's veto of SB 33 with "Aye" votes from 41 Republicans and six Democrats. The state House overrode Gov. Perdue's veto on SB 33 with "Aye" votes from 106 Republicans and 10 Democrats. [StarNewsOnline.com, [8/3/11](#); North Carolina SB 33, House Vote #1272, [7/25/11](#); North Carolina SB 33, Senate Vote #895, [7/13/11](#)]

Who's Behind The North Carolina Takeover

REPUBLICAN STATE LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE: THE NATIONAL REDISTRICTING RINGLEADERS

RSLC "Spearheaded" Nationwide Redistricting Plot With REDMAP Project. According to ProPublica, "The Republican effort to influence redistricting overall was spearheaded by a group called the Republican State Leadership Committee, which has existed since 2002. [...] Soon after [Ed] Gillespie took over, the RSLC announced an effort to influence state races throughout the country, the Redistricting Majority Project, or REDMAP. Fundraising soared. The group raised \$30 million in 2010, by far its best year. (Its Democratic counterpart raised roughly \$10 million.)" [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

- **RSLC "Helped Flip Twenty State Legislative Chambers From Democrat To Republican."** According to The Progressive, "The group played a decisive role in the 2010 elections, and helped flip twenty state legislative chambers from Democrat to Republican. Republicans now control more state legislatures than at any time since 1928. The committee's main tactic was to barrage the public airwaves with negative ads, much of it done at the tail end of the campaign season. GOP stalwarts such as Karl Rove and Ed Gillespie aggressively executed the battle plans through their consulting firms." [Progressive, [November 2011](#)]

RSLC Worked To Influence Local North Carolina Races Through Newly Formed Art Pope-Linked Nonprofit, Real Jobs NC. According to ProPublica, "As the 2010 North Carolina

legislative elections heated up, the RSLC jumped into local races. But the way they made contributions kept their involvement away from the attention of state voters. Rather than running campaign ads under its own name, the RSLC distributed money to a newly formed local nonprofit. The RSLC gave \$1.25 million to its vehicle of choice Real Jobs NC. The group calls itself a ‘non-partisan organization that believes we need to return to a reliance on the free enterprise system that made our country great for real answers.’ It was started in 2010 and got a hefty \$200,000 boost from dollar store magnate and Republican supporter Art Pope, although Pope denies his donation was related to redistricting or REDMAP. Real Jobs NC produced ads and mailers slamming more than 20 state Democrats.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

A Dark Money Arm Of The Republican State Leadership Committee Hired “The GOP’s Pre-Eminent Redistricting Experts,” Then Offered To Help North Carolina Legislators With Redistricting. According to ProPublica, “To fund the work, the Republican State Leadership Committee used its previously dormant nonprofit arm, the State Government Leadership Foundation. [...] Flush with anonymous donors’ cash, the Foundation paid \$166,000 to hire the GOP’s pre-eminent redistricting experts, according to tax documents. The team leader was Tom Hofeller, architect of Republican-friendly maps going back decades. ‘Our team would be happy to assist in drawing proposed maps, interpreting data, or providing advice,’ wrote Chris Jankowski, the head of both the RSLC and State Government Leadership Foundation, in a letter of introduction to North Carolina legislators. [...] ‘We are engaged in a number of states and believe we are playing a meaningful role in helping draw fair and legal lines that will allow us to run competitive elections in 2012 and in future cycles,’ Jankowski added.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

RSLC Spent Over \$1 Million To Help Republican In State Supreme Court Election. According to the Center for Public Integrity, “One of the most closely watched races last year was for the state Supreme Court, where outside groups spent more than \$2.6 million helping Justice Paul Newby retain his seat and maintain a conservative 4-3 advantage on the high court bench. [...] One of the biggest sources of cash for outside groups active in North Carolina’s judicial races was the Washington, D.C.-based Republican State Leadership Committee (RSLC), which spent about \$1.2 million to help Newby.” [Center for Public Integrity, [11/14/13](#)]

RSLC’s Biggest 2010 Donors Were The Chamber Of Commerce And The American Justice Partnership. According to ProPublica, “Along with Walmart and tobacco companies, the RSLC’s largest funders in 2010 were the Chamber of Commerce and American Justice Partnership, which gave a combined \$6.5 million. Those two groups raise money from corporations and others but don’t have to disclose their donors.” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

An Arm Of The Chamber Of Commerce, American Future Fund, And American Justice Partnership Were RSLC’s Biggest 2012 Donors. According to the Center for Public Integrity, “The RSLC’s biggest donors in 2012 were nonprofits that support so-called tort reform legislation, or efforts to limit damages paid in civil lawsuits. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce’s Institute for Legal Reform was the RSLC’s single biggest donor in 2012, giving \$3.5 million. The nonprofit American Future Fund was the RSLC’s second biggest contributor in 2012, giving nearly \$1.2 million. The Iowa-based ‘social welfare’ group has received millions from groups associated with the Koch brothers. [...] The American Justice Partnership, a pro-tort reform nonprofit, was the third biggest donor to the RSLC at \$1.1 million. Neither the Chamber nor the American Justice Partnership is required to disclose its donors.” [Center for Public Integrity, [11/14/13](#)]

ART POPE AND THE POPE NETWORK: NORTH CAROLINA'S KOCHS

Former State Congressman Art Pope Bankrolls A “Network Of Think Tanks” That Support “A More Limited Government.” According to the News & Observer, “Pope is no newcomer to North Carolina politics, having served in the state House and run as the Republican nominee for lieutenant governor. He also has worked in numerous Republican campaigns. But Pope has taken on a broader role since 1989, using his personal fortune to bankroll a network of think tanks seeking to move North Carolina toward his vision of a more limited government. He has been the major funder of the John Locke Foundation, the J.W. Pope Civitas Institute, the John William Pope Center for Higher Education and the N.C. Institute for Constitutional Law. Pope's family foundation has provided more than [\$28 million] to finance the network over the years, according to recent study by the liberal-leaning Institute for Southern Studies. He has been such an important funder of the state Republican Party, that the state headquarters is named in honor of his parents.” [NewsObserver.com, [10/27/10](#)]

Five Of North Carolina's Most Influential Political Groups Get At Least 80 Percent Of Their Funding From Pope. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Facing South looked at five of North Carolina's most influential conservative research, advocacy and legal groups -- many of which Art Pope created, or helped create: Capitol Monitor, The John W. Pope Civitas Institute (named after Art Pope's father), the John Locke Foundation, the North Carolina Institute for Constitutional Law and the Pope Center for Higher Education Policy. Tax records show that Art Pope sits on the board of directors of all but one of the groups, which by law confers a high degree of power to Pope in managing operations, setting policy, and approving their annual budgets. Most crucially, Pope supplies at least 80 percent -- and in some cases, nearly all -- of the operating budgets of the groups, a level of purse-string power so dominant that the Internal Revenue Service classifies all but one of them as a ‘private foundation,’ a relatively rare designation used only by non-profits who disproportionately rely on a single benefactor.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/14/10](#)]

Organizations Tied To Art Pope Accounted For 72 Percent Of Independent Spending In 2010. According to FollowTheMoney.org, “Three spenders associated with conservative millionaire Art Pope targeted 16 of 24 races in 2010 that saw a Democratic incumbent lose reelection. Pope's groups spent nearly \$2 million targeting 27 legislative races, accounting for 72 percent of the independent spending in 2010.” [FollowTheMoney.org, [12/20/11](#)]

- **Three Of The Top Four Spenders Were Linked To Pope.** According to FollowTheMoney.org, “Three of the four top spenders were associated with James Arthur (Art) Pope, the millionaire owner of Variety Wholesalers: Real Jobs North Carolina, Civitas Action, and Americans for Prosperity. Together, these three groups were responsible for 72 percent of all the independent spending in 2010. Republicans won 20 of the 27 legislative races targeted by Pope’s organizations in 2010, and both the house and senate went to a Republican majority for the first time since 1870.”

Spender	Organization Type	Electioneering Communications	Independent Expenditures	Total
Real Jobs North Carolina	Conservative Policy Organization	\$1,537,726	\$0	\$1,537,726
North Carolina Homeowners Alliance	Nonprofit Realtors Organization	\$0	\$214,026	\$214,026
Civitas Action	Conservative Policy Organization	\$202,022	\$0	\$202,022
Americans for Prosperity	Conservative Policy Organization	\$189,894	\$0	\$189,894
	Total	\$1,929,642	\$214,026	\$2,143,668

[FollowTheMoney.org, [12/20/11](#)]

John William Pope Foundation: Art Pope’s Family Foundation

Some Of Pope’s Political Spending Is Directed Through His Family Foundation And Business. According to the New Yorker, “For years, Pope, like several other farsighted conservative corporate activists, has been spending millions in an attempt to change the direction of American politics. According to an analysis of tax records by Democracy NC, a progressive government watchdog group, in the past decade Pope, his family, his family foundation, and his business have spent more than forty million dollars in this effort.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Art Pope Is Chairman And President Of The John William Pope Foundation. According to the John William Pope Foundation’s website, “Art also serves as Chairman and President of the John William Pope Foundation, a private grant-making foundation supported by the company and Pope family.” [JWPF.org, Viewed [2/25/14](#)]

Art Pope Oversees Pope Foundation’s Giving. According to a 2012 press release from the Pope Foundation, “Pope also oversees the giving of the Pope Foundation, one of the most generous philanthropies in North Carolina. Located in Wake County, the Foundation donates \$10 million each year to public policy groups, educational institutions, humanitarian efforts, and the arts.” [John William Pope Foundation Press Release, [12/20/12](#)]

POPE PLAYER: JOHN W. POPE CIVITAS INSTITUTE AND CIVITAS ACTION

In 2007, Pope Set Up The Civitas Institute, Which “Monitors State Policy, Promotes Conservative Solutions, And Trains People To Run For Office.” According to the New Yorker, “In 2007, Pope set up yet another technically nonpartisan think tank, the John W. Pope Civitas Institute, which monitors state policy, promotes conservative solutions, and trains people to run for office. Critics describe Civitas as Pope’s conservative assembly line, a characterization that he rejects. ‘It’s not my organization,’ he said. ‘I don’t own it.’ The Pope family foundation has provided more than ninety-seven per cent of the Civitas Institute’s funding since it was founded—more than eight million dollars. Pope sits on its board of directors.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

- **Civitas Has A “Near-Total Reliance” On The Pope Foundation For Funding.** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Civitas owes its existence almost entirely to the generosity of Art Pope. A Facing South comparison of the tax records filed by the Civitas Institute and the John W. Pope Foundation -- which Art Pope chairs, and whose philanthropy John Hood acknowledges Pope oversees -- reveals that Pope's backing has constituted more than 99 percent of all the grants, donations and gifts that Civitas has received between 2005 and 2009. Even after adding in conference fees and other sources of revenue, Pope's money still makes up more than 97 percent of Civitas' total income. [...] Civitas’ near-total reliance on Pope makes it a private foundation in the eyes of the IRS, a classification reserved for nonprofits that depend on a sole benefactor. That's different than ‘public charities,’ the most common nonprofit classification but available only to groups that show they have a more diverse base of support.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/14/10](#)]

Civitas Institute Funds Polls On Current Issues And “Disseminates Its Findings In Order To Support Right-Wing Arguments.” According to the New Yorker, “Civitas underwrites polls on issues of the day—posing questions that critics have called biased—and disseminates its findings in order to support right-wing arguments. These polls save conservative candidates a lot of expense. ‘Civitas was clever,’ Bob Hall, the executive director of Democracy NC, the progressive watchdog group, says. ‘It takes campaign expenses—like polling, message development, and voter-turnout analysis—and makes them tax-deductible.’ (Pope, in response, said that the poll results are equally available to everyone.)” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Civitas President Francis De Luca: Civitas Offers An “Intellectual Underpinning” On Conservative Issues. According to the Charlotte Observer, “The Civitas Institute offers what its president, Francis DeLuca, calls an ‘intellectual underpinning’ for a variety of issues including regulatory and voting changes. For example, the group wanted to end straight-ticket voting and even early registration for 16- and 17-year-olds. Both found their way into a sweeping election law overhaul signed by the governor. ‘I’d like to think we had a little hand in it,’ DeLuca says.” [Charlotte Observer, [8/25/13](#)]

In Early 2010, Civitas Released A Policy Agenda Titled “20 Changes For 2010: A Primer For State Reform.” According to the Civitas Institute’s website, “Fresh, alternative policies are needed to turn things around. Indeed, North Carolina can do better. With that in mind, the Civitas Institute presents its 2010 Policy Agenda: ‘20 Changes for 2010: A Primer for State Reform.’ The agenda addresses a number of failed policies that are greatly in need of reform in North Carolina. Each policy recommendation offers a solution not only long neglected by most out-of-touch North

Carolina lawmakers, but also supported by a significant majority of voters.” [Civitas Institute, [2/8/10](#)]

- **The Agenda Includes Recommendations On How To “Protect Against Voter Fraud,” “Defense Of Marriage,” “Illegal Immigrants,” “Protecting Unborn Victims,” And “Education Reform.”** According to the Civitas Institute’s website, its Primer for State Reform includes articles on “Jobs,” “Health Care,” “Protect Against Voter Fraud,” “Fiscal Responsibility,” “Defense of Marriage,” “Death Penalty,” “Illegal Immigrants & Colleges,” “Protecting Private Property,” “Protecting Unborn Victims,” “Education Reform,” and “Corruption and Ethics.” [Civitas Institute, [2/8/10](#)]

North Carolina Democratic Leader: The Legislature “Pretty Much Followed” John Locke And Civitas-Created Roadmaps. According to the New Yorker, “Martin Nesbitt, the Democratic leader, said, ‘The John Locke and Civitas foundations put out road maps for how to change everything, and the legislature pretty much followed the script.’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Civitas Celebrated North Carolina’s Restrictive Voter ID Law: “After Years Of Work, Voter ID Is Now The Law Of The Land!” According to the Civitas Institute’s website, “After years of work, Voter ID is now the law of the land! Your emails, petitions, and activism have helped ensure the integrity of North Carolina elections and strike a crushing blow to in-person voter fraud. The Left is already pushing back against the new law: The ACLU filed a lawsuit in Federal Court at 3:38pm yesterday--moments after the bill was signed.” [Civitas Institute, [8/13/13](#)]

Civitas Action Is The “Political Advocacy Arm” Of The Civitas Institute. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “In Pope’s home state of North Carolina, the conservative donor is raising many of the same questions through his backing of a similar 501(c)(4) operation: Civitas Action. Civitas Action was launched in 2008 as the political advocacy arm of the Raleigh, N.C.-based John W. Pope Civitas Institute, a 501(c)(3) conservative think tank named after Art Pope’s father and which depends largely on Art Pope’s support.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/08/10](#)]

- **Jane Mayer: Civitas Action “Exists To Target Democrats.”** According to Jane Mayer in an interview for NPR’s Fresh Air, “Civitas Action is an organization that is an offshoot of a think-tank that Art Pope runs, and 95 percent of the funds come from Pope and his other organizations, his business, whatever. And it again is - it exists to target Democrats.” [NPR’s Fresh Air via LexisNexis, 10/6/11]

Civitas Action Ranks Lawmakers Based On Their Votes And Whether They Support “Free-Market Economic Policies, Limited Government And Personal Responsibility.” According to the News and Observer, “Think of it as a partisan naughty or nice list. And in this case nice means conservative and naughty means liberal. Civitas Action, a nonprofit political advocacy group, categorizing lawmakers based on their votes on legislation. Lawmakers that support ‘free-market economic policies, limited government and personal responsibility’ get higher conservative scores and ‘effectiveness’ ratings.” [News and Observer, [11/28/11](#)]

Civitas Action Spent “Nearly \$200,000” To Defeat North Carolina Democrats In 2010. According to the Independent Weekly, “Civitas Action: A sister group to the Civitas Institute, it spent nearly \$200,000 to defeat Democrats last year. Nearly three-quarters of the institute’s money comes from Pope’s discount stores; the rest came from Pope-backed Americans for Prosperity.” [Independent Weekly via LexisNexis, 3/9/11]

In 2010, Real Jobs NC And Civitas Action Spent “More Than \$1.7 Million” On Ads And Mailers Critical Of 22 Democrats “For Their Votes In Recent Years On Increasing Taxes And Spending.” According to the Associated Press, “But the independent groups Real Jobs NC and Civitas Action spent more than \$1.7 million on their own, according to reports filed with the State Board of Elections. The separate groups spent funds on advertisements and produced mailers critical of a combined 22 Democrats for their votes in recent years on increasing taxes and spending.” [Associated Press, [1/13/11](#)]

- **“A Whopping 16 Of Those 22” Democratic Incumbents Lost, Helping Republicans “Wrest Away Both Chambers Of The General Assembly.”** According to the Associated Press, “A whopping 16 of those 22 incumbents lost on Election Day, helping the Republican wrest away both chambers of the General Assembly held by Democrats since 1898.” [Associated Press, [1/13/11](#)]

POPE PLAYER: JOHN LOCKE FOUNDATION

Art Pope Helped Found The John Locke Foundation In 1989; He Serves On Its Board; And The Majority Of Its Funding Has Come From The Pope Family Foundation. According to the New Yorker, “In 1989, three years after incorporating the family foundation, Pope directed money from it to the think tank that he called the John Locke Foundation, and whose stated purpose is to promote an agenda of limited government and free enterprise. About eighty per cent of its funding has come from the Pope family foundation, and some additional money has come from tobacco companies and two Koch family foundations. Pope, who was previously the chairman of the Locke Foundation’s board and still serves on it, set up the group with the help of John Hood, its current president and chairman.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

- **From 2008 To 2013, Locke Has Received Over \$10.4 Million From The John William Pope Foundation.** According to the John William Pope Foundation’s 990s, between 2008 and 2013, the John Locke Foundation has received \$10,458,032 from the John William Pope Foundation. [John William Pope Foundation IRS Forms 990, [2008-2013](#)]
- **Between 1994 And 2008, The John William Pope Foundation Gave Over \$17 Million To The John Locke Foundation.** According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “This past May, John Hood, president of the Raleigh-based John Locke Foundation -- a think tank Art Pope helped found, and which received over \$17 million from Pope's family foundation between 1994 and 2008 -- lashed out at critics who had ‘whined that the Pope Foundation had used its resources to gain an inordinate influence on the state through “puppets” who did Art Pope's bidding.’” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/14/10](#)]

The Locke Foundation “Employs Research, Journalism, And Outreach Programs To Transform Government” Toward A Vision Of “Individual Liberty And Limited, Constitutional Government.” According to the John Locke Foundation’s website, “The John Locke Foundation envisions a North Carolina of responsible citizens, strong families, and successful communities committed to individual liberty and limited, constitutional government. [...] The John Locke Foundation employs research, journalism, and outreach programs to transform government through competition, innovation, personal freedom, and personal responsibility. JLF seeks a better

balance between the public sector and private institutions of family, faith, community, and enterprise.” [JohnLocke.org, viewed [2/26/14](#)]

Locke President Hood: Locke Founded As “An Answer To What We Saw As The Liberal Establishment.” According to the New Yorker, “A graduate of U.N.C.-Chapel Hill, Hood had edited a campus libertarian magazine when he was a student, and that caught Pope’s eye. Hood, who later became a fellow at the Heritage Foundation, in Washington, says, ‘We set up an answer to what we saw as the liberal establishment. The conservatives thought the liberals had the universities, so they had to balance that with think tanks.’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Hood: Locke Foundation’s Role Is To “Make Arguments” And Persuade Opinion Leaders. According to the New Yorker, “Hood says of his operation, ‘What we try to do is make arguments. We believe persuasion matters.’ The foundation focussed [*sic*] its energies on the fifteen thousand opinion-makers who, in its view, mattered most in the state: politicians, journalists, lobbyists, business leaders, university heads. ‘We try to pitch those for whom political debate is their job, whether they agree with us or not.’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Hood: “A Significant Number Of Our Recommendations Were Adopted” In 2011; “We Favored No New Taxes, Lifting The Cap On Charter Schools, Cutting Spending.” According to the New Yorker, “According to both conservative and liberal observers, Pope’s advocacy network has achieved its greatest influence over the new Republican majority in the North Carolina legislature. Hood, the head of the Locke Foundation, says of the General Assembly, ‘A significant number of our recommendations were adopted this year. We favored no new taxes, lifting the cap on charter schools, cutting spending, as well as dozens of small-ticket items.’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

- **North Carolina Democratic Leader: The Legislature “Pretty Much Followed” John Locke- And Civitas-Created Road Maps.** According to the New Yorker, “Martin Nesbitt, the Democratic leader, said, ‘The John Locke and Civitas foundations put out road maps for how to change everything, and the legislature pretty much followed the script.’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Hood: In 2013, North Carolina’s Legislature Enacted “Virtually Everything” The John Locke Foundation Had Proposed In A 2012 Book Outlining Fiscal And Economic Policy Changes. According to the Charlotte Observer, “They cut taxes and regulations, even repealed the ‘death tax.’ They enacted voter IDs and school vouchers, tightened rules on abortion clinics and loosened laws on guns. They rejected federal Medicaid money, ended teacher tenure and cut benefits for the unemployed. It was, says one GOP operative, the ‘national Republican agenda on steroids.’ Republican lawmakers passed 338 laws this year that will touch every North Carolinian’s pocketbook, every student’s classroom and every voter’s experience at the polls. [...] Last year the John Locke Foundation, the second Pope-funded group, published a book that outlined a series of fiscal and economic proposals, including tax and Medicaid changes and increasing the size of the state’s rainy day fund. ‘Virtually everything we proposed in the book in 2012 was enacted in 2013,’ says Locke President John Hood.” [Charlotte Observer, [8/25/13](#)]

REAL JOBS NC: POPE AND RSLC-FUNDED ELECTIONEERING

Real Jobs NC Was Founded By Art Pope With \$200,000 From His Business. According to the News & Observer, “Real Jobs NC is a 527 nonprofit group based in Raleigh that was started by Pope. It has reported spending \$1.7 million so far on the legislative elections. The group has sent out mailings and paid for TV ads attacking Democratic legislators across the state. Variety Stores put in \$200,000.” [News & Observer, [10/27/10](#)]

RSLC Gave \$1.25 Million To Real Jobs NC As Part Of Its Redistricting Program. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Another big backer of Real Jobs NC is the Republican State Leadership Committee, a Washington, D.C.-based group which is also a 527. In 2010, the RSLC steered \$1.25 million into Real Jobs as part of their REDMAP campaign to ‘flip’ state legislatures in time for redistricting.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/18/12](#)]

Real Jobs NC Is “One Of The Key Groups That Spent Money To Help Republicans Win Over The North Carolina Legislature In 2010.” According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Real Jobs NC, one of the key groups that spent money to help Republicans win over the North Carolina legislature in 2010, filed campaign reports over the last week that show they're hoping big money can again translate into political victories.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/18/12](#)]

Real Jobs NC Spent \$1.5 Million On 19 Races In 2010. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “A so-called 527 political group, Real Jobs NC earned notoriety in 2010 as the biggest outside spending group in North Carolina state-level races, pumping \$1.5 million into 19 legislative contests.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [10/18/12](#)]

Real Jobs NC Takes Credit For “Giving Business-Friendly Leadership Control Of Both Houses Of The General Assembly” In 2010. According to Real Jobs NC’s website, “In 2010, a group of concerned industry leaders launched Real Jobs NC to support pro-business candidates in 19 state legislative races. Our 1.7 million dollar voter education campaign helped to elect 16 pro-business candidates, giving business-friendly leadership control of both houses of the General Assembly for the first time in more than a century.” [Real Jobs NC, accessed [2/24/14](#)]

In 2012, Real Jobs NC Spent Over \$884,000 On Races In North Carolina. According to FollowNCMoney.org, a project of the Institute for Southern Studies, in 2012 Real Jobs NC spent a total of \$884,622 in support of gubernatorial candidate Pat McCrory and on races in 13 other North Carolina districts. [FollowNCMoney, accessed [2/24/14](#)]

AMERICAN CROSSROADS/CROSSROADS GPS: BROAD GOP SUPPORT

Crossroads Founder Karl Rove Emphasized Importance Of Winning Statehouses To Control Redistricting Process. According to ProPublica, “Republicans had a years-long strategy of winning state houses in order to control each state's once-a-decade redistricting process. [...] Republican strategist Karl Rove laid out the approach in a Wall Street Journal column in early 2010 headlined ‘He who controls redistricting can control Congress.’” [ProPublica, [12/21/12](#)]

- **Rove: Winning 107 Targeted Seats In 16 States Will Let GOP Draw Lines For Nearly 190 Congressional Districts.** According to a Wall Street Journal op-ed by Karl Rove, “There are 18 state legislative chambers that have four or fewer seats separating the two parties that are important for redistricting. Seven of these are controlled by Republicans and the other 11 are controlled by Democrats, including the lower houses in Ohio, Wisconsin, Indiana and Pennsylvania. Republican strategists are focused on 107 seats in 16 states. Winning these seats would give them control of drawing district lines for nearly 190 congressional seats.” [Wall Street Journal, [3/4/10](#)]
- **Rove: GOP Won The House Majority In 1994 Because Of Redistricting.** According to a Wall Street Journal op-ed by Karl Rove, “Control of the state legislature matters whether a state loses or gains seats. [...] To understand the broader political implications, consider that the GOP gained somewhere between 25 and 30 seats because of the redistricting that followed the 1990 census. Without those seats, Republicans would not have won the House in 1994.” [Wall Street Journal, [3/4/10](#)]

In 2010, American Crossroads Donated Over \$1 Million To Redistricting Leader RSLC. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, in the 2010 cycle American Crossroads donated \$1,200,000 to the Republican State Leadership Committee. [Center for Responsive Politics, Viewed [2/21/14](#)]

In 2010-2011, Crossroads GPS Gave \$300,000 To American Justice Partnership. According to Crossroads GPS’ form 990 covering June 2010 – May 2011, it gave \$300,000 to American Justice Partnership. [Crossroads Grassroots Policy Strategies IRS Form 990, [2011](#)]

In 2010, American Crossroads Spent Over \$250,000 In An Unsuccessful Attempt To Defeat Democratic U.S. House Rep. Heath Shuler In North Carolina. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, in the 2010 cycle American Crossroads spent \$252,378 against North Carolina Democrat Heath Shuler. [Center for Responsive Politics, viewed [2/21/14](#)]

- **Shuler Decided Not To Run For Reelection In 2012 After Redistricting Gave Him A More Republican-Friendly District.** According to The Hill, “Rep. Heath Shuler (D-N.C.) will not run for reelection to the House. One of the last remaining members of the Blue Dog Coalition, Shuler was hit by congressional redistricting that made his western North Carolina district much more difficult for a Democrat to win.” [The Hill, [2/2/12](#)]

AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE EXCHANGE COUNCIL (ALEC): MODEL CONSERVATIVE BILLS

ALEC Seeks To Unite State Legislators And Business Leaders To Further Free-Market, Limited-Government Legislation On The State Level. According to the American Legislative Exchange Council’s website, “The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) is a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. It provides a constructive forum for state legislators and private sector leaders to discuss and exchange practical, state-level public policy issues. The potential solutions discussed at ALEC focus on free markets, limited government and constitutional division of powers between the federal and state governments. [...] ALEC is a think-tank for state-based public policy

issues and potential solutions. It publishes research and writing on issues that are of importance to its members. It holds meetings where people from public and private sectors share their views. It also develops model bills and resolutions on economic issues.” [ALEC.org, accessed [4/13/12](#)]

- **ALEC Gives Corporations Power To Alter Model Legislation That Is Often Introduced In State Legislatures.** According to NPR, “On the board of ALEC, you have an equal number of legislators and corporate members. ... They then set up task forces to deal with topics like health care, education, election law, and you have an equal number of legislators and corporate and/or interest groups [and] think tanks in each grouping. They have to agree on any model bill or model resolution,” [said *Nation* reporter John Nichols] [...] What that means, Nichols says, is that corporations can veto proposals and ideas that aren't to their liking — and can also propose measures that are then written into model bills. Those model bills, he says, are often introduced in multiple places — creating consistent messages across the country.” [NPR.org, [7/21/11](#)]

ALEC “Influenced Legislation In North Carolina,” Where Several Of Its Model Bills “Became Templates For Actual Legislation.” According to the Charlotte Observer, “One group that influenced legislation in North Carolina and across the country was the American Legislative Exchange Council, or ALEC. ALEC is a clearinghouse for pro-business and conservative ideas and an incubator of conservative legislation. Nationwide, the Center for Media and Democracy identified 466 ALEC model bills that became legislation this year. It’s unclear how many there were in North Carolina, though several of the group’s model bills became templates for actual legislation.” [Charlotte Observer, [8/25/13](#)]

The News & Observer “Counted At Least Two Dozen Bills That Matched ALEC Priorities,” Including Voter ID, School Vouchers, And Energy Policy. According to the Charlotte Observer, “At one point, Raleigh’s News & Observer counted at least two dozen bills that matched ALEC priorities. They included voter ID, publicly financed vouchers for private schools, and prioritizing energy exploration. One ALEC model bill called for states to claim sovereignty under the 10th Amendment. It became a resolution co-sponsored by GOP Rep. Larry Pittman of Concord, but it didn’t pass.” [Charlotte Observer, [8/25/13](#)]

In 2011, Republican House Speaker Thom Tillis Won ALEC’s Legislator Of The Year Award. According to the Charlotte Observer, “House Speaker Thom Tillis of Cornelius won the group’s ‘Legislator of the Year’ award in 2011.” [Charlotte Observer, [8/25/13](#)]

AMERICANS FOR PROSPERITY (AFP): THE KOCH BROTHERS’ “GRASSROOTS” GROUP

The Koch Brothers’ Network Helped NC Republicans Build A “Robust Conservative Infrastructure And Fundraising Network.” According to Politico, “Cash from groups backed by the Koch brothers and others helped North Carolina Republicans build a robust conservative infrastructure and fundraising network, leading to the GOP winning both the governor’s mansion and the state legislature in the same year for the first time since Reconstruction.” [Politico, [5/11/13](#)]

- **Americans For Prosperity Was Founded By David Koch.** According to FactCheck.org, “Founded by billionaire businessman and conservative/libertarian political activist David Koch, Americans for Prosperity has emerged as one of the most influential conservative issue

advocacy groups on the national and state political scene. A major force behind the Tea Party movement, AFP seeks to support free markets and entrepreneurship by advocating lower taxes and limited government spending and regulation.” [FactCheck.org, [10/10/11](#)]

- **Koch-Backed “Freedom Partners” Contributed 32.3 Million To Americans For Prosperity In 2012.** According to Politico, “The group, Freedom Partners, and its president, Marc Short, serve as an outlet for the ideas and funds of the mysterious Koch brothers,” and contributed 32.3 million to Americans for Prosperity in 2012. [Politico, [9/11/13](#)]
- **Koch-Backed “Center To Protect Patient Rights” Has Contributed \$15.8 Million To Americans For Prosperity Since 2009.** According to Form 990s filed with the IRS, the Center to Protect Patient Rights has given \$15,791,079 to Americans for Prosperity since 2009. According to the New York Times, “The group, the Arizona-based Center to Protect Patient Rights, is one of the largest political nonprofits in the country, serving as a conduit for tens of millions of dollars in political spending, much of it raised by the Kochs and their political operation and spent by other nonprofits active in the 2010 and 2012 elections.” [Center to Protect Patient Rights IRS Form 990s, [2009-12](#); New York Times, [10/24/13](#)]

Americans For Prosperity’s Mission Is “Educating” And “Mobilizing” Advocates Of “Limited Government And Free Markets.” According to Americans for Prosperity’s website, “Americans for Prosperity (AFP) is committed to educating citizens about economic policy and mobilizing those citizens as advocates in the public policy process. AFP is an organization of grassroots leaders who engage citizens in the name of limited government and free markets on the local, state, and federal levels. The grassroots activists of AFP advocate for public policies that champion the principles of entrepreneurship and fiscal and regulatory restraint.” [AmericansForProsperity.org, viewed [4/4/12](#)]

AFP Announced It Would Spend \$500,000 In NC On Town Halls, Mass Marketing, And Grassroots Organizing. According to Politico, “AFP recently announced it would spend \$500,000 in North Carolina on efforts that focus on town hall meetings, mass-marketing and grassroots organizing to rally support for tax reform, which would include a reduction or elimination of personal and corporate income taxes. ‘There will be more old conservative policy changes in North Carolina than in any other state this year,’ said Dallas Woodhouse, AFP’s state director. ‘We have a lot of ground to make up. We have the right mix of state leaders and governor to pass some earth-shattering reform.’” [Politico, [5/11/13](#)]

AFP President Tim Phillips: North Carolina “Was One Of The States We Were Most Active.” According to Politico, “Phillips declined to say how much money AFP, which isn’t required to disclose its contributions and spending, spent in the state. ‘It was significant,’ Phillips said. ‘It was one of the states we were most active.’” [Politico, [5/11/13](#)]

Phillips: We Hoped To Make North Carolina A “Model State.” According to Politico, “The hope, say conservatives, is to replicate their successes elsewhere. ‘Getting dramatic economic change at the federal level is very difficult,’ said Tim Phillips, president of the Koch-backed Americans for Prosperity. ‘A few years ago, the idea we had was to create model states. North Carolina was a great opportunity to do that – more so than any other state in the region. If you could turn around a state like that, you could get real reform.’” [Politico, [5/11/13](#)]

AFP Helped Raise Pat McCrory’s Profile Ahead Of His Gubernatorial Campaign. According to the New Yorker, “McCrory, meanwhile, has been getting a boost from the technically nonpartisan Americans for Prosperity North Carolina. It has been raising McCrory’s profile by using

his voice in statewide ‘robo-calls,’ on issues such as opposition to Obama’s health-care plan. ‘Pat McCrory isn’t a candidate,’ Woodhouse, the group’s director, said. ‘Once he becomes one, he wouldn’t have much to do with us. We don’t endorse or oppose candidates or express advocacy. We talk about issues.’ Yet the nonprofit’s Web site features a head shot of Governor Perdue under the headline ‘VETO BEV PERDUE’ and text that reads, ‘It’s time we take back our government from ARROGANT Bev Perdue!’” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

Art Pope Served Both On The Board Of Americans For Prosperity And Its Predecessor, Citizens For A Sound Economy. According to the New Yorker, “Pope, in addition to being on the board of Americans for Prosperity—which David Koch founded, in 2004—served on the board of its predecessor, Citizens for a Sound Economy, which Koch co-founded, in 1984. Charles Koch recently praised the Popes, along with other donors, for providing financial support for the 2012 election effort, and tax records show that Pope has given money to at least twenty-seven groups supported by the Kochs, including organizations opposing environmental regulations, tax increases, unions, and campaign-spending limits. Pope, in fact, helped fund the legal center run by James Bopp, the lawyer who made the initial filing in the Citizens United case.” [New Yorker, [10/10/11](#)]

NORTH CAROLINA JUDICIAL COALITION AND JUSTICE FOR ALL NC: KEEPING THE SUPREME COURT CONSERVATIVE

NYT: “The North Carolina Judicial Coalition Was Set Up To Re-Elect Conservative State Justice Paul Newby.” According to a New York Times editorial, “The North Carolina Judicial Coalition was set up to re-elect state Justice Paul Newby, who has opposed adoptions by same-sex couples and disallowed a lawsuit challenging alleged predatory lending. He gives conservatives a 4-to-3 advantage over liberals on the State Supreme Court and is being challenged by the more liberal state appellate judge, Sam Ervin IV, a grandson of the senator and son of a federal appeals judge.” [Editorial – New York Times, [6/5/12](#)]

The North Carolina Judicial Coalition Spent \$1.8 Million On Ads To Help Re-Elect Paul Newby. According to the North Carolina Lawyers Weekly, “On election night, Newby defeated Ervin by a 52 to 48 percent margin. The race was non-partisan in name only: Newby was the de facto Republican, Ervin the de facto Democrat. Most of the money spent in the race was spent on behalf of Newby. The North Carolina Judicial Coalition ‘Super PAC’ alone spent \$1.8 million on ads to boost Newby.” [North Carolina Lawyers Weekly via LexisNexis, 11/9/12]

North Carolina Judicial Coalition’s Biggest Donor Was Justice For All NC, A Super PAC That Got Most Of Its Money From The RSLC. According to the North Carolina Lawyers Weekly, “Following Super PAC money to its root source is often a long trail. The single biggest donor to the North Carolina Judicial Coalition was another PAC, Justice for All NC. Most of Justice for All NC’s funding came from the Republican State Leadership Committee, an organization whose mission is to elect down-ballot Republicans at the state level. Next year, the N.C. Supreme Court is expected to hear arguments over the state’s legislative redistricting—and the outcome of that case will influence how many Republicans get elected to the state legislature.” [North Carolina Lawyers Weekly via LexisNexis, 11/9/12]

- **Justice For All NC Raised Nearly \$1.7 Million In 2012 And Sent Nearly \$1.5 Million Of That To The North Carolina Judicial Coalition.** According to the Associated Press, “Justice for All NC, an independent expenditure group backing Newby, raised \$1.7 million during the campaign and sent nearly \$1.5 million of it to another ‘super PAC’ called the North Carolina Judicial Coalition, the campaign report said. The coalition ran ads building up Newby's name recognition.” [Associated Press, 1/14/13 via LexisNexis]

Justice For All Aired Ads Linking Democratic Newby Challenger Ervin To A Scandal Involving Former Gov. Mike Easley. According to the Associated Press, “Outside groups became more involved in a key race for the North Carolina Supreme Court, airing a television commercial Friday that criticizes candidate Sam Ervin IV. The group Justice for All NC began airing the ad on at least one Piedmont station that attempts to link Ervin, a sitting Court of Appeals judge, to former Gov. Mike Easley, who was convicted of a campaign finance-related felony in 2010 after he left office. It also points out Ervin voted to raise energy rates while on the state Utilities Commission.” [Associated Press, [11/2/12](#)]

VOTER INTEGRITY PROJECT: VOTER SUPPRESSION ADVOCATES

Civitas: “VIP Is Doing Their Best To Identify Names That Should Not Be On The Rolls, Both Dead And Non-Citizens.” According to a blog post by Civitas election policy analyst Susan Myrick, “North Carolina’s voter rolls are a mess. Non-citizens populate the voter list along with the deceased and absolutely no law prevent [*sic*] them from voting. VIP is doing their best to identify names that should not be on the rolls, both dead and non-citizens. You see, they must do this work, because the State Board of Elections will not and in doing this work VIP has embarrassed [*sic*] Gary Bartlett, Director of the State Board of Elections – that is why Bob Hall popped into the interview.” [Civitas Review Online, [8/23/12](#)]

In 2012, The Voter Integrity Project “Submitted Nearly 30,000 Names Of Registered Voters It Claimed Were Dead,” But Many Had Already Been Removed Or Were Still Alive. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Also during last year's busy election season, DeLancy's group submitted nearly 30,000 names of registered voters it claimed were dead to the state elections board. But after a lengthy investigation, the board found that many of the people on DeLancy's outdated list had already been removed from the rolls -- and others were still alive. No evidence emerged of any kind of fraudulent scheme to steal an election.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [8/28/13](#)]

Voter Integrity Project President Jay DeLancy “Used Old DMV Records And Mismatched Names” To Challenge The Registrations Of 550 Voters. According to WRAL, “Earlier this year, DeLancy brought the Wake Elections Board some 550 challenges to voters he says are not legally entitled to vote in the US – proven, he says, by DMV and jury duty records that say they’re not citizens. Elections board investigators and voting-rights advocates who looked into the allegations say DeLancy used old DMV records and mismatched names, and failed to understand how the county collects data.” [WRAL, [8/21/12](#)]

- **“Only 18 Challenges Rose To The Level Of Further Investigation” And “All 18 Were Dismissed.”** According to WRAL, “Only 18 challenges rose to the level of further

investigation. All 18 were dismissed today. One voter was removed according to state law. Several others requested their own removal. About half supplied evidence of their eligibility to vote. Most of the rest were registered but had never voted.” [WRAL, [8/21/12](#)]

- **Most Of The Registrations Challenged Were Of Voters Of Color.** According to the Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, “In June 2012, the Voter Integrity Project challenged—unsuccessfully—the registrations of more than 500 Wake County voters, most of whom were voters of color, according to the Brennan Center for Justice. In response, DeLancy called the Brennan Center ‘Race-baiting Leftist(s).’” [Institute for Research and Education on Human Rights, [10/12/12](#)]

VIP-NC Hosted A “Voter Integrity Boot Camp” Featuring A Speaker From The Heritage Foundation. According to Watchdog Wire, “The Voter Integrity Project will be hosting its first ever ‘Voter Integrity BootCamp’ on September 14th in Morrisville, NC. The BootCamp will last from 9 am until 5:30 pm. The event is aimed at getting citizens engaged in protecting their elections – specifically the upcoming 2014 election as the new voter ID law will not take effect until 2016. The event boasts a number of speakers including Melody Scalley of Heritage and Dr. Tim Daughtry, author of Waking the Sleeping Giant.” [Watchdog Wire, [9/2/13](#)]

VIP Founder DeLancy Originally Launched North Carolina Chapter Of True The Vote But Left After Concerns Over His “Anti-Immigrant Leanings.” According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “DeLancy launched a North Carolina chapter of True the Vote, but he broke from the national group after it raised concerns about his anti-immigrant leanings. He then founded VIP-NC, which DeLancy says ‘springs from [his] outrage at the news of how election after election is stolen in some amazingly brazen way.’” [Institute for Southern Studies, [8/28/13](#)]

Art Pope’s Organizations Cited DeLancy And VIP At Least Ten Times In 2012-2013. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “Both the John Locke Foundation and Civitas Institute have prominently featured the work of Jay DeLancy and his group the Voter Integrity Project of NC (VIP-NC), which has been involved in controversial efforts to kick people off the voting rolls. [...] DeLancy's less-than-careful work and nativist leanings did not deter Pope's ideological network from giving him a platform, however. In the past year, they have cited him and VIP-NC at least 10 times. In one blog post, the John Locke Foundation published DeLancy's claim that VIVA was too permissive. In another, Civitas applauded VIP-NC's work. ‘VIP is doing their best to identify names that should not be on the rolls, both dead and non-citizens,’ [John W. Pope Civitas Institute elections analyst Susan] Myrick wrote. ‘You see, they must do this work, because the State Board of Elections will not.’” [Institute for Southern Studies, [8/28/13](#)]

CAROLINA BUSINESS COALITION

Carolina Business Coalition Was Founded By Same Attorney As Real Jobs NC. According to Campaigns and Elections, “Last spring, the attorney who set up Real Jobs NC founded a new group--the Carolina Business Coalition.” [Campaigns & Elections, [7/30/12](#)]

Carolina Business Coalition Is A Trade Group, But Also Set Up A 527 To Promote Republican Incumbents. According to Campaigns and Elections, “A 501 (c)(6), the CBC established a 527 earlier this year for the purpose of promoting many of those newly elected Republican incumbents who have yet to cement their name recognition. Peter Barnes, a spokesman

for the coalition, says it intends to spend around \$350,000 this year on the 10 most heavily contested state legislative contests--the group has already spent \$121,000 on state House races. Nine ads will begin airing in midsummer in an effort to help candidates brand themselves in their home districts.” [Campaigns & Elections, [7/30/12](#)]

In 2012, The Carolina Business Coalition’s 527 Spent Almost \$350,000 in 11 North Carolina District Races. According to FollowNCMoney, the Carolina Business Coalition Education Fund spent \$347,180 in 11 NC districts in 2012. [FollowNCMoney, viewed [2/24/14](#)]

NC FAMILY POLICY COUNCIL

North Carolina Family Policy Council President John L. Rustin Testified In Support Of Abortion Restrictions. According to Focus on the Family partner CitizenLink, “North Carolina Family Policy Council president John L. Rustin was one of several pro-family leaders to testify in favor of H695. During his testimony, Rustin applauded the Senate for passing an amended version of the bill that included more stringent health and safety standards for abortion clinics in the state. This is a common sense requirement designed to help protect the health and wellbeing of women who seek abortion services, particularly when those services involve an invasive surgical procedure, Rustin told the committee.” [CitizenLink, [7/11/13](#)]

NC Family Policy Council Was Present For A Hearing On Anti-Choice Bill Even When Most Democratic Legislators Were Not Told It Had Been Scheduled. According to RH Reality Check, “The anti-abortion amendments in the bill were announced during a Tuesday evening session, to the surprise of most reproductive rights supporters in the state, though some of the bill’s supporters were reportedly told ahead of time. That procedural short-cut is what most riled opponents of the bill. ‘Anti-choice advocates clearly had more notice of this hearing than your own colleagues’ in the state legislature, said state Sen. Ben Clark (D-Cumberland), addressing North Carolina Republicans on the senate floor Wednesday. Clark noted that anti-choice groups such as the Family Policy Council and North Carolina Values Coalition were present in the chamber for the committee hearing, despite Democratic lawmakers not receiving word of the new bill. ‘You can dress it up however you want, but this bill and the process that got it here is not worthy of this body.’” [RH Reality Check, [7/3/13](#)]

Former North Carolina Family Policy Council President Bill Brooks Was Ranked As “One Of North Carolina’s 50 Most Influential Lobbyists” Six Times. According to the North Carolina Family Policy Council’s website, “For the sixth time, the principal lobbyist for the North Carolina Family Policy Council has been ranked as one of North Carolina’s 50 most influential lobbyists. According to the North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research’s rankings of the Most Influential Lobbyists, NCFPC president Bill Brooks ranked as the 36th most influential lobbyist out of 798 registered lobbyists and 99 legislative liaisons for state agencies who lobbied in the North Carolina General Assembly during the 2011-12 session.” [North Carolina Family Policy Council, [8/1/12](#)]

The John William Pope Foundation Gave \$100,000 To The Conservative Christian Organization NC Family Policy Council In 2012. According to the Institute for Southern Studies, “In 2012, the Pope Foundation granted \$100,000 to the N.C. Family Policy Council, a

conservative Christian group and leader in the push for North Carolina's anti-gay marriage amendment that passed in May 2012. Pope has denied any ties to the gay marriage debate but, as the Institute showed, his foundation has given more than \$1 million to the Council, steadily increasing its grants as the group has increased its involvement in the gay marriage issue.” [Institute for Southern Studies, [1/30/13](#)]