



January 5, 2017

United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20015

Dear Senator:

On behalf of the 1.6 million members of the American Federation of Teachers, I strongly urge you to oppose the nomination of Betsy DeVos to be secretary of education. DeVos has neither the qualifications nor the experience to serve as the nation's secretary of education, and her record clearly demonstrates that, if confirmed, she will undermine and seek to privatize public education.

AFT members are committed to protecting and expanding a public education system that reinforces our country's promise of economic opportunity, democratic values rooted in pluralism, and equality; that nurtures children in a safe learning environment that is adequately supported, not defunded or privatized; and that includes public higher education that is affordable and inclusive and promotes free inquiry.

And AFT members are not alone. In a recent poll conducted by Hart Research Associates, American voters said they believe we need a secretary of education whose priority is strengthening and improving all public schools (78 percent) rather than someone whose priority is helping parents send their children to private and nontraditional public schools (8 percent). Seventy-three percent of voters want a secretary of education who will ensure every child has access to a good public school in his or her community that provides safe conditions, an enriching curriculum with both academics and extras such as music and art, and effective teachers.

DeVos' education agenda is antithetical to the direction Americans want the next secretary of education to take. First, she is simply not qualified to serve as America's secretary of education. She has no public education experience or training of any kind; she has never been a teacher or school administrator, served on any public board of education, or even attended a public school.

Indeed, DeVos' only involvement in education has been funding efforts to undermine and privatize our public schools. The job of the secretary of education is to support and strengthen America's public education system. Voters want strong neighborhood public schools that are available to all children, not private school vouchers and for-profit charters. However, DeVos and her family for decades have wielded their billions to undermine public education, while promoting private, for-

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profit schooling with little or no regulation, transparency, accountability or respect for civil rights or the Constitution's separation of church and state.

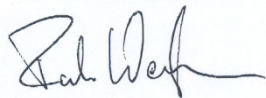
To this end, DeVos has made private school vouchers a priority. In 2000, she and her husband funded a multimillion-dollar and ultimately unsuccessful ballot initiative to create school vouchers in Michigan. Voters rejected the plan to shift public dollars to private schools by a margin of 69 to 31 percent.

Michigan voters knew then, as we know now, that voucher programs have proven ineffective, lack accountability to taxpayers, and deprive students of rights provided to public school students. Sixty-eight percent of those polled in the recent Hart Research survey stated that DeVos should be opposed because of her support for vouchers. Vouchers divert desperately needed resources away from public schools, which serve all children, to fund the education of a few select voucher students. In addition, private school vouchers violate the fundamental guarantee of religious freedom by funding religious schools with public money.

DeVos has used her influence to push an anti-public education agenda that defunds and destabilizes public schools and communities. It is clear that DeVos, who has never had any experience in public education or even attended or sent her children to public schools, and who seeks to undermine public schools, is not qualified to be the head of the U.S. Department of Education.

Again, I urge you to vote no on the confirmation of Betsy DeVos.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Randi Weingarten", written in a cursive style.

Randi Weingarten
President

RW:emc opeiu#2 afl-cio



A Union of Professionals

The Real Betsy DeVos

BETSY DEVOS HAS NEITHER THE QUALIFICATIONS NOR THE EXPERIENCE TO BE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION

The U.S. Department of Education's mission is to promote excellence and equity in our public education system—a goal parents overwhelmingly want for their children. The secretary of education should have a commitment to that mission and the relevant experience with public education to be the nation's chief education official. **DeVos has neither.** She has called public schools a “dead end,” said “we don’t fire teachers enough,” and aggressively supported private school vouchers and unaccountable for-profit charters that underperform and siphon funding from public schools.

That record is why AFT President Randi Weingarten has called DeVos the most anti-public education nominee since the creation of the U.S. Department of Education in 1979.

DEVOS HAS NO EXPERIENCE WITH PUBLIC EDUCATION

- She would be the first secretary of education to have no experience or training of any kind in public education—never teaching or working as an elected official on local, state or federal education policy.
- She is a billionaire lobbyist and campaign contributor, not an educator.
- She has never attended or worked in a public school, or been a public school parent.
- In fact, her only real connection to public schools is the decades she has devoted to defunding, destabilizing, and demonizing them, both in her home state of Michigan and across the country.

DEVOS' POLICIES HAVE CONSISTENTLY UNDERMINED PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Parents want schools where children are respected and nurtured, where there is a focus on the joy of learning and on developing creativity, critical thinking and 21st-century skills—schools that educate the whole child. DeVos' extreme, profit-driven approach to education policy ignores those aspirations and what's best for children.

- Since 2000, DeVos and her husband have given more than \$47 million in campaign contributions to politicians whose agenda is to undermine public education. “My family is the largest single contributor of soft money to the national Republican Party,” she says. “We expect a return on our investment.”
- Her central goal: undermine public schools by promoting private, for-profit schooling—including vouchers and for-profit charters—with little regulation, transparency over how taxpayer money is spent, or respect for civil rights and church-state separation.
- In Michigan, DeVos promoted vouchers and for-profit charter schools that divert tax dollars from our public schools while allowing unaccountable corporations to make money off taxpayers with poor results for students.

The **American Federation of Teachers** is a union of 1.6 million professionals that champions fairness; democracy; economic opportunity; and high-quality public education, healthcare and public services for our students, their families and our communities. We are committed to advancing these principles through community engagement, organizing, collective bargaining and political activism, and especially through the work our members do.

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- She also has consistently supported and invested in for-profit online charter schools. A 2015 study found a majority of these schools' students fell behind their peers in reading and learned nothing new in math over a school year.
- In Michigan, in the midst of a severe budget crisis, she fought to protect tax cuts for the wealthy that resulted in large budget cuts to public education and other public services.

MICHIGAN'S CHARTER SCHOOLS UNDERPERFORM

After pouring millions into a failed private school voucher initiative in Michigan in 2000—which voters soundly rejected—DeVos turned her sights to expanding unregulated charter schools.

- Because of her money and influence, Michigan's charter schools are among the least regulated in the country. About 80 percent of them are run by for-profit companies, far more than in any other state.
- Reports of Michigan charters' financial mismanagement and other documented abuses of the public trust abound. For example, some Detroit charter schools closed just days after the deadline to get money from the state for enrolled students, leaving students and parents scrambling just weeks into the school year while charter operators still profited.
- In 2015, a broad coalition of parents, educators, community members and lawmakers proposed legislation that would have increased funding and strengthened oversight of Detroit's charter and public schools. In response, DeVos lavished \$1.45 million on state lawmakers who killed the legislation and scrapped oversight of for-profit charter schools. She even fought to allow failed charter operators to open new schools.
- Charter schools in Michigan are not a model for the nation: Their students in Detroit and statewide perform far worse than students in traditional public schools. For example, 80 percent of students in Detroit charters perform below the state average; in math, it's 84 percent.

DEVOS' POLICIES PUT VULNERABLE CHILDREN AT RISK

All students deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. But DeVos' favored policies could have grave consequences for vulnerable students, including students with special needs, English language learners, LGBT kids and religious minorities:

- Civil rights groups have said they're "deeply concerned" that DeVos will dismantle the civil rights protections gay and transgender students now have.
- She helped steer nearly \$5 million to the Family Research Council, an anti-LGBT group that champions the discredited and inhumane practice of gay "conversion therapy." She strongly opposes marriage equality, including making large donations to an anti-gay-marriage initiative in Michigan.
- Special-needs students and English language learners in the unregulated Detroit charters DeVos champions perform worse on English and math tests than their peers in the city's public school district.
- She supports diverting taxpayer money to private schools that can discriminate based on students' religion, sexual orientation, past academic performance and even political views.
- Her lobbying and support of conservative groups helped push through Michigan's undemocratic emergency manager law, which has produced scandals such as the lead poisoning of Flint's drinking water and the indictment of several prominent officials.
- Recent press reports about her investments also indicate that DeVos is profiting from the refinancing of student loans held by the Department of Education that she'll oversee.

For additional information and research, please **click here**.



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The Real Betsy DeVos: Background Information

BETSY DEVOS LACKS EXPERIENCE WITH PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

DeVos' children did not attend public school.

Betsy and Dick DeVos did not send any of their four children to the local public schools, even though their local public schools are highly ranked. Betsy DeVos said that her two daughters were home-schooled for a number of years.¹

DeVos did not attend public schools.

DeVos attended a private Christian school in Michigan, and graduated with a bachelor's degree from a private Christian College.²

DeVos would be the first secretary of education not to have experience teaching or working in state or federal education policy.

President Jimmy Carter created the cabinet level position in 1979, appointing Shirley Hufstader, a former law professor. Six of the previous appointees had K-12 or higher education teaching experience prior to their appointment. Four had experience working at a public institution and guiding educational policy.³

DeVos believes there are “way too many traditional public schools.”

Responding to an audience member question at a 2015 SXSW Edu conference panel, DeVos claimed that “If you aren’t able to attract people and students and have them stay and be a committed part of your school, then maybe there’s a reason that you shouldn’t exist. The reality is today that we don’t have any of those kinds of situations. There’s way, way, way too many traditional public schools that are open simply because they exist and because they are continuing to receive tax payer dollars with no accountability for results.”⁴

DeVos' statements evince a lack of understanding of education policy: She believes that the teaching profession is “very self-serving” and that vouchers will magically make teaching a more attractive profession.

From her comments at a 2015 SXSWedu appearance:⁵

As far as good teachers and recognizing good teachers, I couldn’t agree with you more that an excellent teacher should be a very highly valued individual. And I think that teaching has become very deprofessionalized over the years, as it’s been part of an industry that has been very closed to itself and, I would argue, very self-serving. I believe that opening up the system will go a long way toward placing a renewed value on the quality of a good teacher. And I believe that more young people will be encouraged to enter the field of teaching if we have the kind of innovation and creativity in education in general that I think would be unleashed by the notion of full, open educational choice.

At an education conference, DeVos opined: “Government really sucks” and “we don’t fire teachers enough.”

Prepared remarks from DeVos at 2015 SXSWedu show that she claimed that “Government really sucks” and argued for firing more teachers.⁶

DEVOS DRAINED MONEY FROM PUBLIC SCHOOLS:

New York Times calls DeVos a champion of diverting money from public schools.

The *New York Times* recently opined that “[i]t is hard to find anyone more passionate about the idea of steering public dollars away from traditional public schools than Betsy DeVos.”⁷

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Pressured the Michigan Legislature not to postpone a tax cut for school funding.

DeVos is described as the leading voice against postponing a tax cut 2003 tax cut for six months, in order to “spare schools and local governments.” From the *State Net Capitol Journal*:⁸

PARTY LEADERS’ FEUD INTENSIFIES: MICHIGAN Gov. Jennifer Granholm’s (D) efforts to delay a cut in the state income tax has intensified an ongoing feud between the Democratic leader and state GOP Chairwoman Betsy DeVos. Granholm reached an agreement two weeks ago with Sen. Maj. Leader Ken Sikkema (R) to postpone the state’s planned income tax cut for six months to spare schools and local governments from severe budget cuts in exchange for new tax breaks for businesses. Having lost the battle to stop the tax cut delay in the GOP-held Senate, DeVos initiated an aggressive campaign to kill the plan in the GOP-controlled House. Her efforts appear to have paid off; last week, House Republicans voted down the Granholm-Sikkema deal, instead approving additional cuts in spending on education and other programs roughly equal to the \$77 million that would be saved by suspending the tax rollback.

DeVos wants state education funds spent on private schools.

In a 2013 interview, DeVos said that she had “never been more optimistic” about the “publicly funded, private-choice” education programs and that the movement’s growth was accelerating.⁹ In an opinion piece, DeVos wrote, “We need reforms that provide better educational opportunities and improve academic outcome for our students...we should expand school choice so students could use state education funds at the public or private school of their choice.”¹⁰

DeVos called traditional public schools a “dead end.”

In a 2015 speech at SXSW, DeVos described six “inconvenient truths” that she attributed to the United States public school system. One of the six was a view that traditional public schools were a “dead end.”

DeVos has been described as the “four-star general” of the voucher movement.

In 2011, Alternet described Betsy DeVos as “the four-star general of the pro-voucher movement.”¹¹

Great Lakes Education Project, a Michigan lobbying shop founded by DeVos, created a Twitter hashtag (#EndDPS) urging legislators to eliminate the Detroit Public Schools.

The hashtag was created during the 2015 fight to save Detroit Public Schools. DeVos and the Great Lakes Education Project—a lobbying group she created and sat on the board of—advocated against a central oversight body for Detroit’s charter schools and traditional public schools called the Detroit Education Commission.¹² On Twitter, GLEP advocated for eliminating the school district, tagging tweets with the hashtag #EndDPS.¹³

DeVos claimed that “we need to retire” Detroit Public Schools.

Detroit Public Schools, under significant financial strain from the school choice policies pushed by DeVos, was in need of a restructuring in 2015. Instead of saving the school district, she argued in an editorial that DPS should be eliminated, proposing that “[r]ather than create a new traditional school district to replace the failed DPS, we should liberate all students from this woefully under-performing district model and provide in its place a system of schools where performance and competition create high-quality opportunities for kids.”¹⁴

Great Lakes Education Project worked to pass legislation that made it harder for traditional school districts to raise taxes for public schools.

GLEP and the pro-privatization Mackinac Center for Public Policy, both funded by the DeVoses, supported a “contentious bill” in the 2015 Michigan state legislative session that included a last-minute provision to “prevent school districts and other public bodies from distributing factual information about a millage request or ballot proposal, 60 days before an election. It’s already illegal for local governments and school districts to use public funds to campaign for or against a ballot proposal. Opponents of the legislation say to also ban the dissemination of factual information is overkill and could violate free-speech rights.” The DeVos-supported groups “say so-called neutral information frequently crosses the line and the intent is to stop taxpayer-funded propaganda.”¹⁵

DEVOS WILL BE BAD FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL CHILDREN:**DeVos has been called “one of the architects of Detroit’s charter school system.”**

DeVos was “one of the architects of Detroit’s charter school system,” which is “what even charter advocates acknowledge is the biggest school reform disaster in the country.” According to a 2016 *New York Times* report, “Detroit schools have long been in decline academically and financially. But over the past five years, divisive politics and educational ideology and a scramble for money have combined to produced [sic] a public education fiasco that is perhaps unparalleled in the United States.” Detroit’s “unchecked growth of charters has created a glut of schools competing for some of the nation’s poorest students, enticing them

to enroll with cash bonuses, laptops, raffle tickets for iPads and bicycles. Leaders of charter and traditional schools alike say they are being cannibalized, fighting so hard over students and the limited public dollars that follow them that no one thrives." Detroit's cap on charter schools was lifted in 2011.

Tulane economics professor said DeVos was the "main driver" of Michigan's "Wild West" charter school system.

Douglas N. Harris, a professor of economics at Tulane University and the founding director of the Education Research Alliance for New Orleans, wrote that the situation in Detroit "is not entirely Ms. DeVos's fault, of course, but she is widely seen as the main driver of the entire state's school overhaul. She devised Detroit's system to run like the Wild West. It's hardly a surprise that the system, which has almost no oversight, has failed. Schools there can do poorly and still continue to enroll students. Also, after more than a decade of Ms. DeVos's getting her way on a host of statewide education policies, Michigan has the dubious distinction of being one of five states with declining reading scores." ¹⁶

DeVos opposes oversight for school choice programs.

DeVos opposes state oversight for school choice programs, which the *New York Times* noted has resulted in more effective programs. In 2004, her husband said, "After 10 years, charter public schools have proven themselves as a quality educational option for more than 70,000 children across the state."

Charter school leaders have not supported DeVos over concerns about her opposition to regulation.

The Atlantic has noted that charter school leaders have remained quiet on the DeVos nomination, despite her long history as a school choice supporter. The article notes that "[charter school operator Steve] Evangelista and others in the [charter] sector also disagree with DeVos's apparent stance on charter-school regulation, which she fought in her home state of Michigan." ¹⁷

DEVOS WILL BE ESPECIALLY BAD FOR LGBT STUDENTS.

DeVos sits on board of the Acton Institute, which sponsored a conference held by an anti-gay hate group.

Betsy DeVos is a board member of the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty and has donated \$1,284,750 to the institute from the Dick and Betsy DeVos Family Foundation. In 2010, the Acton Institute sponsored a conference by Gary DeMar's American Vision.¹⁸ DeMar is listed in the Southern Poverty Law Center's "extremist files" for his extreme anti-gay views and his belief that "the execution of abortionists and their parents" should be a "long-term goal."

DeVos has said gay marriage is wrong because "children need a mother and a father to love and care for them."

DeVos' speech at the 2004 Michigan Republican state convention contained lines attacking marriage equality, according to the *Associated Press*.¹⁹ She said "Republicans support traditional marriage," and "We support marriage between one man and one woman because that is the way God set it up and because children need a mother and a father to love and care for them."

DeVos and her family are credited with launching the Family Research Council.

Jeremy Scahill, in his book *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army*, quotes the Family Research Council's Gary Bauer as saying "I can say without hesitation that without Ed and Elsa [Ed and Elsa Prince, parents of Betsy DeVos] and their wonderful children, there simply could not be a Family Research Council." ²⁰

Advocate called Trump's pick of DeVos "distressing to LGBT people."

Noting their contributions to the 2004 effort to amend the Michigan Constitution to ban same-sex marriage, as well as their ties to vouchers and the Christian right, the Advocate called DeVos an "anti-gay activist." ²¹

Dick and Betsy DeVos donated \$200,000 to anti-gay-marriage ballot initiative in Michigan.

"In 2004 Betsy and Dick DeVos (son of Richard, Doug's brother) led the effort to put the anti-marriage amendment on the ballot and contributed over \$200,000 to the campaign to enshrine discrimination into the Michigan constitution." ²²

DeVos family listed as sponsors of conference promoting "ex-gay" conversion therapy.

"The DeVoses were cited as sponsoring an annual conference advocating "ex-gay" or reparative therapy, the discredited practice of trying to somehow alter a persons' sexual orientation. (The American Psychological Association has warned that the dangerous therapy poses serious risk to youth, and reparative therapy on minors has been banned in several states.)" ²³

DeVos family donated \$500,000 to the National Organization for Marriage.

"In 2012, members of the LGBTQ community called for a boycott of the family's Amway company and its affiliates after news broke that the DeVoses had donated \$500,000 to anti-marriage equality organization National Organization for Marriage (NOM)." ²⁴

DeVos family has donated \$125,000 to the Institute for Marriage and Public Policy, an organization led by the former president and chair of the National Organization for Marriage.

The Institute for Marriage and Public Policy was founded by Maggie Gallagher, the founder and former president of the National Organization for Marriage.²⁵ The Institute for Marriage and Public Policy has also filed amicus briefs arguing against gay marriage.²⁶

Dick and Betsy DeVos Family Foundation have donated \$275,000 to Focus on the Family since 1999.

Focus on the Family has written papers defending “ex-gay” conversion therapy, Focus on the Family has called homosexuality “preventable and treatable.”²⁷

DEVOS SUPPORTS FOR-PROFIT PUBLIC EDUCATION:

American Federation for Children’s Policy Summit received sponsorship from K12 Inc. and Connections Academy.²⁸

At a 2001 meeting of The Gathering, Dick DeVos praised K12 Inc. as a charter school operator that would work well with homeschool and Christian curriculums.²⁹

Dick and Betsy DeVos were pre-IPO investors in K12 Inc., according to Dick DeVos’ 2006 financial disclosures.³⁰

DeVos called troubled for-profit operator Charter Schools USA—whose CEO once owned a yacht called “Fishing 4 Schools,” a “great provider.”

Troubled Ohio charter school operator David Brennan donated \$200,000 to DeVos’ All Children Matter.

According to the *Columbus Dispatch*, Brennan gave \$200,000 to All Children Matter between 2006 and 2008.³¹ Brennan, a former GOP operative, is the head of White Hat Management, a for-profit charter school operator. Brennan’s schools are such poor performers that even the heavily Republican *Columbus Dispatch* editorial board has called out “chronic poor performance” of White Hat schools.³² White Hat is known for owning the property of schools they contract with, an arrangement that one Ohio Supreme Court justice called “a fraudulent conversion of public funds into personal profit.” A clip of Brennan claiming that “education is first, last, and always a business” was shown on John Oliver’s “Last Week Tonight” episode on charter schools.³³

DeVos has consistently supported and invested in for-profit online charter schools, which have a demonstrably poor educational track record.

In addition to being an early investor in for-profit online charter school operator K12 Inc., DeVos has repeatedly voiced her support for online charter schools. During a 2015 interview with a Florida lobbyist, she said she supported a “full range” of education options including “charter schools, on-line schools, virtual schools.”³⁴ She was a board member of Jeb Bush’s Foundation for Excellence in Education, a group that advocated for “online learning and virtual charter schools.”³⁵ She was also a board member of the American Federation for Children, which includes support for “virtual learning” in their vision statement.³⁶

DeVos’ support for virtual charter schools should trouble parents, as a 2015 study from Stanford University’s Center for Research on Education Outcomes found that the “majority of online charter school students had far weaker academic growth in both math and reading,” a gulf that cost virtual school students 72 days of learning in reading and 180 days of learning in math per year, using a 180-day school year.³⁷

¹ <http://www.prwatch.org/news/2016/11/13180/5-things-know-about-billionaire-betsy-devos-trump-choice-education>

² http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/betsy-devos-trump-administration_us_583605d6e4b09b6056001b00

³ The appointees: Shirley Hufstедler (visiting professor of law), Terrell Bell (former highschool teacher), William Bennett (professor at Boston University), Lauro Cavazos (professor at Tufts and the Medical College of VA), Lamar Alexander (former president of the University of Tennessee), Richard Riley (worked on public education as governor of South Carolina), Rod Paige (professor at Hinds Community College), Margaret Spellings (chief education advisor in Texas), Arne Duncan (CEO of Chicago Public Schools), John King (three years as a classroom teacher).

⁴ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_2nH4aLLDc&t=41m35s

⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_2nH4aLLDc&t=31m41s

⁶ <http://www.federationforchildren.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Betsy-SXSWedu-speech-final-remarks.pdf?e40fe9>

⁷ <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/23/us/politics/betsy-devos-trumps-education-pick-has-steered-money-from-public-schools.html>

⁸ State Net Capitol Journal, December 22, 2003

⁹ http://www.philanthropyroundtable.org/topic/excellence_in_philanthropy/interview_with_betsy_devos

¹⁰ <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/2016/02/22/devos-families-need-dps-retread/80788340/>

¹¹ http://www.alternet.org/story/150868/the_devos_family%3A_meet_the_super-wealthy_right-wingers_working_with_the_religious_right_to_kill_public_education

¹² <http://www.metrotimes.com/Blogs/archives/2016/05/17/lawmakers-deciding-the-future-of-detroit-schools-accepted-thousands-from-pro-charter-devos-family>

- ¹³ https://twitter.com/GLEP_MI/status/734803525599932416
- ¹⁴ <http://www.detroitnews.com/story/opinion/2016/02/22/devos-families-need-dps-retread/80788340/>
- ¹⁵ <http://www.freep.com/story/news/local/michigan/2014/06/25/procharter-lobby-shows-its-clout-in-legislature/77155448/>
- ¹⁶ http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/25/opinion/betsy-devos-and-the-wrong-way-to-fix-schools.html?mwrsm=Email&_r=0
- ¹⁷ <http://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2016/12/the-notable-silence-of-new-yorks-charter-school-leaders/509255/>
- ¹⁸ <https://web.archive.org/web/20100528184951/http://conference.americanvision.org/Sponsors.html>
- ¹⁹ "Colorado Governor Rallies Michigan GOP at State Convention," Associated Press, May 22, 2004, <http://freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1140800/posts>.
- ²⁰ <http://www.talk2action.org/story/2011/5/16/123025/506>
- ²¹ <http://www.advocate.com/politics/2016/11/23/trump-picks-antigay-activist-betsy-devos-secretary-education>
- ²² http://www.huffingtonpost.com/craig-crawford/what-about-nbas-homophobe_b_5236780.html
- ²³ <http://www.politicalresearch.org/2015/12/22/the-koch-like-family-youve-never-heard-of-influencing-state-legislatures/>
- ²⁴ <https://rewire.news/article/2016/03/21/devos-family-promoting-christian-orthodoxy-political-donations/>
- ²⁵ <http://www.politicalresearch.org/2013/11/11/profiles-on-the-right-national-organization-for-marriage/>
- ²⁶ https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/Amicus%20Brief%20of%20Institute%20for%20Marriage%20and%20Public%20Policy.pdf
- ²⁷ <http://www.hrc.org/resources/10-things-you-should-know-about-focus-on-the-family>
- ²⁸ <http://afcpolicysummit.com/2016-sponsors/>
- ²⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qJYFPMuVRE>
- ³⁰ <http://www.gongwer.com/public/devosdisclosure.pdf>
- ³¹ <http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2014/07/17/All-children-matter-pac-fined.html>
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