

THE IRON CURTAIN: WHAT PRO-CHOICE AND PRO-LIFE ORGANIZATIONS IN
KANSAS LEARN FROM EACH OTHER THROUGH COMMUNICATION

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this research started with a Cold War perspective of looking at the Pro-Choice and Pro-Life movement in the state of Kansas. They are in opposition of one another, so how do they communicate and see one another? Interviews were done in four cities in Kansas and with one organization located in Kansas City, Missouri that is responsible for their national organization's mission in Kansas. Eighteen individuals were interviewed, which was split evenly with nine Pro-Choice and nine Pro-Life advocates in leadership or communication positions. Race, sex, religion, and age are all considered in the research. Most of the Pro-Choice organizations were found to be focused on multiple issues besides abortion, while all but one of the Pro-Life organizations were focused on the issue of abortion almost exclusively. There was a regional disconnect that showed a major difference of the thinking between the Kansas City metro area based organizations and the Wichita area based organizations, as the Wichita area advocates spoke more in detail about the events of the Summer of Mercy in 1991 and the death of Dr. Tiller in 2009. The research found that the Cold War analogy of the two sides works to only an extent, as the messages sent out are not directly sent to one another, even though both sides read what their opposition is saying. There might be subconscious messaging going on with some knowing the opposition is reading what they have to say. The learning factor for opposition organizations is that they are learning news tactics and how they should counter the actions and messages of the other side. Almost all direct communication between the two sides has been cutoff, thus that is where the Cold War analogy falls short as a comparison because both sides feel there is no agreeable middle ground or purpose for negotiations.

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Chapter 1 - Setting the Scene

Introduction

How does a social movement organization communicate with the public, their members, and the opposition? Do they learn anything from the opposition? Do they use this information to adjust their strategies and the messages they send out? This research focused on the activities of pro-choice and pro-life organizations in Kansas starting from 2002 to the present. The year 2002 was chosen because it is the year the pro-life organization Operation Rescue relocated to Wichita, KS in order to be in the same city as the Women's Health Center, which provided abortions during the third trimester.

Before the U.S. Supreme Court decision *Roe v. Wade*, Kansas was one of only a few states that had eased restrictions on abortion during previous decades. Kansas, one of the more socially conservative states today, has played a major role in the ideological battle of pro-life versus pro-choice. The election of pro-life candidate Phill Kline to the position of Kansas Attorney General in 2002 heated up the political debate on abortion in the state. Kline had been an adamant pro-life advocate in the Kansas House of Representative and during his run for a U.S. congressional seat in 2000. During his four-year term as Attorney General, Kline launched an investigation into two abortion clinics. He began investigating the alleged criminal activities of Planned Parenthood clinic in Overland Park, Kansas, and the Women's Health Care Services in Wichita, KS, which provided late-term abortions under the direction of Dr. George Tiller, in addition to abortions in the first and second trimesters.

When Kline took office, only two other clinics in the United States openly practiced late-term abortions as far into the third trimester as Women's Health Care Services. Dr. Tiller

became a focal point for pro-life and pro-choice organizations, which both used the clinic as a way to confront each other. Operation Rescue, originally based in California, conducted what they called the “Summer of Mercy” for six weeks outside Tiller’s Wichita clinic in 1991. The protests, including sit-ins, resulted in more than 1,600 arrests. Operation Rescue’s protests closed Tiller’s clinic and two other abortion clinics in Wichita for more than a week. In 2002, Operation Rescue branched out and relocated to Wichita, Kansas, a move that made Kansas a focal point for the debate between pro-life organizations such as Operation Rescue and Kansans for Life, while being countered by pro-choice organizations such as the National Organization for Women and Planned Parenthood. (Wilkerson 1991)

Since Operation Rescue’s “Summer of Mercy” protests, organizations have changed the way they mobilize and communicate with the public and their members. These altered the dynamics of pro-life and pro-choice organizations that are active in Kansas. These organizations still use paper newsletters, press releases, and news stories on the activities and views of the organization, but the rapid advances in technology and social communication have allowed these organizations to communicate via websites, e-newsletters and action alerts, which may be delivered to a person immediately via cellular phone. Because these organizations keep a high profile, the media often asks these organizations to give interviews or reactions on stories involving abortion.

These organizations attempt to frame the debate on abortion by engaging in public protests and various other forms of activity meant to be visible to the public and the opposition. Organizations rely on certain situations to arise in order to engage in a more vocal and massive manner, as their members are more likely to be active if they feel their time and effort is making a difference.

How do highly polarizing organizations communicate with the public, their members, and with their opponents? They use newsletters to educate members that already share the ideology of the organization about news and to reinforce talking points. They use polarizing rhetoric when they communicate with members to get them to write letters or participate in rallies. They use press releases and interviews in newspapers to educate non-members about their views and try not to provide a quote that may provide ammunition for their opponents. Rallies and other actions are meant to demonstrate solidarity to demoralize the other side and come off as superior to the public by winning the “members game,” which is important to the media when covering events. These actions often trigger a response and persuade the opposition, which escalates competition. This creates a new form of the arms race that took place during the Cold War, in which intimidation with numbers is the goal of each side. By examining the Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund (PBSCF), Planned Parenthood (PP), Trust Women (TW), National Organization for Women (NOW), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Operation Rescue (OR), Kansans for Life (KFL), Kansas Coalition for Life (KCFL), Kansas Catholic Conference (KCC), Right to Life of Kansas, Inc. (RTLK), this research hoped to provide a better understanding of the ways that social movements frame issues, perform in the public and interact with each other as partners and foes.

Review of the Literature

Previous research into framing, social movements, and abortion issues are important for this research. Erving Goffman's (1974) development of frame analysis has played a major role in social movements, even if that was not his main focus in the beginning. Goffman found that groups and individuals interpret the same events in different ways. I used Goffman's theory of Framing to see how pro-life and pro-choice organizations frame issues for the public, their members, and opposing groups (1974, p. 124). Goffman looked at framing in the sense of shaping an event so the actor, or in this case an organization, is able to frame an event in order for the public to take their side on the issue.

Scholars have adapted Goffman's ideas about individuals and applied his theory to social movements. A number of frames have developed from Goffman in later years, especially for social movements. Rhys Williams argues that rhetorical framing is used by social movement organizations to promote their agenda for what the organization views as for the good of the public (1995, p. 124). Organizations strive to frame events in regards to their perception of the ideal society by remaining active and reacting to situations that can be used to promote their agenda. In addition, these organizations want to discredit their opposition by framing them in a negative perspective (Madsen 1991, p. 440-460). Getting the public to question the legitimacy of a challenging social movement is important, which organizations attempt to do by convincing the public of what is the best direction for becoming an ideal society (Williams 1995, p. 125).

When it comes to abortion, the "public political debate is the rhetorical struggle among competing frames," according to Williams (1995, p. 140). The pro-choice and pro-life sides must find ways to frame the debate in order to appeal to the majority of the public by convincing them that their organization is mobilizing on their behalf. They must do this in a careful manner,

as the opposing side may articulate their frame on issues and events to the public in a more successful way. For example, pro-abortion advocacy organizations prefer their label to be “pro-choice” because they want to avoid the stigma that may be associated with the word “abortion.” Although the anti-abortion side is labeled as being against a word that may have a stigma, the term “anti” can be viewed negatively. Anti-abortion advocates therefore prefer the term “pro-life” because it gives their position a positive image to the public. Pro-life advocates then frame their position as being in favor of protecting fetuses from abortion. (Goffman 1963)

Both the pro-life and pro-choice movements have a large number of supporters and passionate activists. Laws that deal with abortion are constantly being introduced, so both pro-life and pro-choice organizations claim to oppose the status quo as a countermovement would, but still claim they have more active supporters than the opposing side. Both sides attempt to fulfill three characteristics of a countermovement, as described by Myers and Staggenborg: “first, the movement shows signs of success; second, the interests of some population are threatened by movement goals; and third, political allies are available to aid oppositional mobilization” (1996, p. 1635). Myers and Staggenborg point to the issue involving tobacco smoking in public places as being an example where a countermovement is unlikely to develop that would be able to overcome the anti-smoking legislation that has passed in elected bodies and by the public by way of propositions on the ballot (1996, p. 1636). Both the pro-life and pro-choice sides have more points that the public may view positively, so an overwhelming majority does not ostracize either side. There is a need for a greater examination into movement-countermovement dynamics, which this research could help add to by examining organizations from both sides of the abortion issue. This research can show how movements can “initiate actions and respond to one another” (Myers and Staggenborg 1996, p. 1656). Using content

analysis, this research examines these social movements and reveals “the centrality of particular issues and alliances (and) the articulated strategies” (Myers & Staggenborg 1996, p. 1656). I expected to find a number of examples how these social movement organizations responded to specific events and to their opponents. The variety of ways to react and respond to different situations will also add to the literature of social movement tactics for organizations that are polar opposites of one another and where there is very little room for negotiation. I expect to find that framing tactics change through various communication outlets and could be in response to a negative response by the public or their members. These organizations probably change framing and communication tactics based on the activity of their opposition.

Social movement organizations (SMOs) rely heavily on resource mobilization to get their members involved with the organization’s activities. The availability of resources for meeting the goals of an organization is important for creating a favorable environment and how a group communicates with the public and their supporters is important in achieving their goals. When resources are so vast for a particular social movement, then the possibility of new social movement organizations arise, especially when there are opposing views when it comes to tactics and specific goals (McCarthy & Zald 1995, p. 1225). I expected the organizations that I researched to change their tactics based on new or limited resources that are available to them.

Social movements rely heavily on using mass media in a strategic manner and use the media to criticize or analyze current events, laws, and political policies that go against their views. Groups look to gain a strategic advantage by portraying the other side in a negative light (Carroll & Ratner 1999, p. 2-4). Carroll and Ratner find that “social movement organizations must overcome or at least cope creatively with their asymmetrical dependency upon the mass media” to gain an advantage in the debate (1999, p. 26). Even if they have a media outlet’s

support, whether obvious or not, does not guarantee success, thus organizations that are limited on resources will struggle and are more likely to fail because they ultimately rely on funding. Carroll and Ratner researched a gay rights organization that managed to use alternative newspapers that required funding to strengthen their movement in the gay and lesbian community due to the lack of mainstream media coverage (1999, p. 27). The environmental organization Greenpeace strategically used the mass media to promote issues that were more likely to have a greater amount of approval for the organization. So along with the importance of funding, creativity becomes an extremely important objective for a social movement organization to succeed because a heavy reliance on media outlets can only go so far, even when it comes to a positive view from them. New technologies may allow organizations to be less dependent on mass media, but they will still attempt to get their message out through the mass media.

Deana Rohlinger compared how the pro-choice group, the National Organization for Women (NOW), and the pro-life group, the Concerned Women for America (CWA), used the media in order to support their cause (2002). She wanted to learn how these organizations attempted to “manage media coverage during critical moments of the abortion debate” (2002, p. 480). She found that these organizations needed to carefully frame the issue in order to influence the public to have a favorable opinion of their side. Expressing views that the public could interpret as extreme could turnoff the target audience, especially if the mass media’s coverage makes the organization come off as extreme. By comparing NOW and the CWA, Rohlinger showed how the two organizations frame the issue of abortion in different ways, if at all. NOW considered the right to an abortion as a “right,” while the CWA considered abortion a moral issue, and agreed that abortion terminates human life (Rohlinger 2002, p. 480). The use of

“packages” needs further research and study, but a package is an argument that counters an argument from an opposing side (Rohlinger 2002, p. 480). Due to minimal resources, organizations rely on positive mass media coverage to promote their agenda and organization. Gaining the attention of the mass media can be difficult because journalists prefer to rely on sources who they know and are comfortable with, rather than branching out (Rohlinger 2002, p. 483).

According to Rohlinger, NOW was most likely to use mainstream media outlets, but often failed to respond to certain issues, which caused confusion when it came to the stance NOW took on particular issues about women from the public and their members. CWA looked at the mainstream media as having a liberal bias early on, but later added a communications division to counter pro-choice organizations, like NOW, in the media. Although NOW focused their message to tailor to the political realm and understanding, CWA crafted a message based on morality to oppose abortion (Rohlinger 2002, p. 490-502).

Rohlinger found that the two organizations did respond to each other’s messages, or packages, but the mass media often failed to cover it (2002, p. 504). By examining opposing organizations, researchers can see how they frame the debate.

Frame alignment plays a major role when organizations use mass media and other outlets, including newsletters. McCaffrey and Keys examined the newsletters distributed by the National Organization for Women and a number of chapters in the state of New York between 1970 and 1988 (2000). McCaffrey and Keys found that NOW chapters used three kinds of framing tactics: polarization-vilification, frame debunking, and frame saving. NOW distributed these newsletters to supporters, and not the general public. One limitation of the study was that it focused on only one organization, so no comparison was made. Another limitation was that NOW is a multi-issue

organization and it did not devote as much attention to the abortion issue compared to today. Frame alignment allows a social movement organization to legitimize itself in the public sphere when it comes to a heavily debated issue. Framing should be followed by mobilization on issues that may arise to motivate members and ensure them that the organization is determined to win because it prevents the risk of apathy. Using polarization techniques can lead to creating a battle between two sides and motivate members to become more passionate about an issue, which creates a more dedicated and active membership (McCaffrey & Keys 2000, p. 44). Frame debunking by these newsletters in order to discredit opposing frames were examined as the second item because it can assist with public opinion and discourage the opposing side. The third and final item to look at was frame saving, in which the organization tries to preserve an issue that is on the losing end of the public debate at the moment (McCaffrey & Keys 2000, p. 44). These three types of frame alignment can be used to understand how social movement organizations communicate with members and the general public. While social movements that use framing have been used in the past, there is little to no research into how opposing organizations communicate with each other and what they may be learning from each other. Research of two opposing organizations for a comparative study is important to see how each side may adjust or how much focus they put on the opposing side.

This thesis aimed to fill the gaps left by previous research, including comparing organizations in a very important state and time period for a significant social issue.

Methodology

This thesis used a qualitative methodology based mostly on interviews and supplemented with some content analysis and participant observation to answer the research questions. The initial list of organizations to interview included Kansans for Life, Operation Rescue, National Abortion and Reproductive Action League, Planned Parenthood, American Civil Liberties Union, and the Kansas Coalition for Life.

The study focused on the history and developments of pro-life and pro-choice organizations in Kansas from *Roe v. Wade* until the final interview that took place on September 16, 2011. The reason for the almost four decade long focus on this research is to allow for the organizations to not be hampered by focusing on a short period of time and it allowed for some interesting information to be divulged.

Comparing data at different times will be important and seeing how active the organizations were helped in determining organizational down periods and peaks of activity. Due to the time frame being studied, there were periods where activity was high with organizations reacting to certain events. This study was expected to verify existing theories, but may cause the theories to be customized with new data that has arisen.

I hoped to see how opposing organizations communicate with each other and to see if there might be direct communication that takes place. This study examined what each side is saying to one another; also, I wished to see if each side understands what the opposing side is saying. I expected to find that the sides change their message and tactics based on the activities and the communications of the opposition.

Examining the different language used by the organizations also lead to understanding how multiple issue organizations (e.g. NOW) and single-issue organizations (e.g. Operation

Rescue) react. It also added to the literature when examining an organization that is strictly focused on advocacy (Kansans for Life) and an organization involved with service (Planned Parenthood).

The head, a public relations director or an equivalent to a public relations director of the organization approved all interview subjects, except in the case of one individual that worked for Kansans for Life from 1996-2000. All interviews were on the record, so all interview subjects were considered capable and knowledgeable to speak about the mission and activity of the organization by the main organizational contact to schedule interviews. There were twelve interviews conducted with a total of eighteen interview subjects taking part. The number of interview subjects was split evenly between nine pro-life advocates and nine pro-choice advocates. Five pro-life organizations and five pro-choice organizations took part in the interview. The main goal was to make sure the research was done in as close to an impartial and fair manner as possible. One problem that became obvious immediately was one of the organizations that I wished to interview was a representative of NARAL from Kansas; however, I would learn while trying to find a contact that the organization has not had a presence in the state of Kansas since the 1980s. Organizations such as the Kansas Catholic Conference, Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund, and Trust Women were recommended to me. The organization Right to Life of Kansas, Inc. was discovered while searching for other organization Pro-Life organizations. An attempt was made to interview one more Pro-Choice and one more Pro-Life organization; however, those interviews came up unfruitful due to a major turnover in one organization and another organization that suffered from a lack of up-to-date contact information on their official website. I decided that those organizations I was able to conduct interviews with

suffice for this study. These organizations might be considered the most well known advocacy organizations in the state of Kansas without political party affiliation.

The questions focused on the operation of the organization and this should be a rather new experience for the interview subjects, since they are typically asked questions focused solely on the issue of abortion or an upcoming event.

These interviews are done completely on the record and individuals were free to take certain portions of the interview off the record. This never occurred, except two organizations wanted changes to their interviews due to grammar and misstatements during the interviews. Large portions of the interviews are in the coming chapters with research results due to the desire to not edit or potentially misconstrue the intent of the interview subjects. There were interview subjects that have a mistrust of the media or feel their every word is being excessively studied to take advantage of what was said in order to make the organization look bad in public. Pro-life organizations typically showed a disappointment in the media often times, such as RTLK not understanding why they believe the media attempts to undercut the large March for Life because the media then find a Pro-Choice advocate in a small group of protestors to interview and give that small group equal or more time. Planned Parenthood seemed very guarded about doing an interview and made many requests about reviewing what is written to prevent embarrassment or negative publicity for the organization because there are constant Pro-Life advocates attempting to shut down Planned Parenthood and cut government funding that goes to the organization. At one point of the interview with Planned Parenthood, a subordinate asked her superior to let her know if her answer on one question could be left on the record after she said it, which the superior was fine with and left the comment on the record. Due to these concerns I felt it was important to allow the research to come from the words of the interview subjects, even in large

portions. These interview subjects are used to short snippets in newspapers or television news when trying to speak on an issue, so an opportunity to fully express themselves in their own words seemed like the best way to respect the interview subjects and their desire to be heard without the filter of someone deciding to only express their views in just two sentences that could be taken out of context. The interview subjects are expected to learn something from this research about their opposition and themselves due to self-reflection; however, that cannot be determined at this time, as they have not yet received a copy of this research.

Questions for Interviews

1. What is the mission of your organization? How did your organization get started? Can you provide a brief history of your organization?
2. Can you explain the structure of your organization? How many employees are there? How many volunteers assist? How many members are active in the organization?
3. How does your organization communicate with members, the public, and your opposition?
4. What activities do you undertake? For example do you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.? What does each of these activities communicate to members, the public, and your opposition?
5. How does your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members?
6. What messages do you try to send to your members, the public, and your opposition? Are the messages adjusted based on the target audience? How are the messages sent? Which ways have you found to be successful? Which ways have you found to be not so successful?
7. How does your organization communicate with organizations that oppose your views? How do you “send them a message”? (protests, rallies, the passage of bills, public opinion polls, etc.) What messages do you send? Do you think they receive and understand these messages?
8. What developments or events have prompted you to act? What developments prompt your opponents to act?
9. Has your organization had any formal or informal contact with opposing organizations in the past on any issue? Why or why not? What do you think you might learn from them? Have you persuaded them to change their thinking or position on any issue? Have they persuaded you to change your thinking, position, approach or political practice? Why or why not?

Introduction to Research

The Pro-Choice and Pro-Life organizations in Kansas encompassed far more than I had originally expected to exist, especially when taking into account what can be described as branching organizations created for either a single purpose (Personhood Kansas) or dissolving an organization (Pro Choice Action League) and moving onto a new one (The Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund). Each interview showed that not only was a profile of each organization necessary, but some observations and revelations of the interview subjects may go deeper into showing the passion that supports the battle of public opinion and legislation between two sides of an often contentious issue, abortion. There even appears to be a regional aspect with the organizations, typically noticeable with the organizations in Wichita and the Topeka/Kansas City areas, but also sometimes within the organizations themselves (Right to Life of Kansas). These interviews took place during a period of court rulings over new abortion clinic regulations that were passed by the Kansas Legislature and signed by Governor Sam Brownback. Many of the organizations were busier than normal during a period when the legislature was not in session because of the long struggle between preventing what Pro-Choice organizations saw as too high of expectations in order to close the clinics, while the Pro-Life organizations were trying to continue with their momentum following new laws requiring parental consent for minors and further restrictions on abortions taking place after 20 weeks. The main goal was to interview those high up in the organization, who have extensive experience in their respective movement, or play a major role in the public relations and communication side of the organization. I was successful in securing interviews with people that fit at least one of these roles and none of them could be considered just regular members of an organization.

The organization of the profiles of the individuals and their organizations shall take place by dividing up the types of organizations from the Pro-Choice and Pro-Life sides. Some will be more in depth, based on interaction that took place just before and after the interview. The mood of the interview subject at the time of the interview played a major role too.

Chapter two introduces the Pro-Choice organizations and the interview subjects representing those organizations. This includes the organizations of the Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund, Trust Women, American Civil Liberties Union of Kansas & Mid-Missouri, Planned Parenthood of Kansas & Mid-Missouri, and the National Organization for Women. They discuss the development and other aspects of their organizations.

Chapter three introduces the Pro-Life organizations and the interview subjects representing those organizations. Those organizations are the Kansans for Life, Operation Rescue, Kansas Catholic Conference, Kansas Coalition for Life, Kansas Right to Life, Inc., and the West Sedgwick County chapter of Kansas Right to Life, Inc. This portion also includes the organization Personhood Kansas, which has developed an alliance with the West Sedgwick County chapter of Kansas Right to Life, Inc. The third chapter also includes a woman that worked at Kansans for Life from 1996 to 2000 that also took part in Sidewalk Counseling, which will be discussed below.

Chapter four combines the organizations to discuss their communication and recruitment practices. Chapter five examines the concept of interaction and communication with the opposition. This then leads to the conclusions from the research in chapter six.

Chapter 2 - Pro-Choice Organizations

Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund

My first Pro-Choice organizational interview took place with leaders of The Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund, including Peggy Bowman herself. The other two that agreed to be interviewed were Julie Sheppard and LaNita “Nita” Mark. Ms. Bowman is highly involved in the organization that took on her name; however, she is content with being a board member of the organization. Ms. Sheppard is the president of the PBSCF and Ms. Mark is the treasurer.

The interview took place in Ms. Bowman’s home with all three women wishing to be interviewed at the same time. There was definitely a feeling of camaraderie among the three women, as they made it feel like a very laid back environment. Ms. Mark felt comfortable sitting back comfortably in a recliner (not reclined). You can immediately see why Ms. Sheppard would be chosen to be president of the organization, as she is very engaging, very talkative, and very considerate of any guest. One interview subject I would interview later offered me coffee, but Ms. Sheppard brought a barbecue roast beef sandwich to the interview for me to eat while everyone got comfortable and ready for the interview. There was at least twenty minutes of conversation in Ms. Bowman’s cozy home before the interview began. The house was very well kept and organized. My inclination would be to say that she is often hosting people over at her place. Ms. Bowman worked for Dr. George Tiller up until the late 1990s as a lobbyist and Ms. Sheppard would later talk about her time as an escort for individuals going into his clinic. Ms. Sheppard is currently working in education and even that was related to the abortion issue, as she discussed negligent parents and how sad it would be to see children that are not taken care of properly. Ms. Mark’s position as treasurer was the most fitting for her among the three because she is a professional accountant. Many nonprofit organizations can get away with a treasurer

that may not have professional experience as a treasurer; however, with what PBSCF does it is imperative to be very fiscally sound with funds.

The mission statement of the Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund is “Our mission is to financially help low and middle income Kansas women seeking abortions who are unable to pay the full cost of the procedure. Our goal is that no woman be denied an abortion due to an inability to pay.” This statement is very simple for an organization that began in 1996, so it is intriguing seeing how Ms. Sheppard gives a short description of the mission and the history

PBSCF

Sheppard: This is the fifteenth year of the organization. It started out as the Second Chance Fund with a group of people, mostly from Lawrence, who just started a phone tree of calling each other and finding out about who needed help in being able to afford to get abortions. And so it grew from there and became a nonprofit. And then the rest of us around the state found out about it and have joined and now we have about a fifteen-member board. And it’s extremely successful. For three or four years, we haven’t had to turn down anyone who needed help. People send us money; we’ve never had to beg for money, we’ve never had to do any fundraising. We send out a newsletter 3 times a year and they send us money and that’s pretty amazing. Also the majority of the people get them by email, so we don’t have to mail most of them letters. And people from all over the country send us money and the only stipulation is the money all goes directly to providing services. The clinics figure out who needs them, we don’t have to figure it out. And then they call the Fund, the specific board members are Peggy and a woman up in Topeka just to get an okay, and they say, “Okay.” Then the clinics send the bill to our treasurer and she pays the bills and we are now associated with, I believe, fifteen clinics because we were fourteen and we added one.

Mark: Yeah, we have them all over now.

Sheppard: The rules are: it has to be Kansas women. Anybody who’s in financial need and can’t afford the whole thing. So it’s a pretty wonderful thing. The other thing that’s unique about us, is that none of us are paid. We’re all volunteer, so the money doesn’t go to us and I think that helps people give us money.

Bowman: I think so.

Sheppard: Because we’re not profiting from it, in any respect. We’re all just working together for a common cause to help women.

Ms. Mark first became associated with and joined the organization in 2007, which lead into a strong point about the concept of burnout, even among those most dedicated to a cause.

PBSCF

Mark: And so before that the founder had done everything herself. She'd done everything.

Sheppard: Full time volunteer.

Mark: Yeah, she'd done all the money, all the reports, newsletters, everything.

Weston: Is it okay if I ask who the founder was?

Mark: Sylvie Rueff. Anyway, she was doing everything and now we've split it up quite a bit so that nobody gets overwhelmed with it. I pay the clinics directly. We don't ever deal with the clients. And we depend on them to assess the need. They usually give somewhat of a discount to us. Some of them do anyway. And so they bill me and I pay them direct. We usually assist somewhere around 200 people a year. Not quite that many lately. Of course it changed when Doctor Tiller was killed from here. Yeah we are now dealing with clinics in all of the surrounding states and then some.

And Ms. Bowman is quite modest about the organization having her name attached to it, as Ms. Sheppard has to be the one to push Ms. Bowman to talk about how her name became attached.

PBSCF

Sheppard: Tell him how the "Peggy Bowman" got attached to it.

Bowman: (Laugh) Well, in a step back a little bit, as they were saying before, Sylvie did everything. And Sylvie finally burned out basically. And I volunteered, I guess, to be the director. And at that point, the organization kind of moved from Lawrence, to Wichita, and as LaNita said, we kind of began to divide things up, so we have someone specifically responsible for taking the calls from the clinics, as LaNita is the treasurer, so she handles all the money and makes sure she drives me insane (laugh). She makes sure everything is right to the absolute penny. (Laugh)

Mark: I'm an accountant, what can I say?

Bowman: I had an organization that I put together called Pro Choice Action League. And it was a large statewide organization. And when I disbanded Pro Choice Action League our PCAL board had to decide what to do with our money that we had in the bank. And it has to go to a nonprofit. And so we decided to give the money to the Second Chance Fund. And the Second

Chance Fund decided to add my name to the title. And I think because I had worked as an activist for Pro-Choice for twenty years and to kind of honor that, they added my name. So I'm very proud of that. I love being associated with this organization because it does really important work for Kansas women.

Ms. Bowman downplays her name being attached to the organization, but that appears to be the reason why Ms. Sheppard is excited about being the president of the organization.

PBSCF

Sheppard: Another thing I would like you to know about Peggy, George, is that I went to a national conference with her, she's kind of famous, not just in Kansas, for her work. So it's not just an honor to have her on her letterhead, but I mean I felt like I was a groupie when I was traveling with her (Laughs), because she's a hero to a lot of people in the country. Because of her activity, it's such a touchy subject, it's such a tricky thing to have to do, and isn't even a subject you can bring up in most conversations, because you can't just say, "Hi George, are you pro-choice or anti-choice?" (Laughs) You just don't do that! You know? It's too personal.

The organization relies on the cohesiveness of the board of more than a dozen board members from varied backgrounds brought into fit a need and utilizes the talent of the individual. The latest two board members to join were fairly recent college graduates, thus to make sure there's representatives from a greater range of cohort generations.

PBSCF

Mark: The way we sort of recruit members to the board is last few times at least, we had looked at a need, like maybe we should have an attorney, maybe we should have a public relations person, you know? Those different skills and then everybody sits around and goes "Well whom do you know that does that?" And that's kind of how we've gotten the latest board members.

The Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund is very focused on what might be considered charitable donations for low-income or lower middle-income women to have abortions paid for directly to the clinics in states beyond Kansas, especially now that all clinics in Wichita have been closed down. Fifteen clinics in eight different states are apart of the PBSCF; however, the money can only directly to the clinics for services provided to female residents of Kansas. All

three feel it is very important to keep focused on the mission of the organization, yet everyone on the board is free to do as they please as individuals and as part of other organizations.

PBSCF

Bowman: I think as an organization we do very little, if any, advocacy. It doesn't mean that as individuals we aren't involved. But our real focus, almost our total focus is helping to fund abortions for low and middle-income Kansas women. Our national organization actually encourages us to do advocacy. And one of these reasons we don't do it, Julie referred to as we have people on the board with varying opinions about those kinds of specifics. And so one of the reasons we all get along so well is because we don't pull people on the board to tell them, you know, you need to write this letter, you need to do this. I mean, people again just do that as individuals. We all know about the different things that are going on and if individuals want to do that, then that's great. But we just don't do advocacy; we fund abortions.

The strong alliances between the Pro-Choice organizations means a greater likelihood of members volunteering and being apart of multiple organizations in some way to fulfill a different mission of the movement. The Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund is a unique organization because they are neither directly involved with services nor advocacy. They manage to differentiate themselves from other organizations by keeping a singular focus on paying for abortions in full as an all-volunteer organization. They play their role, while other organizations that mix members, volunteers and lobbyists can play a different role, such as the National Organization for Women.

NOW

The next interview with a Pro-Choice organization took place in Wichita the next morning with Linda Joslin, the president of the Wichita Chapter of the National Organization for Women. Ms. Joslin is a woman that is a veteran of the Pro-Choice movement, being able to go back to talk about the start of NOW in Wichita in the 70s and just as Dr. George Tiller began to offer abortion procedures. The interview took place in her apartment, which had a large number

of books and papers in the living room. She offered me some coffee in order to make the interview feel more comfortable for the both of us in my opinion and to be a gracious host. You can tell she likes talking about her organization and Dr. Tiller, not out of joy, but because it is a lifelong passion and it would seem she feels as if the more chances she gets to talk to someone about the rights of women, the more people will reevaluate society. She spoke about NOW and the history of the Pro-Choice movement in the Wichita area like a historian would and seems to be the source to go to when it comes to both NOW and the pro-choice movement in the region. Even with the political losses to the Pro-Choice side recently and there now being zero clinics that perform abortions in Wichita, she shows no signs of being burnt out or a desire to walk away. Her knowledge on the history of NOW goes beyond the local or state chapter level. The local chapter mission for NOW is simpler than that of the national organization, as “Wichita NOW actively works to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men.” The national organization’s mission statement has changed over the years to reflect alliances with other organizations as “NOW’s goal has been to take action to bring about equality for all women. NOW works to eliminate discrimination and harassment in the workplace, schools, the justice system, and all other sectors of society; secure abortion, birth control and reproductive rights for all women; end all forms of violence against women; eradicate racism, sexism and homophobia, and promote equality and justice in our society.” The start of NOW is traced back to 1966 according to their official website.

NOW

Joslin: Okay, nationally some of them started in the late 60s. It wasn’t an official organization then, it was just a group of women that got together and talked about the problems that women were having. In the 70s, then they did establish the national organization, but it was mostly centered around the East Coast and in New York. And, well I have one of our brochures and that might be the easiest way to give it to you and you can just keep that. It kind of goes into

detail a little bit. And we are just concerned about women's issues. Our number one area that we work on is equal rights because women still don't have constitutional rights. The only right we have is the right to vote. And we think that women should have full constitutional rights and that's what we've worked for. It seems to scare the other side a great deal.

Weston: And what about the local chapter?

Joslin: The local chapter started here in the 70s, it wasn't too long after the national (organization) started and there was the international year for women. And the last meeting for that was here. And that was done on a national level to study the problems that women have and what we can do about them. And it was violent. We had a lot of protestors; they brought them in by the busloads from Utah. Mormons were big on that one. One of our friends got her foot broken because they would come up to you and stomp on your feet to hurt your toes. And they would stomp a little higher on her instep and broke her foot. But that's what we were going through to get into the meeting. They tried to ruin the meeting and they didn't get to. And that brought in a lot of women locally that joined at that time. And we've been here ever since.

Most of the individuals discussed the Summer of Mercy; however, Ms. Joslin is able to talk about the problems that began two decades even before then. These types of events probably helped secure Ms. Joslin's view that part of the Pro-Life movement deals with an unequal view of women from that side of the debate. Abortion has taken on a greater role in NOW it seems due to women gaining fairer treatment in the workplace and most of society over the past few decades and in many cases Pro-Choice laws have been losing ground to the Pro-Life laws being passed in states such as Kansas. The organization and structure of NOW in Kansas relies on a very close partnership with chapters from across the state and the statewide leadership.

NOW

Joslin: Well we have a local, a state, and then the national. We even have regional and of course there's officers at all levels. The only paid staff is our lobbyist and that we do at the state level, so she's an employee of the state (organization). Everything else is volunteer. We have in Kansas over a thousand (members) and we have approximately...I would say we've got about 250 that are real active. And then the others we pull in for special things.

And the chapters all hold their own meetings, plus the national and state organizations send out newsletters. The state organizational meetings give the chapters a way to bring up concerns and ideas of what NOW can do in the future.

NOW

Joslin: Any member can attend and we even have guests sometimes. But we are required to have our officers go; at least the president needs to be there. Then we ask them to bring one or two members along so that they can vote and know what's going on.

NOW is a very well known organization nationally, and the state organization has funds for lobbying on behalf of women's rights. Thus the feedback for local chapters is important from chapters such as Wichita, especially when considering there are no abortion clinics left in the city. This now requires women to travel to the Kansas City area, Oklahoma, or elsewhere. Ms. Joslin is then left relying on the state organization to lobby on the behalf of the Wichita chapter; however, the state organization is left having to focus on trying to keep the three clinics in the state open that remain in the Kansas City area.

Trust Women

Trust Women PAC is an organization founded by Julie Burkhart in 2009 following the murder of Dr. George Tiller. Ms. Burkhart had a long history of Pro-Choice advocacy as a lobbyist and head of Dr. Tiller's ProKanDo PAC from 2002 until his death. The interview about Trust Women PAC took place in a multi-story office building in downtown Wichita with both Ms. Burkhart and another member of the board, Scott Poor. Mr. Poor is a unique individual in this study because he was the only male to be interviewed from the Pro-Choice side. That fact is unique to this research; however, the Pro-Choice movement is not lacking in organizational

leaders that are male, such as Planned Parenthood of Kansas & Mid-Missouri President and CEO Peter Brownlie.

The mission of Trust Women according to Ms. Burkhart is to “make sure women have access to reproductive health care.” And to expand upon on that, their website directly mentions the murder of Dr. Tiller being the main reason the organization was created. According to their website, Trust Women’s mission is:

“In every state where we open a clinic, we will create model policy agendas to expand access to care. We will build deep community support for these services and the policy makers who stand up for them.”

They break down their goals into three objectives:

1. Open clinics that provide abortion and maternal health care; full spectrum reproductive health care.
2. Build community investment in those clinics.
3. Create model state public policies to expand abortion care and improve maternal health.

And Trust Women is not going after easy target states to accomplish these goals. They are targeting states in the Midwest and the South, due to increased abortion restrictions in those states.

Ms. Burkhart is a motivated woman that has not yet been deterred from the cause she is passionate about. There seems to be a desire driving her in this movement to keep going in order to continue the goals that she saw Dr. Tiller strive for while alive. Ms. Burkhart came off as the type that takes a little while to open up to new people, which could either be her natural personality or it is a shield she has developed when dealing with an unknown person asking about the abortion issue. Most of her early answers were very short and Mr. Poor seemed to follow her lead. In some instances he would not even add to some of the early questions, so I felt the need to think up questions to attempt to pry them to open up more about themselves and the Trust Women organization. It worked to some degree; however, it could have been that the

interview was taking place in a boardroom that could be described as corporate in nature. This environment may have lead to a feeling that answers should be straight and to the point, as opposed to the interviews that took place in people's homes where there was a more free feeling of opening up to an interviewer on the subject. Anyway, Scott Poor appeared to be similar to Ms. Burkhart as a professional focused on the Pro-Choice movement with his uniqueness beyond being a male, but also being a Pro-Choice Republican.

TW

Poor: I've been involved in pro-choice organizations over the years. Been involved with Planned Parenthood. Been involved with Republicans for Choice. I'm a Republican and there were several incarnations of different Pro-Choice Republican organizations over the years. I've been involved with those. Probably for about fifteen years.

Mr. Poor's Republican affiliation must have been an intriguing addition to the board of Trust Women and Ms. Burkhart seemed to show a great deal of respect for Mr. Poor himself because she did not mention political affiliations at all, even though other interview subjects did discuss political parties in a positive or negative aspect. Trust Women is the youngest of all the organizations, so it was interesting to find out from Ms. Burkhart the purpose of creating this organization with a staff and lobbyists. And Ms. Burkhart showed a real passion for the reason behind the creation of the Trust Women PAC a little further into the interview.

TW

Burkhart: Well the assassination of my boss and mentor (Tiller). And the fact that the rights of pregnant women, hence all women, are being trampled on. And the fact that here in the Midwest we have a lack of infrastructure when it comes to the protection of the rights of women. And so it was a question, you know? Barack Obama had been elected president, Dr. George Tiller had been assassinated, the Tea Party had risen to an all-time high, and it was a question of "What are we going to do? What are our values? What is the right thing to do at the end of the day? Do we walk away?" Because this horrific event happened and people are pissed off because of the election of our president and other factors or do we really roll up our shirtsleeves and really dig in? This is a tough fight. That was it. I guess for me I really had to look at what are my core values as a human being and what is just the right thing to do? And it was to say "I'm going to keep pushing forward."

ACLU

The Americans Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Kansas and Western Missouri is an organization with an affiliation with the national organization, as Holly Weatherford, Program Director, explains.

ACLU

Weatherford: So the mission of the ACLU of Kansas and Western Missouri is to protect and defend the constitutional rights and civil liberties of every individual in Kansas and Western Missouri regardless of creed, race, religion, or other labeling through education, advocacy, and litigation. This organization has been around for fifty years. It's our fiftieth anniversary this year. The national ACLU celebrated their ninetieth anniversary last year (2010). Been around for a while. A lot of the affiliate organizations, state organizations started back around loyalty oaths and we had our first case here locally; it was a loyalty oath case. And that's back around communism and educators had to sign loyalty oaths if they were going to be teaching in the classroom. And so we saw those cases pop up around the country and the ACLU won a lot of them and got those loyalty oaths thrown out.

Ms. Weatherford has worked for the ACLU since December 2009 and was previously with Planned Parenthood. A native of Oklahoma, she went to the University of Missouri-Kansas City (UMKC) for her Juris Doctorate (J.D.) and decided to stay in the Kansas City area working on campaigns and Planned Parenthood. The ACLU was not very prominent in the state of Kansas, which was one of the reasons she was hired.

ACLU

Weatherford: The ACLU, this affiliate was not very present in Kansas before I got here, over the last...I don't know how many years it was, probably almost a decade before 2010 was probably the first time the ACLU really started establishing a presence in Kansas. We would still take cases. But as far as legislative advocacy and public education, the ACLU just really hadn't done much across the state. So we're sort of learning as we go.

Due to the ACLU being a nationwide organization and the limited number of employees in the Kansas City, Missouri, office, it is understandable why there was not much attention placed on Kanas.

ACLU

Weatherford: Sure we have five employees here at this affiliate. Our turf covers all of the state of Kansas and the Western half of Missouri. We have a litigation department, we have a legal director, we have a development department and that's the fundraising arm, and then the program department is myself and we do education, legislative outreach, and advocacy, and then community outreach and advocacy. It's interesting because there's five of us. We have an office manager and then the executive director as well. And so I think we all have a lot of autonomy in our jobs, but also everything we do is so connected with the other department. You know whatever I'm doing in the legislature is going to have an affect on what could be on the legal director's plate affect his job, depending on his job what legislation has passed and what's in it. In order to do our work we've got to raise money, so the development arm is extremely important. And also the legal director will take cases that come from the community. Community members can file cases with the ACLU and if that complaint has merit, then the legal director might take that on and he might come to the program department and ask us to do some kind of community outreach in Springfield, Missouri for example around that issue. So the community can be educated about the issues at hand in those legal cases. So we all work in our own little departments but it's very important that we all work together.

The organization relies heavily on seeking outside assistance and a need to make sure they are frugal on the cases they accept to pursue into the litigation process.

ACLU

Weatherford: Yeah, so if it's a big case we might have pro bono council and that's typically a law firm in the community. We also have lawyers from our national organization that help litigate cases as well, bigger cases. You know the ACLU a lot of times gets the reputation of being litigation heavy or quick to shoot. And really that's not the case. I would say, I can't remember the exact numbers, of over 90% of the complaints that we get in this office are rejected and those that actually are looked into, only, it's less than 2%, are actually ever pursued legally. And it's less than that 2% that are actually litigated. So as far as filing lawsuits everywhere it's not really the case. We do a heck of a lot more community outreach and education and programming.

Much like NOW, the ACLU is a multi-issue organization that lobbies; however, in this case ACLU comes nowhere near the level of focus on abortion that NOW does currently. Ms.

Weatherford understands the prioritizing of issues for different times, as she was able to make abortion an issue the ACLU focused on in 2011 and at the time of the interview knew the next big issue for the 2012 legislative session might be immigration. Having worked for Planned Parenthood in the past, it seems she gets to expand her scope on civil liberties, while still getting to be able to defend her Pro-Choice beliefs.

Planned Parenthood

The key difference between Planned Parenthood and any of the other organizations interviewed is that the organization has a direct connection on the issue at hand and that is the service of abortion procedures. There are of course other services and education provided by Planned Parenthood of Kansas & Mid-Missouri; however, the Comprehensive Health Center in Overland Park, Kansas does provide abortion services. There are two other Planned Parenthood offices in the state of Kansas in Hays and Wichita, but both only make abortion referrals and do not provide the service itself. This statement is disputed by some Pro-Life activists and leaders because those offices do offer “morning after pills” (emergency contraception), which acts as an abortifacient. Many pro-life activists feel these should be illegal, thus even these facilities are looked upon as a type of abortion clinic.

Sheila Kostas and Sarah Gillooly from the Public Affairs Department of the Planned Parenthood of Kansas & Mid-Missouri agreed to be interviewed; however, since Ms. Kostas is the Director of the Department, there was a definite concern of how Planned Parenthood would be written about in this thesis. It would appear Planned Parenthood is feeling a lot of pressure most recently from both the state of Kansas and the Federal government, so image is a major concern for them at this time. It is accurate to say this was the only organization that expressed

concern with how this thesis would make them look, which makes sense with the current scrutiny they are going through and wrangling of laws at the state and federal levels.

My visit to Planned Parenthood was an interesting experience because the complex is in a nice looking commercial area in a brick building. Driving up, there appears to be two distinct floors to the facility. The bottom floor is the medical facility itself. Walking up to the door to that entrance, I was greeted by a large and imposing security guard that uses a hand-held metal detector wand on all those in a small walkway inside that has a security door even beyond that. The way to describe it would be trying to enter a jail or an airport terminal. The number of security doors to enter makes it feel like going into a jail, but because the individual wants to enter, it then comes off as a trying to get on an airplane. The purpose appears to keep potentially violent or obstructing Pro-Life activists from entering the facility. An additional reason could be to add to the privacy of clients; however, the parking lot is out in the open. The security guard asked my purpose and after identifying myself and my purpose, he then directed me to a door along the side of the building. This door was locked and had an intercom system to the side. The woman that works at the front desk must unlock it from her position if the individual is to be allowed into the top floor of the facility. This part of the facility is the educational and administrative floor. The front desk is not visible from the outside. Once the woman allows you to enter, you then have stairs to climb and then you reach the floor where she is seated. There is academic feel to this floor. The best description would be that of a mini-library, where the only subjects to read about are reproductive rights. The modernization of the office has kept with the times, as DVDs are available for viewing. Walking into this waiting area you see the front desk, to the side is the hallway to the administrative offices and to the right is a modern classroom with computers and projector capabilities. After a short wait I was introduced to both Ms. Gillooly

and Ms. Kostas. We then went into the classroom to do the interview. Ms. Gillooly, based on our conversation immediately following the interview, appeared to have been out of graduate school for about a couple of years now and Ms. Kostas was an experienced director for Planned Parenthood. There was a definite desire on their part to be open, yet conscious of the current environment Planned Parenthood was in at the time of the interview. At one point Ms. Gillooly had to look over to Ms. Kostas about a comment to make and let her know if she wants it taken off the record after she says it, which Ms. Kostas had no issue following the comment.

The history and mission of Planned Parenthood was described by both Ms. Kostas and Ms. Gillooly in efficient detail.

PP

Kostas: Well the mission of Planned Parenthood is to provide quality reproductive healthcare, education services, and advocacy to the public to people who require it and access our services. Planned Parenthood has been in this area for seventy-five years. It has evolved over time and we were originated in the greater Kansas City area, the Metro area, and overtime we acquired the Western Missouri turf area, which is Columbia and the Jefferson City area. And then in the late 90s they acquired Comprehensive Health, which is the facility downstairs (actual medical facility of Planned Parenthood, while upstairs is the administrative/educational side). We moved our administrative office to this facility in the very late 90s and also around that same time we merged with Planned Parenthood of Kansas, so that is how we came to encompass the entire state of Kansas.

Gillooly: So the national Planned Parenthood organization has been around for over ninety years and as Sheila said, in the KC Metro area for more than seventy-five years. And Planned Parenthood's origins were about providing women access to information about contraception. That was sort of the very beginning of Planned Parenthood. At a time in history, some ninety odd years ago, when contraception was still illegal and there were only very strict criteria under which women could access contraception. It was also at a time in history when many women were illiterate. Many women did not have access to any kind of healthcare, particularly reproductive healthcare and so the organization began as a way to provide women, especially low income or women that are members of vulnerable populations with information about reproduction, reproductive health, contraception, and childbirth as well as apart of the early organization. Trying to get women healthier when it came to pregnancy. And since then the organization has expanded to include a whole list of comprehensive healthcare services related to reproductive health. Birth control, STD testing for both men and women, cervical cancer screening, the whole sort of gambit and of course abortion services, which I know is part of your research.

I used the word “efficient” because coming from the public affairs department, Ms. Gillooly and Ms. Kostas seem wary of speaking for too long in order to avoid saying something that could possibly lead to problems. It is important for Planned Parenthood to discuss more than the abortion services provided because it provides a greater purpose for the general public if the organization is involved with items that most of the public looks favorably upon, such as initial prevention and cancer screenings. An interesting part of the questioning is that the term “members” is used and that term did not appear to fit what Planned Parenthood has in its structure.

PP

George: Can you explain the structure of your organization? How many employees are there? How many volunteers assist? How many members are active in the organization?

Gillooly: Before we start to talk about these numbers, I think it’s interesting to hear you say “members” because Planned Parenthood’s primary purpose is as a healthcare provider and so much like a doctor’s office doesn’t have “members” we don’t have members like that traditionally. So I think we can talk about the number of clients that are patients that we serve, which we’ll have to pull that number and we can certainly talk about employee size and things like that. But we’re not a “Member Organization” in the typical sense of some of the other organizations that you’ve interviewed because we are primarily a healthcare services organization.

Kostas: Right, in terms of staff and the structure, we have the admin structure here, there’s probably twenty people that work in admin. And then outside of admin we have ten facilities, ten healthcare centers that are located across Kansas and then Missouri. I can give you the materials that would have those centers listed, so you can actually see where they are. Four of them are in the Kansas City Metro area. We have Hays, Wichita, Overland Park, Jefferson City, and Columbia. So that’s where our locations are and like Sarah said earlier, we provide a full range of reproductive healthcare services and most of the facilities, at two of the facilities we also provide abortion care. In terms of structure, we have typical admin departments. We have a president/CEO, we have a finance and operations, clinical services, which has oversight over all the healthcare centers and operations within those centers, security department in that area as well, and besides clinical we have external affairs, which are all the departments in our division that do any kind of outreach within the community and that would be public affairs because certainly we’re out in the community doing our work. And our development department does the donor relations and fundraising piece of our work. The volunteer department, as well as the education department, which is a big part of our mission. We have an education director who has trained educators that work with her to deliver a wide range of presentations on all these

different healthcare issues, such as healthy relationships, teen pregnancy, access to birth control, birth control education, and those kinds of things with a variety of different groups, like schools, community groups, youth groups, churches, those kinds of things. That's a bit of the structure.

Gillooly: In terms of volunteers we could look at that, I don't have the number off the top of my head. It's several hundreds of volunteers, several....over a thousand hours.....

Weston: As in a thousand hours per year?

Gillooly: Yeah.

Kostas: We are very dependent on volunteers, we have volunteers that work in every department that I just described. We have a volunteer coordinator who has oversight in recruiting and placement of volunteers. Making sure we make good matches with people who want to participate as volunteers, they actually can get involved in areas that they're interested in. From a public affairs perspective, I mean like we said, around the community doing a lot of grassroots organizing, trying to educate and inform activists and people in the communities on our issues. And those people for us are volunteer activists because those are the people once we educate them we want them to take action, whether it be "Attend a Lobby Day," come in and help us put materials together for some of our activities or events, help us make events happen, or just maybe get into our Action Network, which I know you're interested in hearing a little more about, but clicking that button to send a message to their legislator about their position on an issue and their concern about access to women's health and don't put more restrictions on access to women's healthcare. So there's sort of a purpose for us being out in the community trying to identify people that are supportive of Planned Parenthood and women's healthcare.

So even though Planned has more employees than any other organization that was interviewed, they still rely heavily on volunteers and having a connection to supporters. Having "volunteers" appears to provide a better image for the organization than calling people that help members. And unlike other organizations, they have to be very careful with their public image because they have opposition that is ready to pounce on any miscue or negative publicity for Planned Parenthood.

Chapter 3 - Pro-Life Organizations

Kansas Catholic Conference

Interviewing the Executive Director of the Kansas Catholic Conference, Michael Schuttloffel, was actually recommended to me by Holly Weatherford of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). It was an interesting recommendation due to them being on opposite ends of the abortion issue spectrum; however, the organization does have interesting alliances when it comes to some issues, such as the death penalty (both are against). They often see each other when both are in Topeka, KS lobbying with the Executive and Legislative branches of the Kansas state government. The Kansas Catholic Conference is comparable to the American Civil Liberties Union because they are a multi-issue organization too. This fact also makes them unique from most of the other Pro-Life organizations in the state, as most of those organizations are focused on the singular issue of abortion.

Mr. Schuttloffel dresses in a professional manner and has the experience of being able to speak with confidence. During the interview he showed a capability of being able to analyze all of his words before he spoke them, but still providing a great amount of detail on the organization. He seemed like the type of individual that has a vast amount of interview experience and only says what needs to be said. Being an executive director of an organization with a board of Catholic Bishops likely requires a demeanor of weighting words carefully, especially with an issue such as abortion.

The building that the Kansas Catholic Conference is located sits close to the Kansas Capitol and is next to a Catholic Church. The building belonged to a priest that used to live there and has been modified to be a unique looking office for an organization created to lobby on behalf of the Catholic Church. The interview took place in a room with a distinguished echo

effect and what appeared to be a waiting area with comfortable chairs. Due to the few employees there, the office is not always open, as I waited outside for about 30 minutes in the middle of the day due to arriving early. The history of the Kansas Catholic Conference began before *Roe v. Wade* and was actually focused on education issues.

KCC

Schuttloffel: Yeah, the organization was founded in 1967 and as I understand, goes without saying, is before my time. The bishops were working on educational issues, Catholic School issues, and Catholic School government funding. So they decided to form a state conference for the four bishops to work together, pool their resources on public policy issues and obviously once they did that they expanded the portfolio of the organization beyond just education to some of the areas where the Catholic Church takes an interest in public policy. I guess the easiest way to describe it: our mission is to bring Catholic moral principles to bear on the debate over public policy. I guess you could say we're the Catholic Church's lobbyists in Kansas. We prefer the term advocates. Lobbyists have gotten a bad name recently, but that's what we do. We try to bring the moral principles, the values of the gospels as taught by the Catholic Church to bear on public policy, we ask that legislators and policy makers weigh and appraise their political choices against those moral principles.

The Kansas Catholic Conference relies on a small workforce of employees to lobby on behalf of the Catholic Bishops of the state. The employees seem to need to keep up-to-date consistently to be ready for new legislation, as they are attempting to advocate on behalf of the poor, end the death penalty, and government regulations on Catholic institutions.

KCC

Schuttloffel: Yeah there's only three of us. We work for the four bishops in Kansas. We answer to all four of them. There are actually only three bishops right now. The Salina Diocese does not have a bishop at the moment, but they will again eventually, so we have our archbishop in Kansas City, Kansas who's the chairman of the board, Archbishop (Joseph) Naumann. Then we have Bishop (Michael) Jackels in Wichita, Bishop (John) Brungardt in Dodge City, and....at some point we'll have a bishop in Salina. So four bishops make up the board and then we have three staff lead by me and two other individuals.

Though the Kansas Catholic Conference has taken a major role in the lobbying for Pro-Life legislation, they do not play as great a role in the form of activism. As a professional organization representing the Catholic Church in the state of Kansas, there appears to be a basic

understanding that there are plenty of other organizations that can take on the activism role of the Catholic Church, including organizations such as Right to Life of Kansas, Inc.

Right to Life of Kansas

There were two separate interviews with representatives of the organization Right to Life of Kansas, Inc. (RTLK). There appears to be a split of the organization, but not for a reason that can be considered as an internal disagreement. The heart of Right to Life of Kansas, Inc. rests and was developed into it's height of name recognition and activity in Wichita, KS. What is strange is that the most active chapter of the organization rests in a small town about ten miles outside of the city limits of Wichita, KS and is known as the West Sedgwick chapter of the RTLK, Inc. The person that can be considered the face of the RTLK in the 1990s is a woman that still lives in Wichita, KS by the name of Pat Turner. The local media was known to contact her almost anytime there was a story revolving around the abortion issue. Ms. Tuner is a retired woman living in a suburban style home. The inside relied on low artificial light and open blinds. She uses an oxygen tank, but still feels a desire to remain active in the Pro-Life movement. Religious symbols of the Catholic nature are placed all over the home and she has a strong faith that everything is done for a reason by God, including having an interview request from myself. Though she has reached a high level of respect from the Pro-Life movement and the organization she is a part of, she still shows the desire to not want to comment on issues that she felt others in the organization could provide more accurate details on the subject based on their positions in the organization. The mission and history of the organization is one she can take pride in and you can begin the understand why there was a split over three decades in the organization.

RTLK

Turner: The object of the organization is to have lawful protection for all innocent human life and our organization started when Kansas lawmakers decided to make induced abortion legal in Kansas, which was in 1969 and became effective July 1st, 1970. And so at the time when it became effective, the people that had been working to stop this from happening were joined together in organizations, to begin with, as chapters and then later on they became a unit. And then it became incorporated in 1979 under the title Right to Life of Kansas, Incorporated, and the way it is now. They set up a coordinating office here in Wichita and that is when I came into the picture actually. We are a state organization with chapters in different areas in the state. There being two locally here in the fourth district, we have the Wichita chapter and the West Sedgwick county chapter. There are others and there have been more, as time has gone and the way organizations work and the more you can do now electronically, it has changed a lot of things with the number of chapters and there forth being combined. I really don't have any clue how many people are even on the mailing list and that's by their choice, too. But we do have a statewide organization who's headquarters are in Topeka. Like I said it started out here in Wichita, once they incorporated and they knew that because we work with legislators it would be more beneficial to have the office in Topeka; however, at that time they neither had a person or a place, so when that became available an office was opened up I think in 1982 about that time. Our officers are elected throughout the state.

Ms. Tuner's employment in the organization brings on a greater connection to the cause and the organization itself, though the organization has been involved in less activity in the past few years. The respect she shows for the West Sedgwick County chapter seems to come from the acknowledgement that the Wichita chapter is not as active as it once was.

RTLK

Turner: There never have been employees other than an office manager statewide. And at this time we are only having her work part time. We talk about electronics, since that is in Topeka, most of our activity is spread elsewhere or not confined to a location, except during legislative session. That's the only employee we ever had and that's where I started. I started as an employee, I guess you can say I was the first ever employee of this organization. That doesn't mean that there aren't others as officers and what they do that may have expenses paid when they have to travel. We are made up of volunteers and I wouldn't have a clue how many of those there are either. Our Wichita chapter is not really active as far as bodies are concerned right now or with regular meetings. That seems to have been a pattern that's followed throughout the state at different times, different groups kind of lead the pack. And I guess it's where the action is at that particular time. So as big as Wichita is we really aren't that big as far as holding meetings and stuff. And of course lots of things have happened, particularly in the last twenty years...that's how long I've been retired too. So you know our pursuit has changed a lot. Meetings aren't necessarily the thing that make the difference and that's kind of how you can make a head count.

Though the activity of the organization overall has decreased in Wichita, Ms. Turner is still responsible for the phone line intended for individuals to be able to call for those that have become pregnant and wanting to call someone during evening hours. She does not have as a great role anymore with the actual communication with members and the media anymore.

RTLK

Turner: Well then also like in the instance here in Wichita we have always maintained a phone and we keep it...overall we call it a 24/7. I will admit at times it's not covered. We have learned when are the better times that people will call. They really don't call in the middle of the night usually, but they do call evenings and part of that is because most other groups and organizations and whatever, churches and any kind of health group that has day time hours and so if...

Weston: Like a crisis center?

Turner: Well yeah or any kind or even churches usually, anybody that could help them are usually not available in the evenings and so we often get calls that nobody else gets. It took me awhile to realize that most of those aren't situations that you could solve right then anyway, but what people need to know and what they do not know is that there is someone that will help and they are in just disbelief "somebody would help me?" Yes. "Somebody would give me help? Yes. They just can't believe that they're stuck in what they think is an unchanging situation that they can't move. They're going to have to do something desperate. Well, someone will help you. I can give a for instance if that will help. It was a gentleman that called, and all these people aren't just young people, you know? There was this gentleman that called because his girlfriend was pregnant and she was having some problems with her health and the pregnancy, and I guess had even questioned if she had wanted to have it terminated, but at this particular time she had become really dehydrated and she was in the hospital and he had wanted to convince her that they should keep their child and she should be born. Well I said, "do you think she would be willing to talk to someone?" And he says, "Well I think so, but she's in the hospital." I said, "Well if you got permission to let someone come up there..." And he said, "They would do that!?" Well the next day was a holiday, is one reason he was saying that, it was Thanksgiving. And I said, "Yes they would." Most of the pregnancy crisis centers that I deal with do not go to the patient, they want them to come to them and that's for the safety of both of them. Because if you were to go out to somebody's home to persuade them about what you can do for them to keep their baby you would be in trouble in a hurry, if they wanted to pursue it. But anyway it's just that people don't realize that people do care enough about them and will go to great lengths to do that. And that's why we try our best to keep the phone covered as much as we can, so if people do call, if they just have somebody to talk to and get the initial answer they need, that's probably the biggest thing. We've also hoped that answering it for students because we advertise it that way cause we have literature and we can do interviews and so forth for students. Believe it or not we probably have more of those from college students than we do from the younger ones. There have been times where we have also gone into the schools; it's very difficult to go into a public school. For some we are not on the acceptance list and there are others that are of

opposing thoughts that are. And that seems strange. But sometimes if the students know their own rights and some teachers are big enough to tell them and they say, “If you request someone” because you know they’ll be in charge of who will be the speaker for that class “if you request someone then they can come,” but that person can’t come to us and say “I want to go talk to your students.” So over the years I’ve talked to these students, not just in Wichita, but the outlying areas.

Ms. Turner was very considerate of the interview that would take place the next day in Colwich, Kansas with the West Sedgwick County chapter, which was scheduled to be with the state president of the organization and two others.

RTLK, Inc. – West Sedgwick County

Colwich, Kansas has a population of a little over 1,300 and can be best described as a small Catholic community in the heart of Kansas. The interview took place outside of town at the home of the president of the state chapter, John Seiler. Along with him was Keith Ashley and the chapter treasurer, Margaret Mans. Mr. Seiler is now retired and comes off as a strong, yet quiet leader, despite his deep gravelly voice. His home is decorated with Catholic symbols and is a simple, clean home. His rise to president of the state organization appears to come from the help of the strength of his chapter likely being as active or more active than any other chapter in the state, despite being located in a small populated community. He speaks his mind and does not seem to be concerned with filtering himself or others. His goals are absolute and he shows only a supportive role of wanting others to talk about the organization as much as possible. He seemed to be less experienced with public speaking or being interviewed than the other two.

Ms. Mans is a very religious woman that at first appears to be a quiet mother with numerous children; however, the abortion issue makes her become more talkative due to the

deep passion she has for making abortion illegal in all forms. As treasurer of the chapter, she actually becomes a great source of the purpose and activities of the overall organization.

Mr. Ashley is the youngest of the three interview subjects and seems to have the role of being the generation bridge of garnering new members and support for the various projects of the Right to Life of Kansas. His newest project is as the Petition Drive Coordinator of Personhood Kansas. The purpose of Personhood Kansas is to get a constitutional amendment to abolish abortion and potentially outlaw birth control pills. The first state this was attempted was in the state of Colorado in 2010, in which the voters voted 70.53% in the negative on the Fetal Personhood Amendment to the state constitution. Mr. Ashley appears hopeful that Kansas can get the Personhood agenda passed with enough petition signatures to get someone from the Kansas legislature to push it onto an upcoming public ballot in the future.

The organization seems to be resting on the back of the West Sedgwick County chapter at this point, based on the history, purpose, and mission of the organization.

RTLK

Mans: In Kansas, abortion was actually legal before then because the state legislator had passed laws allowing abortion, even before *Roe v. Wade*. So a group of women, not all women, got together and decided they had to do something about it. That was the beginning. What else?

Sieler: Well it was the forming of Right to Life of Kansas and our little group is an affiliate of it. At the present time I'm president of the Right to Life of Kansas, the state organization.

Mans: The organization is affiliated with American Life League. And we....

Ashley: And March for Life.

Mans: And we go along with their life principles.

Ashley: At the time, Margaret would you say we're the only pro-life organization that started then before '73?

Mans: Yes

Ashley: And everybody was kind of united behind one focus.

Mans: Yeah, at that time anything “Pro-Life” was referred to as Right to Life because it was the only organization. When National Right to Life came along and wanted an affiliate in every state, most of the state organizations were called Right to Life of whatever state they were in, but Right to Life of Kansas did not go along with it because they were in favor of exceptions and our organization doesn’t allow for any exceptions. We want all babies protected.

Weston: Can you discuss the development of the Western Sedgwick County chapter?

Mans: We had a group at St. Mark’s that were meeting and praying and decided locally to do projects to raise funds because we’re in a very pro-life community, Catholic community. And so we met for a long time then decided we needed to be more than just “St. Mark’s vicinity,” so we called it “West Sedgwick County” and started meeting at Colwich and sending out invitations to others to join. That was basically the beginning and became more formal electing officers and basically the mission of West Sedgwick County has been to educate, but also to raise funds to help the state organization going. Because we have such a pro-life community here, it’s not hard to get the support of the people in whatever projects we do.

Weston: In relation to chapters, state, national organization; Can you explain the structure of your organization? How many employees are there? How many volunteers assist? How many members are active in the organization? And if there’s no employees you can just say “We don’t have any.”

Seiler: We don’t have any paid employees in West Sedgwick County. It’s all volunteer, but we do have a structure. We have a president, a vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer, and we have three members that serve on the executive board and we meet once a month.

Mans: Membership is probably, I’d say twenty, used to be thirty. A lot of our members have gotten older and passed on. It’s a little harder to draw people in.

Seiler: That’s what we’re finding. We’re having a hard time getting the young people involved. We do have some and they’re good.

Ashley: I’d say the meetings I attend, Right to Life of West Sedgwick County meetings, there’s six or seven kids under the age of twenty and then maybe ten people over that age. So there’s kids involved and young people involved, but generally those are our own children and they do a lot for the organization: Fundraising, things like that. But they don’t necessarily serve on the board or anything, yet. I think there’s a pretty good outlook that they’re going to be stepping into those roles in a few years.

Mans: And I think what we find also is that when we take on a project, we have a lot of community involvement. We’ll have volunteers come forth and help with the project, but they don’t want to be committed to coming to meetings and taking officer positions. So they’re not official members, but they’re there to help when we want extra volunteers.

Seiler: I think we have trouble keeping members because we're kind of a...what would you say? A political or legislative organization and are trying to get laws passed to protect the pre-born or the unborn. And it's a slow, kind of a boring process. It's hard to see at times whether you're making progress. It's not like a pregnancy crisis center or going to picket at an abortion clinic. It's pretty subtle and you wonder sometimes whether you're making any headway. And it's hard to keep people's enthusiasm, you know?

Mans: And then some people view it as pretty bleak and hopeless because of *Roe v. Wade*. They think it can't be changed as the law of the land and that's that. But that's not our feeling. That's not our belief.

Weston When do you think your organization is at it's most enthusiastic or most involved? What kind of political environment does there have to be? Certain governors, certain legislative percentage?

Mans: I think contrary to what it might seem, some think when you have a pro-life president, everybody would be excited, but what tends to happen sometimes is that people tend to think it's okay then. When you have a pro-life legislator, a pro-life president, people just kind of think it's under control or when you have somebody that's pro-abortion in control you see more people come out to vote. Get riled up, want to do something and they see the things that are going against us. Would you agree with that Keith?

Seiler: I'd say so. I mean, when you look at the abortion numbers, they went up and up and up. And the first day they started to go down was the Clinton Administration and people in the pro-life community attribute that to the fact that we had a pro-abortion president and people were going out doing things. Going out to clinics, saving the babies one at time, so to speak. A lot of money went to the crisis pregnancy centers and those types of activities. There are other people that would say during the Bush years because of the pro-life laws they passed, things like that, that the numbers started going down. Well, they started going back up during Bush's administration too, you know? And also something else happened during the Bush years and that's the approval of RU-486, the abortion pill. Even if you can talk about the surgical abortion numbers going down, overall abortion numbers aren't going down because of the advent of RU-486 and those types of things. So....

Mans: And we have no way of knowing how many of those there are.

Seiler: Right, chemical abortions, any of the chemicals that act as an abortifacient. There's no numbers on that; however, you know the use of abortifacient and contraceptives are at their peak right now. We might be at the peak of the abortion numbers, but there's no way to tell. I don't know if we kind of got this out of the way ahead of time with Personhood Kansas, which Right to Life for Kansas is a part of our coalition, we're a coalition with a singular focus, which is to amend the Kansas Constitution, so we're a collection of different Pro-Life groups. I was with Rock for Life for Kansas, which is also an American Life affiliate. Operation Save America, some of these other groups, but all formed this coalition, but our kind of emergence, the Personhood Reemergence, so to speak, people actually started it in the states trying to amend their constitutions, it actually happened in 2008, so I would say that sort of fell in line with the

election of Obama. This is why I'm involved, personally I think people looked at the election and they said, "You know, what we're doing isn't working. Legislatively these little, minor pro-life bills around the edges aren't effecting the numbers or anything too much." So I do think it had something to do with that election. With the state-by-state Personhood Movement the reemergence of Personhood and the strategy to do that, so I think there is something to say there about elections and the political environment that we're in.

Mans: Another thing that might have some influence locally and this whole area is the death of George Tiller. Before Tiller died, Kansas Coalition for Life organized a group of volunteers to be onsite at the clinic-counseling women. Doing whatever we could: sidewalk counselors and praying. Basically praying around the clock, all the hours that he was open. Every hour that George Tiller was open there was somebody there. And that went on for probably five years. So that took a lot of volunteers to pull that off. And then when Tiller was shot, it was a shock. But I think the overall impact is that some people have gotten complacent because they don't feel like it's impacting us locally since we don't have an abortion clinic in Wichita right now. People have kind of backed off.

Right to Life of Kansas appears to be searching for an identity and creating an alliance with Personhood of Kansas is a good fit for them, as they have the same goals it would seem. They make it clear that they have no desire to see some abortions outlawed or even laws to be made in an incremental matter with the hope that eventually all abortions will end. Right to Life of Kansas wants all abortions to end and are not supportive of birth control. The Catholic Church is against the use of contraception; however, there was no signs in the interview that the organization wishes to make condoms illegal. Their desire seems to have laws that are biological in nature on the books, such as abortions and birth control pills. This alliance appears to show much of the similarities that takes place within the Pro-Choice movement where alliances are formed due to the same common goals on abortion in an overall sense. The difference here resides in a singular purpose of getting a single amendment on a ballot that meets the pure goals of each organization.

Operation Rescue

Troy Newman is the president of Operation Rescue, which is located in Wichita, KS and difficult to locate. The office is actually indistinguishable because there is no sign facing the street that it is the office of Operation Rescue, though there are signs that points to the neighboring building being a pregnancy crisis center. The waiting area is much like the waiting area of a doctor's office, which would later turnout to be because it used to be a medical facility where abortion procedures were performed. Troy Newman is another veteran of the Pro-Life movement where he was raised in California and lived there up until 2002. He has been a lifelong opponent of abortion and became president of Operation Rescue (known at the time as "Operation Rescue West") in 1999 and then decided to move the organization's headquarters to Wichita, Kansas due to the presence of Dr. George Tiller. On this day he walked slowly due to back tightness from Tae Kwon Do, a sign that he wants to be more disciplined, which is further evidenced by quoting Sun Tzu during the interview. He greeted me in the waiting room that has some Pro-Life DVDs and books on display. We walk to his office that was likely the office of a physician that would perform abortions and he sits in his chair leaning back. After an initial discussion of a dinner he attended in Texas where Governor Rick Perry attended before officially entering the 2012 Republican Party Primary for President of the United States, we start the interview with him giving a very short response as to the mission statement of his organization and then going into the brief history of the organization.

OR

Newman: Wow....our mission statement is to rescue the babies sentenced to die today. It's just that simple. The second part of that question was, how did we get started? In the mid 80s, the pro-life movement was kind of floundering and it was mostly Catholics that were mostly leading the charge and some Evangelical leaders were watching what was going on among the Catholic community and they were doing these sit-ins or rescue missions. Joan Andrews-Bell was one of them. She'd go to an abortion clinic and sit-in. And she was actually serving time in jail for going into an abortion clinic and strapping herself into the....I guess the abortion table and then she pulled the power cord out of the abortion machine. I mean this frail little Catholic

lady; she says “It was a miracle! I pulled the cord right out of the machine!” So it rendered it inoperable, so she was in jail. And she kind of became a heroine to the pro-life movement and this thought process began to develop that if abortion is murder and we believe abortion is the murder of an innocent child, then we should act like it. And if she can sit in a jail, then for the very least we can sit in front of the doors of an abortion clinic. And so that’s how it got started and there was some big rescues in New York and it exploded and just started going all over the place, leading to the largest rescue session ever here in Wichita, Kansas in 1991. And of course the politics for the day, George Bush Senior, sort of leaving office in ’92 and Clinton taking over and then the Freedom to Access Clinic Entrances Act being passed in 1994 pretty much shut down the rescue movement. It turned what was just a misdemeanor into a felony, a federal crime. Much like the fugitive slave act did. So we changed tactics. You can’t sustain sitting in front of the doors of an abortion clinic as a tactic. Cause you go to jail and before too long all you’re doing is sitting in jail. But I realized that sitting in jail in San Diego twenty years ago that the pro-life people didn’t belong in jail. From my experience it was the abortion industry that was breaking the law and really deserved to be behind bars. And so we began to develop tactics that would put them in jail. And that’s where we are today. I wouldn’t consider us any longer a protest group, but a group that demands justice and we’re putting these abortionists on notice that we’re not going to tolerate their misbehavior and we’re going to put them behind bars. That’s the brief history and today we’re not a protest group, we’re demanding justice. We’re asking for the laws to be filed. We’re changing policy, public policy. We helped get the clinic regulation law here in Kansas, working to root out the Kansas Department of Health and Environment, the pro-abortion people there, so that the Kansas Board of Healing Arts does it’s job, and putting the right politicians into place. And we do it all over the country. I mean we’re located in Kansas, but like I said, I’m in Texas, Nebraska, Iowa, California, Arizona, Maryland, New Jersey, and that’s just the projects I can think of off the top of my head. Oh, Louisiana, Florida.

Operation Rescue is unique from the other Pro-Life organizations interviewed, as it’s a national organization that has a president that travels to various states and tries to make an impact in each of these states. The structure of the organization relies on a small workforce with contacts in other cities ready to help.

OR

Newman: We probably have about 8,000 members around the country. The active ones, we probably have active people in about every large city around the country. Our full-time employees are much lower than they were three years ago thanks to the Obama economy. But we’re structured as a normal C corporation, which is a little innovative. I tangled with the IRS back in 2004 in regards to our opposition of Kerry as president and as it turns out: freedom of speech is never given to 501(c)(3) organizations. You have no freedom of speech because you’ve been granted a tax exemption and so the government feels like they can control what you have to say if they offer you a tax exemption. So we looked around and kind of created a hybrid. We call ourselves a “taxable nonprofit,” which is we’re organized as a C corporation. We have a board of

directors, same as a 501(c)(3), but we can say whatever the New York Times can say. The editorial board or anybody else without suffering the reprisals and the persecution that comes with saying what you think in today's day and age.

Weston: And are you comfortable saying how many employees currently work?

Newman: About a half-a-dozen full-time and mostly our people come from volunteers. And we've learned in this economy that we can network with other organizations and with other people quite effectively.

Again there is a reliance on alliances and networking for the success or failures of an organization. The focus of Operation Rescue has changed over the past decade under Mr.

Newman, as they appear more focused on spotlighting bad publicity for the abortion clinic industry and he is able to do it passionately.

OR

Newman: But as far as your opposition goes, the things that we put out are geared to discourage the other side. We find out the abortionists that are killing people and they're botching abortions, when they're breaking the law. And we tout that, things that are very embarrassing for the other side. You know Kermit Gosnell's up on murder...nine murder charges! One for Karnamaya Mongar, but also eight late term babies that he aborted alive and then killed them afterwards. Nine murder one charges. His abortion clinic, the investigators called a "Shop of Horrors." Or Randall Whitney down there in Florida. Huge pill mill! You know he's distributing Oxytocin, you know like candy out the back door of his abortion clinic. Brian Finkel, raping women on the operating table in Arizona, serving 30 years to life. Bertha Bugarin, doesn't have a medical license, we got all of her abortion medical license suspended, so she starts doing the abortions, she's serving seven years in San Diego. (John) Hamilton down in Oklahoma City, bludgeoned his wife to death. Blamed pro-lifers, he's serving life in prison. We got ten abortionists in Texas that are facing disciplinary hearings for violating the law. And professional ethics codes. So we've...Leroy Carhart we've got six signed affidavits from former clinic workers detailing his activity in the abortion clinic in Nebraska and he lied on his medical license in Maryland. So we tell the other side that. And it really discourages them. And that's our intent: to win this battle. Not just to fight it, we're here to win. And I have informants even on the other side that come to me, "well I'm pro-choice in theory," but it's really hard to find anybody that does it appropriately because they're such horrible people. I mean you can't make a clean abortion.

Operation Rescue's role in the Pro-Life movement is as the arm that takes negative publicity to try and change the public's perception of abortion clinics and the characteristics of the individuals involved in it.

Kansas Coalition for Life

Mark Gietzen is the president of the Kansas Coalition for Life, located in Wichita, KS. His home was easy to find due to a big sign that says "Welcome Gietzen Residence" with a silhouette of an airplane. In his yard is an even larger Billboard that had two lines to it. The first line said, "Thou Shall Not Kill," obviously using a biblical reference from the Ten Commandments to condemn abortion. The second line said, "If you no longer feel close to God, ask yourself 'who moved?'" showing the dedication to religion beyond the abortion issue. Mr. Gietzen is another name well familiar in the pro-life movement in Kansas, whom was referenced by a few of the Pro-Choice interview subjects both off and on the record. While Kansans for Life and Operation Rescue are referenced by name, Kansas Coalition for Life is synonymous with Mr. Gietzen as he was mentioned multiple times, but KCFL was not during other interviews. This could be due to the similar nature of organizational names as Right to Life of Kansas, Kansans for Life, and Kansas Coalition for Life. Mr. Gietzen has a friendly demeanor and a ready to chat attitude. He wears large glasses with a black airplane shape at the bottom of one lens, displaying his enthusiasm for small airplanes. Beyond his Pro-Life activism, he is a flight instructor. His home is decorated with a few religious symbolisms and a box of envelopes ready to go out for fundraising with a newsletter on a nearby table. The history and founding of the organization goes back to the 1980s, in which Mr. Gietzen can claim out of all the

organizations interviewed that are more than a decade old that he is both the founder and the only leader in the organization's history.

KCFL

Gietzen: Sure, the mission of the Kansas Coalition for Life is ultimately to end abortion in America and around the world. We feel that every human life is sacred and that every human life should be protected by the same constitutional protections that you and I have. The organization got started back in the 1980s when the Republican National Coalition for Life broke up into state committees or tried to form state committees. And they were looking for someone to head up the Kansas Republican Coalition for Life and my name was recommended to the head of the organization called Eagle Forum, her name was Phyllis Schlafly. And Phyllis Schlafly's friend Colleen Parro of Texas was given the project of forming all of these fifty state sub-chapters and she called me and asked if I would set-up the Republican Coalition for Life and I agreed to do that. And we still have that organization, but after a few years of operating as the Kansas Republican Coalition for Life some of the churches and so on that we would visit and go into and ask for petition signatures; they would get complaints from the partisan minded members of their churches or the parishes and they would say, "Well why do you have a partisan group? We'd feel much better if it was just a pro-life rather than being a partisan pro-life group. What about the Democrats that are pro-life?" Anyway in 2003 the bishop put his foot down and said, "Look we can't have a partisan organization in." It was because of the Democrats complaining. He said, "We can't let a partisan group in, but we can let a pro-life group in." And this was Bishop Olmsted in Phoenix, Arizona. He said that, "What you should do is form a separate group for this petition thing." Which was a big part of what we were doing, an annual petition. So we said okay and we'll just drop the word "Republican" and set up the Kansas Coalition for Life, dropping the name "Republican" out of that and then we'll just keep doing our precinct work and the things within the party and continuing to do that under the umbrella of the other group, but we'll just start a separate group. And so that's how the group got started. But we picked up all the history from the other group going back into the early 1980s, but we were officially a separate group starting in 2003. And so since then we've been operating as KCFL, Kansas Coalition for Life.

KCFL is another activist organization that relies heavily on volunteers with no paid employees.

KCFL

Gietzen: We have no paid employees. Every once and awhile, I say that tongue in cheek, we have no paid employees generally. Once in awhile we've got one big project going on and a dire need we might go to a temporary service, say we need five people to do this project for three days, but all the regular people are volunteers. We will pay per diem and we will pay expenses. For example if I say, "George I want you to run these petitions and this box and this material and I want you to take it to Dodge City, Kansas today." Okay, you're going to say, "Wow look at the gas and the time and everything." Okay we'll pay you up to forty-four dollars a day for your meals and your expenses plus your gasoline, but that's it. We'll pay costs but no wages. We don't have any W-2s or anything like that and like I said if we have to hire, it's been awhile since

we've had to do that, if we're hiring directly we just do that through a temporary service, but we don't very often have to do that. Almost everything is volunteer.

Weston: Going on that...how many volunteers assist? How many members are active in the organization?

Gietzen: Well my most recent list of active people that do something other than just donate, is about 600. These were people that actually up until 2009 took a shift out at Tiller's gate. We had a continuous presence at Tiller's gate. We were trying to save the lives of the babies at the last moment. We ended up saving 396 between the years of 2004 and 2009 when Tiller was killed. The volunteers that would do more than just donate are like 650 some. A couple of those have died and so on, some have moved out of state, one is now a missionary overseas, and so on. But that's the number of people I can call on to do something other than donate and sign petitions. If you want to count all of the people that do sign petitions and donate they are members of the group, and in that regard we're looking at 17,000 members of the group.

Mr. Gietzen's organization's major projects recently have involved annual petitions for support or opposition to something, typically specific legislation. With the death of Dr. Tiller and the lack of abortion clinics in Wichita, what may have been considered protesting no longer takes place by the KCFL to level it once did.

KCFL

Gietzen: Okay, we don't have the time or the interest to be involved in protests. We've never done that, yet having said that some people would see our continual presence at Tiller's gate for five years as a protest, but it wasn't at all what it was. We were out there sidewalk counseling, offering help to the women going in and in that process we saved 396 lives. We now have a continual presence at the Aid for Women abortion clinic in Kansas City. We try to keep someone out there on Wednesdays and Saturdays at least when the women are coming in a few hours a day. And I'm not nearly as good at totally staffing it as I was here in Wichita. Here in Wichita we had a whole group of 270 some crosses that we were setting in the ground and the Wichita police required us to stand there. It was actually the result of a couple of court cases, since they were put on public property the first amendment rights that we as individuals have can only be exercised when you're there on the premise right beside it. So even if you have one person as a volunteer out there and they're standing there by these crosses, the crosses are legal and protected by the Wichita police from vandals, which we've had to call them a few times because we have people even take their car and drive up on the curb or drive over crosses trying to break them and we've had people get very angry when they're trying to deal with the abortion issue. Because of that we had to keep someone there, even if that person had to go to the restroom, we had to get another person out there, so usually I tried to have two people out on shift at the same time in case one person had to go make a phone call or take a break or something. We usually had two people out there at the same time. Now what was the question

again? Oh the activities we do...okay, so the continual presence at the gate is one of the big things. And then the second biggest thing beyond that is definitely the political stuff, the petitions, I gave you the three active ones that we're still going with right now. The 2010 is saying that abortion is not healthcare. That was in opposition to Obamacare and until Obamacare is either done away with by either courts or so on people still want to sign that. We have well over 17,000 signers on that; it's one of our largest petitions. And then this one is the second one, it's to defund Planned Parenthood and to opt out of abortion funding again if the Obamacare Bill were not to be totally gotten rid of. And then the 2012 petition is a new concept in fighting abortion. I think it's the beginning of the end of abortion. If we get what we want this year, we're on track to do that, I think we're going to have a big change in the abortion industry if we can stop abortion when the baby's heart starts beating that is going to be huge. We already had a big event in the Kansas legislature in 2011 and thanks to good pro-life people that we have in the house and the senate now and the governor's pro-life, we were able to pass the Pain Sensitive legislation bill. Of course we work on promoting that sort of thing, we work on promoting candidates that are favorable to our cause and we work statewide and that has really paid off. As you know in Kansas, in our House of Representatives, we have 125 members. And of that 125 house, 99 of them, which includes a handful of Democrats, 99 of that 125 are pro-life and (chuckle) many of those are...they're just as pro-life as I am. I mean they're like no exceptions, they're real strong, absolute, tea party type people. In the senate, the numbers are so astounding, we hold the national record. Not many people are aware of this. Right now the Kansas Senate is the most Republican dominated legislative body in the whole United States. No other state has the ratio that we have of 33 out of 40 are Republicans. We have a very strong Republican Party platform. Having said that, I will admit that of that are what some would refer to as RINOs, Republican in Name Only, that they tend to vote much more like a Democrat, but they're in a situation that they would never get elected if they were to run as a Democrat, so they run as a Republican and try to govern as a Democrat. There's a handful of those, but still we have a great majority and if they are Republican and have an election year, like we have now coming up 2012, this is a perfect time for us to put pressure on them and say "Hey, we want you to come and support our legislation because you're up for reelection and we're going to let your people know." And so we do...we try to encourage and let them know that the people they're representing want these pro-life provisions or whatever we're promoting. It's a great time to be pro-life.

The interview with Mr. Gietzen followed the one with Mr. Ashley about Personhood Kansas, so I asked about his view on the strive for Personhood legislation. Mr. Gietzen shows a differing opinion from Right to Life of Kansas, Inc. by being in favor of incrementalism to eventually get closer to a greater range of abortion restrictions.

KCFL

Gietzen: I've been working on Personhood myself since the Ronald Reagan years. Ronald Reagan was the first to come up with a Personhood proclamation. He made the proclamation,

but there's different types of executive proclamations and so on. It didn't have the force of law, it didn't overcome *Roe v. Wade*, but he made the Personhood proclamation saying that every child from conception forward is a human being, that was Ronald Reagan. Putting that into law is a different story. Actually since that time there have been some efforts to do that. The most recent nationwide attention grabbing effort was in Colorado and I believe in 2009, 2008 I think maybe. Yeah I think 2008 because we were still at Tiller's gate, lot of people were leaving to go to Colorado and helping out there, so we had to fill in spots on the schedule. And then lost real big in Colorado. Colorado is quite similar, if you look at the views of the people, they're about as red as Kansas is and there are a few differences and a few like Denver's going to be different. I think that's a good example of what would happen in Kansas. I think it would lose by a similar margin, and here's why: on Personhood it states the facts, there's nothing wrong with it, I support it entirely, the point about personhood is that the public is not ready for it. It would outlaw even contraceptives. All of your hormonal contraceptives, okay? Most of the contraceptives that women take are hormone based and if the women knew the truth, the side effects are horrible. I happen to think that sex is a great thing; I think it's healthy for the marriage and these hormonal contraceptives do two bad things in my opinion. The first thing is that about one third of the time they act as an abortifacient, they act in keeping the sperm and the egg separated. And then about one third of the time they keep the woman from ovulating in the first place. So you never know which one of those three ways it's functioning and the fact that it's causing an early abortion if a conception took place and if the child did get into the womb, then that hormone is making the womb a very unfriendly place and the baby dies an early death like a chemical abortion. So that's the first thing I don't like about it but the second thing, and there's no studies in the United States being done on it, but it's obvious that it's helping here as well as it is in England and other places where they have done studies and that is that the hormone contraceptives reduce the woman's sex drive, her libido. If the woman has been on the hormone pill by the time she's 45 or 50, she's then totally uninterested in sex and I think that's not good in marriage and I think that's where you've got pornography spring up and guys turn to something else and so on. And that's very unhealthy. I think it's unhealthy for her and I think it's unhealthy for the marriage and therefore for society in general. And the fact that they keep that well kept secret, you have to go to YouTube or you can get the information now thanks to the Internet, but it's not well disseminated. People are not aware how sound the studies are on it and how bad it is. And I guess the third thing I don't like about the hormone pills is how they go about extracting the hormones from...they actually get it from horse urine. It's a very inhumane way that they do it. It's usually done in Canada because the laws in the United States would protect the way they treat the animals more than they do in Canada. You know the horse just has to stand in a stall and they give it the salt and the water and they do everything they can to make the horse produce as much urine as possible and they're giving the horse these hormones so that they're urine is full of the hormone. It's a very bad way to treat an animal. And then, let me go to number four, being a little bit of an environmentalist, that gets flushed down the toilet in Wichita, now you've got these extremely high hormone content in your waste water and that's effecting fish and frogs and everything else. It's all together a bad deal. And I think hormonal contraceptive should be done away with, but it's not going to happen. And as soon as the voters hear "Personhood" it's going to stop hormonal contraceptives, your support for it goes way down. We lost twice in the Colorado referendums both by about 3-to-1, or a 75% against...so I don't think it would be much different in Kansas. There are several states that have Personhood amendment tries going, but that as you see is an entirely different direction of where we're going

with heartbeat legislation. Heartbeat legislation is very similar to the Pain Sensitive legislation. The difference here on heartbeat legislation is it says, “you can do the abortion, we’re not trying to overturn *Roe v. Wade* directly, although *Roe v. Wade* is fixing to fall anyway.” We’re not asking the Supreme Court to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, we’re just...make this provision that after the heart starts beating the states can protect that child as a human being. So that’s a much different approach than Personhood, but ultimately I will keep working for the pro-life movement until we have Personhood passed. That’s going to be years down the road.

During the interview, Mr. Gietzen was working on getting a table reserved for the 2011 Kansas State Fair and was actually using his connection to a state senator that called him on the phone about seeing what could be done to procure one. Mr. Gietzen is obviously a respected individual in the Pro-Life movement by many, which is probably helped by leadership positions in the Sedgwick County Republican party and multiple campaigns for different state legislative seats.

Kansans for Life

Mary Kay Culp is the Executive Director of the Kansans for Life and is likely considered the most influential Pro-Life organization in the state of Kansas due to their presence in Wichita, Topeka, and the Kansas City area. Ms. Culp is definitely the type of individual that takes her work home and the position is more than just a job to her. Many of the corresponding emails to schedule an interview would come back with a reply from her late in the night. This is especially understanding at this time because there was a legal wrangling going on about legislation requirement certain standards for abortion clinics in the state of Kansas. Her interview was stopped multiple times due to interview questions and clarifications from members of the media.

The interview with Ms. Culp took place in the Kansans for Life office in Overland Park, Kansas in a strip mall office, not easily seen for high traffic roads. It was a nice office in the same building connected to a pregnancy crisis center. The office had a couple of desktop

computers, lots of books, and VHS cassette tapes. Only a few DVDs are visibly out in the open. The office has atypical hours, which shows the executive director is often traveling or conducting meetings away from the office and this office is run by a small workforce.

Ms. Culp is fairly recent grandmother, but shows no signs of slow downing or looking to retire anytime soon. Even with the stress of a family illness, she continues on with her job to follow through on the goals and legislation of Kansans for Life on the abortion clinic regulations. She is engaging and is able to speak at long periods of time trying to provide as much information for the person conducting the interview to find the answer appropriate for the task at hand. She is obviously experienced with media interviews and it used to expecting the reporter to find the appropriate quote to use out of all the information she manages to provide. There's also appears to be a need to provide as much information as possible for the sake of accuracy, as her discussion on tax codes show while providing the mission and brief history of Kansans for Life.

KFL

Culp: Our mission is to educate citizens about the truths connected to the life issues: abortion, bio-tech and euthanasia in hopes of reestablishing an equal right to life for all human beings in America. We are the state affiliate of the National Right to Life Committee, the nation's largest and most credible right to life organization. The National Right to Life Committee started because of the *Roe v. Wade* legalizing abortion in 1973. What Roe actually did was bar states from regulating or banning any abortions, even those in the 3rd trimester. Although the Court said state's could bar abortion in the third trimester, they said that if a state did so, that they had to leave it legal if needed if she would otherwise die or for health reasons. However in the companion case to Roe, which came down from the Court on the same day, Jan. 22, 1973, the Court defined "health" to include mental and emotional health. Our mission became to restore legal protection to the unborn, and it has evolved since them to protect women from being exploited by abortion clinics, and into related bio-tech issues and end-of-life issues like euthanasia. The first affiliate of NRLC in Kansas was Right to Life of Kansans, but then there was a change and it became Kansans for Life. Right to Life of Kansas walked off the board of NRLC when NRLC changed their goal from passing a Human Life Amendment to ban abortion to a state's rights approach—passing laws incrementally to regulate and eventually, hopefully, legally protect all unborn babies, and best of all is that that would happen with the American public understanding why it was necessary. The Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision was about what states can and can't do related to abortion. It decreed that the states cannot restrict

abortion in any way in the first trimester; only allow laws pertaining to maternal health in the second trimester, and supposedly allow a prohibition, if a state so desired, in the third trimester. However, that open-ended health exception I explained meant that in reality states could do little even in the third trimester. I think learning this fact is what brings many people to the realization that they need to get involved with the pro-life movement. After they do, they learn more and their passion intensifies and their dedication usually just grows stronger. And so we've been here since '83 I think.

Weston: Can you explain the structure of your organization? How many employees are there? How many volunteers assist? How many members are active in the organization?

Culp: Kansans for Life is an affiliate of the National Right to Life Committee (NRLC)...we are chartered by them, so we follow their organizational structure to a large degree. Like them, we have an education arm which is designated as a 501 C-3 under the IRS code and allows donations to be tax-deductible. Those funds are used to fund education efforts, which makes up a large part of what we do. Kansans for Life is non-denominational and non-partisan. When our PAC endorses, party is not a consideration. Like them we also have a membership and lobbying arm, designated as a 501 C-4 organization, which is the umbrella over everything. Finally we have an internal political action committee (PAC). Donations for membership and the PAC are not tax-deductible. Our capital at the capitol is not money, it's that consistency and honoring our promise to endorse legislators who have honored their promise to vote pro-life. We have a board of directors and an executive director, that oversees daily operations and carries out the board's objectives. We have board meetings, usually in person but occasionally by conference call. We also have chapters within the state and a newspaper published by the 501 C-4. It carries legislative and educational articles and the PAC can buy ads in it to publicize the endorsement of candidates. We have three offices. The state office in Wichita, the legislative office in Topeka and our office in Kansas City. Although I am state executive director, I work out of KC office. We have two full time and one part-timer in KC. Two full time and three part-timers in Wichita. In Topeka we have a paid lobbyist and a hard-working, but unpaid legislative director. We have thought about closing our legislative office in Topeka since one can now use laptops, and iphones. It is nice, however, to be able to utilize it to prepare legislative testimony packets, and to have a place to have press conferences and to have a place to land just a half block from the capitol. We gain members/donors from presentations we do, or those who sign up at fairs or who contact us unsolicited. We don't give out information about how many members we have.

It can become understandable why Ms. Culp tries to be as technical in the way she speaks with three technically separate organizations she must oversee as executive director in the eyes of the IRS and FEC. She understands the need to for these different laws, so her frustration has been accepted with understanding and acceptance of the rules. Kansans for Life has become an

organization that has become focused on advocacy, lobbying, and electing pro-life incumbents.

And the “incumbent” part is very important to her organization, as she only wants proven records of legislatures and not just have someone new to the process say they are pro-life with the potential to vote for pro-choice legislation later.

KFL

Culp: You know what people care about I’ve noticed is during election years they want to know who to vote for. So they care a lot about our political action committee. They don’t even know there are three separate organizations. Most people just don’t know there are three different organizations. They don’t know that we have an education arm, membership arm, and a political arm. I mean they don’t constantly think about it. They just think “Oh, it’s Kansans for Life.” We’re careful about how we follow the law. We get so many phone calls about “Who do I vote for?” I mean truly they just call up during those times when we have PAC volunteers answering the phone “Who do I vote for?” They’d vote for anyone we told them to vote for. We have a process we go through. We endorse incumbent pro-life candidates. People in Topeka that have voted Pro-Life. Sometimes people get angry cause lets say it’s a Democrat, but they’ve voted Pro-Life. We’re going to endorse them. That’s their payment, if you will our voters. We don’t have a lot money, but we have a lot of capital at the capitol, so we have voters that care and they know it. And the smaller the election the more difference it makes. In the primaries, we can almost win any primary, but in the general a pro-life Democrat that’s been voting pro-life, then he gets our endorsement next election. We don’t care how good looking the Republican is that files against them or how pro-life they are. Sometimes that upsets people, not too often, but sometimes it does. But people assume we’re just Republican and we’re not. I’ve had people say to me “I understand the issues, just make sure I get that communication that tells me who to vote for.” I mean people that are already pro-life really care a lot about that.

She has been a pro-life activists for a long time. This is not just a job for her and she is originally from Missouri and moved to Kansas for the job, which is highly looked upon position due to the credibility of the organization that has been built and level of abortion related legislation that is debated in the state of Kansas. Her story of how she got involved was typical for many, where she became interested in the movement of wanting to stay up-to-date on information, becoming a volunteer, having an organizational position, and then finally have the skillset to have a paid position as an executive director for an organization.

KFL

Culp: I got involved because of a booth at Ward Parkway Shopping Center years ago. And I signed up for the Missouri Right to Life Newsletter and then it never came. So then I was at church one time and they had a little coffee and donuts afterwards, a “Respect Life” Coffee and Donut thing, so I went to it and had a donut and some coffee. They had some brochures and stuff. And I complained to them, they were a church Respect Life Committee, but I said “you know those people from Missouri Right to Life...I signed up for their newsletter and I signed up my mother and my sister up too and I never got one.” Well even though they were with the Church for Life committee, one of them served on the Missouri Right to Life committee too and he said “Well you should put your money where your mouth is because they need help with their mailing volunteers.” So I went to their next meeting at somebody’s house and I volunteered for the mailing committee and then I got this non-profit bulk mail dumped on my doorstep. I had my friends over and we sat there and stuffed envelopes and then sorted them into zip codes and then put them into the bundles that the post office requires for nonprofit bulk mail. Of course those rules have changed because they change everything at the post office every thirty-five minutes. We’d have little mailing parties at my house. And then after awhile I volunteered for the public relations committee and then I ended up being the executive director of the western region of Missouri Right to Life. Then I quit at one point for financial reasons and went to work for the Catholic bishop lobbying on education issues for them for three years and then this job came open at Kansans for Life. Again it was a combination of that exposure and the church exposure in my case. If the Missouri Right to Life had just mailed to me like they said they were going to then (laugh) I may or may not have gone to the church. I probably would have gone anyway. But being able to complain about them, then gave him a forum on how to get involved in that aspect.

Ms. Culp fits the story of many people that get involved with either the pro-choice or pro-life movement almost by chance. The right place and time are often necessary for someone to go in one direction in life, with being Catholic and church attendance typically being the key for many on the Pro-Life side. While church can be the catalyst for increased activism, the year and location can bring in even more people, such as a Catholic woman attending a church with a guest speaker in the summer of 1991 in Wichita, Kansas.

Sidewalk Counseling & KFL in 1990s

Sharyn Donovan is a mother that is in the midst of preparing for a son to be married and sitting in a house currently being remodeled. No Catholic symbolism hangs up today due to the walls being prepared to be painted, but her Catholic faith is still there and that helped get her

involved in the Pro-Life movement in the 1990s. She worked as paid employee for Kansans for Life from 1996-2000 and took part in sidewalk counseling until 2001 as a volunteer. Due to all this taking place over a decade ago, often times she would have to take her time to think about what it was like then; however, she seems to speak of that time fondly and a worthwhile time in her life. The start of her activism was in 1991.

KFL

Donovan: Well if you go way back, what just got me interested in the pro-life movement to begin with was back when I was a kid and my aunt was the founder of Right to Life of Kansas. So at her house, they lived right around the corner. I remember my cousins showing me a pamphlet one day of some babies in a trash bag and I just couldn't believe it. That can't be real, but it was. So I was pro-life from that moment on. Then I started having kids in my 20s and my sister did too and we were always just angered about the abortion issue. It's just a horrible thing, so it was just so uncivilized and I couldn't believe something like that would be happening. But nobody could really do anything about it it seemed like. Elaine and I would watch Oprah Winfrey and Phil Donahue and get so mad. They'd have these people on from the pro-abortion side and we would just get so mad. And then finally when the Summer of Mercy happened we had a man named Chet Gallagher come to St Francis, where I go to church. And he came and spoke. He had been a police officer and was ordered to arrest people at a clinic that were sitting down in front of the clinic entrance and just said, "I can't do it," and he just went and sat down with them in his police uniform and he got fired and all this stuff. So anyway, that just moved me so much and I remember that day and I have to admit I didn't always listen that closely when I was in church, but that day I was just leaning forward in my seat listening. It was just amazing, but from there my sister and my mom, they were at Magdalene (church) and they had a speaker there and we all got home and called each other and we were like "We've got to go to this rally tonight." My aunts, and my cousins, and I went, we all went to that rally....the rest is history. That really was what got me involved. And my sisters too and my mom, although my aunt was always involved.

Her family connection and a guest speaker lead her to a desire to go to a rally that day and then she would be heavily involved with the movement for about a decade. Her details on the Kansans for Life show that sidewalk counseling was a greater passion for her than working for Kansans for Life; however, like many activists on both sides she was involved with multiple organizations.

KFL

Donovan: I was involved in several organizations. I was in Kansans for Life, where I worked. And we're there to educate the public on abortion and what it does. Then I was also involved with sidewalk counseling. I did that for ten years. And I guess that's the two main things I was involved in.

Weston: Now when you say "worked" were you a salaried employee with them?

Donovan: Uh huh, yeah with Kansans for Life I was.

Weston: Okay.

Donovan: Sidewalk counseling was purely voluntary.

Weston: Okay. Can you explain the structure of your organization? How many employees were there? How many volunteers assisted? How many members were active in the organization?

Donovan: Well okay, with sidewalk counseling it varied. I mean at times we had probably back in the early 90s, gosh...maybe fifty sidewalk counselors? As the years progressed after ten years maybe there were twenty? I don't know. We'd get new people who would step up to volunteer to sidewalk counsel, so that kind of varied. But with Kansans for Life when I worked in the office, I worked in Wichita, and at that time I think we had five people that worked in the office and then we had volunteers that just came in all the time to help do different things with mailings and stuff like that.

Weston: So no real organization with sidewalk counseling...how many people would you say you sidewalk counseled with at anytime?

Donovan: Well we always tried to have two people there at the same time while the clinic was open. It didn't always work out that way, sometimes there was only one. But you would see different people, you know what does that come out to if you have two people every, maybe we'd take maybe a two or three hour shift at a time. The clinic was probably open ten hours a day. So what's that? Six, seven people a day out there. We were organized in that we would organize ourselves, but we weren't under any other larger organization.

Weston: I'm interested in the sidewalk counseling and how did you get into that?

Donovan: Okay, you know we had our rally, but then people were invited to go to the clinic. Well I just simply observed people who were doing this and somebody; I think it was my aunt, one of my aunts, said to me "You'd be a good sidewalk counselor." I was like "Really? Okay..." You have to be really brave, cause you had to be up there trying to talk to people. Anyway my sister and I both did it. We went to a sidewalk-counseling meeting, which was announced at a rally that there would be a sidewalk-counseling meeting with some training and so we went and then we did it for ten years. So that's how.

Ms. Donovan eventually left Kansans for Life and had to put an end to her sidewalk counseling days in order to find a full-time job with a better salary for her family. She has managed to stay involved in politics and was even back in 1992.

KFL

Donovan: I didn't mention this but I've worked on a lot of campaigns too. Been a precinct committeewoman for the Republican Party since 1992 I think. Long time, almost twenty years. So I've been real involved in politics too and just trying to get pro-life people elected. So finally we've got Sam Brownback as a governor, something good happens! And my father-in-law has been a state senator for close to twenty years. It's taken a long time, but something good's finally starting to happen. Hope it stays that way.

Weston: As opposed to being in an advocacy group when you were there, did you feel getting into politics could do more for the pro-life movement?

Donovan: Well, working in politics is more kind of the long term goal, where if you're at an abortion clinic, which we don't have one anymore in Wichita, that's kind of the "Right now! We have to do something right now!" So I mean it just depends. I mean I suppose if you're in politics you're working long term, more permanent things happening. Yeah, I don't know, I don't know I'd say it's more important or....both have their place and significance.

Ms. Donovan appears to be pleased with her accomplishments when she was at her most engaged in the Pro-Life movement. A number of things have changed since she stopped sidewalk counseling in the battle over abortion in the state of Kansas, including: communication, number of abortion clinics, politics, and the death of Dr. Tiller. Even the interaction and goals of organizations has changed in the past decade.

Chapter 4 - Recruitment & Communication

Most of the communication of the people interviewed said they are focused on their supporters and the public; however there were a couple of exceptions that took their opposition into mind when putting out press releases or another form of communication. The means of communication has required changes in strategy due to economics, technology, and changes in the population over the past decade when it comes to how to get someone's attention. Ms. Culp of the Kansans for Life talks about more than just the different ways to communicate, but the big fundraising breakfast they hold with speakers, including one that once work for an abortion clinic.

KFL

Culp: Well our members through newsletters and fundraisers. Our fundraising letters are always full of information and not just "give us some money." We have changed it a little bit. We have a smaller newsletter, so it goes in an envelope, so we can stick a fundraising letter in with it. We're trying to do them once a month. We've only sent our newsletters in the past quarterly. And then fundraising letters sporadically, except the membership letter, which we try to do it in January. That is membership money so it can be used for anything, except for politics basically, but you don't get a tax deduction. Then even on that we give them the option that if they want to donate tax deductible dollars in addition to their membership fee then they can. It's just that it can be a pain in the neck because they'll do it with one check and then put it on the books that this much is for this part of the organization and this part for the other part of the organization. With members it's really direct mail and e-mail. We just started a mass email mechanism a couple of years ago through an organization called Voter Voice and what we love about it is that it knows what state senate and representative district that people live in based on their address. So we can use it for advocacy. If we want to target one state representative we know how many members we have in that district. And we can write a letter that says "Dear Jeannie, please call your state senator so-and-so and tell him such-and-such. He's on the such-and-such committee and we need him to get a call." But most of the time it's typically just a mass email that goes to everybody "call your representatives" or "such-and-such event is happening" or "did you hear about this?" or whatever. And now we have a blog, a good blog, I mean it's a great blog. Our brilliant legislative director writes it. I worked with her for a few years and I called her up one day and said, "you graduated top of your class, didn't you?" She said "yes." And I said, "how many degrees do you have?" She said, "Three." And I went "Okay, I figured that out just by knowing you." She put together this booklet of all the state laws and did all this research and I could tell she knew what she was doing. Anyway, so we also have a Twitter account now, Facebook for the PAC and the other two entities, and then we have this Voter Voice mechanism, and our newsletter. As far as with the public, I'm the public spokesperson so we send out press releases. And I have long-standing relationships with a lot of

the media in Kansas City and in Kansas just by having them calling me. When Phill Kline was here I used to get a lot of calls from the national media and I've gotten some of those this week too: Time Magazine and New York Times. And so we're on television, in the newspaper. We don't really buy too much radio advertising, although we have. We also have public service announcements sometimes on Christian radio, which the owner can hand to us if he wants to. We have a big banquet in February in Kansas City and Wichita. It started out like seven years ago, I think we had about 150 people and then the next year we had 500 and then the next year we had 600 and then 700 and then 750 and now we're at over a thousand and that's as big as the place is, so I don't know what we're going to do after that. We could move it over to the convention center, but we'll probably stay where we are. We don't charge anything for it, but then we ask people to give money while they're there. It's a 501(c)(3) event. Last summer we had a PAC breakfast. We brought in a speaker, whom up until a few years ago was the director of the Houston Planned Parenthood Clinic. And was kind of a big wig really. She knew abortion folks from sea to shining sea. She has now written a book. Abortion is like we like to say, "they're done in the dark basically, so the doctor doesn't see what he's doing in a very unforgiving part of a woman's body." She got on our side because a doctor wanted to do an abortion via sonogram while he's watching on sonogram. Maybe he was going to try and pioneer a safer way, I don't know why, but he did. So he asked her to be in the room. So she said, "I sat there and watched this baby be pulled away" and being vaporized basically and it got to her. So as far as number of members, I don't really know to be honest because it's between this office and I know on a routine basis, for instance on the email members I've got 6,000 of those, but that's no where near the number of members, those are just the ones that have given us their email addresses because they felt like it. And we could do a little more of promoting it and pushing it. You know we're a movement and an organization, so because we're a movement and we're involved in the front lines we're not going to be as good of a business so to speak as someone where that's all they have to worry about. We also have a rally in Topeka every January on the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade*. I think we had close to 2,000 people the last couple of years. Our numbers have really grown, I think since really President Bush was in office because being successful politically can make a difference, but also with partial birth abortion law...let me put it this way, I've been around so long that I remember that someone would ask you what you did for a living at a party and you weren't sure you wanted to tell them because they either love you or hate you. They might automatically assume "oh, you bomb abortion clinics!" and you'd say "No, no I don't" but there were all these stereotypes by our opponents like they would paint us all with one brush. Things are just different now; things are totally hundred percent turned around. The feminist movement back then, it was the cultural of the day. The young people now are pulling at very pro-life. Gallop for three years in a row now has found more people identifying themselves as pro-life as pro-choice. I think the thing that happened was with partial birth abortion becoming known. And it became known because of Congress. When you get the Congress and you get something up that high, I think some people thought that maybe they would fall for the stereotypical image of us. They thought, "Well I'm not for that partial birth abortion! Well gee, is that make me one of those pro-lifers!? Well by God okay, fine." It broke that barrier because they knew they weren't for that, so it got them thinking.

Organizations such as Kansans for Life fill many roles, so they are likely to gain a lot of members with their fees; however, for organizations such as the Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund, there is a reliance on donors and supporters by keeping their name out there and having people talk about them.

PBSCF

Bowman: Word of mouth, people that know us tell other people. I think that's the main way that we find new people when there's a crisis, for example when Doctor Tiller was shot. Lots of people were on the web reading, investigating, etc., etc. They would find us in an attempt to connect, they would send a check or and we'd add them to our mailing list. We communicate through the newsletter primarily. We also have a Facebook page, and as noted in the newsletter you just received, in three months we went from twelve to a new number 664.

Mark: Really?

Bowman: Really, yes, I'm not real big on Facebook (laugh) but I do find those numbers really fun and exciting. And we're on Twitter and I don't think anyone has really used it. We have those different ways to communicate and we call them "supporters," not "members." And for some reason or another that's a big deal, but I'm not sure why that's true. I think it's more legal than anything else.

Sheppard: And we have an Internet address.

Bowman: Oh, yes. Our webpage.

Mark: Our website.

Sheppard: And we think that's how a lot of people find out about our fund and have donated to us because we have a lot of donations from out of state from people, it's like "does anyone know these people?" "No." (Laughs)

Bowman: I wanted to comment about the structure again, we have a national organization called national organization called National Network of Abortion Funds and they have a website that...and a lot of the search words you use on Google will send you to their website that says "Fund Abortion Now," our name comes up in searches. On the NNAF webpage, they have specifically: "Need help with abortion funding?" And you can go by state. And another comment I wanted to make about the clinics that we're working with is that when Doctor Tiller was killed, that left us with three clinics just in the Kansas City area. And so we contacted clinics in all the surrounding states to see if they would be interested in working with us and they definitely were. And then other clinics outside of the surrounding state would contact me and ask if they could participate. It's popular and people will find us through lots of different means even word of mouth and I think that's an important piece of it also.

So communication with not just members and the public, but with a national affiliation and maintaining an Internet presence allows for people to find an organization such as the PBSCF. And individuals like Mr. Gietzen sees the need for online presence, but the focus of the organization changing to petition based is the new way for him to gain members along with other means of gaining attention.

KCFL

Gietzen: The most common way for us to get new members is for them to sign a petition, to be invited to send a petition either at church, civic meeting, friends will ask them to sign maybe online. If they sign the petition, they will say, "Hey you know you should sign this too and here's why." Friends signing up friends is a really good way of doing it. On the back of each of the petitions you'll see they have an option of signing to help us and maybe they'll check one of the blocks at the bottom and it says they want to help us with mailings or whatever and then they will be used. If they signed that on the back we're definitely going to call and say, "Hey, we've got a job for you. We want you to work in your area, in your community and here's what you can do." And so we use all of those methods anyway we can to get the word out and get more people to join us. And it's a slow process, but I'm so pleased with the progress we have been making recently. We have to buy commercial advertising just like anyone else. Not too many people are going to give us free...even if you're doing it within the churches, you're going to have to pay for bulletin ads, you're going to have pay for announcements in dioceses and papers and so on. So that's one way of doing it and of course in this day and age if you can do email for those of those that have email addresses, we do a pretty good job of keeping up-to-date on the list. At least of those 600 people, 250 have email addresses on the list and we mail to those about once a month and so that's a very up-to-date list. Many others that do volunteer don't have an email address. We communicate with them through phone or through regular postal mail, 44 cents. And so that's expensive. Just this project that Amy is doing here...um, it's not what it used to be. Ten or fifteen years ago you could send out a mailing and recover your money. Maybe the postage was considerably lower than 44 cents and you could recover your printing and postage costs and come up with enough to run the organization. Now people just don't seem to respond anymore, they respond much better with email, which is free anyway. And they can donate online and so on. We do much more via the Internet, and far less than by regular U.S. mail than we used to do.

Many of the organizations, such as Kansas Catholic Conference and Planned Parenthood did not want to see their supporters as "members." Mr. Schuttloffel sees the members as just

being Catholics and there's a buffer between their organization and Catholics with the board consisting of four Archbishops.

KCC

Weston: How does your organization communicate with members, the public, and your opposition?

Schuttloffel: Well...we function as lobbyists as far as it goes with the legislature. We go across the street during the session and sit down with legislators and just talk to them about the issues. You know we're different from most other public policy advocacy organizations. On most issues we don't prepare alternate budgets and stuff like that. On most issues we don't take hard and fast stands on the minutia of public policy because on most issues Catholics can have different perspectives on public policies, so on most issues we try, as I mentioned with respect to our mission, we try to explain, articulate to policy makers, to legislators what are the moral principles that are at stake here? What are the moral implications of some of the different options under consideration? And then ask them to make wise and just make decisions in light of those moral principles. There are a handful of issues where from our perspective; matters of public policy directly intersect with fundamental moral issues where issues of intrinsic evil, intrinsic right or wrong are manifest. And the life issue is very much one of those, that's our top priority because it's not an issue where Catholics can disagree. It's an issue where to be a good Catholic you have to be pro-life because you cannot accept the taking of an innocent human life. And it's mainly the life issues where that's the case where we have these issues where Catholics must agree, where Catholics are unified or supposed to be unified on behalf of a position that protects human life and on those we very much take hard and fast stands on supporting legislation. For your purposes on the pro-life bills we function very much as a pro-life public policy organization.

Weston: How does your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members?

Schuttloffel: Yeah, that's not terribly relevant to us. We really don't have members, per say. We have Catholics across the state who are interested in what we're doing and what issues we're engaged with, so primarily through email we'll stay in contact with them naturally as far as that goes.

Weston: What messages do you try to send to your members, the public, and your opposition? Are the messages adjusted based on the target audience? How are the messages sent? Which ways have you found to be successful? Which ways have you found to be not so successful?

Schuttloffel: We're not a political organization, so we don't really tailor our message to the audience. We're supposed to be baring the Catholic position on moral issues and we're supposed to be articulating the Catholic position on those issues, so you know we don't tweak our message based on who we're talking to because we're not seeking, you know, political success is

wonderful when we achieve, but our first priority is the integrity of our message. Our message is the same no matter who we're talking to.

Due to the size of Planned Parenthood, Ms. Kostas and Ms. Gillooly had a lot of areas to cover on how they communicate with the public, their supporters, and clients of Planned Parenthood.

PP

Weston: How does your organization communicate with members, the public, and your opposition?

Gillooly: So let's think about that in terms of patients, we can talk about patients and activists because those are sort of like discreet communities for our organizations, it might be different from some others. So maybe talk about maybe patients and opposition, and let you talk about activists and the public, ok?

Kostas: Okay.

Gillooly: So patient communication is just like with any healthcare provider. It's communicating through people, through the telephone, through their postal mail, through their insurance providers, you know that's pretty typical, you can imagine that. Communicating with our opposition? Sheila if you want this to be off the record once I say it please indicate that, I think we hesitate to communicate with opposition because we have found historically and frequently whenever we communicate to them, they frequently misrepresent that information and they'll misquote us and sort of distort our messages to meet whatever their purposes are, so I think that we don't communicate with them. They certainly communicate with us, we certainly receive suspicious and threatening calls and letters from folks that are opposed to the work that we do, but I don't think we communicate with them primarily because we need to focus on our work and our work is providing healthcare to the thousands of people that rely on us. I don't know if you want to add to that.

Kostas: No, I don't think I have anything to add, but I'm okay with it being on the record because I think it's to the heart of what you are trying to talk about. I guess I would stress what Sarah said about our primary concern is providing healthcare to our patients and to the people who depend on us for basic healthcare services everyday. In terms of how we communicate with activists, I mentioned our Action Network, I don't know if you're familiar with those, but ours is called Planned Parenthood Action Network. We always refer to it as P-PAN, but it is an online tool to allow us to communicate with our activists, so when we're out in the community, gathering signatures, getting petitions signed, then that allows us to build this list. Those names of individuals end up in our Action Network database. Again it's a tool for us to message through to educate our supporters on our issues. And then it's also an advocacy tool, which allows us to ask them to take an action again. I said this earlier, so they can click the buttons, send the letters, or send a message directly to their legislator on one particular issue. The other

ways we communicate with activists, we have reproductive health care action teams across different community areas, so we try and engage folks in a variety of ways. We ask them to come to monthly meetings in certain areas in certain areas in Mid-Missouri, Kansas and there's usually activities related to our work. Again there's an education component where we try to inform them of what's going on legislatively on our issues and then sometimes there will be actions where we'll be preparing materials again for upcoming events, we may ask them to write letters to the editor, so there's a lot of education that goes on in our work. We can't expect people to get involved with us and take action if we're not informing them and educating them. So P-PAN is an education and communication tool. There's face-to-face communication at these meetings that we have around Kansas City and outlying areas.

Gillooly: We use social media, of course. Twitter and Facebook, there's a Youtube channel. So social media, the development department does a newsletter, like a hard paper newsletter, that's sort of a traditional newsletter, as well mailings to our donors to keep them updated on the work that we may be doing both public policy, as well as the work we're doing in the health centers with patients and education. And the education department communicates via email, so Sheila's mentioning the P-PAN system that we use and that's through a system called Convio. It used to be called "GetActive" and now it's called Convio. Convio is one of those services that has a few advanced features to allow people to point and click to their legislator.

Kostas: And through the volunteer department, there's also a separate volunteer newsletter, so there's communication that goes out to volunteers.

Gillooly: Because I think we find in our work in terms of members, we'll say supporters, in terms of our supporters we have people who have different interests. So there's folks who know what they want to do is volunteer and they want to be in the health center and they want to be involved in lobbying and then we have folks who know what they're interested in is being philanthropists to the organization. So I think people's interests tend to vary and so we try to make sure that everybody is getting a consistent message about what's going on with the organization, but we're also communicating with our supporters based on their sort of interests categories, be that philanthropy, volunteerism, or activism that they get sort of the communication most tailored to their interests.

Kostas: I just wanted to add, kind of going back to the range of services that Sarah mentioned earlier, I think one of the main messages that you will hear Planned Parenthood frequently is putting out that the vast majority of the services we provide is about prevention, so that is a common messaging theme through any education or any communications that we do with the different groups depending on who we're talking to and what the context is.

Gillooly: And in terms of the public, we certainly do a lot of media work. We communicate to our activists and ask our activists to do letters to the editor and op-eds, so that's one form of communication to the public, through media. We do press releases and press conferences when issues arise. We serve as a resource to media outlets and students, as well when they're doing research to provide them background, so that's communicating with the public. We're also pretty ambitious on our tabling. We do a lot of tabling at events, community

events, education events, festivals, etc. Where we have our staff and our activists tabling, sitting at tables or collecting petitions. And part of that is to provide information to people at those events, so they'll give out brochures or give out information on Planned Parenthood, try to answer any questions they can. And it's also just to be visible and to let folks know that we're here and that we're going to continue to be here.

Right to Life of Kansas relies on volunteers and their partnership with Personhood

Kansas to achieve their goals and communicate with their members and the public. Ms. Turner is not as involved with the organization's daily operations or inner circle as she once was, but is the contact person on the 24/7 phone line for those that are pregnant to call when a church or pregnancy crisis center is not open.

RTLK

Turner: Many of the things that we do are as individuals even though our organization isn't objecting; I mean we don't necessarily put it together. If someone else is going down, like here in Wichita, when Tiller's aborturaries (abortion clinic) were in operation and for so many years his was the main one here, the Catholic Diocese would lead a rosary the first Saturday of every month. And we participated with that, not necessarily just Catholics, but anyone could go. But there are a lot of people that go down to pray for different reasons, just to get their heads together that they're going down a certain day or a certain group that used to be here was called Operation and Save America. And they were a protestant group that spent an awful lot of time in front of the aborturaries (abortion clinics) praying and sidewalk counseling. We all came to know each other, so if we know they're doing something or somebody from out of town is coming in to pray, we go and participate; however, it isn't necessarily our project. Wichita chapter had a Walk for Life, I'm seeing them everywhere, but at that time it was kind of unique. We had done it, before I was involved, they had already done that a few times, but to start on a particular route and to do it every year, we did change the route halfway through there. I wanted to so badly make it to thirty years, but we made it to twenty-nine years and then all of the reasons and things and people all seemed to change. It wasn't wise to do it anymore. But we used to walk 10 miles at first, then it became 5K. At one time there were three abortion clinics here and this is what we did, we would walk from the Lutheran Church, which no longer exists and walk on passed Planned Parenthood and the three aborturaries (abortion clinics) and walk on down the park down by the river and everybody carried a sacked lunch and ate lunch there. We furnished apples and cold drinks for them. And they would come on back to where we were. And that was where you would get people to sponsor you, that sort of thing. That was our biggest public thing I guess. But when we were talking before about our annual conferences, those were rotated throughout the state. The different organizations would sponsor them, so we had some here in 86, 92, and then West Sedgwick County has had theirs out there. As far as communicating, that is why we have the phone over the years, the group that is West Sedgwick County used to be

apart of us (Wichita) and it became convenient for them to do their work out in the county and they can tell you about the things they have going out there. But they then started to share the expenses of our phone so we would be able to keep a face because it used to be every time something happened any place in the world they would call us about it. I don't get as many calls as I used to. Not entirely sure why, but part of it is because I guess I don't make the kind of things that make headlines. Sometimes the truth doesn't even make headlines.

While Ms. Turner is in charge of the phone lines, the member of the West Sedgwick County chapter of the Right to Life of Kansas remains the most active with general communication with members and the public, plus they pay for the phone charges for the Wichita phone line. This is especially true with their pursuit of gaining a Personhood amendment in the Kansas Constitution.

RTLK

Seiler: The state organization publishes a newsletter, what three, four times a year called The Pipeline. And we put articles in there and we send it out. We've got about fifteen hundred people we sent it out to when we have it. And then every year we sponsor a bus to the March for Life and we usually get some new people on the bus and it's a good opportunity for us to educate and try to bring them into our organization. This is where we've probably gotten quite a few of our members, especially here in the local area. I guess you spoke to Pat Turner yesterday and we help support the telephone that she answers in the Wichita area, so...

Mans: And telephone ads in the telephone book.

Seiler: And we do ads in local papers now and then. Just to make ourselves visible to let people know we're around.

Ashley: We do have a website.

Seiler: Yeah, we've got a website.

Ashley: Articles and different things that are posted. Also with Right to Life for Kansas' input, a lot of co-interaction, Personhood of Kansas puts out press releases. Sometimes with the help of our national group, Personhood USA. But a lot of times just the Kansas list. We send out a press release when there's something happening or some response that we want to have or whatever the case may be. Those go out to every press contact in the state too.

Mans: Pat Turner's been a media contact for a lot of years, but don't see her showing up on TV so much anymore; however, the media always knew to contact her when they wanted an opinion about something going down.

Weston: What activities do you undertake? For example do you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.? What does each of these activities communicate to members, the public, and your opposition?

Mans: Not so much recently, but for several years we had a float in the local parades. We're not always welcome because people don't see it as a friendly topic when they're celebrating something, you know?

Weston: Can you describe the float?

Seiler: We had a couple floats in the River Festival. It's been quite a few years back.

Mans: And one was cartoon characters, the Pink Panther, one year we had the statue of liberty, Tweety bird. Trying to make it positive, entertaining, but still getting the message out: that life is good and needs to be supported.

Seiler: We probably went about three or four years and then the Summer of Mercy came along and there was a lot of controversy in Wichita, and then we were turned down. So we haven't been back to there, but we've put together quite a few floats. We have a Heritage Days here in Colwich and have entered quite a few floats that have a pro-life theme and every year when they have it now, we have a pick-up with bottles of water and we've got some sayings that we tape on the bottles, Pro-life issues and hand them out to people while we're going down the parade.

Weston: How does your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members? For example you can even relate it to yourself. How did you get involved?

Mans: Most people think pro-life is pro-life and they don't understand the differences between the organizations and to a lot of people it's not important. They think as long as their pro-life that's all they need to worry about. But like John said about our trip to Washington, we spent two days on the bus going and two days going back. You have a lot of time to talk to anybody, any newcomer and explain why we do what we do and who we are and what the differences are. And that's always an eye opener for those that have not been involved and that's been a big way for us to get new members because you have time to explain to them what the differences are, why it's important for us to stand for the things that we do and not allow for, and how some of the things that are viewed as a step forward can actually be a step backward. If you're changing laws on the books that are pro-life and start tampering with the wording, you may actually be going backwards.

Ashley: I know our main focus is to amend the Kansas Constitution by passing Personhood Law. We support Personhood Bills as well, but particularly the constitution because that would be the supreme law of the state. So what we do is we go around to try and raise support for that through a petition process. Some states are actually citizen initiative states,

where you collect enough signatures and then it goes on the ballot and you vote for it. All four of our bordering states are like that, Colorado, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and Missouri, all have a citizen initiative process. We don't here in Kansas and we have to convince the legislature to let us vote on a constitutional amendment. So we build support for that through opinion polling through our petition. We get people to pledge their support for a Personhood Amendment and we go out to various, all kinds of different events, there's a Christian comedy club we're going to be going to later this month. Next month is a Catholic conference. September is the state fair. So we will set-up a booth and the focus of the booth is the petition, but it's also to educate people and things like that. Membership is kind of loose. If you're pledging to support Personhood with your name then that means you pledge to the cause from our perspective. And so we build our list and build this coalition to the point where we have more active members and people come along that way.

Mans: But the purpose of all that is to convince the legislators that this is what their constituents want. It's not just to gain members; it 's to make an impact.

Ashley: Right. If we put ourselves out of business, that's our goal. We don't want to do this forever. We want to do this until it's done. The committee chairman put it this way: "I'm not in love with pro-life activism, I'm in love with fly fishing. So if I can go do that for the rest of my life, I'd be more than happy to give this up and stop doing this." And that's the way I view it too. I'm not trying to build an organization. We only build the organization for a purpose. So people will be actively involved, contact their legislators, that's the whole purpose of having the organization at all in my opinion. But it's just to contact the legislature and get this accomplished, so that our state takes a position on life and that's the pro-life position.

With an organization such as NOW or the ACLU, recruitment of members can be easier due to name recognition and therefore it is easier to sell the concept of the organization.

NOW

Weston: How do you communicate with your members?

Joslin: Well we do email and mail and phone calls.

Weston: What about with local media?

Joslin: We send out information anytime we're having a program or something like that that's open to the public. Our meetings are open to the public, so sometimes they do attend or different women will attend just to see what we're about before they join. We put a bulletin in the newspaper and the other area newspapers around here. And at the state level of course the newspapers, and news stations whenever we're having something.

Weston: What activities do you undertake? For example do you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.? What does each of these activities communicate to members, the public, and your opposition?

Joslin: We usually let them know what we're trying to work on and why we're trying to work on it. What we hope will be the outcome and that's what we put out there for the public. We're usually answering something because something has happened and we're taking action about it. On our lobbying we have certain things that we lobby for. We watch for laws that are coming up and then we either lobby for it or against it. We have other organizations that we work with.

Weston: How does your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members?

Joslin: It's usually done because someone knows somebody that's in NOW and they get interested. We have tried advertising and it always brings in some, but the cost is just so high. We did some in The (Wichita) Eagle and the cheapest ad we had was 500 (dollars), but you've got to bring in a lot of members to make that worthwhile. So we haven't done that for quite a while, but we did. On number of members, it fluctuates some. When we've got some big issues or things are going bad politically and stuff like that, people are more motivated to get in.

Ms. Weatherford recognizes the name value of ACLU, but she still understands the importance of communicating with members and the public to make it clear what the ACLU does in full detail and scope.

ACLU

Weatherford: We have a variety of ways to communicate. We have ACLU members that are paid members of this organization. We also have ACLU supporters who might not pay that membership fee every year, but maybe donate to the ACLU or are just interested in what the ACLU does. We have an email system that we use to communicate with people. We have a newsletter that we use to communicate with people. We also regularly have volunteers that come in and make phone calls. So if we have an event coming up or if there's a hot legislative issue, they call to members and targeted areas of the state to inform them of what the issue is and to take action on the issue.

Weston: What activities do you undertake? For example do you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.?

Weatherford: We do all of those things that you just listed...

Weston: Even the phone trees?

Weatherford: Absolutely! Because everybody...I like to say that we like to convert our supporters into activists and what does that mean? Well getting them to take action on behalf of this issue, especially when you're truly a grassroots organization like we are. This local affiliate I

would say is very, very grassrootsy. We don't have a fancy email system like other organizations do. And so we really rely on people and their networks. Everybody has a network and so one of the first steps of converting a supporter into an activists is: One, giving them the knowledge and the confidence to take action, but then also helping realize that they do have this network that they themselves can activate. They have those relationships and so absolutely: phone trees, and sending out an email and encouraging it to move on and be spread among friends and colleagues. I think it is very important because you yourself can influence your circle where I might not have as strong of an influence on your circle. So yes, absolutely we do.

Weston: How does your organization recruit new members or employees and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members?

Weatherford: Yes, the latter two (word of mouth and media exposure). We don't have funds for advertising. We do rely on word of mouth, self-promotion, and media coverage. We use phone banking to recruit new members. We go out to different community events: fairs, what have you. And do community outreach if it's canvassing, or setting up an information table to recruit new members, get our name out there. The ACLU, this affiliate was not very present in Kansas before I got here, over the last...I don't know how many years it was, probably almost a decade before 2010 was probably the first time the ACLU really started establishing a presence in Kansas. We would still take cases. But as far as legislative advocacy and public education, the ACLU just really hadn't done much across the state. So we're sort of learning as we go.

Weston: So you'd say name recognition especially helps recruiting?

Weatherford: Absolutely! People know who the ACLU is. Yeah.

Weston: So it's kind of like the NRA, everyone knows what that is?

Weatherford: I say everybody knows who the ACLU is, not everybody, but the vast majority of people, I mean at least know that the ACLU is an organization. They might not know exactly what we do and we do have a large number of members, paying members across Kansas. And that gives us something good to start with and then like you said encouraging them to help us recruit new ACLU members and supporters. Because again: everybody's circle of influence or network is powerful.

Some organizations can see the benefits of modern day social media, while remembering when things were based on fax machines, letters, and phone calls only. Ms. Donovan was with Kansans for Life before social media and relied on the technologies of the time to organize sidewalk counseling.

KFL

Weston: How did your organization communicate with members, the public, and your opposition?

Donovan: Okay, with sidewalk counseling (laugh) I'm going to have to do two things. Um, with sidewalk counseling at that time, you know Internet, email wasn't really a big thing, so back then by telephone, by meetings. One interesting thing we had a sidewalk counselor phone line where people could call in and hear a message and it was a one-minute thing and I did that for several years. I handled that phone line. And I just put updates, like if a baby was saved that day. That was exciting news that we wanted to know about. So mainly you know the sidewalk-counseling phone one, I think we had a phone tree and meetings. When we'd call meetings. For Kansans for Life, that's a large organization and gosh, they have newsletters, mailings, I think they were just starting with the website towards the end of when I worked there, but now they have a full-blown website and meetings too. Phone calls. They started doing the automatic phone calls. You know what do they call them...robocalls. It started that; I remember Dave Gittrich was real excited about that. I'm thinking if there's any other ways we communicated...I guess that's it. That's mainly it.

Weston: What activities did you undertake? For example did you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.? What did each of these activities communicate to members, the public, and your opposition?

Donovan: Oh my goodness! (Laugh) Where do you start? Gosh, that's a lot in one question. I did take part, I guess you'd say "protests" here in Wichita and Washington, DC. My sister and I organized the "March for Life" bus trip for the Diocese of Wichita for, I think for three years in a row and we took people. And what did that communicate to the members? Just, you know, there are others like you, that think the same way and care about this issue and let's come together and do something. So yeah, protests here in Wichita and Washington, DC. And what did it convey to the outside? I hope the same thing that they saw, "Wow look at all these people that care about this. Maybe this is something important." So I hope that's what it said to them.

Weston: How did your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Did you have funds to advertise? Did you use word of mouth and media exposure? Did you find that the current members are often recruiting new members?

Donovan: I would say, "Yes" that the current members were recruiting new members. Back when things were more involved in the early 90s, mid-90s, there were TV interviews. I did some of those. And you know I just hope it said to people that I spoke well enough. I hope they didn't think I was some crazy person. Anyway I haven't done anything like that in a long time. What was the rest of the question?

Weston: What were the ways to advertise? What were the ways to use media exposure?

Donovan: Yeah, now Kansans for Life, cause they're so large, they have some funds that come in so they don't have a lot of money, but they had a little more that they could use for various campaigns and things like that. Sidewalk counseling, we didn't really have (advertising) it was just whatever people donated out of their own pocket, so you know we would maybe put

something in a charge bulletin. You know there would be, “We’re going to have a sidewalk counseling meeting if you’re interested in sidewalk counseling....come to the meeting!” (laugh) That kind of thing. Then again we would probably also put something in the Kansans for Life newsletter.

Communication technological advances have especially helped newer organizations get the word out about their existence, such as Trust Women. Plus with Ms. Burkhart’s experience as a leader of a prior Pro-Choice organization has allowed her to be able avoid the pitfalls many organizations go through of trial and error.

TW

Weston: How does your organization communicate with members, the public, and your opposition?

Poor: The usual channels of communication. There’s a website, there’s social media.

Burkhart: Yeah, social media...phone calls. The usual.

Weston: You said the typical thing, the phone tree....

Poor: Yeah, all the usual advocacy and public advocacy education strategies, you know? Different communication strategies for different projects, you know? Whatever fits.

Burkhart: We had a lobbyist in Topeka last session.

Weston: And was that the first time having a lobbyist for the organization?

Burkhart: For this organization? Yes.

Poor: Even though you’ve (Julie) been registered as a lobbyist.

Burkhart: Well for a gajillion years, but never under as a Trust one.

Weston: What’s so interesting about this organization is that it’s two years old, so in comparison to some other organizations, and you’ve been apart of other organizations as well, that’s one of the interesting aspects....how does your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members?

Burkhart: Well I guess I would like to clarify that we don’t actually consider our supporters to be “members.” We’re not a membership-based organization. We have supporters and we communicate in specific ways with our supporters, but we also believe in communicating with

the general public in ways that are appropriate for each event that's occurring at that time. So you know like some organizations, like I think the Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund, I know definitely the National Organization for Women, you know they're membership-based and we're not structured that way. So we kind of look at communicating in maybe a broader sense where maybe those organizations may not. I have no idea what their communication strategy is.

Weston: So board of directors (directed towards Scott Poor), how is that developed? How did you decide who became apart of the board of directors?

Poor: I think there's a geographic diversity, diversity of interest, diversity of professional background and overall commitment to the cause. I think you look for directors that bring different skill sets to the table to benefit the organization.

Weston: What messages do you try to send to your supporters, the public, and your opposition? Are the messages adjusted based on the target audience? How are the messages sent? Which ways have you found to be successful? Which ways have you found to be not so successful? I mean you're a new organization, two years, so Facebook and Twitter was already around, so how have those kinds of things worked out for the organization?

Burkhart: Well....it's been positive. So I'm pleased with it. You know we're now over 2500 on Twitter followers and I'd say we're about the same on Facebook, so I've been pleased with that level of response here and nationally. People want to get behind what we're working on.

Poor: I mean, I'm just speaking generically, social media has taken a big role for all groups that engage in advocacy. I mean, when I got started everything was direct mail. Now we don't do as much direct mail and we might under certain circumstances. Years ago running an organization meant you had a room full of volunteers folding and stuffing envelopes, you know? And we don't incur that cost or use that mechanism as a primary communication strategy. Although there's still a role for it, but...

Burkhart: Yeah things have changed. I can remember managing political campaigns on a Saturday you might have thirty to forty volunteers show up.

Poor: All mail.

Burkhart: Yeah, or to go out and place yard signs.

Poor: I mean there was a time in the 90s where we did everything by fax. I remember, we would have volunteers just standing around at the fax machine for days.

Burkhart: Yep, Blast fax!

Poor: Blast fax!

Burkhart: Especially for fundraising and political campaigns.

Poor: Yeah, so those things evolved, but I'm sure all organizations follow that same trend. Social media has just grown as a pretty important communication tool. I guess two years ago we didn't have Twitter, now we do. That's a big deal.

Burkhart: Yeah, it's really blown up.

Poor: Two years from now it might be something totally different.

Weston: Do you think having social media helped your organization kind of get jump started a little bit faster than say if it had been created back in the early 90s?

Poor: It's easy for supporters to find us because of social media.

Getting the name out and gaining supporters is obviously important for organizations, but Mr. Newman of Operation Rescue feels efforts for recruitment are not as important as getting the message out and just trying to keep his organization's supporters and the public informed.

OR

Weston: How does your organization communicate with members, the public, and your opposition?

Newman: Direct mail, email, Facebook, a website, but mostly email though. That's our quickest and most effective communication. I'm not a real expert on Facebook, but we're getting there. That's a really good way to communicate. I guess I saw an article the other day that Facebook was getting more traffic than Google, which is amazing.

Weston: Well this is similar, what activities do you undertake? For example do you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.?

Newman: Yes. (laugh)

Weston: What does each of these activities communicate to members, the public, and your opposition?

Newman: We use all those and we're always looking for new ways to communicate. I mean this isn't 1991, my goodness. You had to...to do an event you had to plan it three or four months out in order to get it into the mail stream and you're only mailing out once a month and it's incredibly expensive or if you try to do a phone blast, that was expensive. And people around that time started to hate getting phone calls in the evening. So now we actually use some text messaging, calls to cell phones, emails to cell phones, but really the most effective is your email. And that's really good to activate activists. And direct mail's still the best in raising funds. That's just kind of the way it is.

Weston: How does your organization recruit new members and communicate with them? Do you have funds to advertise? Do you use word of mouth and media exposure? Do you find that current members are often recruiting new members?

Newman: Current members do recruit new members. We do acquisition mailings and email blasts and a lot of advertising in conservative newspapers. We've tried World Net Daily....big Catholic papers, you know Our Sunday Visitor or, the other one escapes me. And we trade mailing lists with other conservative organizations and show up at conservative events. I think that going to this thing with Rick Perry was an important tool for us to recruit new people.

Weston: I mean just the other thing have you tried....such as with the email...has there been something where you've tried to communicate that's been successful or that you've found not to be successful?

Newman: Banner ads suck (laugh). Nobody...I don't know, I guess there's people out there that click on banner ads.

Weston: Like Drudge Report?

Newman: Yeah, that's not very successful. TV media hasn't been very successful. You know the cost-to-benefit ratio doesn't seem to workout. I'm somewhat of a Calvinist and people get involved when they get involved, and I'm not really worried about it. I'm not on a big membership recruiting drive. You know? This isn't a Jerry's Kids Telethon. Nothing against those kinds of membership drives, but I'm just not there. I'm going to do the work and I don't want to waste my time recruiting people. It just doesn't play with me. I'd rather do the work. I'd rather put abortionists out of business. I mean we are so efficient and effective. I mean we have the efficiency of an office five times our size. We're powerful and that's just the bottom-line. And why? Because we have goals and we work them and we make it happen. And I'm not going to waste my time with people that I somehow have to energize or get them all hyped up and go to a "Ra-Ra-Ra" Rally. That's not us. Either you're in or you're out. I'm not going to waste my time with that. I don't have to sell rhetoric. I'm not selling soap. I'm not selling Amway. You know, this isn't a network-marketing thing. Now a lot of people do. A lot of people spend all their time meeting in churches, trying to convince pastors, trying to convince people, and there's a whole educational arm to the pro-life movement. And I think it's very beneficial and it's needed, but I'm not going to do that. I'm here to put abortionists out of business. Because abortion clinics close or I put abortionist in jail or he loses his medical license, babies get saved. I'm here to win...that's how the killing stops is when you win.

An organization has little legitimacy if it does not have enough supporters to back the cause of the organization. Once members increase and the public gains a greater awareness of a Pro-Life or Pro-Choice organization, then an organization is ready to stand up to opposition organizations.

Chapter 5 - Communicating & Dealing with the Opposition

Many leaders on both sides appeared to have once tried communicating and trying to change the minds of the opposition, but eventually came to a realization that the other side was so set in their ways that they would not change. Some individuals would talk as if they could not believe the opposition thinks the way that they do; while some would note that they wish the opposition would just accept that people have reasons to have a differing perspective, but just wish they would show a respect for that viewpoint.

PP

Gillooly: I think we hesitate to communicate with opposition because we have found historically and frequently whenever we communicate to them, they frequently misrepresent that information and they'll misquote us and sort of distort our messages to meet whatever their purposes are, so I think that we don't communicate with them. They certainly communicate with us, we certainly receive suspicious and threatening calls and letters from folks that are opposed to the work that we do, but I don't think we communicate with them primarily because we need to focus on our work and our work is providing healthcare to the thousands of people that rely on us. I don't know if you want to add to that.

Kostas: I guess I would stress what Sarah said about our primary concern is providing healthcare to our patients and to the people who depend on us for basic healthcare services everyday. I just want to distinguish between the fact that we do very little communication with anti-choice opposition groups; however, we recognize there are members of the legislature who oppose reproductive healthcare access and abortion services. And we do communicate with them. Because we do feel it's important as elected officials that they be informed about the services if they're going to be creating public policy around access to these public services, so we do a fair amount communication to legislators that may be opponents to our work.

Gillooly: We certainly are providing information. And a lot of mostly factual information to legislators about number of patients we see, kind of services we offer, and health disparities in the community. So it's not just about our services, but also about what are the issues facing low-income folks, women, and various communities that come to us as patients. Letting our elected officials know what are the issues those communities are facing in terms of healthcare access and healthcare disparities.

Kostas: Yeah, because we're a provider.

Weston: What activities do you undertake? For example do you take part in protests, marches, lobbying, direct mail, email, phone trees, etc.? What does each of these activities communicate to supporters, the public, and your opposition?

Gillooly: Well I would I would like to say, thinking about communicating to opposition, both organized anti-choice organizations and perhaps elected officials that have an agenda. Part of the communication we do is those voices can be very loud, I think in the media and it's very important for us that our patients, women and low-income families know that we're here. And that our doors are open and that we will continue to see patients and continue to provide healthcare no matter what is going on in the media, the legislature, that our primary focus is healthcare, so a lot of the work that we do out in the public is just making sure that folks know we're still here, still open, still here to serve your needs regardless of income. So yeah, we participate in all of those things that you mentioned. Certainly doing lobbying and protests or demonstrations or visibility events is apart of our work, especially in the public affairs department. We lobby at the state and federal levels, so we were recently in DC with our national organization and visited with the Kansas and Missouri Congressional delegations. And again, I think with legislators it's about letting them know the services that we provide and the needs of the communities that we serve here on the ground. In terms of sorts of protests and visibility events I think part of that is about our clients and letting folks know that we're here. I think part of that's also about the women who come to us and the staff who works in the healthcare centers. Letting them know they're supported. Letting women in the community who have had abortions or women who have needed reproductive healthcare, letting them know that they're supported and they're not judged and that we have always and will continue to support women's full access to reproductive healthcare, so those two things.

Weston: What developments or events have prompted you to act? What developments prompt your opponents to act? And you can do it in either a general sense or recent, specific things.

Kostas: Generally just the sort of constant efforts underway to take away access to reproductive healthcare and we're not just talking about abortion care, we're talking about access to very basic healthcare, like access to birth control, access to cancer screenings, access to blood pressure checks, things like that. Again, I mean, that's something we face constantly, those attacks are ongoing and they're not going away anytime soon, so we are constantly poised to take action around those kinds of attacks.

Gillooly: Yeah and I would just add, you know, I think we're prompted to act by two things. We're prompted by attacks, like Sheila was saying, threats to the access to services and then we're also prompted to act by need. I think a great example, it wasn't our affiliate, but one of the affiliates in Missouri when the tornado hit in Joplin, they opened up their health center for a month and provided free basic healthcare in Joplin. Not just women's reproductive healthcare, but also blood pressure checks and doing some basic triage care. In addition to replacing women's birth control, who that had lost them in the disaster and so they were prompted by need and they did fundraising in order to support that free care for a month. In Kansas, when we have seen places of need around emergency contraception or when we're seeing need among our patients for education, that might prompt us to go to the legislature to ask for a proactive bill that's going to expand access to services, so attacks and need. Attacks from folks who oppose the work we do and the needs of our clients and patients.

Kostas: And tied into attacks I would say there would be a third thing. That would be something else that prompts us and that's the distortions. If we recognize, identify, see distortions, maybe through the press or anything like that then we would be prompted to respond to that.

Gillooly: It's interesting to think about, it's not just we're doing work to expand people's political opinions about the issue. It's just comes back to me time and time again, the primary purpose of our work is making sure folks have access to healthcare, basic fundamental healthcare.

Kostas: Yeah and I think what I was going to say earlier, I don't even know if this is an answer to the question, one thing, and maybe this is because I stand on this side of the issue and have my entire life, but we're perfectly fine with people having different views on this issue. And we understand that people are going to be in different places on the issue and we're okay to agree to disagree. We would like that kind of respect from the opposition and we don't get that. Because in my perspective, what happens is the opposition tries to force their ideological views onto everyone else. And we understand that people can be in different places and we're okay. That's what "pro-choice" means. It just means you allow individuals to make the choices that are best for them under particular circumstances regarding their reproductive healthcare. That seems like such a simple thing, but it's just such a controversial thing that I think we seem to be pretty accepting and understanding and okay with difference of opinion, we just feel like we don't get that in return.

While Planned Parenthood is defending their service organization, there are organizations such as Right to Life of Kansas that feels that the service provided is the death of baby. This polarizing perspective on an issue provides little room for a middle ground agreement, especially for individuals that have a personal story to go along with their Pro-Life stance backed by faith.

PBSCF

Weston: What developments or events have prompted you to act? What developments prompt your opponents to act?

Mans: Holy spirit. (Laughs)

Ashley: Well I lost a child to abortion. So my first child and it's real personal for me that I understand the negative effects, first hand, of abortion. So that initially, you know...this happened my senior year of high school, so there's a good time in my life where I left the church and I didn't know the Lord and I was down and out. And it wasn't until age of 25 or 26 where I started...I'd been married, had my first child, and we'd gotten back into the church before we got married and I committed to this fully because this should never happen to anybody. So it's a life long commitment, but the point is we hope it's not. And I think you'll

find that out a lot if you talk to pro-life people. They've been involved with abortion somehow. They have a family member that may have been involved with an abortion in somehow. Eventually if you kill enough children and enough people are affected by it, people are turned to the pro-life side because it's not good for anybody. This is definitely not good for the baby that's dead. It's not good for the mother's that are injured by abortion. Not just physically, emotionally. It's not good for the families around it. All those people are going to be dedicated and you see that in groups like "Silent No More." Women get up there and tell their testimonies of having participated in abortion...they lead the National March for Life every year. It's kind of a self-fulfilling prophecy; you know if you legalize abortion because it is bad, people are going to realize that. You see that in Eastern Europe, Russia and places like that. After the effects of communism, communism opened the doors for unrestricted and unlimited abortions in places like Romania, Russia, and their population is hurting and having to pay women to stay home and have babies and different things like that. Well just recently you seen in all these Eastern European countries, Russia and places, all their laws are going back to pro-life. They're all passing pro-life laws now. They're paying people to have babies. Poland collected 600,000 signatures in two weeks for a total abortion ban, no exceptions. That all happened last month. So Poland is considering that. Hungary just passed a Constitutional provision that protects all life from conception. So you see where abortion was the most prevalent, has had the most damaging effects, and then people come to realize that and eventually the pendulum swings back the other way. I think that has something to do with it.

Seiler: I've never been effected by abortion, but I don't know, I guess it's been my calling to fight this issue. And I've probably been at it for 35 or 40 years and I think somebody else will take over, but I'm always dragged back into it again. So...(laugh)...so it's been my life long project to try to get the protection for the pre-born or the unborn, you know, for all the babies, for everybody. And I think it's almost mandatory that we do this because I'm at the age now where if a baby in the womb can be declared a nonperson, why can't I after I'm retired now? As far as contributing to society, making a wage, which I'm not...why can't they declare me a non-person? Then they don't have to take care of me. This is the way it was back in the slavery days. Black people were declared non-persons, so they had no protection whatsoever, and this is kind of how the babies are now and if it keeps going...we have euthanasia, and you hear all kinds of stories of people in places now starving people to death. You know it's not only on the beginning of life, but it's on the end of life and as far as I know now if they take a sonogram of a baby in the womb and if they think it's a water baby (baby/fetus suffering from hydrocephalus), or whatever you want to call it. You know a lot of times the doctor will give them a recommendation to have an abortion, you know to get rid of it. They don't want anybody that's crippled in life, but I think we all have our...what would you say? Defects? Some are different from others, but we all have our defects. So I think it's very important that we get this issue solved and this amendment states from the biological beginning to the end of life, so natural death. So this is what we're really working for and this is our goal. To have all persons are protected from their biological beginning to their own natural death and whatever it takes to do this, and this is our goal. Well this is what the Right to Life of Kansas has always been, as they've been pushing Personhood. And it seems like it's been resurrected the last couple years, but we have all along been pushing for this. We're not for incrementalism because we can see from 35 years of it, that it's probably gotten us further behind rather than ahead.

Mans: I have a personal story too. I don't know if that's what you want.

Weston: If you don't feel comfortable sharing....

Mans: I'm comfortable sharing it, I don't know if that's what you're after.

Weston: Oh it's fine.

Mans: Well first of all I'm first of ten children, so if my mom hadn't been pro-life, I wouldn't be here, so I've always been pro-life. I got involved when I was a young mother. I don't know if I would have ever wanted that many children, but I've come to understand and appreciate life a lot more than I did at that time, but after I had three normal births, I lost a baby in the womb. I actually lost two within a very short time of each other around six months. And so the baby had died and it had to be delivered. I didn't want to wait. You know? It was to me inconceivable to carry a dead child in the womb and wait for it to spontaneously deliver, so I went to the hospital and had them induce me. And they used a drug called Prostaglandin, which I knew at the time because of my involvement being pro-life that it was the same drug they were using to induce women for abortions. So it felt really ironic to me that it was being used on me. It was the most horrible experience that I ever had too, physically. I had already delivered three children, I knew what a normal delivery was supposed to be like and this was something completely different. Prostaglandin is a drug that works on the smooth muscle, while it doesn't just work on your involuntary uterine muscle; it works on all the muscles in your body. Which meant I had nausea, diarrhea, I felt like I had the flu at the same time. Also because the baby was very young, around five or six months, the head was not formed and it didn't have the ability to dilate the cervix like a full term baby would and so the delivery was much harder in that regard. And the end result was a dead baby. It was a very trying experience to go through and the whole time I'm thinking, "Why would a woman choose to do this? An abortion. Why would she choose to go through this? And on top of everything that I experienced have to deal with the guilt of it...she was responsible for. At least I could say, "This is God's will and I resign myself to it." You know? I was willing....there was no way out of it...you have to do what you have to do, but for me to know that it was my choice to kill this baby would have just been inconceivable. I didn't see how anybody could do that. So then we were at a point where because it was caused by a blood reaction between my husband and myself, we were at a point where we had to decide what do we do? Do we just keep getting pregnant and wondering whether this was going to happen every time or what do we, you know, being a Catholic, contraception was not an option and we came to the point where we said "We trust God. And we will try to conceive another child." We went to a geneticist, he basically told us we were crazy and disagreed with all of our beliefs and we had to pay him to tell us that. (Laugh) But we got to a point where we completely resigned ourselves to God. Our next baby was completely normal. We've had three more after that, so....God knows what he's doing, there are no mistakes.

And being in a small community, there is little interaction for the West Sedgwick County chapter to have access to Pro-Choice organizations, especially with there no longer being an

abortion clinic in the area. Ms. Turner was the person to turn to for comments, interviews, and debates in the past, as her opposition was passionate against those she saw as not even being qualified to discuss the topic with a title such as “Doctor.”

RTLK

Turner: I have been placed in situations to discuss a topic with diverse opinions. The one that probably drove me crazy was a radio station that back when...there is a so called Medical Abortifacient RU-486. When it was first developed overseas, and they were trying to get it into the United States there was a gentleman. I think his name was (Lawrence) Lader, he had one time worked with Dr. (Bernard) Nathanson when they first started NARAL. He was trying to get people to request that the drug be brought into the United States because he said, “we in the United States need to experiment with it” because it was believed it could cure breast cancer. And we objected to that because that wasn’t what it was used for and not what it was meant to be used for. The two properties had been innocently created for two different types of illness, I hesitate to use the word “illness,” to cure bodily problems, let’s put it that way. But together I guess in the process they found that somebody had aborted with it, so then they made it into an abortifacient (abortion pill). Well anyway I objected to it coming here on behalf of our group because the way our FDA...everyone tries to tell us we’re really safe because we have a FDA and all this, our FDA can okay a medication for one particular thing, but if somebody wants to use it for a secondary thing, they can do that without their approval. And we predicted this would happen, anyway I was called up there because this lady that was interviewing us, I can’t remember now, the reporter had a book that he had written that was RU-486, so they pulled somebody from Planned Parenthood and that lady was really reluctant to come, but anyway she did. I surprised myself because I hadn’t thought it out clearly enough that this doctor, later wasn’t really an MD, he has a PhD in something or other, but anyway when I was given my chance with a question, oh by the way Dr. Lader wasn’t there, he was on the phone cause he’s over in the Bahamas (laugh) he was probably writing another book. Anyway, I made the statement about “it says that really clearly in the PDR (Physician Desk Reference) that this does this and this does that” and he say “what is that?” (laugh) That’s the Physician Desk Reference that tells the doctor what the medicine is used for. So maybe his innocence helped me, but I was shocked I was put in that position. But that’s just one of the types of things that come along that I’m really are not looking for and it’s a little bit deep. Talking right and wrong seems much easier than however, but I’ve always been inclined to like the medical side of it but I had just enough experience. I guess that’s why I was put in places because after my kids were all old enough in school, I went back to work at nights in the birth room. Scrubbing the delivery room, so I’ve seen a lot of babies born and so I had some knowledge from that and had studied some before that also. Then the last job I had was in the legal department, go figure! You never know when these things are going to come together, but sometimes you’re put in a position where you try to add something to the equation, but you don’t really know what the question is. It’s very difficult. Got to do a lot of praying. It’s never been our objective to go publicly confront the pro-abortion people. There are some people that do picket Planned Parenthood in different cities and I’m all for that because they try to get off by saying they’re so innocent and they are not innocent. And we have plenty of statistics to prove that which I won’t even get into. But I’m not just talking nationally, we’re affiliated with the American Life League out of Stafford, Virginia

and one of their affiliates is called S.T.O.P. and they have studied and worked to expose all of the facets of Planned Parenthood throughout the United States. There's plenty of documentation of what they do. For so long they could say they didn't do abortions, but they can't say that anymore and they never could say as far as the whole United States is concerned because as one unit they do the most abortion all over the United States. They're the biggest provider there is. I never go out and just look for somebody to debate with. If we're called upon we do what we need to do.

For individuals such as Ms. Burkhart, there was once a time for forums and debates, but now it is feels like a waste of time and the focus should be on constituents and the rights of women for access to abortion to her. This can be further understandable having her mentored murdered just two years before this interview when asked about the messages that might be sent to the opposition through a variety of means.

TW

Burkhart: I don't think it's really sending them messages, but it's communication with constituents. With people that care about the rights of pregnant women, so it's not so much sending them a message, but communicating our values with people who care about the lives of pregnant women. And what happens with X policy that's being proposed or X state law that's in effect or X candidate that's running for office. So that's really where the focus is. Not necessarily worrying about what they're doing, but focusing on what's our values and how can we communicate that with people.

Poor: I've done advocacy for trade associations and different types of issues, you know more industry related type things. And you have to go out and create debate in order to draw attention. With abortion we don't have to create debate. We don't have to have an adversarial posture against the pro-life groups. Especially in Wichita, Kansas.

Burkhart: It's more wanting to diffuse the debate. (Laugh)

Poor: Right, we want to put good information out there.

Burkhart: This should not be a debate. (Laugh)

Poor: But we're not trying to bring the debate to a head now within the context of legislation. Sometimes with different tactics, but in general we're not out trying to start an argument with Mark Gietzen or any of these pro-life leaders.

Burkhart: There's really nothing to talk about.

Poor: There's really nothing to talk about, that's right. We know where they stand.
(Laughter)

Burkhart: It's true.

Sometimes the avoidance of dealing with the opposition as much as possible can actually be strategic and because it is not good time management for someone that is an executive director of an organization, such as Ms. Culp.

KFL

Culp: Okay, a long time ago I went to a seminar about public relations and I thought the guy had a really good point and it was "Quit trying to convince your direct opponents, quit trying to impress the people that agree with you, and reach out to the people in the middle." And that's what I've done ever since then. I mean I think I did that before then, but it really solidified that in my mind. Because if I didn't believe most people would agree with us if they knew all the facts then I couldn't get up and do this every morning. I think there's a lot of people that don't know or don't realize the wrong impression we're under or whatever. I think they're busy and they've only got time to pay attention and our opponents purposely miseducate people on this issue. It's really important to try and reach people through the media. I mean that's my thing, talk to the media and to be the person who's honest, who's credible. We always laugh at how our opponents lie all day long and we say one thing that we can't back up with facts then somebody would out us on it then they'd try to make us look like everything we say isn't true, so we're extremely careful to be credible. So it's reaching out to the middle bunch of Americans. And I think when I first started doing this; it's tempting to show off in front of your own folks. That's tempting but that doesn't get you anywhere. They already like you, they already agree with you, you know, so what? That's personal. You don't need to. Also I think it's important to be credible and reasonable to keep people's ears open to your message. And I'll go in front of a clinic and protest every once in awhile. I don't do it often, but I will. The first time I ever got invited to go stand in front of Planned Parenthood years ago from this Missouri Right to Life group I got a call the night before the *Roe v. Wade* anniversary. They were going to Planned Parenthood to stand on the sidewalk the next day. Somebody called me, they knew I was real dedicated and cared about the issue, but they called me to ask me to do that and I said "I don't really like protesting" and the guy said, "nobody likes it." I said, "no, they don't?" He said, "no." I said, "Alright, I'll come." It was like my duty to show up there, so I did. And it wasn't so bad, because what I realized was that back then we weren't being paid any attention to, except in a very negative way. And there was no way to get our message out and so as all protestors and civil libertarians have learned you go stand out in front of somewhere and the police get called. And the media is listening to the police radios. And they show up and now you have a voice, if they're fair. They weren't for a long time, they're much more fair now. And so they show up and they put a microphone in your face and you can get your point of view out. That's a very precious right we have in America. I would agree with some real liberals on the civil libertarian rights that we have because if a government wants to shut you up. Back then there were times because our opponent

owned the media and depending on what administration was in there you felt that way. But you at least had those sidewalks and you at least had the media coming to the sidewalk. I thought about it once, "If you were standing outside in front of the grocery store with a sign that said 'they mixed rat with the hamburger meat here' if you look like a crazy person then people will walk right by you and buy the hamburger. But if you're the judge that lives up the street from them or a nice mom or somebody they know is okay that they trust, then they're probably not going to buy the hamburger." So it's important to be credible. And to be calm and rational and know your issues so well you're not rattled.

And sometimes messages that are sent to the other side are not the intended message that was not to be sent, such as the time as Kansans for Life in Wichita reserved a location to hold a Pro-Life prayer and it would be understandable why the Pro-Choice side would be upset.

KFL

Culp: There was an incident earlier this year where my guy in Wichita was going to have a meeting to pray about Mila Means, she's the one that wants to open up a clinic in Wichita again about her not coming. And he did it with some other group, which isn't always good. But the first I knew of it was a NOW press release about how it was being held in a school across from where Tiller was murdered. And I called up David and went "What the heck? Why would you have this across from the street from where Tiller was murdered." He said, "Until you just said that I had no idea that was across the street from that." And I said "Well why didn't you know where it was at?" And he said, "I called the school district. I wanted a school or someplace to meet. I wanted it in the east-central part of town because Mila Means office is way out East." I said "Okay." He said, "I gave her two suggested schools and she said they were both busy, so she assigned us to a school." And I said "So you had no idea it was across the street from Tiller's (murder scene)" And he said, "I had no idea, until you just told me." Well I said, "Well NOW has an idea and they're assuming that you did that on purpose to say 'oh yeah we're peaceful, we're nice, we're just praying.'" You know like a message. I came this close to making them move it, but it was within 24 hours, so I said, "Will the lady at the school district verify this?" And he said, "yes." I said "Well I want her name." So he got me her name and we went to see her the next morning. And I said, "David, this is going to go national." And he laughed and said, "You're crazy, it's just a meeting." I said, "No, it's across the street from where Dr. Tiller was killed. It's going national." He said "I don't think it is." I said "you want to put a hundred dollars on it?" This is my forte, the media. I know it is. And so what I did was that I wrote a press release and I explained that the lady at the school district had done it. I give the school district to the Associate Press gal in Wichita. She writes up an article and doesn't mention it. Mentions my guy saying, "well we didn't know it was across the street." Well who's going to believe him? I didn't even believe him at first. I mean I believed him when he told me the truth, but I gave her a name. I gave her a third party source. So in the article she just quotes David, so I call her up and say "Roxanna, why would you do that?" (She said) "Well I quoted David." I said, "So what you quoted, David!?" I said "Now you've got Rachel Maddow talking about us on national television and all you would have had to do was mention that this lady from the school district did it and that we had no idea." And it was probably naïve of us not to just cancel the whole thing, but

David got mad and said, “Are we going to spend the rest of our lives being afraid? Seriously Mary Kay, it just happens to be across the street.” I said, “I know David.” So anyway Rachel Maddow spent the next few nights berating us.

On the topic of NOW and the death of Dr. Tiller, Ms. Joslin seems to have grown even less understanding of the Pro-Life side due to violation situations that have occurred and there appears to be a sincere level of fear of what might happen in the future. This starts off just by wondering about communication and messages with the other side.

NOW

Joslin: They probably receive everything that we put out publicly. I don't think they understand it. They really don't from their protests and what they say and everything. They usually misconstrue everything. And whoever is their leader is telling them what we're doing. And it's usually pretty messed up. And that's where a lot of the problem comes.

Weston: What developments or events have prompted you to act? What developments prompt your opponents to act?

Joslin: For us, we are a political organization, so we watch what's going in Topeka a lot. This last session was probably the worst I can remember in my life.

Weston: Can you go on?

Joslin: Well with (Governor Sam) Brownback in there, everything is against us in taking back what we've already won. So it's very discouraging in this state. In the past, Kansas was really good for women. We were one of the first ones to pass for ERA. In fact, it was introduced and the states need to ratify it and our legislature wasn't in session and when they came in session they passed it the first day. We don't have the same legislature we did then. And they listened to us a lot more depending what their slant is. When we go up to lobby we give everyone the same information: what bills we're working on, why we support or oppose them, and why. We always put why we like it or we don't. So I think it's pretty clear the way how it's put out to members is completely changed a lot of the time from what we say. And that is given to all the legislators; it's not like we're trying to do something in secret. We're very up front and put it out for everyone to see it.

Weston: Has your organization had any formal or informal contact with opposing organizations in the past on any issue? Why or why not? What do you think you might learn from them? Have you persuaded them to change their thinking or position on any issue? Have they persuaded you to change your thinking, position, approach or political practice? Why or why not?

Joslin: The one thing that is done is because of the killings, we do have security around us and that's an expense. But anytime we have any kind of action or meeting or panel or anything to discuss things we have to have security.

Weston: Which killings?

Joslin: Well Dr. Tiller was the latest one and the police are paying better attention to us now. And it's really sad that it took that to get them to figure out what the other side would do. We knew that something was going to happen because we monitor what they put out on the Internet. So we're always watching what they have. They are....well they're just very hateful when they put things out and they say things about people. They called Dr. Tiller a murderer and he deserves to be murdered and this kind of thing. And they were really promoting the idea of killing him. And then all of a sudden it switched. "We don't believe in violence. We wouldn't do anything to hurt anyone." And we knew something was coming down at that time. We called all the law enforcement agencies there are and they just ignored us. And I told one of the detectives, I said "Oh I know what will happen." I said, "You're going to keep ignoring us and ignoring us. Somebodies going to be killed." And then I said "You'll show up and it will be a big deal for a couple of weeks and then you're gone again." And that's exactly what happened.

Weston: Obviously there are multiple issues within Women's Rights...is the biggest concern when it involves abortion that it becomes.....I guess I'll use the word volatile....

Joslin: It's always abortion no matter what we're doing or what we're working on. That's the one they concentrate on and that's the one they yell about. And I can go into some of the things that Dr. Tiller did that some of the others don't know about. But that's the one issue they use to motivate their base on. We have some people here in town that work the other side and they've never been able to hold a successful job. They were unemployed and fired from other jobs and then they got on this kick and that's their living. Raising money to hate Tiller was how they lived. They have no other income. So it's really important to them and they've had a real struggle since Dr. Tiller was killed, so anything they can do to keep promoting that is what they do. Because that's their livelihood. And that's what they spend their full time on.

Ms. Joslin was a clinic escort that worked for Dr. Tiller, so she was witness to a number of incidents that occurred between the Pro-Life protestors at Dr. Tiller's clinic, including one that she had to resolve before it became potentially deadly.

NOW

Joslin: Back when Dr. Tiller was just starting to do abortions, he'd only do them on Saturdays. And at that time the building wasn't as big and the parking lot wasn't all closed off, so a lot of them had to park on the street and then we had to walk them through the protest lines. And there's different reasons that women were in there. They weren't always in there just because they didn't want to have a baby. Some of them had had something drastically wrong

with them or with the fetus. And the protestors don't see anything. It's just black and white. You just shouldn't have an abortion no matter what. And if the woman dies, that's her tough luck. Now at that time you could do those things in a hospital. The biggest thing hospitals have done is not give them the care that they need. Lately we've had women where the fetus died and they didn't miscarry spontaneously. Well it's very dangerous if you're left with that fetus in there to start deteriorating and we have a lot of hospitals now that won't take care of a woman because they don't want to deal with the abortion protestors. So we would have women where their doctor, you know the fetus was dead, but they couldn't do anything about it so they would send them into us. They would have to go through the same protestors that everyone else did, regardless of what they were doing there or why. A lot of women came to us for situations like that because of costs. If they went in for DNC in the hospital, the bills was around five thousand dollars, we charged three hundred seventy-five dollars. So with all the people out of work and without insurance, a lot doctors referred to us. And the one thing I learned how much men really care for their wives or their daughters and they were the ones that were the angriest at the protestors, I mean they were ready to wipe them out. One time back in the early 80s I knew this guy was just furious about the protestors and they're yelling and they had actually pushed his wife and he had to grab her from going down on the ground. And I went out there and he was loading a shotgun. And they saw him and he was at the back of the lot so they could see what he was doing and they were yelling "Shoot her!" meaning me when I walked up there. And they were yelling, "Kill her!" and all this. He wasn't going to kill me...he was going to kill them. We were trained how to talk someone down when they were that angry, so I kept talking at that time we had a police officer that was hired, he was off duty, but he was a police officer to be there to keep things in order and he was tied up on the other part of the lot. I talked him down, so he put the gun back in the trunk and closed the trunk and this one protestor...they were all on the parking lot yelling to "kill her." And he walked over, grabbed one of the leaders by his shirt, and he was pretty big, and he just shook him and said, "I wasn't going to kill her asshole, I was going to kill you and the rest of you!" And he just threw him like that and he goes down on the ground. I think that was the first time they comprehended "Hey, these people really do hate us." It didn't stop them; it stopped them that day cause there were some of them that took off.

It can be easily assumed that any situation that involves a shotgun can be considered a very tense issue, especially for the husband of someone that is pregnant that is going into an abortion clinic for an unknown reason to the protestors. An individual felt instigated by Pro-Life protestors to go and retrieve a shotgun and Ms. Joslin heard them wanting the guy to shoot her for just working at the clinic. These sort of situations seemed to be based on the persons involved and which side a person is on describing interaction with the opposition. Ms. Donovan remembers being a sidewalk counselor, which based on research so far should not be considered the same as one of the protestors due to some training and leadership telling these individuals to

remain calm, and Ms. Donovan dealt with clinic escorts that were likely at a high level of frustration like many on both sides.

KFL

Donovan: It's kind of interesting, it makes me think about being at the clinic and we often had clinic escorts there. They would be really crude and...

Weston: Clinic escort?

Donovan: That's somebody that works for the abortion clinic. So like they would be standing there at the driveway and a sidewalk counselor would be standing there and what we're trying to do while these people are driving in for abortions is to try to get them to stop and talk to us or take some literature from us, just something to think about what they're doing and hopefully change their mind. Well the clinic escorts were there to do the opposite. They were there to try to prevent that from happening. So there was a lot of very interesting communication there. Their escorts were kind of trained to try to intimidate us, upset us, I mean they'd say mean things to us and crude things and....I kind of learned that they were like, I would always tell people, people would sometimes get drawn into arguments with them. I would tell them just remember they're like obscene phone callers; they're trying to get a response from you. They're trying to get you mad, so that maybe you might get so mad that you'll hit them or something. That's what they want. So I would just advise everyone to just don't talk to them, don't listen, just laugh it all off because they want a response. There'd be...I remember one time in particular I tried to speak with one of the lady clinic escorts, she was there for a long time, in fact she lives right next door to Tiller's clinic, and I just asked her, and it was really from the heart, I just asked her, you know we're both women we both had children, "how can you think of pregnancy as such an evil, horrible thing?" And I've been through the exact same experience and I don't have that thought. And I wasn't trying to be argumentative or anything, I was just trying to have a conversation, she just got really mad, "Well you're just so stupid and that's why you're over there and I'm over here." She wouldn't answer the question. I don't think she knew how to answer it, but that's just what I think about when I think about communication with the other side. That's what I think of, the day I tried to talk to her.

Often times it can feel like that is the most interaction you can expect from someone on the Pro-Choice and Pro-Life side outside of an abortion clinic, and getting people away from that area and having a moderator can go a long way in starting a greater level of discourse in theory; however, Ms. Sheppard remembers a time in which there was an attempt to hold a debate between a well known Pro-Life leader and a Pro-Choice leader that lead to an interesting moment after the Summer of Mercy in 1991.

PBSCF

Sheppard: Phil Donahue came to Wichita in the Summer of...

Bowman: It was in 91 and it was like the protests ended in August and he came in September.

Sheppard: Okay, it was handled really well. They gave out free tickets to Century Two, which is the biggest structure we had at the time and they divided it in half. So half the people there were pro-choice and half the people there were anti-choice. Which was really a good way to do it. So the place was filled because everybody was really involved then. And he had the president of Planned Parenthood there and he had the guy who was running Operation Rescue at the time, Randall Terry, and that's what he did. He had both of them there and he asked them questions. They both answered them and so there were applause, then there were applause, there applause, there applause...there weren't a lot of booing.

Mark: It was like the President's speech. One side stands up and applause.

Sheppard: But the one time that everyone in the building in the place went like "Huuuuuh" (Gasp sound). Was when Phil, who had done his homework asked Randall Terry, "Is it true that you also want to make birth control illegal?" And he said, "Yes." And the entire audience went "Huuuuuuuh" (Gasp sound). Because the extremists in Kansas, who are Kansans for Life, which is the organization Kansans for Life, that just don't want to make abortion illegal, they want to make birth control illegal. So that's an extreme that I don't think people are going to put up with. But that's the agenda behind what's going on right now. It's not just that they want to make abortion illegal, they want make women barefoot and pregnant, you know? (Laugh) To put us back where we were back in the 1800s where women had to be obedient to men and that's how it's supposed to be and stuff like that. And people aren't going to go back there, but it was really fun...it was really good because it was an hour and a half of listening to the way people believe.

Sometimes the goal of an organization is not to turn someone from Pro-Choice to Pro-Life because the first step is to become Catholic first, such as with the Kansas Catholic Conference. They would like to see someone change their mindset; however, the purpose of the organization deals with policy first. The opposition to him probably gets the messages, but like the Kansas Catholic Conference it is not worth the time to worry about that.

KCC

Schuttloffel: I don't think they care, to be perfectly honest. You know the main message we're trying to send is to legislators. Again for your purposes on this issue of human life, the message we're trying to send is that all human life has intrinsic dignity and to the extent that there's a political message it's okay and even politically popular to stand on behalf of the unborn. Certainly in Kansas, I think it's pretty obvious, that we have a pro-life population that appreciates pro-life legislation and efforts to protect the unborn. When we participate in the March for Life Rally, things like that, it's really a way for people to be energized around the issue and to participate and make a contribution.

Weston: What developments or events have prompted you to act? What developments prompt your opponents to act?

Schuttloffel: Well, I think for them and us we are responding legislative initiatives and trends. We're paid to lobby, just like they are and so it's our job to be responsive of what's going on in the legislature and try to the extent that we can shape what's taking place there. What we do is center around the legislative process, especially in the months that they're in session.

Weston: Has your organization had any formal or informal contact with opposing organizations in the past on any issue? Why or why not? What do you think you might learn from them? Have you persuaded them to change their thinking or position on any issue? Have they persuaded you to change your thinking, position, approach or political practice? Why or why not?

Schuttloffel: Well, that's really interesting. You know, we obviously are in some degree of contact with them all the time because we're over at the legislature all the time, testifying at the same hearings all the time. Our main job of persuasion is to persuade policy makers and also to some extent, educate our own Catholics about what the Church teaches on these various issues. As far persuading, that work as activists, the hope is that when they're present at our presentations, say at a committee hearing that that will have an affect on their hearts. You know there's really not a lot of effort made on either side to sit down to have negotiations between activists on the two sides because they're all there and we're here because of what we fundamentally feel about these issues. When people stop believing abortion is an okay way to have a system of birth control they stop working for Planned Parenthood. And that happens. There's been some high profile instances of people leaving Planned Parenthood. There was a woman down in Texas who actually ran one of their clinics and now has written a book and

become a very high profile Pro-Life activist. You don't have a lot of people at state Catholic conferences that go to work for the abortion industry on the other hand. So we hope that by being exposed to what we're trying to say about this issue that it will change the hearts and minds of people on the other side. But it's not a case once a month Planned Parenthood and Kansans for Life are going to sit on opposite sides of the table and have a debate on the issue. I mean that just doesn't happen.

Organizations such as the ACLU have limited messaging intentions for their opposition, although they know they received their newsletter, which is a typical tactic for organizations that have opposing forces. Ms. Weatherford does go into detail about nuns she talks to get a better idea about the Pro-Life perspective to gain a better understanding.

ACLU

Weatherford: As far as communicating with opposition on this issue, we rarely ever communicate. There's a couple of nuns that we might talk to, but they aren't the main players in Kansas on this issue, but just to kind of understand. I think it helps to understand where your opposition is coming from and there's different reasons they might be taking different positions on issues. Different pro-life organizations are pushing different components of the bills. And so understanding why, where it's coming from, what the reasoning is; there are some organizations that, there's just no...there's some that harass people. I've never personally been harassed by anybody that leads any pro-life organization in Kansas, but I have been sitting in a legislative hearing room where one of those organizational leaders was escorted out by the Capitol Police because of the harassment that was taking place in the hearing room, so I just don't put myself in that position. We do know that the opposition sits on our email lists and so they might get communications from us that way, just like we sit on their email lists to know what they're saying to their members. But also opposition legislators, it depends where they fall on the, I would say the "choice spectrum." There are some that don't even want you in their office. There are some anti-choice or pro-life legislators who are very open to communicating with you. You absolutely know where they stand on the issue and they're not going to budge, but there's that kind of collegiality that still exists. And then we have what we call mix choice legislators. They're probably never going to vote pro-choice when it comes to an abortion bill; this is where we can talk about that middle ground, where's that gray area on this black and white issue, but they will be with us when it comes to what we call "prevention oriented legislation." So that would be, you know, anything that would go towards preventing unintended pregnancies that could result in abortions or preventing fertility, adoptions, women's healthcare, stuff like that. So we openly communicate with them regularly.

Ms. Weatherford has gained an understanding here and with the unintended messages sent on issues such as sexual education and prevention in the Kansas City metro area with an opposition forces that they were then able to find common ground with after conversations.

ACLU

Weatherford: Under the (George W.) Bush administration, he created and funded abstinence until marriage programming. And there were a couple different pots for money for that. And we were interested. We started a coalition in the metro area here and we were interested in what schools were teaching as far as human sexuality as education goes. And it's all over the place, it depends school district to school district, then it depends school building to school building, teacher to teacher, it's just all over the place. And so we had started doing some community outreach events and the abstinence only people were not pleased. Now this wasn't all of the abstinence only people, it was just here in the Metro. But they were not pleased and they were coming to express their opposition to what we were talking about. And so some of the people that were there and asking questions, their questions were very interesting because what we heard in their questions was that we agreed that maybe the language we were using was polarizing, but also what we were teaching was not technically abstinence only until marriage under the federal guidelines. It created an opportunity for conversation. They weren't being hateful or ugly or threatening in any way, they were there because they felt what they were doing was right and what they were doing was good and that we were attacking that. So it created an opportunity for conversation, so we met a couple of groups and they ended up joining the sex education coalition. And I think, sometimes language is important and paying attention to what you're saying, I said that earlier. There we were welcoming, some differencing discourse on that issue and we anticipated it. It was also a learning experience for us because, you know, you use the words "comprehensive sex education" like it's no big deal, just like they use "abstinence only" like that's what's right, when what we found out was it's really what we're talking about is "responsible education." Teaching teens and young people how to be responsible. And we always try to use the terms like "medically accurate." You know, "science based curriculum." Age appropriate. Because we don't want to allow for that misunderstanding that we're talking about going in and teaching kindergartners about condoms, absolutely not. The kindergartners should know what "safe touch" is and you should start working on their self-esteem and body image at that age, but high schoolers we believe it's more important, vitally important to understand what condoms are and what contraceptives are cause we see the numbers, the statistics show how many of them are having sex with multiple partners by their senior year. And when we were talking, we were like, "oh yeah, us too!" It was a lot of agreement. They still...and they handed out condoms to kids that asked for them. Now that's not allowed under the "Abstinence Only" Guidelines (Laugh) at the federal level. But they believed that if the kid was engaging in sex, it's better for them to be safe and protected than not. And so we were like, "Well we agree on that." You know? Everything should be...abstinence is a loaded word, as is comprehensive. You know, comprehensive sex education means abstinence based, abstinence focused, but not all kids remain abstinent, so you want to give them the other information as well. And so once we started talking it out and...it was interesting. And so we have, I know on our sex ed list, you know who the abstinence only groups are, but it allows for this continued open dialogue. I mean when the stuff was happening with Johnson County, I called them up to say, "Hey, what's going on here?" And they were absolutely not involved, I mean it was just that one organization. They said "absolutely" they would love for that to happen. That only helps us, our Wyandotte County kids are getting it. I would say only that issue, when it comes to abortion. Yeah, there's not...there's not with...with the groups in Kansas, there's just not that opportunity to have that kind of a conversation, when there's personal attacks issued, threats are

made, and you'll sit there and there will just be flat out misinformation. I have the data in my hand to show it's misinformation. It shows you there's just no room to negotiate.

Again, this was on an issue close to abortion, but not quite. This then keeps the basic theory persistent that there is no means for discourse or negotiations on the issue of abortion, thus making the issue unique in the social issues realm. There are those that speak optimistically that there can be open dialogue, such as Mr. Gietzen.

KCFL

Gietzen: We try to not fight with them. You know? A lot can be accomplished by being open and being talkative. If I can, I'll invite them out to dinner and sit down with the leaders on the other side. When I was the president of the Wichita Pachyderm Club, I invited Pat Goodsen and people on both sides. We had this very good debate. It was crowded, standing room only. And people thought that I was going to be unfair as the moderator and was not going to give the other side a chance to speak and so on. I found that if you can speak to them, first of all open the lines of communication and let them know that you're not some kind of crazy person that's going without logic behind you or any facts behind what you're saying and you can back up what you're saying and so on you're going to get a lot further with them and look for common ground if you can. Sometimes you can convert people that were completely on the other side and bring them over to your side. And then even if you can't, like our project at Tiller's gate, we were simply offering those women an alternative. And when you stop and think about it that's what pro-choice is, right? She's supposed to have a choice whether she wants to kill the baby or not. And that woman is out there walking into an abortion clinic because of her financial situation and if we are willing to offer her financial help, to help her keep that baby, help her through her tough time or that family through that tough time, you know that's really being pro-choice. I mean they should be out there helping us. None of them actually came out there and helped us, but they did stop criticizing us for offering women that choice. If the woman really wanted to keep the baby and was being forced into it financially, which was the most common reason, then we do have common ground there. We would try and find those areas and try to speak to them as best we can. And not needlessly fight with them.

While there are those that express a desire for open dialogue, there are individuals such as Mr. Newman who sees very little purpose for debate because the other side just will not come out to debate against him and he does not mind admitting that his messages are often directed towards the abortion medical industry and Pro-Choice supporters.

OR

Newman: Sun Tzu says, “the battle is in the mind of the enemy.” (Likely: “Hence to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy’s resistance without fighting”) And we kick them in the teeth everyday. Everything I write, everything that comes out of here I am mindful that the other side reads it. I think thirty percent of my list, our email list are pro-abortion people looking to find out what we’re doing today. And I kick them in the teeth everyday. I embarrass them. I take their so-called “heroes” and I run their name through the mud. It’s very easy because they do it to themselves. They’re killing babies. They’re killing moms. They’re calling 9-1-1....we get the 9-1-1 calls, these abortionists are saying, “oh, there’s a woman here with a ruptured uterus! We’ve pushed that baby up through the wall of the uterine wall, up into her bowels, abdominal cavity, and pulled her bowels down through her vagina.” Oh yeah, there’s a real hero of choice (sarcasm). Oh there’s a guy you can stand behind. So we rub their nose in these pathetic quacks that they call “Heroes of Choice.” George Tiller’s breaking the law, we had...we’re a millimeter away from getting his medical license revoked. He was retiring. He was negotiating with the medical board to retire and to give up his medical license. Because we pointed out every time he misstepped. We was breaking the law. Yeah he was acquitted on some little charges down here, but we were relentless. We knew he was breaking the law. And his associate (Ann) Kristin Neuhaus, she’s going to lose her medical license in a month or two. I think her hearing is coming up next month and the other side tries to tout these people as extraordinary heroes that are courageous. No! They’re out there making millions off the backs of dead babies. They’re far from courageous, they’re mercenaries. And we expose them. And I like the other side to read it and I have a lot of informants from the abortion industry that are just sickened by what goes on in there.

Weston: What developments or events have prompted you to act? What developments prompt your opponents to act?

Newman: I think the things that energize the pro-aborts is when there’s an act of violence against an abortion provider. I mean it’s tragic and one thing they just don’t understand is that we’re pro-life. I can disagree with you all day long George, but our disagreement stops where your nose begins. You know? We just can’t in a civilized society go around killing people. Not only because it’s anarchy, but it’s morally repugnant to pro-lifers. It flies in the face of our core beliefs. I’m against the death penalty, I’m against killing adults, I’m against killing children. Life is sacred; it’s given to us by God. We’re created in the image of God. I studied Theology in a Seminary; in Latin it’s called the “Imago Day” or the “Image of God.” And to take that life is a direct violation of God’s will and it’s morally inconsistent. The other side tries to take those incidents of whacked out people doing whacked out things and apply it to a broad brush to the other side. It’s the only thing they have; it’s the only mantra they’ve got. But to my point is they need to shut their mouths. Because it is so hypocritical to condemn us as violent, when they’re the ones responsible for the death of 60 million children. And pro-life activists, my good friend Jim Pouillon, who they like to ignore all the time, was murdered September 11, two years ago (2009). Murdered. He was holding a sign, out on a street corner, someone pulls up with a nine millimeter (9 mm), fills him full of lead. Murders him on the spot because he’s upset with the signs. And that’s not the first time. I’ve been beat up. I’ve had my office vandalized. Last week someone stole one of my cameras. Go look at the signs on the front of our building; they’re all painted up. They’ve broken windows; they’ve trashed my cars. My interns that were here last

week had a little pro-life sticker on their car, all four tires on their car slashed. All four! We had an anthrax scare here, I think it was last month. So I think they...I don't like to use the word "fair"...unjustly try to apply this standard that all pro-lifers are violent, when in fact they're the violent ones. But I think that's what causes them to act. It's the only thing they've got. And somehow to apply abortion to a civil right is ridiculous. And I invite them to debate any day on that subject. Really? The ability to kill one's own offspring is a fundamental human right? Tell that to the Chinese with their one child policy and the forced abortions that they have on a daily basis. I think their arguments are repugnant, but that's what they do.

Many like Mr. Newman are open about their messaging being directed towards the opposition; however, it would appear that even those that might think they're messages are not directed towards the other side are consistently putting in language in their messages that are meant to admonish the opposition. Even an email I received about an interview request went beyond just saying that they are busy, as the email talked about having to be on the "defense" of the "war" against something by a certain Kansas elected official. Words are key for these organizations and it can best be described by Ms. Kostas as the purpose behind the layering of their messages.

PP

Kostas: Well, I guess from a public affairs perspective we are so geared to doing layering messages, so whenever we have a set of goals we think of every target population that we're trying to message to and what's the best message vehicle to deliver that message. Sarah just described that a little bit. We don't just decide we're going to do one kind of message and leave it at that. We're going to, sometimes do a snail mail, sometimes we'll do an email through P-PAN, sometimes pickup the phone and make the phone call and have that one on one conversation.

Gillooly: And then we'll put a link on our Facebook page, and Tweet a few things.

Kostas: So I think we're kind of experts (laughing) if you will at making sure we don't leave any stone unturned in terms of getting our message out there. Sometimes I think what we struggle with is a capacity issue because there's a lot of work that needs to be done and there's just not a lot of us, staff wise. There's a couple of us working here in Kansas and we have several people working in Missouri that help us get that word out across the state of Missouri. As you can tell, if you have been paying attention to the media that the attacks on us have been relentless and they don't seem to be diminishing at all. So we just have to constantly be on point in terms of what's out there. We have to monitor what the opposition is putting out there through the media. A lot of times that will generate calls to us from the media and then we have to set the

record straight. And I think a big part of our message that we haven't talked about is, "What's at stake?"

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

In order to provide a resolute conclusion to this study, one must be able to first decipher the results in relation to other social issues. Looking at the issue of abortion between Pro-Choice and Pro-Life organizations is less relatable to Cold War relations between the United States of America and the Soviet Union than the research originally began to think in terms of some key aspects of communication. The Cold War can first be seen as beginning after the surrender of Germany in World War II. These two superpowers never had an official war or military conflict between one another. Typically the other side supported one side that was in a military conflict with the opposing superpower (Afghanistan, Vietnam, etc.). With both superpowers having the nuclear capabilities to cause complete annihilation of each other, there were a number of tense situations, such as the Cuban Missile Crisis. This shows one difference between the Soviet Union and the United States, and that was the ability to talk and negotiate on some points. There apparently is no room for negotiations in the abortion debate between Pro-Choice and Pro-Life organizations.

Eventually the Cold War came to a somewhat peaceful end when the Soviet Union allowed many of the nations it controlled to be independent in many cases in 1991. This reform of the nation also involved talks throughout the 1980s to come to agreeable reforms. The tense decades-long Cold War and the rhetoric from both sides often brought on a thought that there would never be an end; however, we would often find out that the rhetoric to the public was often different than the conversations behind the scenes. An example of this was during the Cuban Missile Crisis and a desire of both leaders to avoid going to war. They managed to have negotiations because of at least having the mutual goal of not going to direct war with one another due to the expectation of world annihilation. The Pro-Choice and Pro-Life organizations

are so resolute on their stances there is little room for negotiation and no acceptable middle ground.

Advocates such as Mr. Gietzen is a rarity among those interviewed due to his expressed desire to speak with Pro-Choice advocates; however, there is no room for negotiation on his part. Succeeding with Pain Sensitive legislation, which he mentions only brought back abortion limitations by about a week. His next goal is for the Heart Beat legislation to bring abortion limitations back a few more weeks. Though he sees a Personhood amendment not being feasible just yet, he still wishes to see that be the law of the land in the near future. On November 2, 2010, “Colorado Fetal Personhood, Amendment 62” was defeated by a vote of 70.53% on the negative against 29.47% on the positive. A state such as Mississippi in the South and very socially conservative would have been the best chance for a state to pass the legislation; however, “Mississippi Life Begins at the Moment of Fertilization Amendment, Initiative 26” was defeated on November 8, 2011 by a vote of 58% on the negative to 42% on the positive.

Discourse and debate in society is supposed to be considered a positive in American society, but is it a good practice when neither side is moving to the middle on the issue? The Pro-Choice side of Kansas appears most interested in remaining on the defense and preventing further restrictions on abortion from occurring. There was even a lawsuit brought against legislation that would lead to a higher level of expectations and regulations that would be open to unannounced inspection for abortion clinics. The contention was that many of the requirements were unnecessary, inconsiderate of costs, and the timetable was too short to meet the new requirements. In theory, if the abortion clinics had desired to meet new expected requirements there could have been negotiations on what might be an appropriate timetable for when expectations could be met. What should push Pro-Life legislators and a Pro-Life governor to

negotiate in this situation? While their opposition sees a woman's right to choose and a fetus, they see human rights and a baby. This issue is far more complex than a state budget and revenue plan. Negotiations can take place on budget issues and there is middle ground that opposing sides on that issue may negotiate.

The *Roe v. Wade* decision came in 1973, which legalized abortion. The Pro-Life movement grew slowly over the next couple of decades to what appeared to be a high point of activism in the 1990s, which the Summer of Mercy in 1991 can be seen as one of the most intense protest actions in the movement. *Roe v. Wade* legalized abortion, so it comes as unique in this situation that Pro-Life advocates would be villainizing doctors that are practicing an act legally in the vast majority of cases. Yet just because something is legal, does not make it right. Jim Crow Laws were legal, but the vast majority of people today would say they were not right. Making that reference can be considered unfair due to the progressive nature of society over time on social issues; however, the concept of right and legal still comes into question. This then lead to federal legislation preventing that sort of protesting in the future where people were obstructing the ability for people to enter abortion clinics, thus it is not possible to say whether or not that same intensity could have happened again between then and now. Attention in the Pro-Life movement turned towards actions such as sidewalk counseling, March for Life, and striving to develop legitimacy with lawmakers. When laws change, then there is a need to change tactics, which both sides are able to accomplish.

The Pro-Life movement in the state of Kansas seems to have made some great victories from their perspective in recent years with the closing of abortion clinics in Wichita and only three clinics still open in the Kansas City area of Kansas. Ms. Culp made it a point to talk about legitimacy for an organization, thus Kansans for Life are looked upon as making the largest

difference in just the state of Kansas with different legislation that has been passed in recent years, and especially during the 2011 session. While the legislative and executive branches have become more in favor of Pro-Life legislation, we saw the judicial branch side with Pro-Choice when it was determined there was a lack of time allowed for the abortion clinics to meet new regulations.

The Pro-Choice side has the ability to discuss the violence that has occurred towards abortion clinics and abortion doctors, which is one reason Ms. Joslin talks about the concern for the safety of herself and others. Scott Roeder murdered Dr. Tiller in 2009; however, that was not even the first time there was an attempt on his life. Shelley Shannon shot him twice and is currently still in prison after also pleading guilty to setting fires at abortion clinics located in four other states. Both Ms. Culp and Mr. Newman spoke about not believing in using murder as a means of meeting their goals. They even spoke about how close Dr. Tiller was to no longer performing abortion procedures, whether it was through his medical license being taken away or a negotiated retirement. Obviously Pro-Life leaders cannot control every person that is Pro-Life; however, Pro-Choice interview subjects discussed the hateful environment they feel that Pro-Life organizations create that make anti-abortion violence more likely to occur. Not many social issues have been surrounded with as many incidents of violence. Bombings, arsons, and the murder of four abortion doctors add to the layer that there is little desire for discourse or to speak with someone from the opposition.

The nature of violence can be seen as a masculine trait through gendered lenses. Taking the concept of the act of abortion out of the equation, the vast majority of violence has come from Pro-Life advocates against abortion clinics. It is difficult to really find what is at the root of the issue of this violence; however, most religions have male leadership, so that at least maybe a

small reason why even women take part in violent actions on behalf of what they see as the Pro-Life cause, such as the woman that shot Dr. Tiller twice. Ms. Kostas speaks of just wanting respect and others talked about striving for non-violence on the Pro-Choice side, so it becomes understandable why there is a sense fear of the possibility of some advocate deciding they know how to stop abortion best with a Molotov cocktail or a gun. Ms. Joslin's story stopping a man with a shotgun shows a dedication to nonviolence because there could have even been an accidental shooting that could have lead to an injury or worse to her.

Ms. Burkhart seems to have created an organization with the main reason being someone she greatly respected, Dr. Tiller, being murdered. The organization feels as if it is in his memory and she has no desire to deal with a Pro-Life advocate or leader. This appears to be the case for the individuals interviewed in Wichita, Kansas because they were more directly affected by the murder of Dr. Tiller. You find less concern with violence and better understanding that there needs to be an effort to get the people in the middle among the community and moderates in the legislature when it comes to the ACLU and Planned Parenthood, both of which are located in the Kansas City metro area. ACLU is concerned with multiple issues, so Ms. Weatherford wants to be respectful of Pro-Life conservatives such as Governor Brownback because there could be other issues he might be more agreeable on, such as immigration in the state. Planned Parenthood must be concerned with their clients, as they are a service-oriented organization first. Education and reaching out to communities becomes important for both organizations to try and explain from their perspective their organizations' purpose and goals. Planned Parenthood is known in the general public as being associated with performing abortions; however, Ms. Kostas sees it as important to note that 97% of Planned Parenthood services deal with pregnancy prevention.

Though Ms. Kostas, Ms. Gillooly, and Ms. Weatherford know it is important to deal with legislators that they know may not agree with them, they have become resolute with their realization there may not be anything to gain from speaking with their opposition on the abortion issue. Their feelings of only dealing with lawmakers fit the opinions of the rest of the other interview subjects, except for Mr. Gietzen. Individuals such as Mr. Ashley (Right to Life of Kansas) is active in going on campuses and trying to reach people in the middle or have not put much thought into the issue. Recruitment is typically done via word of mouth from current members; however, there are organizations that have increased the budget of their outreach-focused departments that have made an effort to reach out to communities or younger generations. The Peggy Bowman Second Chance Fund invited two recent college graduates to join their board, which a lot of organizations are finding as being important as those that were around just when *Roe v. Wade* had been decided or had been around during the Summer of Mercy are getting older. There are now adults that were not even born yet when the Summer of Mercy occurred, so it is difficult for some to see the bigger picture of the issue as much as Pro-Life and Pro-Choice leaders. Right to Life of Kansas admits many of their most active members have passed on and they are hopeful that the teenagers that come to their meetings will take on a greater role in the future. It should be interesting to see how the next generation of Pro-Choice and Pro-Life leaders will communicate with the opposition, if at all. The other thing to keep in mind is that it could just be the same as it appears to be an issue, where there will be no compromise or massive shift in support as was seen with civil rights in the 1960s.

The next generation is still interested in the issue despite some concerns from a few interview subjects that they may not care as much. Polls are still fluctuating; however, individuals like Mr. Ashley have reason to be happy because the Pro-Life vs. Pro-Choice gap in

polls has closed to within the margin of error, especially with the younger adult generation. The Kansas Catholic Conference, Operation Rescue, and Kansans for Life either spoke about the college students working at the organization or I was introduced to them prior to the meeting. Ms. Sheppard spoke of how it is just not an issue you go around talking about even though it is a little more acceptable to talk about today; however, one cannot avoid the issue of these individuals future employment by listing the organization they worked for on their resume. They likely understand an employer may have a differing perspective from the organization they worked for, thus it can be expected that they are passionate about the organization's goals and think that is more important than what someone of an opposing view may think. Then again this might be what they wish to do in the future or this might be how they wish to spend their summer, interning for a cause they believe in deeply. Both sides want college students to be apart of their organization because it brings about an image of generational diversity and college students expect less pay for organizations based on nonprofit or not-for-profit status. Mr. Newman spoke of having to rely on a smaller workforce in recent years and Ms. Culp no longer has an administrative assistant at the office in Topeka, Kansas.

The issue of race did not seem to play a major role in the actual interviews; however, everyone that was interviewed was Caucasian. The intention of seeking interviews never involved trying to diversify the race of the interview subjects. The main goal of gaining interviews was to speak with individuals with leadership roles in organizations or have a major role in the communication aspect of the organization. Both of these goals were met; however, it does become interesting that the only non-Caucasian I had any contact with during the process of this research was the large African-American security guard at Planned Parenthood that directed me to the administrative entrance of the building. Even then you are not able to tell what side of

the issue he is on, as he might put salary over his beliefs on the issue of abortion. He may also understand the history of anti-abortion violence and place the security of adults and teenagers over any social issue belief. The issue of race may call for further research when it comes to organizational participation in Kansas.

Gender played a much greater role in the interviews, especially when it came to commentary on leadership on the other side being male. On the Pro-Life side, only one organization could claim state leadership by a woman and that was Ms. Culp of Kansans for Life. The breakdown of the individuals that were interviewed on the Pro-Life side was five men and four women. When looking at this issue from a Women's Right to Choose perspective, one may see the problem with men taking such a large role on the issue. If the issue is looked from a perspective that there is a desire to save lives from the beginning of conception, then this would obviously not be as great of a concern because the breakdown of sex of the fetus or baby is almost even. In interviews with the Pro-Choice advocates, there was sometimes a point made to bring up the higher rate of male leadership in the Pro-Life cause.

Only one man was available for interviews from the Pro-Choice side, so that number breaks down to eight women and one man. Mr. Poor was not in the top leadership position of Trust Women; however, both the ALCU of Kansas & Mid-Missouri and the Planned Parenthood of Kansas & Mid Missouri are lead by men. Peter Brownlie is the CEO and President of PPKMM; however, Ms. Kostas is the head of the Public Affairs department. Gary Brunk is the Executive Director of ACLUKMM; however, Ms. Weatherford is the program director and appears to be the main person when it comes to the issue of abortion for the organization. If looking at the gender issue from the Pro-Life perspective, then they can make an argument that it is hypocritical to make male leadership in Pro-Life organizations an issue, when there is male

leadership in a position of top power for Planned Parenthood. From the Pro-Choice perspective the argument then can be made in comparison to civil rights where it gives their movement more legitimacy having someone of the opposite sex standing up for women's rights, such as President Abraham Lincoln freeing the slaves or President Lyndon B. Johnson signing civil rights reform laws.

Religion plays a major role in the abortion issue, especially on the Pro-Life side. Based on the interviews, eight of the nine Pro-Life interview subjects are Catholic and only Mr. Newman was an Evangelical. A few of the Pro-Choice interview subjects spoke about their church attendance; however, there was a disdain for the religious leaders that would mix religion and politics. One example cited was a minister or priest telling the congregation that to be a good Christian they need to vote Pro-Life. The issue of religion is so engrained on this social issue, that the murder of Dr. Tiller taking place at the church he regularly attended was made a major part of the incident. That fact becomes involved in framing the issue for the Pro-Choice side to talk about anti-abortion violence and how there are those that are Pro-Life that resort to killing in church to advance their cause. As mentioned earlier, Mr. Newman felt that they were about to get Dr. Tiller to quit performing abortions through legal means. He then frames the issue that Pro-Choice supporters are only able to use the violent episodes as a talking point to defend their position on abortion. The violence issue was brought up multiple times in the interviews with Pro-Choice advocates; however, they were also able to discuss the concept of women's rights and even the United States Constitution.

The murder of Dr. Tiller in 2009, the closing of the last Wichita abortion clinic and the election of Sam Brownback to become the governor of Kansas created an enormous amount of support from Pro-Choice advocates, even from outside the state. Donations and contributions

increased for the organizations, which can be expected when people feel like the group or movement is being threatened whether with violence or coming legislation. It soon became apparent that Pro-Choice organizations peaked because 2011 saw new legislation to limit abortion and potentially close down abortion clinics that were not able to meet new standards of operations. Plus Wichita just passed the two-year mark and is coming on three years of being without an abortion clinic in the area. If Dr. Tiller was still alive, able to be exonerated with no new charges and he was able to continue practicing, then the Pro-Choice side would still be about where they were in early 2009, which right now they would consider a victory. There was the potential of his clinic being reopened; however, that never came to fruition or no one wanted to end up how Dr. Tiller did.

Polarization-vilification, frame debunking, and frame saving all took place in some form during these interviews. Polarization-vilification was the most common technique as shots against the other side were constant; including saying they do not believe when a communication is sent out that the other side even understands what is being said. These comments took on a sense that they feel the opposition is typically dumber than advocates on their side. The issue of violence is used for vilification, even if none of the Pro-Life leaders took part in violence; however, Pro-Life advocates would vilify the opposition by comparing the legal act of abortion to a crime, such as manslaughter. Frame debunking took place in a majority of the interviews, as Pro-Life organizations would argue the abortion issue is closer to a human rights issue for the baby instead of a woman's right to choose. Pro-Choice organizations would then talk about how many Pro-Life advocates talk about privacy and wanting the government out of their lives; however, this is one of the issues where Pro-Life advocates want government intervention in one's personal business and what is taking place inside a woman's body. Frame saving was a

rarity to pick up on during the interviews in comparison to polarization-vilification and frame debunking. The frame debunking often came as an example of what the “other side” would say. For example Mr. Newman of Operation Rescue was impersonating the Pro-Choice side in a generic manner by saying, “They’re violent,” in reference to what they say about Pro-Life advocates. This discussion was surrounded by the issue of abortion medical doctors that had legal trouble, both inside the clinic and outside the clinic. The Pro-Choice side is then put on the defensive to stand up for the character of abortion medical doctors as a whole when one or a few abortion doctors have legal issues. Frame saving on the part of pro-choice advocates has to go further away from a woman’s right to choose to health issues with the mother and the fetus when discussing abortion beyond the first trimester. Being able to include the concept of saving the life of the woman then boosts the woman’s rights concept in the public perception on the issue. Mr. Gietzen of KCFL had to take part in a form of frame saving, as did other Pro-Life advocates, by distinguishing between “protesting” and “sidewalk counseling.” By focusing more on “sidewalk counseling” that then provides a more positive public image because then, like the abortion clinic, the pro-life sidewalk counselor is attempting to provide a service. There can be a negative connotation connected to protesting, especially if the opposition is able to frame the protestors in the image they want the public to see them; however, that framing technique is hampered if the other side is now offering a service with options.

Religion drives the debate for Pro-Life advocates, while Pro-Choice advocates are driven by the perspective of a women’s right to choose when to be pregnant. Even though most of the interview subjects talked about not being concerned with sending messages to the opposition, their framing of the issue and words they chose to use often brought doubt. They probably do not realize they are sending a message, but they subconsciously might because they realized that

the opposition is on their mailing lists and read their written material. Plus some of the interview subjects such as Mr. Ashley and Ms. Weatherford admitted to following the activities and communication that their opposition was sending out. The communication is rarely in-person or direct; however, it does appear that both sides are receiving and sending messages. They are not having their political beliefs changed by the messages, but they are able to change their methods of communication and political practices based on what the other side is doing. When NOW felt Kansans for Life were trying to send a message based on a meeting spot across the street from where Dr. Tiller was murdered, that was considered a message from a Pro-Life organization to the Pro-Choice organizations that was felt to show victory posturing or at least NOW framed it that way. Because the lines of communication between the two sides were cutoff, there was no phone call or email from NOW to Kansans for Life to see if that was their intention. Kansas NOW was able to take advantage of the situation and bring negative publicity onto Kansans for Life.

Framing allows for these Kansas advocacy organizations to provide their own interpretation on an issue that these interview subjects are clearly passionate about. Each side is treading carefully trying to achieve their objective, while trying to avoid negative scrutiny that can hamper the progression of their movement. Funding and framing go together in this situation, as Planned Parenthood and Kansans for Life work diligently to try and not allow the different aspects of their organizations to overlap to the point that some financial law is violated. Framing is no longer just about interpreting an action for the purpose of promoting your organization, but it is now a concern for hurting an individual that is apart of an organization. Many of these individuals did not grow up with Internet nor social media, thus the pressure of scrutiny is one of the negatives to the new technological outlets of getting information to the

public. More opponents are now available to frame issues and actions; however, now a person is able to respond more rapidly and has more outlets to communicate with the public, supporters, and the opposition. Organizations are now more interested in frame alignment with the general public because there is a greater recognition that the battle over this social issue will not be won with just the backing of passion supporters. Finding the means to get a message that resonates with people that have yet to develop a solid understanding or position on the issue has become an important task for organizations such as Personhood Kansas, Planned Parenthood, and the ACLU.

So messaging between the two sides is rarely, if ever, direct. When messages are sent via press release, newsletter, email, protests, etc. the opposition receives them and interpret them how the individual chooses to accept the message. They can only trust their own means of what the message is meant to apply because unlike the USSR and the USA during the Cold War, direct communication has been almost entirely severed. This brings about the image of a new Iron Curtain inside the state of Kansas that might be invisible, but still just as effective as the original Iron Curtain.

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