

Corporate Political Spending and Reproductive Health Rights Support in the 2020 Election Cycle

January 2021

This report discusses the political spending contributions of nearly all the companies in the *Fortune* 250 for the 2020 election cycle, to determine the extent of support for candidates and other political entities opposed to reproductive health rights. It is the fourth in the series commissioned by the Tara Health Foundation.

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Introduction

Data: The study universe includes 233 of the largest U.S. publicly traded companies, with spending in the categories noted below, presenting data from Jan. 1, 2019 to just before the 2020 election.¹

Positions on reproductive health: We assigned views on reproductive health rights for each of the candidates and politically active entities for which expenditure data are available. Documentation on file includes URLs about each entity's viewpoint, assessed as "pro," "anti," "mixed" or "?" for support of reproductive health rights. Some entities are nonpartisan by definition and do not express views on the subject and these are indicated as "n/a." The small number of entities we could not attribute are designated as "?".

After the initial accounting of all corporate-connected spending in the 2020 election cycle below, the rest of the discussion excludes recipients without a discernable view on reproductive health rights.

Types of spending: The aim of this project is to compile a full political spending footprint for each company studied, which requires assessment of spending through multiple avenues, at the federal and state level. Companies give to the following:

- *527 political committees*, named after the portion of the tax code that defines their status,
- *Candidates*, via political action committees (PACs, which aggregate contributions from employees and others connected to a company) for federal races and via both PACs and directly from corporate funds for state races,
- *PAC contributions that in turn are given to other PACs*, which can be associated with specific candidates, groups of candidates or parties. State party committees support both federal and state candidates, but give much more to those seeking federal office, and
- *Super PACs*, which may receive unlimited contributions to support or oppose candidates, as long as such activity is not officially coordinated with the candidate. These are sometimes referred to as "independent political committees."

Details on each of these categories and the sources and data used in this report appear in Appendix 1.

Companies included: While we searched for contributions for all 233 companies in our study universe, only 163 of these companies contributed in some fashion at either the federal or state level.

Authors and contributors: The report was written by Heidi Welsh, Executive Director, Sustainable Investments Institute. Research builds on work previously done with Rhia Ventures and also reflects additional input from Robin Young, Si2's research director, and Iris Wechsler, who assisted in attribution work.

¹Additional contributions for the election from the few weeks before November 3 will have to be added to present a full accounting, but the amounts included here are close to the election cycle total.

Overall Spending Footprint

The table below shows all available contributions for the study universe in the 2020 election cycle. Included is data on candidates for the 2020 election cycle, some of which pre-dates Jan. 1, 2020 (the date from whence all other types of contributions were collected). (*Appendix 1 provides more detail on the categories and data.*)

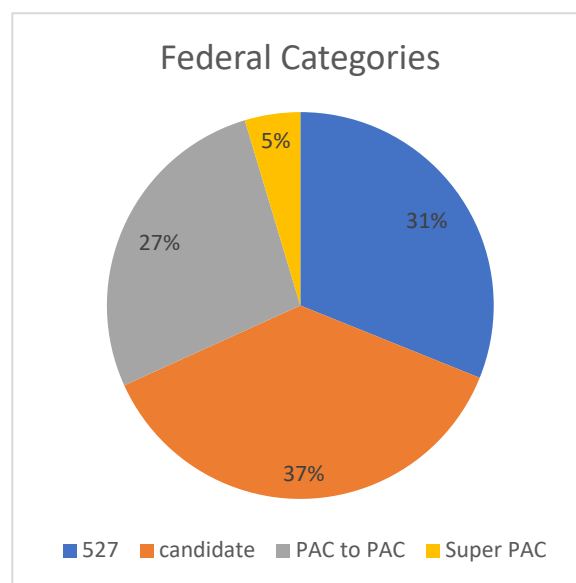
In all, the companies studied spent \$191.6 million to influence which candidates would win or lose in the 2020 election cycle; \$106.5 million (57%) went to candidates or entities that do not support reproductive health rights. “Anti” candidates were heavily favored by company-connected money in the South and Midwest, in giving to Super PACs and in giving to state parties and state-level PACs.

Table 1: All Federal Contributions								
Type	?	Reproductive Health Rights Position				Total	% anti*	% all federal
		anti	mixed	n/a	pro			
527		\$26,787,386		\$635,675	\$21,778,395	\$49,201,456	55%	31%
Candidate	\$8,300	\$31,897,140	\$647,500		\$26,071,923	\$58,624,863	55%	37%
Mid-Atlantic		\$1,179,000			\$3,558,075	\$4,737,075	25%	3%
Midwest	\$3,100	\$9,258,540			\$5,277,392	\$14,539,032	64%	9%
Northeast		\$1,173,850	\$427,500		\$3,897,613	\$5,498,963	23%	3%
South		\$14,951,635			\$5,907,902	\$20,859,537	72%	13%
West	\$5,200	\$5,331,315	\$220,000		\$7,428,781	\$12,985,296	42%	8%
President		\$2,800			\$2,160	\$4,960	56%	-
PAC to PAC	\$34,125	\$23,214,770	\$632,916	\$2,023,481	\$19,168,800	\$45,074,092	55%	28%
Super PACs	\$115,000	\$7,245,000		\$2,444		\$7,362,444	100%	5%
Total	\$157,425	\$89,144,296	\$1,280,416	\$2,661,600	\$67,019,118	\$160,262,855	57%	

*percent of anti divided by total with anti/pro designation; excludes ?, mixed, n/a

Federal: The greatest amount was spent at the federal level (\$160.3 million, or 82%). Excluding recipients whose position could not be neatly categorized as “pro” or “anti,” 57% of expenditures did not support reproductive health rights.

- Approximately equal shares went to 527s and PAC to PAC contributions, with a little more to candidates. (All federal candidate spending must flow from PACs). Fifty-five percent of each of these categories was “anti.”
- Just over \$7.4 million went to Super PACs (just 5% of the federal total), all of them “anti.” Plus, nearly all was spent to defeat Democratic candidates running for the U.S. House and Senate, rather than to favor candidates—via contributions to the Senate Leadership Fund and the Congressional Leadership Fund, which both support Republican candidates.



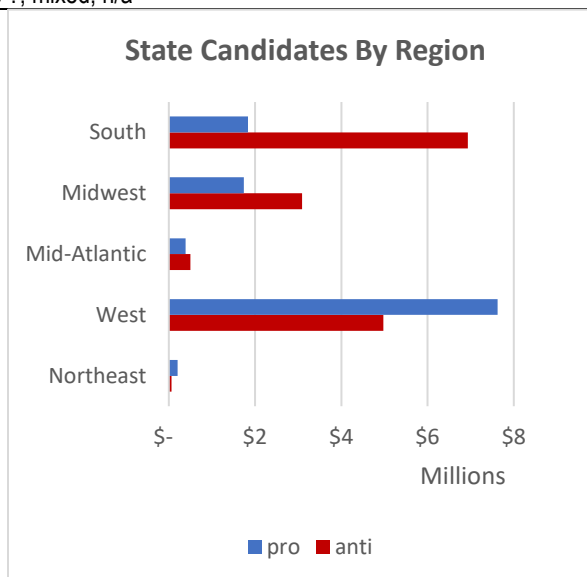
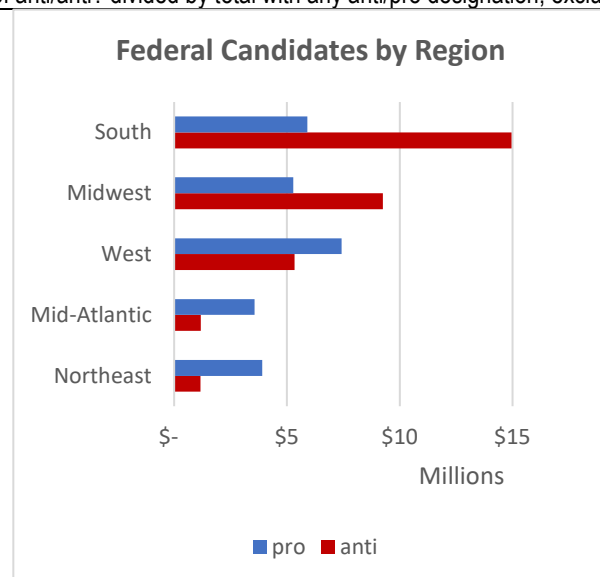
State: Companies gave \$31.3 million to influence state-level election outcomes.

- Almost all (91%) went to candidates.
 - The *overall spending* breakdown for state candidates somewhat favored those opposing reproductive health rights (58%).
 - Spending varied significantly and was far more “anti” in the South (79%) and Midwest (64%).
- Company-connected contributions heavily supported “anti” state parties (69%) and state-level PACs (84%).

Table 2: All State Contributions

Level/Type/Region	Reproductive Health Rights Position							Total	% anti*	% all state
	?	Anti	Anti?	Mixed	n/a	Pro	Pro?			
Candidate	\$539,823	\$15,598,922	\$43,025	\$281,300	\$300,315	\$11,797,014	\$4,450	\$28,564,849	57%	91%
Mid-Atlantic	\$25,000	\$499,300		\$1,000		\$388,900	\$250	\$914,450	56%	3%
Midwest	\$120,910	\$3,164,317	\$1,525	\$16,950	\$18,700	\$1,745,862		\$5,068,264	64%	16%
Northeast	\$4,950	\$65,425		\$30,250	\$1,600	\$203,485		\$305,710	24%	1%
South	\$157,804	\$6,902,642	\$30,500	\$70,550	\$129,350	\$1,835,693	\$4,000	\$9,130,539	79%	29%
West	\$231,159	\$4,967,238	\$11,000	\$162,550	\$150,665	\$7,623,074	\$200	\$13,145,886	40%	42%
PAC to PAC	\$20,100	\$138,350			\$192,295	\$25,750		\$376,495	84%	1%
P2PP-State Party	\$5,000	\$1,628,454		\$10,000	\$18,750	\$729,325		\$2,391,529	69%	8%
Total	\$564,923	\$17,365,726	\$43,025	\$291,300	\$511,360	\$12,552,089	\$4,450	\$31,332,873	58%	

*percent of anti/anti? divided by total with any anti/pro designation; excludes ?, mixed, n/a



FEDERAL SPENDING

Candidates

Federal candidate spending varied substantially by sector, with the most heavily “anti” spending coming from the Energy sector (86%), although the greatest amount came from Industrial and Health Care companies.

Federal Candidate Spending by Sector				
Sector	Reproductive Health Position		Total	% Anti
	Anti	Pro		
Industrials	\$9,041,433	\$7,578,630	\$16,620,063	54%
Health Care	\$4,366,400	\$4,284,050	\$8,650,450	50%
Communication Services	\$4,045,151	\$3,909,699	\$7,954,850	51%
Financials	\$3,451,450	\$3,327,050	\$6,778,500	51%
Consumer Discretionary	\$3,097,550	\$2,913,175	\$6,010,725	52%
Energy	\$2,952,100	\$493,000	\$3,445,100	86%
Consumer Staples	\$1,941,836	\$1,382,849	\$3,324,685	58%
Information Technology	\$1,244,020	\$1,105,720	\$2,349,740	53%
Utilities	\$1,106,000	\$736,250	\$1,842,250	60%
Materials	\$651,200	\$341,500	\$992,700	66%
Grand Total	\$31,897,140	\$26,071,923	\$57,969,063	55%

Spending by companies within sectors also varies a lot. For instance, within Health Care, while the overall sentiment breakdown is split about fifty-fifty in favor of reproductive health rights, some companies were much more likely to oppose them. Strikingly, more than 60 percent of contributions from Amgen and Merck went to politicians that oppose reproductive rights.

Energy companies gave most heavily to candidates opposed to reproductive rights, although the reasons for this most likely had little to do with women’s health and far more to do with the recipients’ support for unfettered fossil fuel exploration and development.

Also notable are the breakdowns within Consumer Discretionary firms. Six companies with well-known brands stand out in particular: more than 60 percent of PAC contributions to federal candidates from Lowe’s, Ford Motor, McDonald’s, Whirlpool, Stanley Black & Deck and L Brands went to candidates unsupportive of reproductive health rights.

In similar fashion, familiar brands in the Consumer Staples sector—Coca-Cola, Procter & Gamble, Archer-Daniels-Midland, General Mills, Kroger, Tyson Foods—stand out with more than 60% of expenditures to “anti” candidates. (Two others, Clorox and Sysco went heavily for “anti” candidates but gave little.) Altria, owner of Philip Morris USA, has always spent heavily to protect its tobacco business and gave 71 percent of its federal candidate expenditures to those opposed to reproductive health rights.

Total Company Political Spending – Federal Candidates				
Sector/Company	Reproductive Health Position		Total	% Anti
	Anti	Pro		
Industrials	\$9,041,433	\$7,578,630	\$16,620,063	54%
Honeywell International	\$870,000	\$1,046,000	\$1,916,000	45%
Northrop Grumman	\$847,000	\$891,000	\$1,738,000	49%
Lockheed Martin	\$902,500	\$766,500	\$1,669,000	54%
United Parcel Service	\$879,402	\$691,043	\$1,570,445	56%
Boeing	\$712,500	\$670,000	\$1,382,500	52%

Total Company Political Spending – Federal Candidates				
Reproductive Health Position				
Sector/Company	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti
General Dynamics	\$633,000	\$506,000	\$1,139,000	56%
Raytheon	\$636,250	\$468,000	\$1,104,250	58%
Delta Air Lines	\$532,000	\$374,000	\$906,000	59%
General Electric	\$402,500	\$433,500	\$836,000	48%
FedEx	\$457,000	\$372,400	\$829,400	55%
Union Pacific	\$498,843	\$296,887	\$795,730	63%
Caterpillar	\$438,000	\$229,000	\$667,000	66%
Deere	\$469,500	\$182,500	\$652,000	72%
United Technologies	\$228,500	\$244,500	\$473,000	48%
American Airlines Group	\$150,638	\$107,000	\$257,638	58%
Emerson Electric	\$133,500	\$35,000	\$168,500	79%
United Continental Holdings	\$37,000	\$91,000	\$128,000	29%
Southwest Airlines	\$69,800	\$52,300	\$122,100	57%
Cummins	\$54,000	\$62,500	\$116,500	46%
United Airlines Holdings	\$62,000	\$42,000	\$104,000	60%
3M	\$27,500	\$17,500	\$45,000	61%
Health Care	\$4,366,400	\$4,284,050	\$8,650,450	50%
UnitedHealth Group	\$564,400	\$472,500	\$1,036,900	54%
CIGNA	\$344,000	\$432,000	\$776,000	44%
Pfizer	\$355,500	\$368,600	\$724,100	49%
Abbott Laboratories	\$353,500	\$305,000	\$658,500	54%
DaVita	\$322,500	\$277,750	\$600,250	54%
Anthem	\$271,000	\$327,000	\$598,000	45%
AbbVie	\$250,500	\$264,000	\$514,500	49%
Johnson & Johnson	\$217,500	\$217,500	\$435,000	50%
Amgen	\$270,500	\$153,000	\$423,500	64%
AmerisourceBergen	\$201,500	\$221,000	\$422,500	48%
CVS Health	\$194,500	\$213,000	\$407,500	48%
Merck	\$246,000	\$113,000	\$359,000	69%
Humana	\$120,000	\$218,000	\$338,000	36%
Eli Lilly	\$157,500	\$165,500	\$323,000	49%
Bristol-Myers Squibb	\$122,500	\$107,000	\$229,500	53%
Cardinal Health	\$104,000	\$85,000	\$189,000	55%
McKesson	\$73,700	\$94,200	\$167,900	44%
HCA Healthcare	\$72,300	\$87,500	\$159,800	45%
Gilead Sciences	\$62,500	\$54,000	\$116,500	54%
Thermo Fisher Scientific	\$31,500	\$67,500	\$99,000	32%
Becton, Dickinson	\$31,000	\$41,000	\$72,000	43%
Consumer Discretionary	\$3,097,550	\$2,913,175	\$6,010,725	51%
Home Depot	\$728,500	\$536,500	\$1,265,000	58%
General Motors	\$500,250	\$686,500	\$1,186,750	42%
Amazon.com	\$470,000	\$540,000	\$1,010,000	47%
Lowe's	\$355,300	\$206,500	\$561,800	63%
Ford Motor	\$339,000	\$189,500	\$528,500	64%
McDonald's	\$246,500	\$146,675	\$393,175	63%
Target	\$139,500	\$162,500	\$302,000	46%
NIKE	\$55,000	\$187,000	\$242,000	23%
Best Buy	\$84,000	\$102,000	\$186,000	45%
Marriott International	\$54,000	\$87,000	\$141,000	38%
Whirlpool	\$53,000	\$31,000	\$84,000	63%
Stanley Black & Decker	\$50,000	\$25,500	\$75,500	66%
L Brands	\$18,000	\$10,000	\$28,000	64%

Total Company Political Spending – Federal Candidates				
Reproductive Health Position				
Sector/Company	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti
Yum Brands	\$4,500		\$4,500	100%
Gap		\$2,500	\$2,500	0%
Financials	\$3,451,450	\$3,327,050	\$6,778,500	51%
AFLAC	\$409,500	\$467,000	\$876,500	47%
Prudential Financial	\$287,250	\$336,500	\$623,750	46%
Citigroup	\$340,500	\$277,000	\$617,500	55%
Goldman Sachs	\$275,800	\$265,000	\$540,800	51%
Bank of America	\$296,500	\$223,500	\$520,000	57%
Capital One Financial	\$230,500	\$281,500	\$512,000	45%
Wells Fargo	\$304,600	\$172,500	\$477,100	64%
JPMorgan Chase	\$244,500	\$190,800	\$435,300	56%
Allstate	\$227,000	\$192,250	\$419,250	54%
American Express	\$200,500	\$180,500	\$381,000	53%
Metlife	\$118,500	\$167,500	\$286,000	41%
Bank of New York Mellon	\$101,500	\$115,000	\$216,500	47%
Synchrony Financial	\$70,500	\$99,500	\$170,000	41%
Hartford Financial Services Group	\$69,500	\$98,500	\$168,000	41%
Berkshire Hathaway	\$56,000	\$74,000	\$130,000	43%
U.S. Bancorp	\$66,300	\$60,000	\$126,300	52%
PNC Financial Services Group	\$63,000	\$43,000	\$106,000	59%
Travelers	\$48,500	\$16,000	\$64,500	75%
Lincoln National	\$29,500	\$28,500	\$58,000	51%
American International Group	\$11,500	\$38,500	\$50,000	23%
Communication Services	\$4,045,151	\$3,909,699	\$7,954,850	51%
Comcast	\$1,157,151	\$1,056,500	\$2,213,651	52%
AT&T	\$1,112,000	\$1,036,400	\$2,148,400	52%
Charter Communications	\$654,500	\$493,000	\$1,147,500	57%
Verizon Communications	\$401,500	\$545,499	\$946,999	42%
Alphabet	\$431,000	\$443,000	\$874,000	49%
Facebook	\$132,000	\$134,500	\$266,500	50%
Viacom	\$49,000	\$78,500	\$127,500	38%
Walt Disney	\$53,500	\$69,500	\$123,000	43%
CBS	\$36,000	\$29,000	\$65,000	55%
News	\$17,500	\$18,000	\$35,500	49%
Yelp	\$1,000	\$5,800	\$6,800	15%
Information Technology	\$1,244,020	\$1,105,720	\$2,349,740	53%
Microsoft	\$410,000	\$321,000	\$731,000	56%
Intel	\$217,500	\$215,750	\$433,250	50%
Visa	\$202,000	\$168,000	\$370,000	55%
Mastercard	\$91,900	\$86,500	\$178,400	52%
Cisco Systems	\$77,500	\$78,500	\$156,000	50%
eBay	\$55,000	\$72,010	\$127,010	43%
Oracle	\$51,120	\$53,975	\$105,095	49%
Micron Technology	\$48,500	\$26,000	\$74,500	65%
Applied Materials	\$37,000	\$31,000	\$68,000	54%
Texas Instruments	\$36,000	\$21,000	\$57,000	63%
Qualcomm	\$14,500	\$29,500	\$44,000	33%
Cognizant Technology Solutions	\$3,000	\$2,000	\$5,000	60%
Uber		\$485	\$485	0%
Energy	\$2,952,100	\$493,000	\$3,445,100	86%
Exxon Mobil	\$676,800	\$172,500	\$849,300	80%
Chevron	\$716,000	\$119,500	\$835,500	86%

Total Company Political Spending – Federal Candidates				
Reproductive Health Position				
Sector/Company	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti
Marathon Petroleum	\$686,500	\$62,500	\$749,000	92%
Valero Energy	\$393,500	\$62,500	\$456,000	86%
Halliburton	\$220,800	\$22,000	\$242,800	91%
Occidental Petroleum	\$133,000	\$26,500	\$159,500	83%
ConocoPhillips	\$125,500	\$27,500	\$153,000	82%
Consumer Staples	\$1,941,836	\$1,382,849	\$3,324,685	58%
Walmart	\$490,000	\$496,160	\$986,160	50%
Altria	\$441,107	\$184,000	\$625,107	71%
Coca-Cola	\$328,750	\$198,000	\$526,750	62%
Procter & Gamble	\$163,000	\$126,500	\$289,500	56%
Archer Daniels Midland	\$136,500	\$78,500	\$215,000	63%
General Mills	\$82,500	\$52,000	\$134,500	61%
Kraft Heinz	\$52,500	\$57,000	\$109,500	48%
PepsiCo	\$55,479	\$44,189	\$99,668	56%
Kellogg	\$53,500	\$46,000	\$99,500	54%
Kroger	\$51,500	\$32,000	\$83,500	62%
Tyson Foods	\$56,000	\$25,500	\$81,500	69%
Mondelez International	\$19,000	\$18,000	\$37,000	51%
Walgreens Boots Alliance	\$7,500	\$24,000	\$31,500	24%
Clorox	\$2,500	\$1,000	\$3,500	71%
Sysco	\$2,000		\$2,000	100%
Utilities	\$1,106,000	\$736,250	\$1,842,250	60%
NextEra Energy	\$309,800	\$254,500	\$564,300	55%
Exelon	\$302,500	\$241,500	\$544,000	56%
Duke Energy	\$333,500	\$144,500	\$478,000	70%
American Electric Power	\$160,200	\$95,750	\$255,950	63%
Materials	\$651,200	\$341,500	\$992,700	66%
International Paper	\$343,500	\$219,000	\$562,500	61%
Nucor	\$167,400	\$88,500	\$255,900	65%
Freeport-McMoRan	\$87,000	\$27,500	\$114,500	76%
WestRock	\$53,300	\$6,500	\$59,800	89%
Grand Total	\$31,897,140	\$26,071,923	\$57,969,063	55%
Excludes \$8300 to candidates for which no position could be attributed and \$647,500 in contributions to candidates with mixed records on reproductive health rights (1% of all contributions). Contributions to Oct. 14, 2020 (2020 Election Cycle).				

Joni Ernst Case Study

The table below illustrates how one candidate can receive company-connected money from several specific firms, through different channels. Senator Joni Ernst, the junior Republican senator from Iowa who first won office in 2015, is a leader in the national [effort to block federal funding for Planned Parenthood](#) and its reproductive health services.

Ernst received money through three conduits. Company PACs contributed to her leadership PAC (Jobs, Opportunity and New Ideas-JONI PAC), allowing her to further disburse money to support candidates allied with her aims, as well as to her campaign directly. A few companies—Altria, Boeing, Chevron, ConocoPhillips and Marathon Petroleum—also collectively contributed \$4.3 million to a Republican Super PAC, the Senate Leadership Fund, which in turn supported Senator Ernst. (Available data for Super PACs do not make clear how much of each company’s funds went to specific candidates.) The additional money channels allowed Ernst to legally receive more than the limit imposed on company PACs for a single candidate in the case of 14 companies. FedEx was the most generous, followed by International Paper and General Motors.

In all, Ernst received more than half a million dollars in the 2020 election cycle from the three channels for which spending can be discerned. An additional channel that remains unseen is any funding that benefited her re-election bid from trade associations or politically active nonprofit groups that are not required to report their donors, making it impossible to see the full impact of corporate support.

Multiple Funding Channels: Joni Ernst Example							
	Jobs, Opportunity and New Ideas (JONI PAC)		Company PAC		Senate Leadership Fund (SP)		TOTAL
FedEx	\$6,500		\$11,500				\$18,000
International Paper	\$7,500		\$10,000				\$17,500
General Motors	\$9,000		\$8,000				\$17,000
Union Pacific	\$5,000		\$10,000				\$15,000
Merck	\$5,000		\$10,000				\$15,000
Comcast	\$5,000		\$10,000				\$15,000
Charter Communications	\$5,000		\$10,000				\$15,000
Lockheed Martin	\$7,500		\$7,000				\$14,500
Alphabet	\$10,000		\$2,500				\$12,500
United Parcel Service	\$10,000		\$2,300				\$12,300
Northrop Grumman	\$5,000		\$6,500				\$11,500
Lowe's			\$11,000				\$11,000
Honeywell International	\$5,000		\$6,000				\$11,000
Altria			\$10,000		X		\$10,000+
Chevron			\$10,000		X		\$10,000+
Walmart			\$10,000				\$10,000
UnitedHealth Group			\$10,000				\$10,000
Pfizer	\$500		\$9,500				\$10,000
McDonald's			\$10,000				\$10,000
Home Depot			\$10,000				\$10,000
General Dynamics			\$10,000				\$10,000
Freeport-McMoRan			\$10,000				\$10,000
Exxon Mobil			\$10,000				\$10,000
CVS Health			\$10,000				\$10,000
Caterpillar			\$10,000				\$10,000
Archer Daniels Midland			\$10,000				\$10,000
Procter & Gamble			\$9,000				\$9,000

Multiple Funding Channels: Joni Ernst Example							
	Jobs, Opportunity and New Ideas (JONI PAC)		Company PAC		Senate Leadership Fund (SP)		TOTAL
NextEra Energy			\$9,000				\$9,000
Ford Motor	\$5,000		\$3,500				\$8,500
DaVita			\$8,000				\$8,000
Citigroup			\$8,000				\$8,000
Wells Fargo			\$7,500				\$7,500
General Electric			\$7,000				\$7,000
Anthem			\$7,000				\$7,000
Amazon.com			\$6,500				\$6,500
3M			\$6,500				\$6,500
Stanley Black & Decker			\$6,000				\$6,000
Kraft Heinz			\$6,000				\$6,000
Coca-Cola			\$6,000				\$6,000
Amgen			\$6,000				\$6,000
Boeing			\$5,000		X		\$5,000+
Travelers			\$5,000				\$5,000
Raytheon			\$5,000				\$5,000
Prudential Financial			\$5,000				\$5,000
Microsoft			\$5,000				\$5,000
JPMorgan Chase			\$5,000				\$5,000
Goldman Sachs			\$5,000				\$5,000
General Mills			\$5,000				\$5,000
Deere			\$5,000				\$5,000
Cardinal Health			\$5,000				\$5,000
Capital One Financial			\$5,000				\$5,000
Bristol-Myers Squibb			\$5,000				\$5,000
Berkshire Hathaway	\$5,000						\$5,000
Abbott Laboratories	\$2,500		\$2,500				\$5,000
Facebook			\$4,500				\$4,500
United Technologies	\$3,000		\$1,000				\$4,000
Oracle			\$4,000				\$4,000
Occidental Petroleum			\$4,000				\$4,000
AFLAC			\$4,000				\$4,000
AbbVie	\$1,000		\$2,500				\$3,500
AT&T			\$3,000				\$3,000
AmerisourceBergen			\$3,000				\$3,000
Whirlpool			\$2,500				\$2,500
Qualcomm			\$2,500				\$2,500
McKesson			\$2,500				\$2,500
Duke Energy			\$2,500				\$2,500
Delta Air Lines			\$2,500				\$2,500
Best Buy			\$2,500				\$2,500
T-Mobile	\$2,000						\$2,000
Target			\$2,000				\$2,000
Sysco	\$2,000						\$2,000
eBay			\$2,000				\$2,000
Cognizant Technol. Solutions			\$2,000				\$2,000
Walt Disney			\$1,000				\$1,000
Walgreens Boots Alliance			\$1,000				\$1,000
Visa			\$1,000				\$1,000
Tyson Foods			\$1,000				\$1,000
PepsiCo			\$1,000				\$1,000

Multiple Funding Channels: Joni Ernst Example				
	Jobs, Opportunity and New Ideas (JONI PAC)	Company PAC	Senate Leadership Fund (SP)	TOTAL
Gilead Sciences		\$1,000		\$1,000
Eli Lilly		\$1,000		\$1,000
Cummins		\$1,000		\$1,000
American Express		\$1,000		\$1,000
Allstate		\$1,000		\$1,000
Kroger		\$500		\$500
Marathon Petroleum			X	?
ConocoPhillips			X	?
Combined Total	\$101,500	\$450,300	?	\$551,800

PAC to PAC Spending

When it comes to PAC to PAC spending, by far and away the biggest recipients of company contributions are the National Republican Senatorial Committee and the National Republican Congressional Committee, which support Republican candidates for Congress. Their largest corporate supporters are listed on the first table below. Immediately following, a second table shows the next largest group of corporate recipients by “anti” committee total and any affiliated politicians.

Top PAC Recipients and Company Supporters	
National Republican Senatorial Committee	\$3,082,500
AT&T	\$120,000
Valero Energy	\$120,000
Boeing	\$120,000
Northrop Grumman	\$110,000
Pfizer	\$105,000
Charter Communications	\$100,000
NextEra Energy	\$90,000
Marathon Petroleum	\$90,000
Honeywell International	\$75,000
Bank of New York Mellon	\$70,000
General Motors	\$60,000
Walmart	\$60,000
77 more companies	\$1,962,500
National Republican Congressional Committee	\$2,730,500
General Dynamics	\$142,500
Boeing	\$120,000
Valero Energy	\$115,000
Northrop Grumman	\$110,000
Pfizer	\$80,500
Honeywell International	\$75,000
Bank of New York Mellon	\$70,000
NextEra Energy	\$70,000
Emerson Electric	\$70,000
Marathon Petroleum	\$60,000
Wells Fargo	\$60,000
Walmart	\$60,000
74 more companies	\$1,697,500
Contributions from Jan. 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020 (2020 Election Cycle)	

Other Top “Anti” PAC Recipients		
PAC	Affiliated Politician	Total
Republican National Committee		\$525,000
Bluegrass Committee	Mitch McConnell	\$482,000
Heartland Values PAC	John Thune	\$477,000
Majority Committee PAC - Mc PAC	Kevin McCarthy	\$390,000
Mccarthy Victory Fund	Kevin McCarthy	\$374,000
Promoting Our Republican Team (Port PAC)	Rob Portman	\$320,500
Rely On Your Beliefs (Royb) Fund	Roy Blunt	\$308,800
Eye Of The Tiger PAC	Steve Scalise	\$303,800
Common Values PAC	John A Barrasso	\$298,500
Tomorrow Is Meaningful (Tim PAC)	Tim Scott	\$290,000

Other Top "Anti" PAC Recipients		
PAC	Affiliated Politician	Total
Scalise Leadership Fund	Steve Scalise	\$268,200
Alamo PAC	John Cornyn	\$263,500
Tuesday Group PAC	Susan Brooks, John Katko, Fred Upton	\$262,000
Freedom Fund	Mike Crapo	\$250,500
Project West PAC	Cory Gardner	\$245,500
Together Holding Our Majority (Thompac)	Frank Pallone Jr.	\$242,000
Republican Main Street Partnership PAC		\$240,000
Citizens For Prosperity In America Today PAC	Pat Toomey	\$225,000
One Georgia PAC	David Perdue	\$222,500
Oorah! PAC	Todd Young	\$218,770
Reclaim America PAC	Marco Rubio	\$215,000
Value In Electing Women PAC (VIEWPAC)		\$212,500
More Conservatives PAC (MCPAC)	Patrick Henry	\$209,500
Making America Prosperous PAC	Kevin Brady	\$209,000
Responsibility And Freedom Work PAC (RFPAC)	Roger Wicker	\$207,000
Abraham Lincoln PAC	Darin LaHood	\$198,500
Free State PAC	Jerry Moran	\$198,000
Believe In America PAC	Mitt Romney	\$196,000
Making A Responsible Stand For Households In America (Marsha PAC)	Marsha Blackburn	\$177,000
Keystone America PAC	Bob Casey	\$162,500
Defend America PAC	Richard C Shelby (R-Ala)	\$162,000
Hawkeye PAC	Chuck Grassley	\$157,000
Country Roads PAC	Joe Manchin	\$153,500
Cowboy PAC	Liz Cheney	\$144,500
Big Sky Opportunity PAC	Steven Daines	\$140,500
Blaine PAC - Building Leadership & Inspiring New Enterprise	Blaine Luetkemeyer	\$138,000
Fund For A Conservative Future	James M. Inhofe	\$137,000
Leadership And Accountability Are National Keys PAC (LANC PAC)	James Lankford	\$137,000
House Conservatives Fund	Bill Flores	\$135,500
E PAC	Elise Stefanik	\$133,500
Nebraska Sandhills PAC	Deb Fischer	\$127,500
Peter Norbeck Leadership PAC	Saxby Chambliss	\$125,500
Fund For America's Future	Lindsey Graham	\$120,500
Let's Get To Work PAC	Rick Scott	\$120,500
NEWPAC	Devin Nunes	\$118,500
Arkansas For Leadership PAC (ARKPAC)	John Boozman	\$118,500
Thunderbolt PAC	Martha McSally	\$117,500
CMR PAC	Cathy McMorris-Rodgers	\$117,500
Continuing America's Strength And Security PAC	Bill Cassidy	\$112,500
Next Century Fund	Richard Burr	\$110,000
True North PAC	Dan Sullivan	\$107,500
Badlands PAC	Kevin Cramer	\$106,500
McConnell Victory Committee	Mitch McConnell	\$105,000
Jobs, Freedom & Security PAC	Ted Cruz	\$105,000
Common Sense Common Solutions PAC	Kay Granger	\$102,000
Pelican PAC	John Kennedy	\$101,900
Jobs, Opportunity And New Ideas PAC (JONI PAC)	Joni Ernst	\$101,500
Great America Committee	Mike Pence	\$100,000
Fighting For Missouri PAC	Josh Hawley	\$99,500
Contributions from Jan. 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020 (2020 Election Cycle)		

527s

Companies gave \$48.6 million to the '527' political committees listed below. About 55 percent of contributions to these organizations went to four groups opposed to reproductive health rights (highlighted in the first table below, with additional detail on aims and company giving in the following table). Each is active in state elections, and each seeks to expand Republican control of governorships, legislatures and local jurisdictions. The largest amount of funding overall went to governors' associations; these in turn supported candidates in their respective parties.

Republican governors significantly influence how women access reproductive health services and hold 27 of the 50 state houses. Furthermore, the Republican Attorneys General Association notes in its [recap of 2020](#) that 28 officials from its members' offices (the "farm team") were nominated and confirmed as federal judges under President Trump, including new federal judges in Mississippi and Kansas, and in the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals. In 2021, the group will be chaired by Georgia Attorney General Chris Carr, the vice chair will be Missouri AG Eric Schmitt and the policy chair will be Alabama AG Steve Marshall.

527 Spending			
Recipient	Reproductive Health Position		Total
	Anti	Pro	
Republican Governors Association	\$15,567,890		\$15,567,890
Democratic Governors Association		\$13,883,559	\$13,883,559
Republican State Leadership Committee (RSLC)	\$7,008,691		\$7,008,691
Democratic Attorneys General Association		\$3,912,410	\$3,912,410
Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee		\$3,609,521	\$3,609,521
Republican Attorneys General Association	\$2,945,805		\$2,945,805
Gopac	\$1,265,000		\$1,265,000
Democratic Municipal Officials		\$132,500	\$132,500
Gay And Lesbian Victory Fund		\$75,554	\$75,554
National Conference Democratic Mayors		\$75,000	\$75,000
Progressive Change Campaign Committee		\$60,000	\$60,000
Emerge America		\$14,851	\$14,851
Democratic Lieutenant Governors Association		\$12,500	\$12,500
emerge Oregon		\$2,500	\$2,500
Total	\$26,787,386	\$21,778,395	\$48,565,781
% anti	55%		
Contributions from Jan. 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020 (2020 Election Cycle)			
Excludes organizations with unattributed position.			

The top 10 corporate contributors to each of the four 527s that oppose reproductive rights are listed below, with links to the organizations and a brief summation of their aims.

Top Corporate Funders of 527 Groups		
Organization/Top Corporate Funder	2019-20 \$	Goals
Republican Governors Association	\$15,567,890	Aims to win, keep and support Republican governors. Includes current governors (27 of 50.) The RGA is chaired by Gov. Doug Ducey of Arizona. The executive committee includes: Greg Abbott (TX) Charlie Baker (MA) Doug Burgum (ND) Larry Hogan (MD) Eric Holcomb (IN) Henry McMaster (SC) Kristi Noem (SD) Pete Ricketts (NE)
Anthem	\$1,060,000	
Exxon Mobil	\$1,025,000	
Chevron	\$1,000,000	
Centene	\$1,000,000	
Pfizer	\$765,000	
Marathon Petroleum	\$750,000	
Walmart	\$660,000	
NextEra Energy	\$580,573	

Top Corporate Funders of 527 Groups		
Organization/Top Corporate Funder	2019-20 \$	Goals
Coca-Cola	\$500,000	
Molina Healthcare	\$400,000	
74 additional companies	\$7,827,317	
Republican State Leadership Committee	\$7,008,691	Aims to win state leadership races for Republicans. Has “over 250,000 donors across all 50 states.” In the 2019-2020 election cycle alone, we spent a record \$45+ million, directly contributing to Republican victories across the country. In 2020, we defended 59 of 99 legislative chambers and flipped 2 more from blue to red, with a third likely on its way. In addition, we boast 25 lieutenant governor seats...Because of our successes, Republicans are in a strong position to pass legislation and advocate for voters in their states.
Chevron	\$955,000	
Marathon Petroleum	\$725,000	
Altria	\$615,000	
Exxon Mobil	\$400,000	
Pfizer	\$370,000	
Charter Communications	\$322,500	
Anthem	\$300,000	
Centene	\$258,191	
Comcast	\$225,000	
Eli Lilly	\$185,000	
51 additional companies	\$2,653,000	
Republican Attorneys General Association	\$2,945,805	Aims to recruit and retain Republican state attorneys general. Seeks to: defend federalism, adhere to the law, and apply a commonsense, free market approach to governing.... in 2019 [it] helped elect all three Republican attorneys general candidates in a clean sweep, securing a majority of Republican AGs across the country. This success is a direct result of our high-quality candidates and strong financial support from our members.
Altria	\$478,254	
Anthem	\$260,000	
Exxon Mobil	\$175,000	
Walmart	\$130,000	
Lowe's	\$125,000	
Chevron	\$125,000	
Centene	\$125,000	
Visa	\$100,000	
Coca-Cola	\$100,000	
CVS Health	\$54,177	
37 more companies	\$1,273,374	
Gopac	\$1,265,000	Provides to state and local Republican officials “coaching and best practices on effective ways to communicate conservative ideas and solutions.” It seeks to educate and train new conservative leaders.
Altria	\$215,000	
Walmart	\$157,500	
Eli Lilly	\$152,500	
Charter Communications	\$140,000	
3M	\$95,000	
Duke Energy	\$75,000	
eBay	\$65,000	
WellCare Health Plans	\$55,000	
NextEra Energy	\$50,000	
Bristol-Myers Squibb	\$50,000	
12 more companies	\$210,000	
Contributions from Jan. 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020 (2020 Election Cycle)		
*Excludes n/a.		

Super PACs

Nearly all Super PAC contributions in 2019 and 2020 from the companies studied went to two organizations that because of the *Citizens United* Supreme Court decision may receive and spend unlimited amounts to support or oppose candidates. The table below shows contributions from the seven companies in our universe who contributed, provides links to the organizations and gives a brief description of their goals that each provides on its website. Chevron, ConocoPhillips and Marathon Petroleum gave to both.

Table 5: Top Super PACs Supporting Republicans in Congress		
Group/Company	Contributions	Description
Senate Leadership Fund	\$4,275,000	Aims “to build a Republican Senate majority that will defend America from Chuck Schumer and Senate Democrats’ destructive far-left agenda.”
Chevron	\$1,925,000	
ConocoPhillips	\$1,000,000	
Marathon Petroleum	\$500,000	
Boeing	\$500,000	
Altria	\$350,000	
Congressional Leadership Fund	\$2,785,000	Seeks a Republican majority in the U.S. House. It has the endorsement of the entire House Republican leadership and says it “consistently ranks among the most successful and well-funded political organizations in the country and has spent more than any other outside group to elect Republican candidates in House races.”
Chevron	\$1,500,000	
Valero Energy	\$500,000	
Marathon Petroleum	\$500,000	
ConocoPhillips	\$250,000	
Occidental Petroleum	\$35,000	
Includes contributions from Jan. 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020. Three additional, much smaller, Super PACs received another \$157,000.		

Most Super PACs did not support “anti” candidates, but rather attacked candidates that favor reproductive health rights. How much of each company’s contribution to specific candidates’ coffers remains unknown.

U.S. Senate

The Center for Responsive Politics notes that the Senate Leadership Fund spent \$293.6 million to oppose Democratic candidates for Congress and to support Republicans. The bulk of its expenditures (\$263.2 million, just under 90 percent) was to oppose Democrats, with by far the most spent in two races:

- The SLF spent nearly \$85 million to defeat Georgia’s John Ossoff (D), who nonetheless went on to beat incumbent David Purdue (R) in the January 2021 runoff election that determined control of the U.S. Senate. The SLF gave \$7.7 million to Purdue.
- North Carolina’s Cal Cunningham (D) had to contend with \$47 million spent by the SLF to defeat him; he lost to incumbent Thom Tillis (R), to whom the SLF gave just \$75,000.

Additional Senate races with substantial SLF funding were:

- Joni Ernst’s successful re-election bid attracted \$12.4 million from the SLF; she defeated challenger Theresa Greenfield (D), against whom the SLF spent \$19.7 million.
- Likewise, former Montana Governor Steve Bullock (D) saw the SLF spend \$24.6 million against his unsuccessful bid to unseat incumbent Steve Daines (R), to whom the SLF gave \$23,700.

Senate Leadership Fund Expenditures in 2020 Election					
Candidate	Party	State	For	Against	Reproductive Rights View
Winning Candidates					
Ossoff, Jon	D	GA		\$84,908,150	Pro
Peters, Gary	D	MI		\$17,485,528	
Kelly, Mark	D	AZ		\$14,854,875	
Hickenlooper, John	D	CO		\$8,054,470	
Warnock, Raphael	D	GA		\$2,074,553	Pro
Ernst, Joni	R	IA	\$12,413,542		Anti
Marshall, Roger	R	KS	\$1,973,146		
McConnell, Mitch	R	KY	\$202,268		
Collins, Susan M	R	ME	\$99,846		Mixed
Tillis, Thom	R	NC	\$75,335		Anti
Daines, Steven	R	MT	\$23,700		
Subtotal – Winners			\$14,787,837	\$127,377,576	
Losing Candidates					
Cunningham, Cal	D	NC		\$47,037,338	Pro
Bullock, Steve	D	MT		\$24,649,263	
Greenfield, Theresa	D	IA		\$19,743,073	
Harrison, Jaime	D	SC		\$16,264,418	
Bollier, Barbara	D	KS		\$15,577,390	
Gideon, Sara	D	ME		\$12,504,759	
Gross, Al	I	AK		\$6,379,741	
Collins, Doug	R	GA		\$774,083	Anti
Perdue, David	R	GA	\$7,731,252		
Loeffler, Kelly	R	GA	\$510,760		
McSally, Martha	R	AZ	\$187,416		
Gardner, Cory	R	CO	\$76,982		
Subtotal - Losers			\$8,506,410	\$142,930,065	
Total			\$23,294,247	\$270,307,641	
Source: Center for Responsive Politics ; viewpoint attributions by Si2					

U.S. House of Representatives

The Congressional Leadership Fund spent \$146.6 million in the 2020 election cycle, almost all of it to oppose Democrats (\$141.1 million, or 92 percent). The money was spread out to more candidates than in the Senate, however. Four races stand out:

- The most was spent in an upstate New York race that is the last to be decided (in court) at the end of January; as of this writing, challenger Republican Claudia Tenney is 29 votes ahead of incumbent Anthony Brindisi (D). The CLF spent \$6.6 million to oppose Brindisi and \$550,000 to support Tenney. On January 22, the New York State Supreme Court [ordered a further review](#) of 1,100 ballots that it found had been improperly rejected by the Oneida County election board and ordered the board to complete its assessment by January 27.
- Otherwise, the CLF spent \$4.9 million to oppose Georgia Democrat Carolyn Bourdeaux, who [prevailed](#) over Rich McCormick (R), 51.4% to 48.6%. In their 2018 matchup, McCormick won by less than 500 votes. The CLF did not contribute to McCormick in the race close to Atlanta where the seat has flipped from being reliably Republican in the past.

- Texas Democrat Sri Kulkarni was [defeated](#) by 7 points in the race for an open seat southwest of Houston; winner Troy Nehls (R) received \$854,209 from the CLF, which also spent \$5.5 million to oppose Kulkarni.
- The CLF's pick in another New York race [prevailed](#). It spent \$5.2 million to oppose one-term Democrat Max Rose of Staten Island, who in 2018 had been the first Democrat to win the seat since 2010. He ultimately lost by 6 points to Nicole Malliotakis (R), who was endorsed by President Trump; she received \$182,000 from the CLF.

Congressional Leadership Fund Expenditures in 2020 Election				
Candidate	Party	State	For	Against
<i>Winning Candidates – Top Recipients*</i>				
Bourdeaux, Carolyn	D	GA		\$4,933,189
Luria, Elaine	D	VA		\$2,859,057
Lee, Susie	D	NV		\$2,621,138
Fletcher, Lizzie	D	TX		\$2,572,773
Malinowski, Tom	D	NJ		\$2,367,450
Stevens, Haley	D	MI		\$2,355,926
Golden, Jared	D	ME		\$1,701,066
Kind, Ron	D	WI		\$1,603,129
Spanberger, Abigail	D	VA		\$1,343,813
Axne, Cindy	D	IA		\$797,038
Bustos, Cheri	D	IL		\$479,036
DeFazio, Peter	D	OR		\$273,793
Lamb, Conor	D	PA		\$148,750
Owens, Burgess	R	UT	\$1,440,044	
Nehls, Troy	R	TX	\$854,209	
Granger, Kay	R	TX	\$848,760	
Bice, Stephanie	R	OK	\$402,079	
Gimenez, Carlos	R	FL	\$376,599	
Mace, Nancy	R	SC	\$350,845	
Bacon, Donald John	R	NE	\$334,220	
Van Duyne, Beth	R	TX	\$311,894	
Garcia, Mike	R	CA	\$266,144	
Bishop, Dan	R	NC	\$263,866	
Steel, Michelle	R	CA	\$223,190	
Valadao, David	R	CA	\$211,718	
Hudson, Richard	R	NC	\$202,775	
Malliotakis, Nicole	R	NY	\$182,065	
Herrell, Yvette	R	NM	\$181,129	
Fitzpatrick, Brian	R	PA	\$177,990	
Franklin, Scott	R	FL	\$166,302	
Upton, Fred	R	MI	\$146,450	
Davis, Rodney	R	IL	\$133,431	
Fischbach, Michelle	R	MN	\$128,860	
Hinson, Ashley	R	IA	\$126,485	
Subtotal - Winners			\$7,329,055	\$24,056,158
<i>Losing Candidates – Top Recipients*</i>				
Kulkarni, Sri	D	TX		\$5,482,400
Rose, Max	D	NY		\$5,225,691
Smith, Christy	D	CA		\$4,784,183
Small, Xochitl Torres	D	NM		\$4,559,519

Congressional Leadership Fund Expenditures in 2020 Election				
Candidate	Party	State	For	Against
Peterson, Collin	D	MN		\$4,432,492
Horn, Kendra	D	OK		\$4,349,299
Valenzuela, Candace	D	TX		\$4,257,730
Gordon, Jacqueline	D	NY		\$3,949,414
Cunningham, Joe	D	SC		\$3,933,182
Mucarsel-Powell, Debbie	D	FL		\$3,798,879
Hart, Rita	D	IA		\$3,691,494
Finkenauer, Abby	D	IA		\$3,639,513
Timmons-Goodson, Patricia	D	NC		\$3,522,163
Goroff, Nancy	D	NY		\$3,362,476
McAdams, Ben	D	UT		\$3,205,315
Londrigan, Betsy Dirksen	D	IL		\$3,028,417
Feehan, Daniel	D	MN		\$2,957,177
Finello, Christina	D	PA		\$2,807,020
Schupp, Jill	D	MO		\$2,350,343
Rouda, Harley	D	CA		\$2,350,076
Schroder, Kate	D	OH		\$2,268,849
Eastman, Kara	D	NE		\$2,226,077
Cox, TJ	D	CA		\$2,213,445
McCreedy, Dan*	D	NC		\$2,138,524
Kennedy, Amy	D	NJ		\$2,029,412
Webb, Cameron	D	VA		\$1,819,852
Galvin, Alyse	I	AK		\$1,656,829
Elliott, Joyce	D	AR		\$1,610,388
DePasquale, Eugene	D	PA		\$1,542,997
Balter, Dana	D	NY		\$1,460,612
Hale, Christina	D	IN		\$1,244,260
Scholten, Hillary	D	MI		\$1,162,697
Bush, Diane Mitsch	D	CO		\$1,138,839
Davis, Moe	D	NC		\$1,091,481
Long, Carolyn	D	WA		\$841,566
Hoadley, Jon	D	MI		\$558,652
Putnam, Chris	R	TX		\$457,885
Williams, Kathleen	D	MT		\$448,010
Tipirneni, Hiral	D	AZ		\$304,136
Cohn, Alan	D	FL		\$166,302
Siegel, Mike	D	TX		\$160,798
Cisneros, Gil	D	CA		\$20,000
Taylor, Scott	R	VA	\$509,677	
Van Orden, Derrick	R	WI	\$318,404	
Subtotal – Losers			\$828,081	\$102,248,394
Results Pending**				
Brindisi, Anthony	D	NY		\$6,574,377
Tenney, Claudia	R	NY	\$550,209	
Grand Total			\$8,707,345	\$126,304,552
*Includes only expenditures of \$100,000 or more. **Results contested and a review of 1,100 ballots must occur by January 27, Oswego County News Now reported . Source: Center for Responsive Politics				

STATE SPENDING

Candidates

While 58 percent of state candidate spending overall went to candidates opposed to reproductive health rights, regional variations are stark. Where the most stringent anti-abortion laws have been passed, companies heavily favored candidates that do not support reproductive health rights (79% in the South and 64% in the Midwest). Companies spend the most in the West (\$12.6 million), where “anti” spending was just 40%, and only 24% of candidate contributions in the Northeast went to opponents of reproductive health rights. In the Mid Atlantic, 56% of contributions went to “anti” candidates.

State Candidate Support by Region				
	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti
South	\$6,933,142.00	\$1,839,693.00	\$8,772,835.00	79%
Midwest	\$3,165,842.00	\$1,745,862.00	\$4,911,704.00	64%
Mid Atlantic	\$499,300.00	\$389,150.00	\$888,450.00	56%
West	\$4,978,238.00	\$7,623,274.00	\$12,601,512.00	40%
Northeast	\$65,425.00	\$203,485.00	\$268,910.00	24%

Spending in favor of “anti” candidates by individual companies in the South and Midwest varied among the largest contributors. The table below shows companies that spent more than \$100,000 in the two most “anti” regions, with the breakdowns by company noted. More of the big spenders in the South were supporters of “anti” candidates than in the Midwest: among the top spenders, all but one in the South (Walt Disney) gave more than 80% of contributions to “anti” candidates. In the Midwest, seven companies had spending that was more than 70% “anti,” with only three spending more than 60% to “anti” candidates. Less than half of Comcast’s Midwestern spending was anti.

Top “Anti” State Candidates Spenders				
Region/Company	Anti	Pro	Total	% anti
South	\$6,933,142	\$1,839,693	\$8,772,835	79%
AT&T	\$651,612	\$194,950	\$846,562	77%
Duke Energy	\$468,200	\$138,400	\$606,600	77%
UnitedHealth Group	\$319,600	\$100,500	\$420,100	76%
Comcast	\$274,300	\$90,500	\$364,800	75%
Charter Communications	\$260,200	\$57,800	\$318,000	82%
Marathon Petroleum	\$297,348	\$18,500	\$315,848	94%
HCA Healthcare	\$249,200	\$58,700	\$307,900	81%
Walmart	\$243,511	\$59,793	\$303,304	80%
NextEra Energy	\$221,500	\$37,250	\$258,750	86%
American Electric Power	\$222,450	\$29,000	\$251,450	88%
Merck	\$199,500	\$50,850	\$250,350	80%
Altria	\$180,700	\$48,750	\$229,450	79%
Union Pacific	\$177,500	\$46,000	\$223,500	79%
Walt Disney	\$154,600	\$68,000	\$222,600	69%
CVS Health	\$157,000	\$53,250	\$210,250	75%
Pfizer	\$139,900	\$57,750	\$197,650	71%
Chevron	\$154,100	\$35,500	\$189,600	81%
Coca-Cola	\$140,950	\$40,900	\$181,850	78%
Allstate	\$137,750	\$24,000	\$161,750	85%
United Parcel Service	\$126,750	\$33,500	\$160,250	79%

Top "Anti" State Candidates Spenders				
Region/Company	Anti	Pro	Total	% anti
General Motors	\$124,300	\$21,000	\$145,300	86%
Exelon	\$100,500	\$34,500	\$135,000	74%
Boeing	\$101,750	\$31,250	\$133,000	77%
Anthem	\$106,650	\$22,700	\$129,350	82%
Eli Lilly	\$90,800	\$28,600	\$119,400	76%
CIGNA	\$93,350	\$23,800	\$117,150	80%
Valero Energy	\$94,500	\$19,000	\$113,500	83%
FedEx	\$100,650	\$12,000	\$112,650	89%
Midwest	\$3,165,842	\$1,745,862	\$4,911,704	64%
AT&T	\$280,680	\$241,646	\$522,326	54%
Comcast	\$174,500	\$205,500	\$380,000	46%
Charter Communications	\$188,277	\$44,802	\$233,079	81%
General Motors	\$116,500	\$53,850	\$170,350	68%
Eli Lilly	\$93,000	\$74,963	\$167,963	55%
Marathon Petroleum	\$147,500	\$19,000	\$166,500	89%
American Electric Power	\$148,400	\$12,550	\$160,950	92%
Duke Energy	\$147,200	\$13,226	\$160,426	92%
Abbott Laboratories	\$89,000	\$71,000	\$160,000	56%
Anthem	\$134,242	\$21,850	\$156,092	86%
DaVita	\$19,900	\$129,600	\$149,500	13%
Ford Motor	\$100,550	\$44,450	\$145,000	69%
UnitedHealth Group	\$106,000	\$34,350	\$140,350	76%
Walmart	\$103,250	\$12,300	\$115,550	89%
Pfizer	\$62,209	\$51,200	\$113,409	55%
Altria	\$81,350	\$25,750	\$107,100	76%
Union Pacific	\$64,100	\$42,650	\$106,750	60%

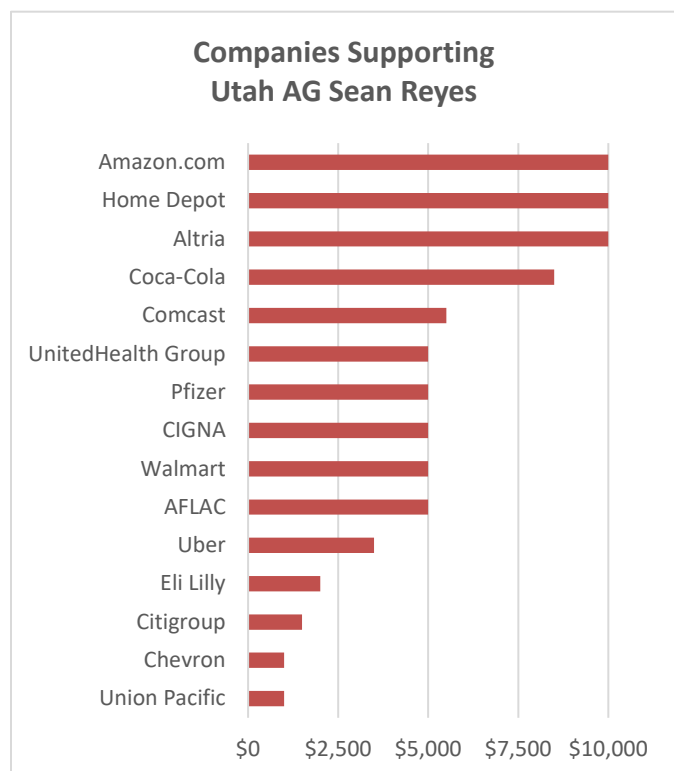
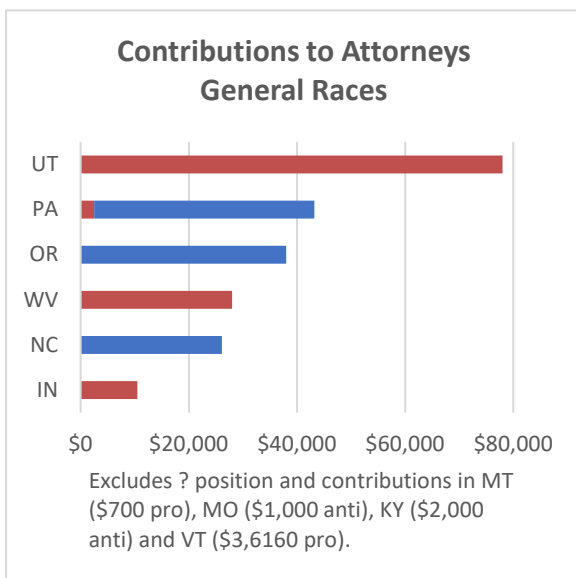
Attorneys General

Just under three dozen companies contributed to a subset of candidates in attorneys general races. While the overall sum is relatively modest and in total tends to be relatively bipartisan (53% anti), there are significant exceptions as shown on the table below. The Companies which contributed the most to attorneys general who do not support reproductive health rights were Home Depot, Altria and Coca-Cola.

Company Contributions to State Attorneys General Races in the 2020 Election				
Company	Reproductive Health Rights Position		Total	% anti
	Anti	Pro		
Comcast	\$8,300	\$26,500	\$34,800	24%
Amazon.com	\$10,000	\$10,160	\$20,160	50%
Home Depot	\$14,000	\$5,000	\$19,000	74%
Walmart	\$6,500	\$8,000	\$14,500	45%
Altria	\$12,500	\$360	\$12,860	97%
NIKE		\$12,500	\$12,500	0%
Coca-Cola	\$9,500	\$1,000	\$10,500	90%
Exelon		\$10,000	\$10,000	0%
UnitedHealth Group	\$5,000	\$4,000	\$9,000	56%

Company Contributions to State Attorneys General Races in the 2020 Election				
Company	Reproductive Health Rights Position		Total	% anti
	Anti	Pro		
Lowe's	\$500	\$7,900	\$8,400	6%
Marathon Petroleum	\$8,100		\$8,100	100%
CIGNA	\$7,000	\$1,000	\$8,000	88%
Microsoft		\$7,200	\$7,200	0%
Eli Lilly	\$5,800		\$5,800	100%
Anthem	\$3,000	\$2,500	\$5,500	55%
Pfizer	\$5,000		\$5,000	100%
AFLAC	\$5,000		\$5,000	100%
General Motors	\$5,000		\$5,000	100%
Citigroup	\$4,300		\$4,300	100%
American Electric Power	\$3,500		\$3,500	100%
Uber	\$3,500		\$3,500	100%
Charter Communications		\$2,840	\$2,840	0%
Bank of America		\$2,500	\$2,500	0%
Capital One Financial	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$2,000	50%
AT&T		\$2,000	\$2,000	0%
Exxon Mobil	\$2,000		\$2,000	100%
Union Pacific	\$1,000		\$1,000	100%
PepsiCo		\$1,000	\$1,000	0%
McDonald's		\$1,000	\$1,000	0%
Abbott Laboratories		\$1,000	\$1,000	0%
Chevron	\$1,000		\$1,000	100%
Kroger		\$1,000	\$1,000	0%
NextEra Energy	\$500		\$500	100%
Walt Disney		\$250	\$250	0%
Grand Total	\$122,000	\$108,710	\$230,710	53%

Utah: The AG race in Utah attracted by far the most corporate funding. Fifteen companies spent to support 13-year Republican incumbent Sean Reyes in his successful bid to stay in office. Reyes also sits on the Utah



Republican Party State Central Committee. He is an [ardent opponent of abortion](#), [tried unsuccessfully](#) in 2014 to defend Utah's outlawed ban on same-sex marriage, [sought](#) to block transgender job rights in 2016 and in December 2020 [signed on](#) with five other AGs in a failed lawsuit that tried to overturn the 2020 presidential election results.

State Parties

State party organizations give to both federal and state candidates and their sentiment about reproductive health rights largely mirrors that expressed by candidates in the region, as explored above in this report. The total amounts compared to other categories are fairly small, however. Yet they illustrate the challenge for companies seeking favor with the parties who control the reins of government in each state. The amounts given by companies to these organizations appear below, broken down by region. As with candidates, the spending was heavily anti-choice in the South (77%) and Midwest (76%).

State Party Contributions, 2020 Election Cycle				
Region	Position		Total	% anti
	Pro	Anti		
South	\$250,500	\$852,100	\$1,102,600	77%
Midwest	\$154,250	\$494,580	\$648,830	76%
West	\$96,575	\$140,075	\$236,650	59%
Mid-Atlantic	\$94,600	\$75,300	\$169,900	44%
Northeast	\$137,900	\$66,599	\$204,999	33%
Total	\$733,825	\$1,628,654	\$2,362,479	69%
excludes mixed, n/a, ?				
Contributions from Jan. 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020.				

In some states, all state party organization contributions from the companies we studied went to Republican entities opposed to reproductive health rights—Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Mississippi.

State Party Contributions, 2020 Election Cycle				
Region/State	Position		Total	% anti
	Pro	Anti		
Midwest	\$154,250	\$494,580	\$648,830	76%
MN	\$41,750	\$139,750	\$181,500	77%
MI	\$41,000	\$60,700	\$101,700	60%
WI	\$19,500	\$71,250	\$90,750	79%
IN	\$23,000	\$58,000	\$81,000	72%
OH	\$7,000	\$63,230	\$70,230	90%
IL	\$15,500	\$45,000	\$60,500	74%
NE	\$2,500	\$20,000	\$22,500	89%
KS	\$4,000	\$10,000	\$14,000	71%
IA		\$13,500	\$13,500	100%
ND		\$11,900	\$11,900	100%
SD		\$1,250	\$1,250	100%
South	\$250,500	\$852,100	\$1,102,600	77%
KY	\$72,000	\$273,000	\$345,000	79%
FL	\$49,500	\$287,000	\$336,500	85%
GA	\$9,000	\$87,000	\$96,000	91%

State Party Contributions, 2020 Election Cycle				
Region/State	Position			
	Pro	Anti	Total	% anti
Midwest	\$154,250	\$494,580	\$648,830	76%
VA	\$49,500	\$45,500	\$95,000	48%
TX	\$23,500	\$58,500	\$82,000	71%
NC	\$16,000	\$34,500	\$50,500	68%
TN	\$10,000	\$31,000	\$41,000	76%
SC	\$7,000	\$9,000	\$16,000	56%
AL	\$12,000	\$3,000	\$15,000	20%
LA		\$6,600	\$6,600	100%
AR		\$5,000	\$5,000	100%
OK		\$5,000	\$5,000	100%
MS		\$5,000	\$5,000	100%
WV	\$2,000	\$2,000	\$4,000	50%
excludes mixed, n/a, ?				

State PACs

Fortune 250 companies also spent another \$377,000 on political contributions to state PACs that were not connected to specific parties. About half of this money went to PACs for whom no reproductive rights position is attributable, such as those for banks and manufacturers. The largest donations from companies went to PACs supporting candidates opposed to reproductive health rights, as noted below.

Largest Recipients of State PAC Money			
State PAC/Notes/Candidate	Associated Candidate	Office Held/Sought	Contributions
Conservatives For Principled Leadership	Karen Handel	U.S. House, GA-16	
Handel served in the U.S. House representing Georgia's 6 th Congressional district from June 2017 (taking Tom Price's seat when he left to serve in the Trump administration) to January 2019 and lost her bid for re-election in November 2020. She also was Georgia Secretary of State from 2007 to 2010. Her stance against abortion was highlighted in 2017 by Life News , which approvingly noted her efforts to halt Planned Parenthood funding by the Susan G. Komen for the Cure. She resigned from her position as senior vice president of public policy at the organization in the ensuing controversy.			
Caterpillar			\$5,000
Travelers			\$15,000
Living Life With Purpose PAC	Tom Leek	Florida State House, District 25	
Leek assumed office in November 2016 and his current term ends in November 2022. He voted in favor of a bill to require parental consent for abortions by minors, which was signed into law in June 2020. The law specifies that physicians who violate the parental termination requirement have committed a third degree felony, but does allow minors to petition for a waiver from the courts.			
Caterpillar			\$5,000
Travelers			\$10,000
Colonia Leadership Trust PAC	Kirk Cox	Virginia House, District 66	
Cox was endorsed by the Virginia Society for Human Life with a 100% rating and given a zero from NARAL Pro-Choice Virginia. He is running for governor in 2021, saying that he "has a 30-year track record of defending and advancing conservative principles like the Second Amendment and the cause of life."			
Northrop Grumman			\$10,000
Floridians For Economic Freedom	Chris Sprowls	Florida House Speaker	
Bank of America			\$10,000
Received a zero rating from the Florida Alliance of Planned Parenthood Affiliates.			

Appendix: Types of Expenditures and Data Sources

Type of Expenditure	Project Data
<p>Candidate information. The National Institute on Money in State Politics (NIMSP) provides detailed expenditure information for the company universe, identifying candidates, election jurisdiction, election outcomes, and party affiliation of the candidates.</p> <p>We identify if spending comes from PACs or the corporate treasury.</p> <p>Campaign spending law limits the amount of money candidates may receive from a single entity and federal candidates may receive money only from PACs, while state laws vary in their restrictions about allowable sources.</p>	<p>Analysis covers all corporate and corporate PAC expenditures for candidates for federal and state office, some of which pre-dates Jan. 1, 2019, and goes to October 14, 2020, two weeks before the general election. <i>(This includes 30,846 separate expenditure records for federal candidates and 26,240 records for state candidates. Additional data from 2016 onwards for earlier election cycles is available upon request.)</i></p>
<p>527 political committees. Includes mostly national but also some state-level entities. Data from CQ MoneyLine.</p>	<p>Available for the 2020 election cycle from Jan. 1, 2019 to October 13, 2020. <i>(1,011 separate expenditure records.)</i></p>
<p>PACs. Data from Federal Election Commission show where company PACs give to other PACs, some of which are associated with individual politicians and some of which are party entities or joint fundraising committees associated with multiple politicians of the same party. The database identifies all discernable candidate connections.</p>	<p>Available from Jan. 1, 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020. <i>(10,869 records, 681 of which were for state parties that gave to both federal and state candidates.)</i></p>
<p>Super PACs. A more limited number of corporations also give to Super PACs, entities that may make unlimited contributions to efforts in support or against specific candidates as long as these efforts are not directly coordinated with candidates. In practice, the bar on coordination is largely meaningless as Super PACs are run by staff long associated with particular parties and candidates.</p>	<p>Available from Jan. 1, 2019 to Oct. 12, 2000. <i>(31 records.)</i></p>
<p>State Parties. Data sourced from the Federal Election Commission. Typically associated with a single party and spent to elect candidates for that party in each state, running for office at either the federal level (Congress or the presidency) or in the states.</p>	<p>Available from Jan. 1, 2019 to Oct. 13, 2020. <i>(681 expenditure records, as noted above.)</i></p>
<p>Associations. This giving (including trade associations and other groups) is often obscured, and no central source of readily available information is available. Si2 consulted company websites to retrieve self-reported information on the associations named by companies and any data companies provided about contributions to each entity.</p>	<p>There is a significant time lag for self-reported data from companies about trade associations and disclosure is typically annual when it happens. (Please see separate report on trade association policies and disclosures.)</p>