

# The Corporate Sponsors of Voter Suppression



Since 2015, Corporations Have Contributed  
\$50 Million to the State Lawmakers  
Supporting Voter Suppression Bills,  
Trade Groups Have Given Another \$36 Million

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 PUBLICCITIZEN

# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was written by Congress Watch Research Directors Mike Tanglis and Taylor Lincoln, and Rick Claypool, research director in the president's office of Public Citizen. Public Citizen intern Ryan Cieslikowski contributed to the report. The National Institute on Money in Politics provided campaign finance data used in this report. The Voting Rights Lab furnished data on the sponsors of voter suppression bills around the country.

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## Key Findings

- Corporations have contributed \$50 million since 2015<sup>1</sup> to state legislators supporting voter suppression bills, including \$22 million during the 2020 election cycle.<sup>2</sup>
- AT&T has given the most, \$811,000. AT&T is followed by Altria / Philip Morris (\$679,000), Comcast (\$440,000), UnitedHealth Group (\$411,000), Walmart (\$377,000) State Farm (\$315,000) and Pfizer (\$308,000). More than 60 corporations have contributed more than \$100,000.
- Among the Fortune 100, 81 companies have contributed to these lawmakers, giving a combined total of \$7.7 million.
- Among the Fortune 500, 45 percent of companies have contributed to these lawmakers, giving a combined total of \$12.8 million.
- Three quarters of the companies that altered their campaign finance policies in response to the January 6 insurrection have given to the supporters of voter suppression bills.
- Industry trade groups contributed \$36 million to state legislators supporting voter suppression bills, including \$16 million during the 2020 election cycle.

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<sup>1</sup> For the vast majority of states, this time period is equal to the last three two-year election cycles.

<sup>2</sup> Based on voter suppression bills identified by the Voting Rights Lab as of March 1, 2021, and supporters of such bills identified as of March 9, 2021.

## Introduction

Corporate America was quick to demonstrate its disapproval of members of Congress who supported Donald Trump's attempt to overturn the 2020 election and disenfranchise millions of voters. At least 123 corporations and corporate trade associations altered their political giving policies after the January 6 Capitol riot, such as by suspending giving to the 147 members of Congress who voted to block the certification of presidential electors or pausing campaign contributions to all federal candidates.<sup>3</sup>

It should not be all that surprising that corporations were eager to distance themselves from officials who, following Trump's lead, attempted to sabotage our democracy. Overturning democratic elections and suppressing votes are not, after all, positions easily defended.

Which is why it's noteworthy that so many businesses and business associations backed the mostly Republican state lawmakers who are now pushing about 250 bills that would make voting in the next election more difficult – and which would disproportionately disenfranchise Black Americans and other groups of voters who typically support Democratic candidates.

The bills that have been proposed hearken back to one of the most shameful chapters in America's history – the Jim Crow era of legalized discrimination when, among other horrors, barriers were created to prevent Black Americans from voting.

Today's proposed voting restrictions are cloaked in rhetoric of deterring voter fraud. But this rationale is a ruse, as cases of voter fraud are extremely rare, a fact well known to supporters of voter suppression measures. Trump, himself, established a commission during his presidency to document cases of voter fraud. He then abruptly shut down the commission after its search came up empty.<sup>4</sup>

The pending state legislative proposals are patently intended to create obstacles to lawful voting. Some would shorten early voting periods or prohibit voting on Sundays, a day on which many Black communities traditionally vote in large numbers.<sup>5</sup> Others call for reducing the number of drop boxes for voters to submit their ballots.<sup>6</sup>

Some would all-but-prohibit mail-in voting. One proposal would retain mail-in voting but would impose the onerous requirement that ballots sent through the mail must bear

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<sup>3</sup> Sergio Hernandez and Tal Yellin, *Tracking Corporate America's revolt against the Electoral College objectors*, CNN (Feb. 5, 2021), <http://cnn.it/3tGKmMj>.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Tackett and Michael Wines, *Trump Disbands Commission on Voter Fraud*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (Jan. 3, 2018), <http://nyti.ms/2Pplx2>.

<sup>5</sup> Nick Corasaniti and Jim Rutenberg, *In Georgia, Republicans Take Aim at Role of Black Churches in Elections*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (March 6, 2021), <http://nyti.ms/3f1xIsF>.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Fausset, Nick Corasaniti and Mark Leibovich, *Why the Georgia G.O.P.'s Voting Rollbacks Would Hit Black People Hard*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (March 3, 2021), <http://nyti.ms/3141dFE>.

the seal of a public notary.<sup>7</sup> Another proposal would make it a crime for volunteers to provide food or water to voters standing for hours in line.<sup>8</sup> Communities with large numbers of people of color, of course, tend to endure the longest waiting periods to cast their ballots.

One proposal would go beyond merely suppressing the vote by giving the legislature permission to throw out the vote, altogether. Yes, there is a bill in Arizona that would allow the legislature to overrule the will of the voters in a presidential election.<sup>9</sup>

This report looks at the corporations and trade associations supporting state legislators who are seeking to return America to its horrifying past.

## Methodology

Public Citizen analyzed three main datasets: Voter suppression bills, voter suppression bill supporters, and state level corporate contribution data.

For the list of voter suppression bills – which includes 245 bills in total – we used data provided by the Voting Rights Lab as of March 1, 2021.<sup>10</sup>

To gather the names of lawmakers supporting these bills, we took the names of bill authors and co-sponsors from the Voting Rights Lab. In cases where the bills have been voted on, Public Citizen supplemented the supporters' dataset by adding the state legislators who voted in favor of the legislation. In total, more than 800 elected officials have either authored, co-sponsored, or voted for these bills as of March 9, 2021. [hereinafter: bill supporters]

For contributions made to the voter suppression bill supporters, Public Citizen used data provided by The National Institute on Money in Politics (FollowTheMoney.org).<sup>11</sup> The contributions highlighted throughout this report include both contributions made by company PACs and contributions made directly from corporate treasuries.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Oxford, *GOP lawmaker introduces bill to eliminate early voting list in Arizona following Democrats' wins*, ARIZONA REPUBLIC (Jan. 19, 2021), <http://bit.ly/2NGGuLP>.

<sup>8</sup> Julia Marnin, *Fact Check: Will Georgia Bill Make it a Crime to Give Food and Drinks to Voters?* NEWSWEEK (March 4, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3c7YmZx>.

<sup>9</sup> Bud Foster, *19 AZ bills will make voting more difficult*, KOLD (Feb. 15, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3cbGZHq>.

<sup>10</sup> Comprehensive Bill Search (Voting Rights Lab), <https://tracker.votingrightslab.org/pending/search>.

<sup>11</sup> Data provided by the National Institute on Money in Politics, <https://www.followthemoney.org>.

<sup>12</sup> This analysis, unlike many accounts of corporate campaign giving, counts only contributions from political action committees and corporate treasuries. Under this conservative approach, we do not include contributions from employees of corporations, including their key executives.



## I. Corporations Have Given the Supporters of Voter Suppression bills \$50 Million Since 2015, \$22 million in the 2020 Cycle

Since 2015, corporations in the United States have given \$50 million to the state lawmakers supporting voter suppression bills. This total includes \$22 million during the 2020 cycle. AT&T has given the most, \$811,000. AT&T is followed by Altria / Philip Morris, Comcast, UnitedHealth Group, Walmart, State Farm and Pfizer. [Table I]

**Table I: The 25 Companies Contributing the Most to the Supporters of Voter Suppression Bills**  
(Includes contributions from 2015 to 2020)

Company	2020 Election Cycle Contributions	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020
AT&T	\$312,780	\$810,915
Altria / Philip Morris	\$351,850	\$678,700
Comcast Corporation & NBC Universal	\$167,400	\$439,700
UnitedHealth Group	\$201,600	\$411,200
Walmart	\$146,000	\$376,617
State Farm*	\$121,500	\$315,370
Pfizer	\$133,925	\$308,085
BNSF Railway Co	\$151,990	\$300,820
Farmers Insurance*	\$127,730	\$293,635
Koch Industries	\$132,350	\$293,000
Dominion Energy	\$152,600	\$280,050
Anheuser-Busch Co	\$104,550	\$265,000
Verizon Communications	\$111,575	\$246,075
Union Pacific Corporation	\$106,200	\$243,050
Enterprise Holdings	\$107,618	\$240,340
RAI Services / Reynolds American	\$102,550	\$236,350
American Electric Power / AEP	\$87,850	\$209,450
McGuireWoods Consulting	\$83,550	\$207,570
Exelon Corp	\$79,650	\$207,550
Marathon Petroleum	\$85,965	\$205,365
Centene Corp	\$111,950	\$205,200
HCA Management Services	\$106,500	\$203,700
Charter Communications	\$79,146	\$203,426
D B H Management Consultants	\$76,892	\$200,192
General Motors	\$86,200	\$185,100

Sources: Public Citizen's analysis of data from The National Institute on Money in Politics (FollowTheMoney.org).

\* Figures aggregate contributions by state specific PACs.

Household names that fell just out of the top 25 list in Table I include Nationwide (\$182,000), Merck (\$180,000), CVS (\$174,000), John Deere (\$159,000) and Caterpillar (\$157,000).

More than 60 corporations have contributed more than \$100,000 to these state lawmakers over the past three cycles. Seventeen contributed more than \$100,000 in the 2020 cycle alone.

### More Than 80 Percent of the Fortune 100 Have Funded these Lawmakers, And Almost Half of the Fortune 500

Our analysis found that 81 of the Fortune 100 companies have contributed to supporters of voter suppression bills, giving a combined total of \$7.7 million.

Walmart, which tops the Fortune 100 list, has contributed almost \$377,000 to these politicians. In total, 26 companies in the Fortune 100<sup>13</sup> have contributed at least \$100,000 to these state lawmakers. Six Fortune 100 companies – AT&T, Comcast, UnitedHealth Group, Walmart, Pfizer and State Farm – have each contributed more than \$300,000. [Table II]

**Table II: Fortune 100 Companies Contributing \$100,000 or More to Supporters of Voter Suppression Bills**  
(Includes contributions from 2015 to 2020)

Fortune 100 Rank	Company	2020 Election Cycle Contributions	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020
1	Walmart	\$146,000	\$376,617
3	Exxon Mobil	\$49,700	\$131,250
5	CVS Health	\$81,100	\$174,050
7	UnitedHealth Group	\$201,600	\$411,200
9	AT&T	\$312,780	\$810,915
13	Cigna	\$66,325	\$109,225
15	Chevron	\$51,700	\$116,200
18	General Motors	\$86,200	\$185,100
20	Verizon Communications	\$111,575	\$246,075
22	Marathon Petroleum	\$85,965	\$205,365
28	Comcast	\$167,400	\$439,700
29	Anthem	\$73,650	\$138,150
30	Wells Fargo	\$58,900	\$113,709
36	State Farm*	\$121,500	\$315,370
39	Raytheon / Raytheon Technologies	\$68,500	\$154,050
43	UPS	\$56,250	\$165,900
62	Caterpillar	\$63,000	\$157,250

<sup>13</sup> *The Fortune 500*, FORTUNE 2020 (viewed on March 22, 2021), <https://fortune.com/fortune500/2020/search/>.

Fortune 100 Rank	Company	2020 Election Cycle Contributions	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020
64	Pfizer	\$133,925	\$308,085
69	Merck	\$90,900	\$180,200
71	Charter Communications	\$79,146	\$203,426
72	Allstate	\$57,575	\$118,587
74	Nationwide	\$99,450	\$181,570
84	Deere	\$48,250	\$158,850
88	Coca-Cola	\$37,750	\$133,700
94	USAA	\$62,950	\$134,450
95	Exelon	\$79,650	\$207,550

Sources: Public Citizen's analysis of data from The National Institute on Money in Politics (FollowTheMoney.org) and Fortune.

\* Figures aggregate contributions by state specific PACs.

The financial support for these lawmakers did not end with the Fortune 100. Public Citizen also found that 45 percent of Fortune 500 companies contributed to these lawmakers over the last three election cycles. They contributed a combined total of \$12.8 million.

Six companies appearing on the Fortune 500 list – but outside of the top Fortune 100 – contributed \$100,000 or more to these state lawmakers: Altria / Philip Morris (\$679,000), Dominion Energy (\$280,000), Union Pacific (\$243,000), Ameren (\$139,000), Eli Lilly (\$124,000) and Waste Management (\$107,000)

### **123 Companies Paused Federal Contributions After the Insurrection; Three Quarters of Them Have Contributed to the Voter suppression Bill Supporters**

In response to the insurrection on January 6, at least 123 companies paused their PAC contributions either to those who objected to the electoral college vote or to all federal candidates, according to a CNN tracker.<sup>14</sup>

A review of state level contribution data of these 123 companies reveals that more than three quarters of them – 94 companies – have contributed to the state level lawmakers pushing voter suppression legislation. In total, these 94 companies contributed \$7.3 million over the three most recent election cycles. The 94 companies include many of the companies mentioned elsewhere in this report, including AT&T, Comcast, United Health Group and Walmart.

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<sup>14</sup> Sergio Hernandez and Tal Yellin, *Tracking Corporate America's revolt against the Electoral College objectors*, CNN (Feb. 5, 2021), <http://cnn.it/3tGKmMj>.



Many of these companies have already faced public backlash for their support of politicians pushing voter suppression bills, especially those put forth in Georgia.<sup>15</sup>

### The Effort to Disenfranchise Voters is Widespread; Voter Suppression Bills Have Been Proposed in 39 States

Voter suppression bills are being proposed around the country, but some states are pushing them more than others. Public Citizen analyzed 245 voter suppression bills in 39 states gathered by the Voting Rights Lab.<sup>16</sup> Nine state legislatures had 10 or more voter suppression bills introduced (as of March 1). Four states have more than 15 under consideration: Georgia (26), Arizona (24), New Jersey (17) and Texas (16). Five or more voter suppression bills have been introduced in 16 states. [Table III]

**Table III: States in Which Five or More Voter Suppression Bills Have Been Introduced**  
(Includes contributions from 2015 to 2020)

State	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020	Number of Voter Suppression Bills	Number of Bill Supporters
GA	\$10,807,095	26	81
AZ	\$1,504,747	24	40
NJ	\$2,601,513	17	27
TX	\$4,829,539	16	19
IL	\$1,641,737	13	11
NY	\$2,056,027	13	23
MN	\$120,312	11	36
TN	\$772,050	11	9
MO	\$1,032,352	10	10
MD	\$1,355,344	8	16
VA	\$5,783,100	7	25
ND	\$137,367	7	25
SC	\$880,049	6	31
MS	\$227,071	6	13
PA	\$2,791,003	5	61
OK	\$184,542	5	6

Sources: Public Citizen's analysis of data from The National Institute on Money in Politics (FollowTheMoney.org) and the Voting Rights Lab (VotingRightsLab.org).

<sup>15</sup> In early March, Popular Information reported on the corporations supporting to the co-sponsors of two voter suppression bills in Georgia. The NAACP, the New Georgia Project, and Black Voters Matter have used the information to push the Georgia based corporations that contributed to the bill co-sponsors to oppose the voter suppression bills. See, Judd Legum, *UPDATE: Georgia corporations respond to pressure on voter suppression bills*, POPULAR INFORMATION (March 15, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3vVDxsf>.

<sup>16</sup> Comprehensive Bill Search (Voting Rights Lab), <https://tracker.votingrightslab.org/pending/search>.

As our analysis focuses on all bill supporters, including those voting on bills, the progress of each bill in the legislative process has a significant effect on the number of bill supporters identified. In Arkansas, for example, our dataset includes just one bill. But the bill has already been voted on in the House and the Senate, putting nearly 100 lawmakers on the record as supporting it.<sup>17</sup> Corporate America has supported the Arkansas voter suppression bill supporters with \$2.5 million in campaign contributions over the past three election cycles. A similar scenario exists in Iowa where three voter suppression bills covered in this analysis have a combined total of 87 confirmed supporters, almost all of whom voted for a single piece of voter suppression legislation that just recently became law.<sup>18</sup> Iowa's legislators supporting voter suppression bills have received \$2.9 million from corporate America.

Voter suppression legislation supporters in 12 states have received more than \$1.5 million from corporate America since 2015. [Table IV]

**Table IV: States in Which Corporate America Has Contributed \$1.5 Million or More to Supporters of Voter Suppression Bills**  
(Includes contributions from 2015 to 2020)

State	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020	Number of Voter Suppression Bills	Number of Bill Supporters
GA	\$10,807,095	26	81
VA	\$5,783,100	7	25
TX	\$4,829,539	16	19
IA	\$2,862,148	3	87
PA	\$2,791,003	5	61
NJ	\$2,601,513	17	27
AR	\$2,535,783	1	99
NY	\$2,056,027	13	23
FL	\$2,028,700	1	5
IL	\$1,641,737	13	11
NV	\$1,636,490	4	19
AZ	\$1,504,747	24	40

Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data from the National Institute on Money in State Politics (FollowTheMoney.org).

In some states, some of the top contributors are local companies. In Texas and New Jersey for example, utility companies are among the biggest contributors. Oncor in Texas has contributed close to \$87,000 to voter suppression bill supporters in the state, making it the fourth biggest contributor. In New Jersey, the Public Service Enterprise Group has

<sup>17</sup> Arkansas House Bill 1112, LegisScan, <https://legiscan.com/AR/bill/HB1112/2021>.

<sup>18</sup> Iowa Senate Bill 413, LegisScan, <https://legiscan.com/IA/bill/SF413/2021>.

contributed close the \$46,000 to Texas voter suppression bill supporters, making it the third biggest contributor.

But for the most part, the list of top contributors in nearly every state is full of corporations with a national or even global footprint. AT&T for example, has contributed \$10,000 or more to politicians supporting voter suppression legislation in 16 states. Altria / Philip Morris has done so in 12 states, Comcast (11), UnitedHealth (8), Pfizer (8) and Walmart (6).

In fact, 18 of the top 25 contributing companies highlighted in Table I contributed a combined \$10,000 or more to the politicians supporting voter suppression legislation in at least five different states.

The state politicians behind the voter suppression bills include some of the most well-funded and powerful members of the various state legislatures. For a full list of the top contributors in every state from Table IV, as well as the top recipients in each state and their top contributors, see the Appendix.

## II. Trade Groups Contributed Another \$36 Million to the Voter Suppression Bill Supporters, \$16 Million in 2020 Alone

Corporate money has multiple ways of entering the bloodstream of our elections. Corporations have their PACs and corporate treasuries to spend from. But corporations can also spend large amounts of money supporting industry trade groups that, in turn, spend heavily in elections. Trade groups have given \$36 million to sponsors of voter suppression legislation. A total of 26 trade groups contributed \$200,000 or more to the politicians supporting voter suppression legislation from 2015 to 2020. [Table V]

**Table V: Trade Associations Contributing \$200,000 or More to Supporters of Voter Suppression Bills**  
(Includes contributions from 2015 to 2020)

Contributor	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020
Texans For Lawsuit Reform	\$901,500
Associated General Contractors of Iowa	\$574,150
Iowa Association of Realtors	\$462,500
Iowa Bankers Association	\$458,290
Iowa Farm Bureau	\$372,700
Arkansas Health Care Association	\$344,187
Master Builders of Iowa	\$323,750
Virginia Beer Wholesalers Association	\$311,136
Iowa Health Care Association / Iowa Center for Assisted Living	\$309,600

Contributor	Total Contributions 2015 - 2020
Georgia Trial Lawyers Association	\$301,000
National Association of Realtors	\$283,200
Georgia Association of Realtors	\$278,950
Georgia Medical Association	\$270,000
Texas Association of Realtors	\$265,740
Wine & Spirits Wholesalers of Georgia	\$243,607
Arkansas Realtors Association	\$241,200
Texas Realtors	\$239,740
Virginia Wine Wholesalers Association	\$234,350
Pennsylvania Association of Realtors	\$229,150
Georgia Apartment Association	\$227,600
Virginia Dental Association	\$223,000
New Jersey Association of Realtors	\$216,511
Automobile Retail Dealers of Georgia	\$211,608
Virginia Bankers Association	\$209,550
Georgia Bankers Association	\$203,750
Pharmaceutical Research & Manufacturers Association of America / PhRMA	\$200,000

Sources: Public Citizen's analysis of data from The National Institute on Money in Politics (FollowTheMoney.org).

### III. Arizona, Georgia, Iowa and Texas Have Produced Some of the Most Outrageous Bills

Voter suppression legislation is sweeping the country. But certain state legislatures have been particularly obsessed with creating obstacles to voting.

#### Arizona

In Arizona, where Joe Biden prevailed in the presidential election, two dozen bills have been introduced by Republican legislators.

Additionally, Arizona's attorney general defended the state's existing voter-restricting laws before the U.S. Supreme Court in early March against a challenge brought by the Arizona's secretary of state, who alleges the laws violate the Voting Rights Act.<sup>19</sup> One of the laws prohibits anybody but a family member, household member or caregiver from turning in another person's ballot. A lower court struck down the laws, basing its decision in part on their disproportionate negative effect on Black, Hispanic and Indigenous voters.

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<sup>19</sup> Andrew Oxford, *Arizona in spotlight: U.S. Supreme Court hears arguments in election laws, Voting Rights Act case*, ARIZONA REPUBLIC (March 2, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3vSerKP>.

The currently pending bills would impose restrictions on early and mail-in voting and purge any voter from the official rolls after not voting in two consecutive elections.<sup>20</sup> One proposal that has especially alarmed voting rights advocates would empower Arizona's state legislature to overturn presidential election results even after they are certified.<sup>21</sup>

The Arizona state director of All Voting is Local told the Los Angeles Times, "They all add up to changing our election system in substantial ways to basically respond to the 'Big Lie'," referring to Trump's claims the only explanation for his loss is widespread fraud.<sup>22</sup>

The bills that have advanced have done so along party lines. Republican Arizona Rep. John Kavanaugh, a cosponsor of several bills, made clear his interest in reducing the number of people who vote. "Republicans are more concerned about fraud, so we don't mind putting security measures in that won't let everybody vote – but everybody shouldn't be voting," Kavanaugh said "Not everybody wants to vote, and if somebody is uninterested in voting, that probably means that they're totally uninformed on the issues [...] Quantity is important, but we have to look at the quality of votes, as well."<sup>23</sup>

### Georgia

Georgia was a key battleground during the presidential campaign and also afterward, when Trump pressured Georgia officials to investigate election fraud and to "find" enough votes to turn the election in his favor.<sup>24</sup>

After surprise victories by Biden and two Democratic U.S. Senate candidates during a January runoff election, Georgia's Republican governor, Brian Kemp, and the state's Republican-controlled legislature quickly pivoted to what they described as "security" measures designed to restore "confidence" in the state's elections.<sup>25</sup> Organizations like the Brennan Center for Justice and Voting Rights Lab have flagged the Georgia legislation as voter suppression efforts.<sup>26</sup>

On March 25, Kemp signed into law a voter suppression bill that was approved the same day by the Georgia legislature. The bill greatly limits drop boxes for absentee ballots,

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<sup>20</sup> Eric Bradner and Dianne Gallagher, *Arizona Republican lawmakers join GOP efforts to target voting, with nearly two dozen restrictive voting measures*, CNN (March 11, 2021), <http://cnn.it/2OYvVEr>.

<sup>21</sup> Howard Fischer, *Proposed law would allow Arizona Legislature to overturn presidential election results*, ARIZONA DAILY STAR (Jan. 30, 2021), <http://bit.ly/2Pluyzt>.

<sup>22</sup> Melanie Mason, *The battle over voting restrictions is playing out nationwide. Arizona Republicans are leading the way*. LOS ANGELES TIMES (Feb. 26, 2021), <http://lat.ms/3ICKYjh>.

<sup>23</sup> Eric Bradner and Dianne Gallagher, *Arizona Republican lawmakers join GOP efforts to target voting, with nearly two dozen restrictive voting measures*, CNN (March 11, 2021), <http://cnn.it/2OYvVEr>.

<sup>24</sup> Jason Morris and Sara Murray, *Trump pressured Georgia investigator to find 'the right answer' in baseless fraud push*, CNN (March 11, 2021), <http://cnn.it/3r6C8eN>.

<sup>25</sup> *Georgia Gov. Kemp discusses election bills in legislature, voter reform*, WSPA.com (March 2, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3tNV6bw>.

<sup>26</sup> *Voting Laws Roundup: February 2021*, BRENNAN CENTER FOR JUSTICE (Feb. 8, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3remN17>.

establishes voter ID rules to request absentee ballots, and criminalizes the act of providing food or water to voters waiting in line. Perhaps most alarmingly, the bill kicks the secretary of State off of the state elections board, which certifies elections. Instead, it gives the state legislature authority to appoint the chair and majority of members of the board. Such a provision would have given the state's partisan legislature much more influence over how Trump's baseless claims regarding the 2020 election were adjudicated.<sup>27</sup>

Prior to the ratification of that vote, the *New York Times* reported that the bills pending in Georgia likely would have a disproportionately negative impact on Black voters, who make up about one third of the state's population and who primarily support Democrats. Stacey Abrams, founder of the voting rights organization Fair Fight, describes the Republican strategy behind the bills in stark terms: "Instead of winning new voters, you rig the system against their participation, and you steal the right to vote."<sup>28</sup>

A report by Popular Information found that the Republicans backing the voter suppression bills have been supported by millions in corporate political spending. Among the corporations is Coca-Cola, which has in the past supported get-out-the-vote efforts.<sup>29</sup> Following pressure from grassroots activists, several Georgia-based corporations, including Coca-Cola, Aflac, Delta Air, Home Depot, and UPS, plus the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, voiced their opposition to the voter suppression bills.<sup>30</sup>

### Iowa

Iowa was one of the quickest states to adopt new legislation to suppress votes after the 2020 election. The state's Republican-controlled legislature fast-tracked bills to place new limits on mail and early voting, reduce the number of locations where votes can be dropped off, and place new limits on election officials seeking to increase voter turnout.<sup>31</sup> The bills passed in party-line votes in February.<sup>32</sup>

Republican Rep. Bobby Kaufmann, one of the bill's authors, responded to critics by saying, "What you call barriers, I call security. When you say that a sure count would disenfranchise 6,500 Iowans, I say I trust them to make a plan."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ari Berman, *After Trump Failed, Georgia Republicans Pass Bill to Make It Easier to Overturn Elections*, MOTHER JONES (March 25, 2021), <https://bit.ly/31mCJ1l>.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Fausset, Nick Corasaniti and Mark Leibovich, *Why the Georgia G.O.P.'s Voting Rollbacks Would Hit Black People Hard*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (March 3, 2021), <http://nyti.ms/3cV4dAw>.

<sup>29</sup> Judd Legum and Tesnim Zekeria, *The Georgia legislators pushing voter suppression bills are backed by millions in corporate cash*, POPULAR INFORMATION (March 3, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3f8Le8n>.

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Ingraham, *Georgia business community expresses concern over voting restrictions*, WASHINGTON POST (March 15, 2021), <http://wapo.st/3tEbXO2>.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel Perreault, "Voter Suppression": Iowa auditors react to election bill that decreases early, absentee voting periods, KWWL (Feb. 20, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3caF45V>.

<sup>32</sup> Stephen Gruber-Miller, *Iowa Legislature sends bill shortening early and Election Day voting to Gov. Kim Reynolds' desk*, DES MOINES REGISTER (Feb. 24, 2021), <http://bit.ly/2PifOcu>.

<sup>33</sup> Taylor Vessel, *Iowa House passes controversial voting bill*, KWWL (Feb. 24, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3vPHIWp>.



Republican Gov. Kim Reynolds signed a bill into law in early March that will reduce early voting and shorten the hours that the polls are open on Election Day.<sup>34</sup> The League of United Latin American Citizens of Iowa, a civil rights group, filed a lawsuit to block the legislation's implementation the day after Reynolds signed the bill.<sup>35</sup>

### Texas

In early February, Texas Gov. Greg Abbott (R) declared "election security" to be a top priority for the state's Republican-controlled legislature.<sup>36</sup> Abbott conceded that no actual evidence of election fraud had been found. After all, Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton conducted a 22,000-hour investigation and turned up only 16 cases, all for inaccurate addresses on voter registration forms, among the state's 17 million registered voters.<sup>37</sup> But Abbott was undeterred. "I do think that every election that we have, concerns are raised about election fraud. And we need to take steps to make sure that we address those concerns and do everything possible to reduce election fraud," he said.

Following Abbott's call to arms, Texas legislators introduced two dozen bills to place new restrictions on voters, including bills to limit early voting, mail-in voting and drive-through voting, and to accelerate purges of voter rolls.<sup>38</sup>

Several of the restrictions are seen as targeting voter turnout initiatives implemented in Harris County, the state's most populous county and the location of Houston, one of the most diverse cities in the United States.<sup>39</sup> Harris is one of four counties in Texas where Joe Biden prevailed over Trump.<sup>40</sup> Harris County Judge Lina Hidalgo criticized the legislative effort as "a poll tax...disguised as election integrity [...] It's clearly a direct response to the massive success we had in Harris County last year in terms of accessible and secure elections."<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Stephen Gruber-Miller, *Gov. Kim Reynolds signs law shortening Iowa's early and Election Day voting*, DES MOINES REGISTER (March 8, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3lBRk2k>.

<sup>35</sup> *Civil rights organization files lawsuit over Iowa's new voting law*, KCCI DES MOINES (March 9, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3d12NEy>.

<sup>36</sup> Robert T. Garrett, *Texas Gov. Greg Abbott says tighter restrictions on mail-in ballot procedures will deter voter fraud*, DALLAS MORNING NEWS (Feb. 2, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3cU1zep>.

<sup>37</sup> Jane C. Timm, *Texas GOP launches avalanche of bills to curtail voting*, NBC NEWS (March 15, 2021), <http://nbcnews.to/3vOck0M> and Taylor Goldenstein, *Ken Paxton's beefed-up 2020 voter fraud unit closed 16 minor cases, all in Harris County*, HOUSTON CHRONICLE (Dec. 22, 2020), <https://bit.ly/2NMBZ2k>.

<sup>38</sup> *Id.*

<sup>39</sup> Darla Guillen Gilthorpe, *Houston is the 7th 'most diverse' city in the US: report*, HOUSTON CHRONICLE (Jan. 22, 2020), <http://bit.ly/3tJtCz>.

<sup>40</sup> Mandi Cai, Matthew Watkins, Anna Novak And Darla Cameron *In Texas, Biden's urban wins couldn't offset Trump's millions of votes in rural, red counties*, TEXAS TRIBUNE (Nov. 6, 2020), <http://bit.ly/2OZZh5x>.

<sup>41</sup> Andrew Schneider *New Texas Election Bill Pushed By Gov. Greg Abbott Would Target Harris County*, HOUSTON PUBLIC MEDIA (March 15, 2021), <http://bit.ly/316UaCX>.

## Conclusion

After the January 6 insurrection many corporations announced they were pausing their campaign donations in some capacity. Public Citizen noted at the time that any measures short of lifetime bans on donations to federal level disenfranchisers likely amounted to nothing more than PR stunts.<sup>42</sup>

The same logic applies to any corporation condemning these voter suppression bills at the state level, as some have already done in Georgia<sup>43</sup> and Arizona.<sup>44</sup> Disavowing these bills now will amount to a meaningless gesture if corporations continue to bankroll the bills' supporters with future campaign contributions.

The days in which corporate America can fund politicians and then claim no responsibility for their actions may be coming to an end. Corporations seeking to demonstrate their reverence for our democracy could best do so by ending their attempts to influence the outcomes of elections at the federal and state levels.

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<sup>42</sup> 50+ Groups Sign Open Letter to Corporate America: Cease Political Spending Now, PUBLIC CITIZEN (Jan. 27, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3rc8yEo>.

<sup>43</sup> Judd Legum, *UPDATE: Georgia corporations respond to pressure on voter suppression bills*, POPULAR INFORMATION (March 15, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3vVDxsf>.

<sup>44</sup> Judd Legum and Tesnim Zekeria, *Major corporations announce opposition to voter suppression bills in Arizona*, POPULAR INFORMATION (March 10, 2021), <http://bit.ly/3vVENLZ>.

## Appendix

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p><b>Georgia</b></p> <p>26 Bills</p> <p>81 Supporters</p> <p>\$10.8 million in corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 - AT&amp;T (\$259,950)</p> <p>2 - Philip Morris (\$207,750)</p> <p>3 - Georgia State Farm Agents (\$164,250)</p> <p>4 - UnitedHealth Group (\$148,950)</p> <p>5 - Mag Mutual Insurance (\$145,950)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. Jeff Mullis (R) (\$869,655)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Georgia State Farm Agents (\$16,300)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$15,900)</li> <li>• Yancy Brother Co. (\$13,100)</li> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$12,900)</li> <li>• Philip Morris USA (\$11,800)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Sen. Butch Miller (R) (\$729,446)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$15,700)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$13,600)</li> <li>• RAI Services (\$12,300)</li> <li>• Cancer Center Treatments of America (\$10,600)</li> <li>• Philip Morris (\$10,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Stephen Gooch (R) (\$482,944)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Correct Health (\$11,000)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$10,900)</li> <li>• Philip Morris USA (\$9,300)</li> <li>• JM Family Enterprises (\$9,000)</li> <li>• GPS Enterprises (\$8,200)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Rep. Jan Jones (R) (\$427,962)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$14,200)</li> <li>• Wellcare (\$11,800)</li> <li>• Southeast Permanente Medical Group (\$10,650)</li> <li>• Cancer Center Treatments of America (\$8,400)</li> <li>• Centene (\$8,250)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Sen. William Cowsert (R) (\$385,500)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$14,200)</li> <li>• Georgia State Farm Agents (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Philip Morris USA (\$9,800)</li> <li>• Caterpillar (\$9,000)</li> <li>• Georgia Power (\$8,850)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p><b>Virginia</b></p> <p>7 Bills</p> <p>25 Supporters</p> <p>\$5.8 million in corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – Dominion Energy (\$247,500)</p> <p>2 – Philip Morris (\$232,000)</p> <p>3 – Verizon (\$139,500)</p> <p>4 – American Electric Power / AEP (\$103,500)</p> <p>5 – Hunton Andrews Kurth LLC (\$102,500)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. Thomas Norment (R) (\$1,993,740)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Philip Morris (\$128,500)</li> <li>• Dominion Energy (\$107,500)</li> <li>• Verizon (\$66,250)</li> <li>• Community Loans of America (\$57,000)</li> <li>• American Electric Power / AEP (\$43,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Del. Christopher Todd Gilbert (R) (\$618,620)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Philip Morris (\$36,000)</li> <li>• Allen &amp; Allen (\$22,500)</li> <li>• American Electric Power / AEP (\$21,500)</li> <li>• Anderson Financial Services (Loanmax) (\$19,000)</li> <li>• Hunton Andres Kurth LLC (\$16,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Del. Barry Knight (R) (\$500,300)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chesbay Distributing Co (\$12,500)</li> <li>• Republic National Distributing Co (\$10,500)</li> <li>• Anheuser-Busch Co (\$9,500)</li> <li>• Hoffman Beverage Co (\$9,000)</li> <li>• Diageo (\$8,250)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. Frank Ruff (R) (\$414,150)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dominion Energy (\$41,000)</li> <li>• VA Transportation Construction (\$15,500)</li> <li>• Verizon (\$13,000)</li> <li>• Hunton Andrews Kurth LLC (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Philip Morris USA (\$10,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Del. Kathy Byron (R) (\$359,825)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Verizon (\$23,500)</li> <li>• Anthem (\$16,500)</li> <li>• Dominion Energy (\$14,000)</li> <li>• DCB Realty (\$10,000)</li> <li>• American Electric Power / AEP (\$9,500)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Texas</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">16 Bills</p> <p style="text-align: center;">19 Supporters</p> <p style="text-align: center;">\$4.8 million in corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – Blackridge (\$173,189)</p> <p>2 – AT&amp;T (\$149,500)</p> <p>3 – Exelon Corp. (\$140,000)</p> <p>4 – Oncor (\$86,750)</p> <p>5 – Ryan LLC (\$85,000)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. Charles Creighton (R) (\$954,565)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exelon Corp (\$38,500)</li> <li>• Ryan LLC (\$30,000)</li> <li>• BVA United LLC (\$25,000)</li> <li>• Allen Boone Humphries Robinson (\$23,000)</li> <li>• Apollo Hospital System (\$20,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Sen. Kelton Seliger (R) (\$606,776)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exelon Corp (\$27,500)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$25,000)</li> <li>• Union Pacific (\$15,000)</li> <li>• Farmers Insurance (\$15,000)</li> <li>• BNSF Railway (\$14,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Brian Birdwell (R) (\$580,051)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Exelon Corp (\$32,000)</li> <li>• Atmos Energy (\$20,000)</li> <li>• USAA (\$17,000)</li> <li>• Time Warner Cable (\$15,000)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$15,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. Drew Springer (R) (\$443,486)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$18,000)</li> <li>• Oncor (\$13,500)</li> <li>• Allen Boone Humphries Robinson (\$12,500)</li> <li>• Exelon Corp (\$12,500)</li> <li>• Koch Industries (\$12,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Sen. Paul Bettencourt (R) (\$425,901)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Popp Hutchenson PLLC (\$27,500)</li> <li>• Ryan LLC (\$20,000)</li> <li>• Exelon Corp (\$15,000)</li> <li>• Cadence Bank (\$12,500)</li> <li>• Gulf State Toyota (\$10,500)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"> <b>Iowa</b>                      3 Bills                      87 Supporters                      \$2.9 million corporate contributions                 </p>	<p>                     1 – Elite Casino Resorts (\$118,000)                      2 – Hy-Vee Inc (\$116,500)                      3 – Wellmark BCBS of Iowa (\$105,000)                      4 – MidAmerican Energy (\$103,150)                      5 – John Deere (\$99,300)                 </p>	<p> <b>1 – Sen. Jack Whitver (R) (\$532,458)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$33,050)</li> <li>• Elite Casino Resorts (\$31,000)</li> <li>• Hy-Vee Inc (\$26,500)</li> <li>• Wellmark BCBS of Iowa (\$23,500)</li> <li>• Nationwide (\$22,500)</li> </ul> <b>2 – Rep. Pat Grassley (R) (\$344,772)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sheri Avis Horner Revocable Trust (\$20,000)</li> <li>• Donald Lamerti Revocable Trust (\$15,000)</li> <li>• J T Broin Trust (\$15,000)</li> <li>• Hy-Vee Inc (\$14,000)</li> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$13,000)</li> </ul> <b>3 – Rep. Matthew Windschitl (R) (\$192,573)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Elite Casino Resorts (\$12,500)</li> <li>• Nationwide (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Doll (\$11,000)</li> <li>• Wellmark BCBS of Iowa (\$9,250)</li> <li>• John Deere (\$9,250)</li> </ul> <b>4 – Sen. Jake Chapman (R) (\$153,685)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Alliant Energy (\$12,000)</li> <li>• MidAmerican Energy (\$11,500)</li> <li>• Nationwide (\$9,000)</li> <li>• Hy-Vee Inc (\$7,500)</li> <li>• Doll (\$6,750)</li> </ul> <b>5 – Rep. Megan Jones (R) (\$113,846.97)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Walmart (\$13,000)</li> <li>• Hy-Vee Inc (\$11,000)</li> <li>• Nationwide (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Waste Management (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Alliant Energy (\$5,000)</li> </ul> </p>



State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p><b>Pennsylvania</b></p> <p>5 Bills</p> <p>61 Supporters</p> <p>\$2.8 million in corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – Highmark Health (\$97,625)</p> <p>2 – PPL Corp (\$84,510)</p> <p>3 – FirstEnergy Corp (\$71,250)</p> <p>4 – Erie Indemnity Co (\$50,750)</p> <p>5 – UGI Corp (\$50,050)</p>	<p><b>1 – Rep. Stanley Saylor (R) (\$535,950)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stevens &amp; Lee (\$27,250)</li> <li>• Highmark Health (\$18,500)</li> <li>• McNees Wallace &amp; Nurick (\$18,500)</li> <li>• FirstEnergy Corp (\$16,000)</li> <li>• PHA Home (\$14,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Rep. Tina Pickett (R) (\$164,675)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Erie Indemnity Co (\$14,500)</li> <li>• Cigna (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Nationwide (\$11,000)</li> <li>• Aetna (\$9,000)</li> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$8,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Rep. Michael Carroll (D) (\$156,738)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• McCullough Consulting (\$16,500)</li> <li>• JM Uliana &amp; Associates (\$10,550)</li> <li>• Crisci Associates (\$10,300)</li> <li>• PPL Corp (\$7,800)</li> <li>• Gmerek Government Relations (\$5,700)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Rep. William Rothman (R) (\$149,302)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gaughen Management Group (\$19,000)</li> <li>• Crisci Associates (\$5,250)</li> <li>• McNees Wallace &amp; Nurick (\$4,450)</li> <li>• Capozzi &amp; Associates (\$4,100)</li> <li>• Highmark Health (\$3,850)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Rep. Ryan Mackenzie (R) (\$112,308)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PPL Corp (\$19,000)</li> <li>• Erie Indemnity Co (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Swanson Street Associates (\$3,300)</li> <li>• Independence Blue Cross (\$3,300)</li> <li>• Lewis Eckert Robb &amp; Co (\$3,300)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p><b>New Jersey</b></p> <p>17 Bills</p> <p>27 Supporters</p> <p>\$2.6 million corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – Comcast (\$66,000)</p> <p>2 – Anheuser-Busch (\$48,000)</p> <p>3 – Public Service Enterprise Group (\$45,600)</p> <p>4 – Pfizer (\$40,600)</p> <p>5 – Horizon BCBS of New Jersey (\$39,350)</p>	<p><b>1 – Assemb. Jon Bramnick (R) (\$679,347)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public Service Enterprise Group (\$31,500)</li> <li>• Verizon (\$21,000)</li> <li>• Horizon BCBS of New Jersey (\$19,800)</li> <li>• Fedway Associates (\$19,370)</li> <li>• Philip Morris USA (\$18,100)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Sen. Robert Singer (R) (\$279,980)</b> Dasti Murphy &amp; McGuckin (\$8,200)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pine Belt Chevolet (\$7,600)</li> <li>• Woodhaven Lumber &amp; Millwork (\$7,400)</li> <li>• Owen Little &amp; Associates (\$7,400)</li> <li>• Woodhaven Lumber &amp; Millwork (\$7,400)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Christopher Brown (R) (\$207,911)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Horizon BCBS of New Jersey (\$15,150)</li> <li>• Cooper Levenson P.A. (\$9,450)</li> <li>• Remnick Vernick &amp; Wallach (\$7,950)</li> <li>• Holman Freina Allison PC (\$7,050)</li> <li>• Kickbusch Wallach PC (\$7,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. Steven Oroho (R) (\$187,460)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Jersey Asphalt Paving (\$17,050)</li> <li>• Public Service Enterprise Group (\$6,500)</li> <li>• Pfizer (\$5,600)</li> <li>• Merck (\$5,150)</li> <li>• T-Mobile (\$5,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Sen. Gerald Cardinale (R) (\$162,341)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Energy Marketing Partners (\$10,405)</li> <li>• Catalina Builders (\$5,900)</li> <li>• Boswell Engineering (\$5,240)</li> <li>• Yudins (\$5,200)</li> <li>• Crestron Electronics (\$5,200)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Arkansas</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">1 Bills 99 Supporters \$2.5 million corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – DBH Management Consultants (\$200,192)</p> <p>2 – Walmart (\$146,250)</p> <p>3 – BNSF Railway (\$115,650)</p> <p>4 – Koch Industries (\$83,000)</p> <p>5 – Exxon Mobil (\$77,500)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. Jason Rapert (R) (\$109,706)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DBH Management Consultants (\$15,000)</li> <li>• Farmers (\$8,100)</li> <li>• Shelter Insurance (\$6,000)</li> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$4,900)</li> <li>• Stephens Energy (\$4,300)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Sen. Jane English (R) (\$104,725)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DBH Management Consultants (\$10,000)</li> <li>• BNSF Railway (\$6,200)</li> <li>• Walmart (\$4,700)</li> <li>• Koch Industries (\$4,000)</li> <li>• Nucor (\$3,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Bart Hester (R) (\$68,025)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DBH Management Consultants (\$7,900)</li> <li>• Walmart (\$5,400)</li> <li>• BNSF Railway (\$5,000)</li> <li>• CVS Caremark (\$4,800)</li> <li>• Union Pacific (\$3,275)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. Matthew Pitsch (R) (\$63,300)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stephens Energy (\$5,000)</li> <li>• Philip Morris (\$3,200)</li> <li>• Walmart (\$3,000)</li> <li>• LKQ Corp (\$2,700)</li> <li>• Farmers (\$2,700)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Sen. Jimmy Hickey (R) (\$59,325)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DBH Management Consultants (\$7,700)</li> <li>• Walmart (\$5,200)</li> <li>• BNSF Railway (\$3,000)</li> <li>• Stephens Energy (\$3,000)</li> <li>• Nucor (\$3,000)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>New York</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">13 Bills 23 Supporters \$2.1 million corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – State Street Associates (\$40,575)</p> <p>2 – National Fuel Gas (\$40,025)</p> <p>3 – Bothar Construction (\$29,550)</p> <p>4 – Charter Communications (\$28,600)</p> <p>5 – Brown &amp; Weinraub (\$20,700)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. Frederick Akshar II (R) (\$544,960)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bothar Construction (\$23,550)</li> <li>• Sunco Holding Corp. (\$15,800)</li> <li>• Enterprise Holdings (\$15,520)</li> <li>• Lanotra Properties (\$13,000)</li> <li>• State Street Associates (\$12,200)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Sen. Thomas Omara (R) (\$326,100)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Chemung Supply Corp (\$12,000)</li> <li>• State Street Associates (\$11,000)</li> <li>• Time Warner Cable (\$11,000)</li> <li>• Barclay Damon (\$10,500)</li> <li>• Charter Communications (\$9,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Patrick Gallivan (R) (\$246,438)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New Wave Energy Corporation (\$11,200)</li> <li>• National Fuel Gas (\$9,525)</li> <li>• State Street Associates (\$7,000)</li> <li>• HealthNow New York (\$6,300)</li> <li>• Phillips Lytle LLP (\$6,153)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. Robert Ort (R) (\$234,728)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Niagara Fall Redevelopment (\$13,500)</li> <li>• National Fuel Gas (\$11,950)</li> <li>• Maid of the Mist Corp (\$8,500)</li> <li>• Richardson Management (\$7,450)</li> <li>• WD MGMT LLC (\$6,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Sen. James Tedisco (R) (\$164,670)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charter Communications (\$11,000)</li> <li>• Hoffman Car Wash (\$9,400)</li> <li>• Martin Harding &amp; Mazzotti (\$7,865)</li> <li>• Murray &amp; Zuckerman (\$4,200)</li> <li>• Saratoga Casino &amp; Hotel (\$3,950)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Florida</b> 1 Bill</p> <p style="text-align: center;">5 Supporters</p> <p style="text-align: center;">\$2 million corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 - HCA Management Services (\$45,000)</p> <p>2 - Southern Gardens Citrus Nursery (\$31,000)</p> <p>3 - Walt Disney (\$28,000)</p> <p>4 - FCCI Insurance Group (\$22,000)</p> <p>5 – Geo Group (\$19,000)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. Douglas Broxson (R) (\$997,400)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HCA Management Services (\$24,000)</li> <li>• Southern Gardens Citrus Nursery (\$18,000)</li> <li>• FCCI Insurance Group (\$18,000)</li> <li>• Walt Disney (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Geo Group (\$10,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Sen. Dennis Baxley (R) (\$383,529)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Walt Disney (\$7,000)</li> <li>• HCA Management Services (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Southern Gardens Citrus Nursery (\$4,000)</li> <li>• Duke Energy (\$4,000)</li> <li>• Teco Energy (\$4,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Jennifer Bradley (R) (\$302,950)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HCA Management Services (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Geo Group (\$4,000)</li> <li>• Real Property Probate &amp; Trust Law (\$4,000)</li> <li>• Walt Disney (\$4,000)</li> <li>• Southern Gardens Citrus Nursery (\$3,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. George Gainer (R) (\$282,345)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HCA Management Services (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Southern Gardens Citrus Nursery (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Walt Disney (\$5,000)</li> <li>• Gulf Power (\$3,000)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$2,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Sen. Ileana Garcia (R) (\$62,475)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HCA Management Services (\$3,000)</li> <li>• Sunshine Dade Investments (\$2,000)</li> <li>• Ramba Consulting (\$2,000)</li> <li>• KCB Restaurant Holdings (\$1,000)</li> <li>• Securenet Solutions Group (\$1,000)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"> <b>Illinois</b>                      13 Bills                      11 Supporters                      \$1.6 million in corporate contributions                 </p>	<p>1 – Ameren Corp (\$105,500)</p> <p>2 – AT&amp;T (\$59,250)</p> <p>3 – Caterpillar (\$48,000)</p> <p>4 – Comcast (\$45,000)</p> <p>5 – Marathon Petroleum (\$44,000)</p>	<p><b>1 – Rep. Ryan Spain (R) (\$330,302)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Marquis Energy (\$17,750)</li> <li>• Coulter Companies (\$17,750)</li> <li>• Ameren Corp (\$17,750)</li> <li>• Caterpillar (\$14,500)</li> <li>• Cullinan Properties (\$13,200)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Rep. Thomas Morrison (R) (\$259,611)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TransNational Bankcard (\$31,600)</li> <li>• Guarantee Trust Life Insurance (\$17,750)</li> <li>• Marathon Petroleum (\$15,000)</li> <li>• Otto Engineering (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Residual Based Finance Corp. (\$10,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Rep. Christopher Davidsmeyer (R) (\$256,838)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ameren Corp (\$24,500)</li> <li>• Foresight Energy (\$11,500)</li> <li>• Marathon Petroleum (\$10,500)</li> <li>• DWM (\$10,000)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$9,250)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Rep. Tony McCombie (R) (\$242,011)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• John Deere (\$19,000)</li> <li>• Maclean-Fogg (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Ameren Corp (\$12,000)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$8,500)</li> <li>• MidAmerican Energy (\$8,250)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Rep. Mark Batinick (R) (\$174,870)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Caterpillar (\$13,500)</li> <li>• Comcast (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Ameren Corp (\$11,000)</li> <li>• AT&amp;T (\$10,500)</li> <li>• Unique Home Properties (\$5,600)</li> </ul>



State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Nevada</b></p> <p style="text-align: center;">4 Bills 19 Supporters \$1.6 million corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 - Las Vegas Sands (\$77,000)</p> <p>2 - Barrick Gold Corp (\$53,000)</p> <p>3 – Philip Morris USA (\$51,550)</p> <p>4 – Southwest Gas (\$50,500)</p> <p>5 – Nevada Gold Mines (\$42,500)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. James Settelmeyer (R) (\$344,600)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Las Vegas Sands (\$20,000)</li> <li>• TitleMax (\$15,000)</li> <li>• Southwest Gas (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Zuffa LLC (Ultimate Fighting Championship) (\$10,500)</li> <li>• MGM Mirage (\$10,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Assemb. Jill Tolles (R) (\$244,562)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Las Vegas Sands (\$10,000)</li> <li>• MGM Resorts (\$8,500)</li> <li>• Caesars Entertainment (\$8,000)</li> <li>• South Point Hotel &amp; Casino (\$7,500)</li> <li>• Barrick Gold Corp (\$7,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Sen. Joe Hardy (R) (\$179,149)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MGM Resorts (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Pfizer (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Golden Entertainment (\$6,000)</li> <li>• Sunrise Health System (\$5,500)</li> <li>• South Point Hotel &amp; Casino (\$5,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Sen. Scott Hammond (R) (\$165,750)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sands Expo &amp; Convention Center (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Las Vegas Sands (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Barrick Gold Corp (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Venetian Casino Resort (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Southwest Gas (\$6,000)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Assemb. Tom Roberts (R) (\$117,300)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Southwest Gas (\$10,500)</li> <li>• Nevada Gold Mines (\$10,000)</li> <li>• Philip Morris USA (\$8,750)</li> <li>• Sahara Hotel &amp; Casino (\$7,500)</li> <li>• Farmers (\$5,000)</li> </ul>

State	Top Five Contributors	Top Recipients and Their Top Five Contributors
<p><b>Arizona</b></p> <p>24 Bills</p> <p>40 Supporters</p> <p>\$1.5 million in corporate contributions</p>	<p>1 – Pinnacle West (\$168,600)</p> <p>2 – Salt River Project (\$82,675)</p> <p>3 – Freeport McMoran (\$67,050)</p> <p>4 – Raytheon (\$62,800)</p> <p>5 – Southwest Gas (\$53,150)</p>	<p><b>1 – Sen. J D Mesnard (R) (\$195,902)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pinnacle West (\$12,500)</li> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$9,500)</li> <li>• Farmers (\$8,150)</li> <li>• Raytheon (\$7,200)</li> <li>• Cox Communications (\$6,900)</li> </ul> <p><b>2 – Rep. Jeff Weninger (R) (\$144,183)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raytheon (\$9,600)</li> <li>• Pinnacle West (\$7,500)</li> <li>• Farmers (\$5,450)</li> <li>• Southwest Gas (\$4,950)</li> <li>• Cox Communications (\$4,900)</li> </ul> <p><b>3 – Rep. Russell Bowers (R) (\$106,525)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pinnacle West (\$12,000)</li> <li>• Salt River Project (\$7,075)</li> <li>• Southwest Gas (\$5,800)</li> <li>• General Motors (\$5,000)</li> <li>• Raytheon (\$4,500)</li> </ul> <p><b>4 – Rep. David Livingston (R) (\$103,637)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Farmers (\$9,950)</li> <li>• Pinnacle West (\$8,500)</li> <li>• Prudential Financial (\$8,000)</li> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$6,500)</li> <li>• Allstate (\$4,212)</li> </ul> <p><b>5 – Rep. Regina Cobb (R) (\$84,450)</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• UnitedHealth Group (\$7,000)</li> <li>• Raytheon (\$6,500)</li> <li>• Pinnacle West (\$5,000)</li> <li>• Pfizer (\$3,650)</li> <li>• Wellcare Inc (\$3,000)</li> </ul>



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