



Divided States of America: Heavily Tilted Company Support for State Abortion Ban Politicians

October 17, 2022

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Research for this report by the Sustainable Investments Institute (Si2) was commissioned by the Tara Health Foundation and includes analysis of all discoverable election spending by Fortune 250 companies for the 2020 to 2022 election cycle, with data through mid-2022.

Key Takeaways

The largest U.S. companies have heavily supported state politicians who favor bans and other restrictions on reproductive health rights across the United States despite a less partisan tilt at the national level. This report provides updated findings from a two-year project and a new comprehensive analysis of spending patterns over the last two election cycles. The central finding of this study undercuts recent assertions that companies are hostage to liberal elites; in fact, companies and their political action committees are underwriting deeply partisan policy choices, not just on abortion, and spending far more in deep-red states.

Fortune 250 companies and their PACs have spent more than \$515 million in the last two election cycles and overall 57 percent has gone to candidates, parties and political committees clearly opposed to reproductive health rights. Almost all these recipients are Republicans.

Deeply Partisan Regional Giving

While companies spent 78 percent (more than \$400 million) of the total on federal races, the \$113 million they contributed in statehouse races mirrors deep divisions in America today.

- Companies spent the most in the South, where 10 states now have abortion bans, disbursing more than \$37 million. Thirteen Southern states saw more than 70 percent of company money go to politicians opposed to reproductive health rights. Ten of these states now have abortion bans in effect, with more in the wings.
- The Midwest, home to two current abortion bans, saw \$11.7 million in company spending; in nine states, more 74 percent of company money went to abortion opponents.
- In the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast, companies spent the least—\$5.5 million—and nine-tenths of disbursements went to politicians who *favor* reproductive health rights. But company disbursements are the least in these Democratic strongholds.

Top Company Contributors

Fifteen companies gave more than \$1 million collectively to anti-abortion state office candidates. Two-thirds of all these companies' contributions in some states went to abortion opponents.

- In the South, the top supporter of anti-abortion politicians was **AT&T** (77 percent of its more than \$2 million in spending), followed by **UnitedHealth Group** (80 percent of \$1.4 million).
- In the Midwest, **Berkshire Hathaway** subsidiaries spent the most and 77 percent of half a million dollars went to abortion opponents.

Governors and Attorneys General

- Two **governors** with clear presential ambitions each garnered significant support from leading companies. Governors Ron DeSantis (Florida) received the most from **UnitedHealth Group** (at least \$325,000) and Greg Abbott (Texas) from **Berkshire Hathaway** subsidiaries (\$125,000).

- Less well-known **attorneys general** in five states have played key roles in the effort to ban abortion, but also have supported a wide range of deeply divisive public policy objectives, seeking to restrict voting and LGBTQ rights and crack down on undocumented immigrants. All five joined efforts to overturn the 2020 presidential election. Fifty-one companies contributed to these officials and those receiving the most are Jason Miyares in Virginia, Sean Reyes in Utah, Jeff Landry in Louisiana, Mike Hilger who is running for AG in Nebraska and Patrick Morrissey in West Virginia. Top contributors to these politicians were **Altria Group, Berkshire Hathaway, Comcast, Dominion Energy, DTE Energy, Marathon Petroleum** and **Pfizer**.

Abortion Ban States and Company Supporters

- In the 13 states where abortion is now banned, 125 companies contributed to lawmakers who support these restrictions. Companies and their PACs gave more than 84 percent of their state totals to abortion opponents everywhere except Texas, where the figure was 74 percent. All but two of these states are controlled by Republicans, many for a long time.
- Just 25 of the 125 companies accounted for more than two-thirds of the total giving to abortion opponents. Eight companies—**Altria Group, American Electric Power, AT&T, Berkshire Hathaway, Charter Communications, Comcast, Union Pacific** and **UnitedHealth Group**—each spent more than half a million dollars across the 13 states.

Company Giving in a Divided Country

Close examination of the political spending practices of America’s largest companies shows that they heavily support state candidates and parties opposed to abortion in states where restrictions are proliferating for abortion care and related services. The overlap between anti-abortion sentiment and political party affiliation is extremely tight, with only a few exceptions to the rule that Republicans support restrictions and Democrats do not. It also is abundantly clear that reproductive rights is an indicator issue for a list of additional policies that range from election denial to restrictions aimed at gay and transgender people, plus laws targeting immigrants without documentation.

Table 1
Fortune 250 Overall Election Spending, 2020-2022 Election Cycles

		Recipients’ Reproductive Rights Position				% of all spending
	Types of Contributions	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti*	
Federal Elections	<i>527 committees</i>	\$54,181,840	\$43,070,809	\$97,252,649	56%	19%
	<i>Candidates</i>	\$91,507,629	\$81,237,339	\$172,744,968	53%	34%
	<i>PAC to PAC/Party</i>	\$82,703,676	\$48,918,277	\$131,621,953	63%	26%
	Leadership PACs	\$37,133,851	\$25,803,645	\$62,937,496	59%	12%
	Outside Groups	\$27,237,200	\$8,880,232	\$36,117,432	75%	7%
	National Parties	\$16,113,750	\$13,342,000	\$29,455,750	55%	6%
	State Parties (<i>for Congress</i>)	\$2,218,875	\$892,400	\$3,111,275	71%	1%
	Sub Totals	\$228,393,145	\$173,226,425	\$401,619,570	57%	78%
State Elections	<i>Candidates</i>	\$46,647,167	\$34,256,305	\$80,903,471	58%	16%
	<i>PAC to PAC/Party</i>	\$83,600	\$12,000	\$95,600	87%	<1%
	Leadership PAC	\$74,600	\$9,500	\$84,100	89%	<1%
	Outside Group	\$9,000	\$2,500	\$11,500	78%	<1%
	State Parties (<i>state races</i>)	\$20,241,040	\$11,846,131	\$32,087,171	63%	6%
	Sub Totals	\$66,971,806	\$46,114,436	\$113,086,242	59%	22%
Grand Totals		\$295,364,951	\$219,340,861	\$514,705,812	57%	

*Excludes 2 percent of overall contributions to entities for which a position could not be attributed.
Corporate and PAC contributions for elections in the 2020 election cycles to mid-2022; giving for these races began in December 2015 and the study includes contributions through July 2022.

Overall relative balance: Members of the *Fortune* 250—the largest publicly traded U.S. companies—have spent about \$515 million from their corporate treasuries and political action committees (PACs) on U.S. elections in the last two election cycles (2020 to mid-2022). Overall, they have spent somewhat more (57 percent) to support candidates, committees and parties that favor restricting reproductive health choices. As has been true for years, federal races receive most of the money (78 percent of the total in this case), through multiple pathways where public reporting exists; additional cash flows into elections through “dark money” where the totals remain unknown. Looking at available data shows that in addition to the state-level slant, company and corporate PAC contributions to outside groups that provide strategic counsel to races all around the country is far from bipartisan; three-quarters goes to those who oppose abortion and reproductive health rights.

Wide Variations for State Candidate Support

Nearly six in every ten company-connected dollars spent on statehouse races for candidates and parties goes to reproductive rights opponents; these disbursements make up 22 percent of the total companies have spent. Spending varies significantly by region, with contributions to those in the South and Midwest heavily favoring lawmakers who are working hard to make it difficult or impossible to receive abortion care. These trends have laid the groundwork for direct corporate connections to politicians who are changing the legal landscape in the wake of the *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health U.S. Supreme Court* decision on June 24, 2022.

Table 2 illustrates how partisan control of state legislatures, measured by party dominance in each state, aligns with company spending. Republican [trifectas](#) (where one party controls both houses of the legislature and the governorship) track with abortion restrictions [assessed](#) by the Guttmacher Institute:

- In the **South**, nine out of 14 states have the most restrictive approach to abortion care, 10 states have Republican trifectas. Companies and their PACs spent the most of any region in the South (\$36.6 million). In 13 of these states, more than 70 percent went to candidates opposed to reproductive health rights. The largest amount spent was in Virginia with its off-cycle elections in 2019 when there was a hotly contested governor's race ultimately won by Republican Glenn Youngkin. But Texas, home to the controversial 6-week gestation ban to be enforced by civil litigation, was in second place; \$5.5 million (three-quarters of the total) spent by company PACs went to anti-abortion recipients.

Ten Southern states now have bans on abortion, South Carolina has a ban currently blocked in court and three more—Florida, North Carolina and Virginia—have potential future bans that likely will hinge on the outcome of the midterm elections, according to The Guttmacher Institute's assessment of the legal landscape.

- In the **Midwest**, two of 12 states are the most restrictive for abortion care (Missouri and South Dakota), seven have Republican trifectas. In nine of these states, 74 percent or more of company-connected money has gone to abortion opponents.

South Dakota now has a ban in place, three bans have been blocked in court (Indiana, North Dakota and Ohio) and the midterm election will determine if bans occur in four more states (Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and Michigan), according to The Guttmacher Institute, which conducts research and analyzes public policy about reproductive health rights.

- In the **West**, Idaho has the only trifecta coupled with highly restrictive abortion policies (the procedure is now banned); 93 percent of company-connected contributions there went to abortion opponents. Arizona also has a ban in place, bans are currently blocked by the courts in Utah and Wyoming and a future ban is possible in Montana.

- No states in the **Mid Atlantic** or **Northeast**—where companies and their PACs spent far less than in the other regions, or only about \$5.5 million—have highly restrictive policies on abortion or Republican trifectas; nine-tenths of contributions in these strongholds went to Democrats, who in almost every case support the right to abortion and related reproductive health care.

The midterm election will determine if a ban may occur in Pennsylvania, although the Democrat, Josh Shapiro, as of early October is about 10 points ahead of far-right Republican Doug Mastriano. (Republicans control the legislature.)

Table 2: Regional Candidate Spending Patterns							
Region/ State	Recipients' Reproductive Rights Position				Laws "Most Restrictive" ¹	Partisan Trifecta ²	Abortion Ban ³
	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti			
South	\$26,093,412	\$10,216,542	\$36,309,954	72%			
KY	\$637,245	\$19,000	\$656,245	97%	X	divided	⊖
LA	\$1,215,185	\$46,451	\$1,261,636	96%	X	divided	⊖
OK	\$1,228,309	\$73,698	\$1,302,008	94%	X	2011 (R)	⊖
MS	\$736,000	\$59,050	\$795,050	93%	X	2012 (R)	⊖
WV	\$448,328	\$32,100	\$480,428	93%	X	2017 (R)	⊖
AR	\$644,600	\$67,771	\$712,372	90%	X	2015 (R)	⊖
AL	\$621,863	\$81,825	\$703,688	88%	X	2011 (R)	⊖
TN	\$1,332,900	\$197,150	\$1,530,050	87%	X	2011 (R)	⊖
FL	\$3,158,768	\$529,889	\$3,688,657	86%		2011 (R)	⊕
GA	\$2,044,347	\$394,117	\$2,438,464	84%		2005 (R)	⊖
SC	\$744,776	\$149,310	\$894,086	83%		2003 (R)	x
TX	\$5,549,824	\$1,923,548	\$7,473,372	74%	X	2003 (R)	⊖
NC	\$2,031,586	\$872,173	\$2,903,759	70%		divided	⊕
VA	\$5,699,680	\$5,770,459	\$11,470,139	50%		divided	⊕
Midwest	\$7,622,568	\$4,054,345	\$11,676,913	65%			
ND	\$207,950	\$3,100	\$211,050	99%		1995 (R)	x
NE	\$591,805	\$42,300	\$634,105	93%		1999 (R)	⊕
IN	\$1,418,972	\$137,360	\$1,556,332	91%		2011 (R)	x
SD	\$49,600	\$5,650	\$55,250	90%	X	1995 (R)	⊖
OH	\$1,586,876	\$188,716	\$1,775,592	89%		2011 (R)	x
IA	\$491,856	\$126,418	\$618,274	80%		2017 (R)	⊕
MO	\$433,080	\$110,439	\$543,518	80%	X	2017 (R)	
KS	\$713,501	\$204,180	\$917,681	78%		divided	⊕
WI	\$228,650	\$79,800	\$308,450	74%		divided	
MI	\$345,722	\$348,897	\$694,618	50%		divided	⊕
IL	\$1,554,556	\$2,807,585	\$4,362,141	36%		2019 (D)	
MN	--	--	--	--		divided	
(Minnesota election spending reports in Si2's dataset are incomplete and will be amended in the future.)							
West	\$11,009,768	\$16,370,828	\$27,380,596	40%			
AK	\$20,550	\$750	\$21,300	96%		divided	
UT	\$966,004	\$48,500	\$1,014,504	95%		1985 (R)	x
ID	\$402,558	\$29,650	\$432,208	93%	X	1995 (R)	⊖
WY	\$61,375	\$7,300	\$68,675	89%		2011 (R)	x
AZ	\$738,459	\$109,750	\$848,209	87%		2009 (R)	⊖

Table 2: Regional Candidate Spending Patterns								
Region/ State	Recipients' Reproductive Rights Position				Laws "Most Restrictive" ¹	Partisan Trifecta ²	Abortion Ban ³	
	Anti	Pro	Total	% Anti				
MT	\$35,177	\$6,115	\$41,292	85%	X	2021 (R)	🕒	
NM	\$1,494,903	\$739,600	\$2,234,503	67%		2019 (D)	🕒	
OR	\$1,226,377	\$883,674	\$2,110,052	58%		2013 (D)		
WA	\$1,079,876	\$995,700	\$2,075,576	52%		2017 (D)		
CO	\$53,900	\$80,531	\$134,431	40%		2019 (D)		
NV	\$339,592	\$855,841	\$1,195,432	28%		2019 (D)		
CA	\$4,575,896	\$12,449,617	\$17,025,514	27%		2001 (D)		
HI	\$15,100	\$163,800	\$178,900	8%		2011 (D)		
Mid-Atlantic	\$1,777,834	\$2,273,929	\$4,051,763	44%				
PA	\$1,292,900	\$994,130	\$2,287,030	57%		divided		🕒
NJ	\$391,230	\$884,450	\$1,275,680	31%	2018 (D)			
MD	\$76,475	\$319,174	\$395,649	19%	divided			
DE	\$17,229	\$76,175	\$93,404	18%	2009 (D)			
Northeast	\$143,586	\$1,340,661	\$1,484,246	10%				
Grand Total	\$46,647,167	\$34,256,405	\$80,903,571	58%				

¹Guttmacher Institute's [characterization](#) of abortion policies, as of Oct. 2, 2022.
²Same party for legislature and governor. Year is the last time trifecta status changed, according to [Ballotpedia](#).
³As of Oct. 4, 2022, according to [The Washington Post](#):
🕒 Banned × Ban blocked recently in court 🕒 Legal now, future status depends on midterms

Anti-Abortion Recipients in the South and Midwest

Fifteen companies and their PACs gave more than \$1 million collectively to anti-abortion candidates around the country, with particularly one-sided giving in the South and Midwest as discussed above. For each company, with the exception of **Dominion Energy** in the South and **AT&T** in the Midwest, at least two-thirds of state candidate expenditures went to abortion opponents. (Table 3, orange shading.)

Table 3: Anti-Abortion Support by Top Spenders in the South & Midwest				
Region/Company	Recipients' Reproductive Rights Position			
	Anti	Pro	Total	% anti
South	\$12,570,682	\$5,490,005	\$18,060,687	70%
Altria Group	\$1,124,050	\$494,837	\$1,618,887	69%
American Electric Power	\$781,506	\$272,450	\$1,053,956	74%
Anthem	\$588,700	\$241,400	\$830,100	71%
AT&T	\$1,550,803	\$475,948	\$2,026,751	77%
Berkshire Hathaway	\$584,500	\$113,850	\$698,350	84%
Centene	\$739,850	\$188,950	\$928,800	80%
Charter Communications	\$999,450	\$165,700	\$1,165,150	86%
Chevron	\$424,350	\$57,100	\$481,450	88%
Dominion Energy	\$2,173,484	\$2,612,603	\$4,786,087	45%

Table 3: Anti-Abortion Support by Top Spenders in the South & Midwest				
Region/Company	Recipients' Reproductive Rights Position			
	Anti	Pro	Total	% anti
Duke Energy	\$798,400	\$193,950	\$992,350	80%
Marathon Petroleum	\$553,400	\$41,847	\$595,247	93%
Pfizer	\$494,749	\$173,600	\$668,349	74%
UnitedHealth Group	\$1,156,350	\$292,977	\$1,449,327	80%
Walmart	\$601,090	\$164,793	\$765,883	78%
Midwest	\$3,474,585	\$1,098,706	\$4,573,291	76%
Altria Group	\$202,150	\$61,900	\$264,050	77%
American Electric Power	\$256,750	\$15,350	\$272,100	94%
Anthem	\$244,446	\$36,650	\$281,096	87%
AT&T	\$481,466	\$406,486	\$887,952	54%
Berkshire Hathaway	\$430,065	\$126,600	\$556,665	77%
Centene	\$287,500	\$145,000	\$432,500	66%
Charter Communications	\$352,152	\$70,044	\$422,196	83%
Dominion Energy	\$109,892	\$10,500	\$120,392	91%
Duke Energy	\$245,550	\$20,926	\$266,476	92%
Marathon Petroleum	\$276,250	\$25,500	\$301,750	92%
Pfizer	\$147,209	\$76,150	\$223,359	66%
UnitedHealth Group	\$238,700	\$80,050	\$318,750	75%
Walmart	\$202,454	\$23,550	\$226,004	90%
Grand Total	\$16,045,267	\$6,588,711	\$22,633,978	71%

Ambitious Governors

In Florida and Texas, where Republican governors Ron DeSantis and Greg Abbott each have expressed vehement opposition to abortion care, both have clear ambitions for the 2024 U.S. presidential race and each presides over one-party control of their respective legislatures. Companies lined up behind these governors, with a few noticeable standouts. (Table 4.)

- In Florida, companies have given nearly \$1.4 million to Governor DeSantis, with nearly one-quarter coming from **UnitedHealth Group** alone (\$325,000), closely followed by **Charter Communications** (\$253,000). **Centene**, the nation's largest Medicaid managed care operator, was third, with nearly \$200,000, while another health insurer, **Humana**, also spent \$100,000.
- In Texas, **Berkshire Hathaway's** PAC made up nearly one-third of the \$379,250 total supporting Governor Abbott. (All spending in Texas must come from PACs.) In second place but far behind, with about \$46,000, is Tenet Healthcare.

Table 4: Support for Ambitious Governors			
Ron DeSantis		Greg Abbott	
UnitedHealth Group	\$325,000	Berkshire Hathaway	\$125,000
Charter Communications	\$253,000	Tenet Healthcare	\$46,249
Centene	\$195,000	American Electric Power	\$35,000
Walt Disney	\$106,809	Enterprise Products Partners	\$30,000
Humana	\$100,000	Exelon	\$20,000
AT&T	\$80,000	Wells Fargo	\$20,000
Duke Energy	\$75,000	Union Pacific	\$15,000
Fidelity National Info Svcs	\$75,000	United Parcel Service	\$15,000
NextEra Energy	\$42,035	Valero Energy	\$15,000
Altria Group	\$25,000	Phillips 66	\$10,001
CVS Health	\$25,000	Eli Lilly	\$5,000
Wells Fargo	\$25,000	Texas Instruments	\$5,000
		Sysco	\$3,000
Total	\$1,362,345	Total	\$379,250

Attorneys General

Attorneys general have been key players in the effort to ban abortion that culminated in the Dobbs decision. The Republican Attorney General Association (RAGA) is a federal 527 committee that coordinates work by its members and companies have supported it generously. (All told, *Fortune* 250 companies have given RAGA at least \$7.4 million since the start of 2019, compared to \$7.3 million to the Democratic counterpart.)

But direct company connections to individual state AG races show clear connections to many Republican attorneys general, who remain a driving force behind the efforts to restrict access to reproductive health care, alongside a host of other divisive issues. (Table 5.) Five attorneys general have received support from 51 companies:

- [Jason Miyares](#) in **Virginia** is the clear stand-out, with \$345,000 in support, almost all of it (\$300,000) from the utility **Dominion Energy**; nine more companies supported him, too. Dominion is headquartered in the state capital of Richmond and has spent generously in the state legislature for many years; it is a long-time target of environmental critics.

Miyares was elected to his current office in 2021; previously he was a member of the House of Delegates from 2015. He voted against Medicaid expansion in 2018. He supports the death penalty, has opposed increasing the state minimum wage and opposed removing Confederate monuments from public property. Upon taking office, Miyares fired members of the state's Office of Civil Rights, among others, as well as the counsel for the state's George Mason University who was serving as a top investigator for the U.S. House Committee on the January 6 attack. Although Miyares' deputy resigned after it emerged she had praised the attack on the U.S. Capitol, he does accept that President Biden was elected legitimately.

Miyeres opposes abortion except after rape or incest or to protect a mother's life. He withdrew the state's earlier support for a challenge to Mississippi's abortion ban and said there is no constitutional right to an abortion.

- [Sean Reyes](#) of Utah has received \$153,774 from 23 companies, led by two that each have given him \$20,000—**Altria Group** and **Comcast**.

Reyes has been the state's AG since 2013, taking office after a Democratic scandal and the resignation of his predecessor; he is a member of the Utah Republican Party's State Central Committee. Reyes and other Republican state attorneys general filed several lawsuits against the Obama administration, ranging from federal land use to transgender rights; he also unsuccessfully tried to overturn a 2013 court ruling that allowed same-sex marriage. He has been an ardent supporter of former President Donald Trump and was the state co-chair of Trump's campaign in 2020; after Trump was defeated, Miyeres alleged voter fraud and in December joined 16 other Republican AGs in an effort to overturn the election.

On abortion, Reyes [describes himself](#) as "unabashedly pro-life," with a long list of actions supporting his views and those of the state that have sought to restrict access to reproductive health care, describing this as "defending religious liberty." He has supported cases such as [Burwell v. Hobby Lobby](#), in which the U.S. Supreme Court allowed the closely-held public company to deny contraception benefits to its employees as required under the Affordable Care Act.

- [Jeff Landry](#) is has been Louisiana's AG since 2016 and before that was a U.S. Representative; he began his career as a police officer. Twenty-three companies have given Landry \$84,250, with the largest amount (\$10,000) from **Pfizer**.

In the 2010s, Landry supported the Louisiana Tea Party movement. In 2016 and 2017, he tried to block the state from including a non-discrimination clause for LGBTQ people, a policy supported by Democratic Governor John Bel Edwards. Landry also worked with other Republican AGs to end protections for immigrant children in the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy established by President Obama. Landry joined other Republican AGs in their unsuccessful suit to overturn the 2020 presidential election results.

Landry opposes abortion and supports the state's ban, which allows no exceptions. In August 2022, he urged delay of funding for pumps to drain New Orleans given the city's support for abortion after the state's ban went into effect in July 2022.

- [Mike Hilgers](#) has been a member of Nebraska's unicameral legislature since 2017 and was elected Speaker on January 6, 2021. He is running for state attorney general in 2022 and has received \$54,750 in support from 19 companies, with the most from **Berkshire Hathaway** (\$11,000) and **Altria Group**, parent of Phillip Morris USA and the nation's largest tobacco company (\$10,000). While in the legislature, Hilgers has [sponsored several bills](#) to restrict access to abortion.

- [Patrick Morrisey](#) has been West Virginia's AG since 2013, the first Republican to hold that office since the 1930s. He lost a bid to become a U.S. Senator in 2018, when voters instead sent Joe Manchin to Washington. Seventeen companies have given Morrisey \$48,000, with a little more than \$5,000 each from three energy and utility companies—**Dominion Energy, DTE Energy and Marathon Petroleum.**

Morrisey worked as an attorney and Washington lobbyist before being elected, specializing in health and drug-related issues. He unsuccessfully sued the Obama administration in 2014 to overturn the Affordable Care Act and has filed several other lawsuits challenging the Environmental Protection Agency and supporting gunowners' rights. Morrisey has worked to prohibit sanctuary cities that protect undocumented immigrants and joined the same suit noted above opposing DACA in 2017. Like other AGs noted above, Morrisey sued to overturn the 2020 election results.

Morrisey opposes abortion and filed a friend of the court brief in support of North Carolina's 20-week abortion ban in 2018, investigated Planned Parenthood's work in the state the same year and was backed in his run for the U.S. Senate by West Virginians for Life.

Table 5: Support for Anti-Abortion State Attorneys General											
Company	VA	UT	LA	NE	WV	GA	ID	MS	AL	11 more states*	Company Totals
Dominion Energy	\$300,000				\$5,600						\$305,600
Comcast	\$5,000	\$20,000	\$5,000		\$2,800	\$2,500	\$5,000	\$6,000		\$4,000	\$50,300
Altria Group		\$20,000	\$1,000	\$10,000	\$2,500	\$7,000		\$500	\$5,000	\$2,360	\$48,360
Home Depot	\$5,000	\$10,000		\$5,250	\$4,800	\$2,500	\$4,000		\$1,000	\$5,500	\$38,050
AT&T			\$7,500	\$2,000				\$5,100		\$18,000	\$32,600
Pfizer		\$13,500	\$10,000	\$2,500			\$1,500	\$500		\$2,600	\$30,600
Cigna	\$2,500	\$10,000	\$5,000		\$2,800	\$2,000		\$5,000		\$2,000	\$29,300
Amazon	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$5,000			\$4,000		\$1,000			\$25,000
Walmart		\$12,500			\$1,500			\$1,500	\$2,500	\$3,500	\$21,500
Coca-Cola		\$13,000	\$250			\$2,500		\$2,500		\$3,000	\$21,250
Bank of America							\$21,020				\$21,020
Southern									\$20,000		\$20,000
Berkshire Hathaway				\$11,000						\$8,010	\$19,010
Anthem	\$7,500		\$5,000	\$2,500						\$3,000	\$18,000
Marathon Petroleum			\$5,000		\$5,600					\$6,000	\$16,600
UnitedHealth Group		\$5,000		\$1,000	\$2,000	\$7,750					\$15,750
American Electric Power	\$5,000		\$3,000		\$3,000					\$4,500	\$15,500
Nucor								\$5,000		\$5,500	\$10,500
Yelp		\$5,000	\$5,000								\$10,000
Aflac		\$5,000		\$500						\$4,500	\$10,000
49 more companies	\$15,000	\$29,774	\$32,500	\$20,000	\$17,400	\$8,500	\$500	\$4,000	\$2,000	\$113,649	
State Totals	\$345,000	\$153,774	\$84,250	\$54,750	\$48,000	\$36,750	\$32,020	\$31,100	\$30,500	\$929,793	

*KY, SC, IN, MO, TX, OK, IA, AR, PA, OH, MT

Abortion Ban States and Company Giving

In the 13 states where abortion is now banned, 125 companies contributed to lawmakers supporting the bans, giving more than 84 percent of their state totals to these politicians everywhere except in Texas, where the figure was 74 percent.

As noted above, all but two of these states (Kentucky and Louisiana) are controlled by Republicans—many for a long time (since 1995 in both Idaho and South Dakota); in those two states, the anti-abortion candidate support made up nearly all company spending (97 percent and 96 percent, respectively). (*Table 6.*)

Just 25 of the 125 companies accounted for more than two-thirds of the total support for anti-abortion lawmakers. (*Table 7.*) Eight companies, each spent more than half a million dollars across the 13 states with bans:

- **Altria Group**
- **American Electric Power**
- **AT&T**
- **Berkshire Hathaway**
- **Charter Communications**
- **Comcast**
- **Union Pacific**
- **UnitedHealth Group**

In the abortion ban states of Oklahoma, Arkansas and Alabama, contributions from the top 15 contributors made up more than 80 percent of anti-abortion candidates' funding.

The bottom line is that company-connected support for anti-abortion politicians is widespread, but remains particularly concentrated among the top spenders, whose businesses touch many aspects of American life and commerce: communications firms (**AT&T**, **Charter** and **Comcast**), health insurance (**UnitedHealth**), tobacco (**Altria**), electricity (**American Electric Power**) and freight (**Union Pacific** and the bulk of **Berkshire Hathaway** funds through its BNSF subsidiary). Railroad companies are relatively insulated from popular nationwide sentiment that favors abortion rights, and AEP's customers are place-based and essentially captive, as are consumers addicted to Altria's tobacco products. But the communications firms and **UnitedHealth** may face pressure from their pro-choice stakeholders, which may be vitiated in part by concurrent support from opponents of abortion. Yet most have employees in the states with bans who will be affected by restricted access to abortion and reproductive health care. The latter risk may carry far higher costs to the companies and their operations in terms of attracting and retaining employees in a tight labor market, and in terms of overall human capital management costs.

State	Anti \$	% Anti	Partisan Trifecta ¹
KY	\$637,245	97%	divided
LA	\$1,215,185	96%	divided
OK	\$1,228,309	94%	2011 (R)
ID	\$402,558	93%	1995 (R)
MS	\$736,000	93%	2012 (R)
WV	\$448,328	93%	2017 (R)
AR	\$644,600	90%	2015 (R)
SD	\$49,600	90%	1995 (R)
AL	\$621,863	88%	2011 (R)
AZ	\$738,459	87%	2009 (R)
TN	\$1,332,900	87%	2011 (R)
GA	\$2,044,347	84%	2005 (R)
TX	\$5,549,824	74%	2003 (R)

¹Same party for legislature and governor. Year is the last time status changed, according to [Ballotpedia](https://www.ballotpedia.org/).

Table 7: Top Anti-Abortion Candidate Funders in Banning States

Company	TX	GA	TN	OK	LA	AZ	MS	AR	KY	AL	WV, ID, SD	Total
AT&T	\$468,274	\$171,650	\$126,800	\$54,750	\$103,979	\$17,050	\$152,300	\$59,850		\$26,500	\$47,450	\$1,228,603
UnitedHealth Group	\$169,000	\$130,200	\$96,600	\$47,000	\$25,750	\$39,750	\$37,250	\$16,250	\$49,000		\$66,850	\$677,650
Berkshire Hathaway	\$338,050	\$12,700	\$29,000	\$49,500		\$30,450		\$109,750		\$6,500	\$79,025	\$654,975
Charter Comm.	\$285,000	\$25,700	\$50,000						\$118,500	\$90,000	\$10,750	\$579,950
Altria Group	\$99,000	\$175,200		\$10,400	\$104,500		\$10,700	\$24,000	\$8,500	\$30,000	\$89,600	\$551,900
Comcast	\$110,250	\$94,050	\$100,450		\$48,250		\$141,500		\$9,000	\$1,000	\$13,050	\$517,550
Amer. Electric Power	\$154,750		\$12,000	\$117,250	\$53,656			\$37,200	\$48,000	\$100	\$94,550	\$517,506
Union Pacific	\$300,000			\$43,750	\$45,500	\$28,000		\$53,500			\$30,900	\$501,650
Walmart	\$129,500	\$49,250	\$9,500	\$72,500	\$9,750	\$13,500	\$46,000	\$111,200	\$12,750	\$23,500	\$7,750	\$485,200
Southern		\$152,597	\$22,500							\$286,500	\$0	\$461,597
Marathon Petroleum	\$94,500	\$18,750	\$21,750	\$143,750	\$42,500		\$6,000		\$58,000		\$45,100	\$430,350
Centene	\$78,000	\$141,550	\$17,250	\$75,500	\$2,000	\$52,250		\$13,300	\$6,000			\$385,850
Chevron	\$139,250				\$175,500		\$52,000				\$7,950	\$374,700
CVS Health	\$94,500	\$58,700	\$38,050	\$24,750	\$21,000	\$50,000	\$30,500	\$15,450	\$22,000	\$3,000	\$10,000	\$367,950
Pfizer	\$56,000	\$34,200	\$63,500	\$21,900	\$35,949	\$28,200	\$41,000	\$4,500	\$22,000	\$7,500	\$42,950	\$357,699
NextEra Energy	\$65,000			\$257,500					\$4,000	\$12,500	\$8,250	\$347,250
UPS	\$187,250	\$48,300	\$9,000						\$47,000			\$291,550
Exelon	\$261,500			\$24,000								\$285,500
Exxon Mobil	\$76,650			\$28,000	\$106,750		\$7,500	\$45,000			\$12,250	\$276,150
Anthem	\$110,750	\$42,100	\$47,500	\$8,000	\$14,500		\$2,000	\$7,300	\$16,000		\$22,850	\$271,000
Merck	\$58,500	\$30,800	\$30,000	\$13,500	\$40,400		\$23,500	\$13,500	\$11,000	\$2,500	\$24,700	\$248,400
General Motors	\$70,500	\$45,300	\$29,500	\$11,250	\$16,750	\$16,500	\$22,500	\$9,750	\$22,750		\$3,250	\$248,050
Amazon.com		\$4,000	\$226,200		\$5,000		\$1,000				\$95	\$236,295
Coca-Cola	\$6,500	\$71,050	\$23,500	\$12,000	\$18,750	\$26,900	\$10,500	\$13,450	\$18,250	\$10,000	\$20,250	\$231,150
Valero Energy	\$173,000		\$8,500	\$15,250	\$19,250							\$216,000
Top 25 contributors	\$3,525,724	\$1,306,097	\$961,600	\$1,030,550	\$889,734	\$302,600	\$584,250	\$534,000	\$472,750	\$499,600	\$637,570	\$10,744,476
100 more companies	\$2,024,099	\$738,250	\$371,300	\$197,759	\$325,451	\$435,859	\$151,750	\$110,600	\$164,495	\$122,263	\$262,916	\$4,904,742
Grand Total	\$5,549,824	\$2,044,347	\$1,332,900	\$1,228,309	\$1,215,185	\$738,459	\$736,000	\$644,600	\$637,245	\$621,863	\$900,486	\$15,649,218
Top 25 share of total	64%	64%	72%	84%	73%	41%	79%	83%	74%	80%		70%

* * *

Source Notes

The Sustainable Investments Institute (Si2) prepared this memo. Si2 provides impartial information to investors and the public about controversial social and environmental issues affecting U.S. companies, primarily those raised in shareholder resolutions.

For this project, Si2 is curating a comprehensive database of all U.S. company-connected political giving from members of the *Fortune* 250, the largest publicly traded companies domiciled in the United States. “Company-connected spending” assessed in this project includes both direct contributions from a company itself, known as the “corporate treasury,” and that from company affiliated-PAC spending. It does not include private disbursements from individual executives outside their corporate PAC contributions. Data begins with the 2020 election cycle, but companies started contributing to candidates and parties for these races in late 2015; data in this memo is through early July 2022.

There are three main spending streams:

- Candidates (for the U.S. Congress and all 50 state legislatures).
- “527” political committees, organized at the national level in general, which give to other political entities including candidates, parties and other committees.
- PAC to PAC and Party contributions. Subsets include:
 - *Leadership PACs* used by politicians to collect and disperse money to their allies, mostly for members of Congress;
 - *Outside groups* include party-affiliated entities that aim to elect their fellow party members, including Super PACs which may spend unlimited sums and officially are not affiliated with candidate organizations; and
 - *Parties*, both federal and state. State parties disburse money to candidates running for Congress as well as to those seeking statehouse offices.

Data on spending is from [OpenSecrets](#) and CQ MoneyLine. Data on laws is mainly from [The Guttmacher Institute](#). Abortion rights positions are attributed by Si2 from publicly available information, including that aggregated by [VoteSmart](#), [OnTheIssues](#), groups opposed and supportive of reproductive health rights and political campaigns.

Funding: The project is supported by a grant from the Tara Health Foundation.

More Information: Heidi Welsh, Executive Director (contact form at www.siinstitute.org). Robin Young, Si2’s Research Director also helped to compile data.