



# AUCTIONING DEMOCRACY

Business Contributions  
to Super PACs

## ABOUT DĚMOS

Dēmos is a non-partisan public policy research and advocacy organization. Headquartered in New York City, Dēmos works with advocates and policymakers around the country in pursuit of four overarching goals: a more equitable economy; a vibrant and inclusive democracy; an empowered public sector that works for the common good; and responsible U.S. engagement in an interdependent world. Dēmos was founded in 2000.

In 2010, Dēmos entered into a publishing partnership with The American Prospect, one of the nation's premier magazines focussing on policy analysis, investigative journalism, and forward-looking solutions for the nation's greatest challenges.

## ABOUT CAL PIRG

CAL PIRG Education Fund conducts research and public education on behalf of consumers and the public interest. Our research, analysis, reports and outreach serve as counterweights to the influence of powerful special interests that threaten our health, safety or well-being.

With public debate around important issues often dominated by special interests pursuing their own narrow agendas, CAL PIRG Education Fund offers an independent voice that works on behalf of the public interest. CAL PIRG Education Fund, a 501(c)(3) organization, works to protect consumers and promote good government. We investigate problems, craft solutions, educate the public, and offer meaningful opportunities for civic participation.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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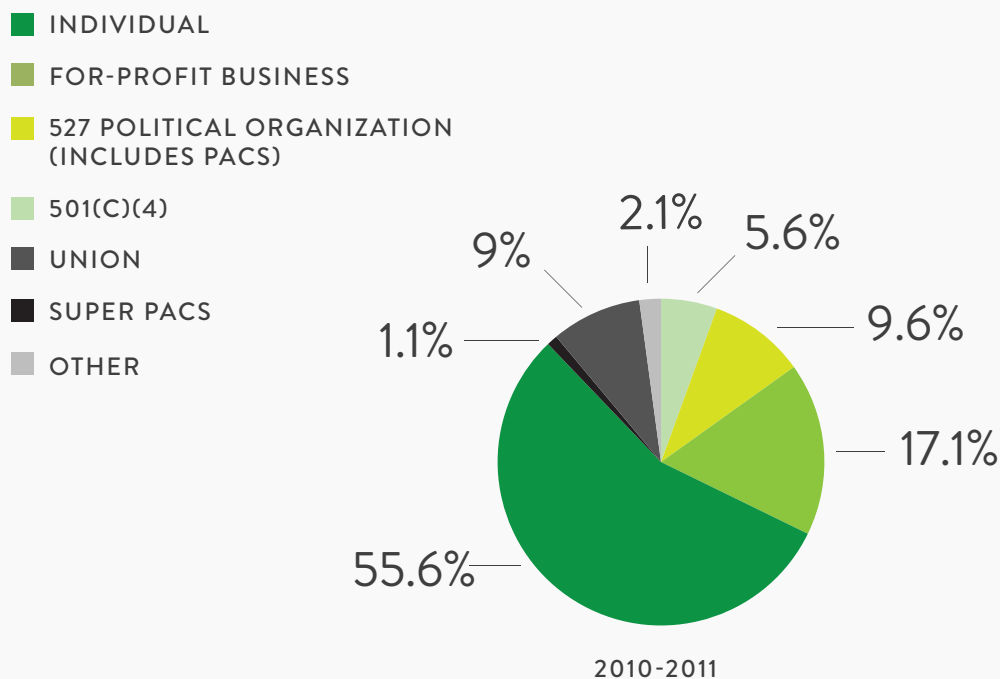
## APPENDIX

Contrary to the Supreme Court's *Citizens United* ruling, for-profit businesses should not be permitted to spend treasury funds to influence elections. First, most businesses are constrained to participate only to maximize private profit, rather than out of regard for the public good. More important, this spending undermines political equality by allowing wealthy institutions to translate economic success into political power.

Yet, Super PACs have provided a convenient avenue through which more than 500 for-profit businesses have contributed \$31 million, accounting for 17% of total itemized Super PAC fundraising since their inception. For the year 2011, businesses contributed \$17 million, for 18% of total itemized Super PAC fundraising.

This appendix provides a detailed look at business funding for Super PACs: top business donors, Super PACs which received the most business money, and amount and number of contributions by state. Please see pages 11-12 of *Auctioning Democracy: The Rise of Super PACs and the 2012 Election* for our recommendations on how to increase the transparency of for-profit business contributions and reduce their negative effect on American democracy.

Figure 1. | PERCENT OF SUPER PAC FUNDRAISING FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, 2010-2011



• Adds to 100.1% due to rounding.

SOURCE: Dēmos and U.S. PIRG analysis of FEC and Sunlight Foundation data

*Table 1.* | TOP 25 BUSINESSES CONTRIBUTING TO SUPER PACS, ALL TIME

RANK	DONOR	TOTAL
1	Contran Corporation	\$3,000,000.00
2	Trt Holdings Inc.	\$2,341,880.00
3	Alliance Resource Gp L.L.C.	\$2,000,000.00
4	Rooney Holdings, Inc.	\$1,050,000.00
5	Whiteco Industries, Inc.	\$1,000,000.00
6	Southwest Louisiana Land L.L.C.	\$1,000,000.00
7	Dixie Rice Agricultural Corporatio	\$1,000,000.00
8	F8 L.L.C.	\$1,000,000.00
9	Eli Publishing Inc	\$1,000,000.00
10	Weaver Popcorn Company, Inc.	\$974,350.00
11	Crow Holdings, L.L.C. - Distribution	\$900,000.00
12	Alliance Management Holdings	\$850,000.00
13	Oxbow Carbon, L.L.C.	\$750,000.00
14	Illinois Manufacturers	\$530,000.00
15	MBF Family Investments	\$500,000.00
16	American Financial Group Inc.	\$400,000.00
17	Working Assets Funding Service, Inc	\$371,008.89
18	Stephens Investment Holdings L.L.C.	\$350,000.00
19	Lexington Management Group Inc.	\$325,000.00
20	Daniel G Schuster Inc	\$316,505.00
21	MGM Resorts International	\$300,000.00
22	W/F Investment Corp.	\$275,000.00
23	The Villages of Lake Sumter, Inc.	\$250,000.00
24	Jenzabar, Inc.	\$250,000.00
25	Dalea Partners LP	\$250,000.00

*Table 1.2* | TOP 25 BUSINESSES CONTRIBUTING TO SUPER PACS, 2011

RANK	DONOR	TOTAL
1	Contran Corporation	\$3,000,000.00
2	F8 LLC	\$1,000,000.00
3	Whiteco Industries, Inc.	\$1,000,000.00
4	Eli Publishing Inc	\$1,000,000.00
5	Rooney Holdings, Inc.	\$1,000,000.00
6	Crow Holdings, L.L.C. - Distribution	\$900,000.00
7	Oxbow Carbon, LLC	\$750,000.00
8	MBF Family Investments	\$500,000.00
9	Alliance Management Holdings	\$425,000.00
10	Weaver Popcorn Company, Inc.	\$400,000.00
11	Working Assets Funding Service, In	\$371,008.89
12	W/F Investment Corp.	\$275,000.00
13	Melaleuca of Southeast Asia, Inc.	\$250,000.00
14	Paumanok Partners LLC	\$250,000.00
15	Glenbrook LLC	\$250,000.00
16	Melaleuca of Japan, Inc.	\$250,000.00
17	Melaleuca, Inc.	\$250,000.00
18	Stephens Investment Holdings L.L.C.	\$250,000.00
19	Jenzabar, Inc.	\$250,000.00
20	Melaleuca of Asia Ltd. Co.	\$250,000.00
21	Lexington Management Group Inc.	\$250,000.00
22	The Villages of Lake Sumter, Inc.	\$250,000.00
23	Corporate Land Management Inc.	\$250,000.00
24	Trott and Trott PC	\$200,000.00
25	Consol Energy, Inc.	\$150,000.00

*Table 2.* | TOP 25 SUPERPACS RECEIVING BUSINESS MONEY ALL TIME

RANK	DONOR	TOTAL
1	American Crossroads	\$12,998,699.46
2	Restore Our Future, INC.	\$8,145,000.00
3	Make Us Great Again, INC	\$1,697,000.00
4	Alaskans Standing Together	\$1,229,337.40
5	New Prosperity Foundation; The	\$1,039,350.00
6	First Amendment Alliance	\$861,100.00
7	Patriot Majority PAC	\$819,000.00
8	Club For Growth Action	\$639,521.00
9	Majority PAC / Commonsense 10	\$384,850.00
10	Credo Super PAC	\$371,008.89
11	Concerned Taxpayers Of America	\$316,505.00
12	Freedomworks for America	\$260,951.20
13	Real Leader PAC	\$250,000.00
14	Campaign for American Values PAC	\$250,000.00
15	America's Families First Action Fund	\$170,373.70
16	Super PAC for America	\$164,200.00
17	Texans For America's Future	\$125,000.00
18	Restoring Prosperity Fund	\$120,000.00
19	Saving Florida's Future	\$110,661.00
20	Alliance To Protect Taxpayers	\$101,000.00
21	2010 Leadership Council	\$100,000.00
22	Women Vote!	\$95,951.48
23	Florida Is Not For Sale	\$93,500.00
24	Ohio State Tea Party; The	\$90,300.00
25	Texas Tea Party Patriots PAC	\$61,298.00

*Table 2.2* | TOP 25 SUPERPACS RECEIVING BUSINESS MONEY 2011

RANK	DONOR	TOTAL
1	Restore Our Future, INC.	\$8,145,000.00
2	American Crossroads	\$5,060,819.46
3	Make Us Great Again, INC	\$1,697,000.00
4	Credo SuperPAC	\$371,008.89
5	Freedomworks For America	\$260,951.20
6	Campaign For American Values PAC	\$250,000.00
7	Real Leader PAC	\$250,000.00
8	Majority PAC	\$237,500.00
9	America's Families First Action Fund	\$160,373.70
10	Texans For America's Future	\$125,000.00
11	Restoring Prosperity Fund	\$120,000.00
12	Saving Florida's Future	\$110,661.00
13	Club For Growth Action	\$81,021.00
14	New Prosperity Foundation; The	\$61,000.00
15	House Majority PAC	\$40,000.00
16	Red White And Blue Fund	\$35,000.00
17	Nea Advocacy Fund	\$31,800.71
18	Women Vote!	\$25,701.48
19	Texas Tea Party Patriots PAC	\$24,750.00
20	Priorities USA Action	\$20,000.00
21	Speak Out For America PAC	\$19,171.00
22	Campaign For Primary Accountability INC	\$18,750.00
23	Rebuilding America	\$10,000.00
24	Alaskans Standing Together	\$8,337.40
25	Citizens For Strength And Security PAC	\$8,000.00

**Table 3. | STATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUPERPACS  
ALL TIME**

DONOR STATE	SUMOFAMOUNT
UNREPORTED	\$260,201.20
AK	\$1,229,337.40
AL	\$46,750.00
AR	\$475,000.00
AZ	\$80,750.00
CA	\$1,713,265.96
CO	\$130,806.40
CT	\$261,250.00
DC	\$246,612.34
FL	\$2,314,230.00
GA	\$14,832.00
GU	\$250.00
HI	\$2,327.75
IA	\$7,920.00
ID	\$1,001,250.00
IL	\$842,250.00
IN	\$1,977,100.00
KS	\$1,000.00
KY	\$50,000.00
LA	\$2,046,250.00
MA	\$289,848.86
MD	\$582,739.29
ME	\$1,400.00

**Table 3. | CONTINUED**

DONOR STATE	SUMOFAMOUNT
MI	\$210,000.00
MN	\$126,779.48
MO	\$132,250.00
MS	\$52,574.16
MT	\$300.00
NC	\$50,250.00
NE	\$1,000.00
NH	\$2,500.00
NJ	\$104,250.00
NM	\$30,250.00
NV	\$520,587.00
NY	\$361,100.00
OH	\$498,575.00
OK	\$4,275,250.00
OR	\$223.88
PA	\$490,863.21
SC	\$5,500.00
TN	\$14,000.00
TX	\$7,807,815.00
UT	\$2,306,569.76
VA	\$243,257.77
WA	\$2,750.00
WV	\$106,000.00
WY	\$26,000.00

\* STATES NOT LISTED DID NOT CONTAIN IDENTIFIED BUSINESS CONTRIBUTORS TO SUPER PACS.

**Table 3.2 | STATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUPERPACS  
2011**

DONOR STATE	SUM OF AMOUNT
UNREPORTED	\$260,201.20
AK	\$8,337.40
AL	\$3,000.00
AR	\$250,000.00
CA	\$1,286,282.96
CO	\$25,806.40
CT	\$261,000.00
DC	\$197,112.34
FL	\$2,000,830.00
GA	\$10,000.00
HI	\$2,327.75
IA	\$1,170.00
ID	\$1,000,250.00
IL	\$98,500.00
IN	\$1,400,000.00
LA	\$5,000.00
MA	\$285,598.86
MD	\$49,734.29
ME	\$400.00
LA	\$2,046,250.00
MA	\$289,848.86
MD	\$582,739.29
ME	\$1,400.00

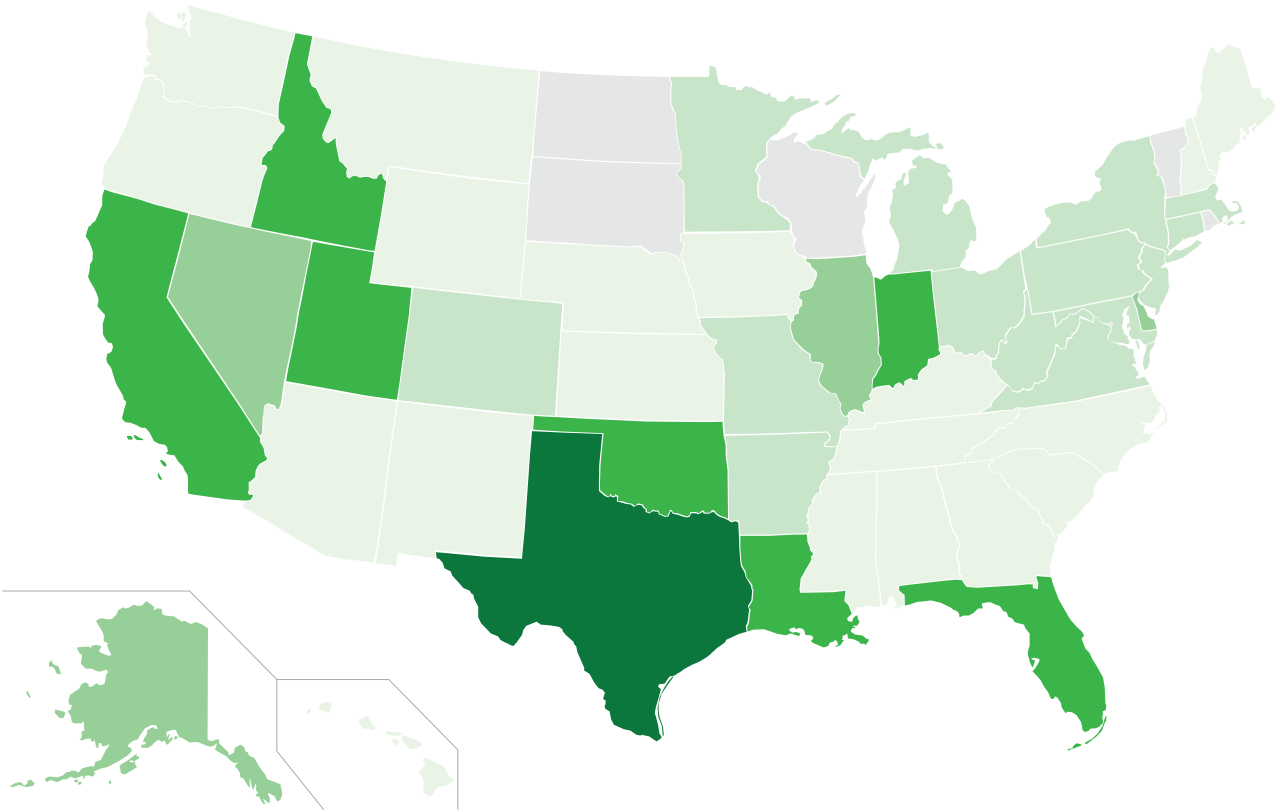
**Table 3.2 | CONTINUED**

DONOR STATE	SUM OF AMOUNT
MI	\$207,500.00
MN	\$126,279.48
MS	\$2,574.16
NC	\$50,000.00
NJ	\$100,000.00
NM	\$250.00
NV	\$121,000.00
NY	\$155,250.00
OH	\$5,325.00
OK	\$1,550,000.00
OR	\$223.88
PA	\$266,363.21
TX	\$4,868,385.00
UT	\$2,305,069.76
VA	\$227,957.77
WV	\$100,000.00

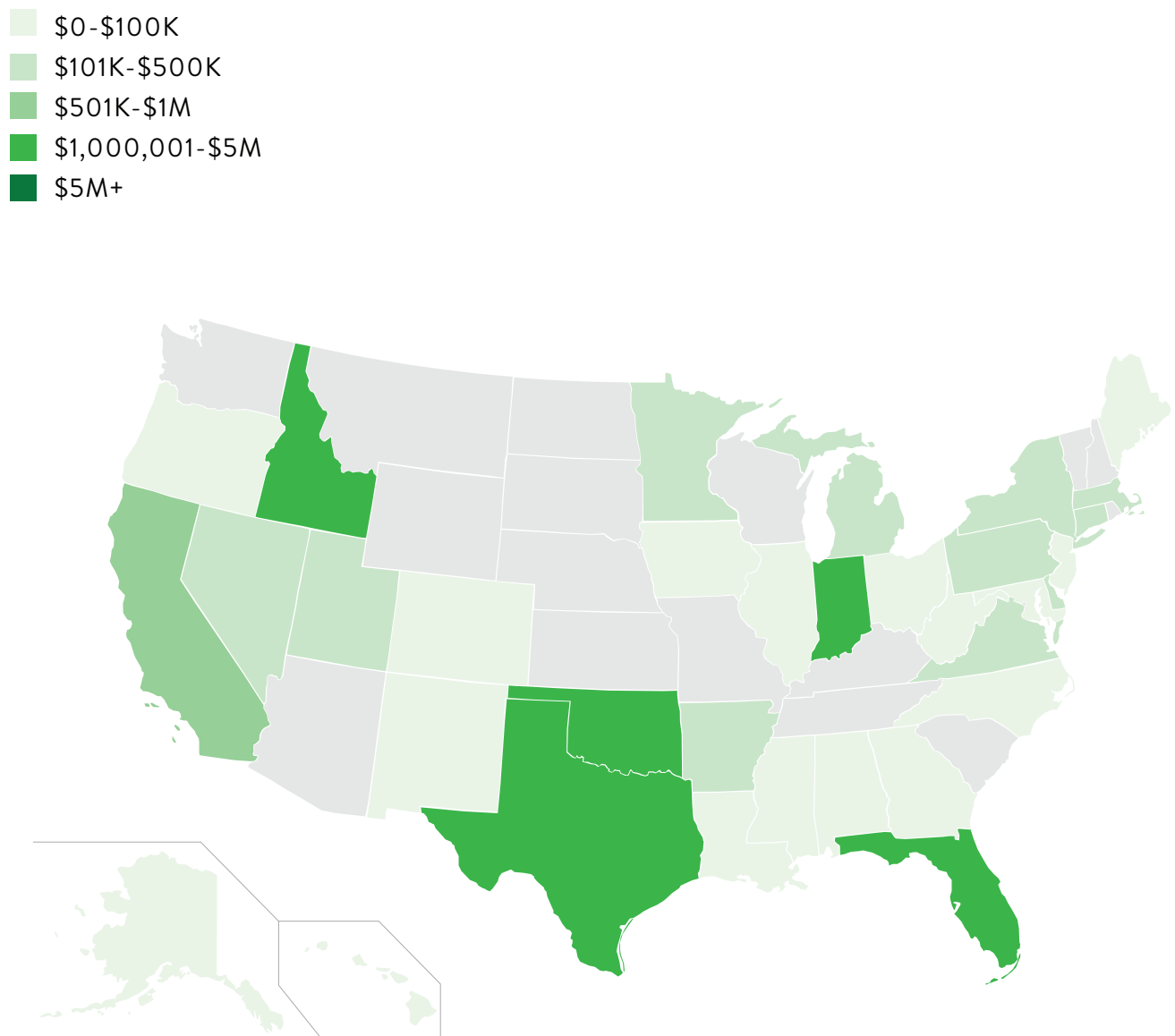
\* STATES NOT LISTED DID NOT CONTAIN IDENTIFIED BUSINESS CONTRIBUTORS TO SUPER PACS.

STATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUPERPACS, ALL TIME

- \$0-\$100K
- \$101K-\$500K
- \$501K-\$1M
- \$1,000,001-\$5M
- \$5M+



## STATE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SUPERPACS, 2011



**Table 4. | NUMBER OF UNIQUE BUSINESS CONTRIBUTORS BY STATE, ALL TIME**

DONOR STATE	COUNT
UNREPORTED	3
AK	24
AL	11
AR	4
AZ	6
CA	67
CO	9
CT	4
DC	21
FL	52
GA	6
GU	1
HI	1
IA	5
ID	6
IL	28
IN	7
KS	1
KY	1
LA	16
MA	9
MD	11
ME	2

**Table 4. | CONTINUED**

DONOR STATE	COUNT
MI	5
MN	4
MO	4
MS	2
MT	1
NC	2
NE	1
NH	1
NJ	5
NM	5
NV	10
NY	18
OH	11
OK	8
OR	1
PA	18
SC	3
TN	8
TX	124
UT	8
VA	18
WA	4
WV	3
WY	2

\* STATES NOT LISTED DID NOT CONTAIN IDENTIFIED BUSINESS CONTRIBUTORS TO SUPER PACS.

*Table 4.2.* | NUMBER OF UNIQUE BUSINESS CONTRIBUTORS BY STATE, 2011

DONOR STATE	COUNT
UNREPORTED	3
AK	1
AL	1
AR	1
CA	21
CO	4
CT	3
DC	13
FL	13
GA	1
HI	1
IA	1
ID	5
IL	5
IN	2
LA	1
MA	3
MD	3
ME	1

*Table 4.2.* | CONTINUED

DONOR STATE	COUNT
MI	2
MN	3
MS	1
NC	1
NJ	1
NM	1
NV	3
NY	4
OH	2
OK	3
OR	1
PA	6
TX	35
UT	6
VA	9
WV	1

\* STATES NOT LISTED DID NOT CONTAIN IDENTIFIED BUSINESS CONTRIBUTORS TO SUPER PACS.



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