



# AUCTIONING DEMOCRACY

Business Contributions  
to Super PACs

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DĚmos is a non-partisan public policy research and advocacy organization. Headquartered in New York City, DĚmos 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. DĚmos was founded in 2000.

In 2010, DĚmos 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.

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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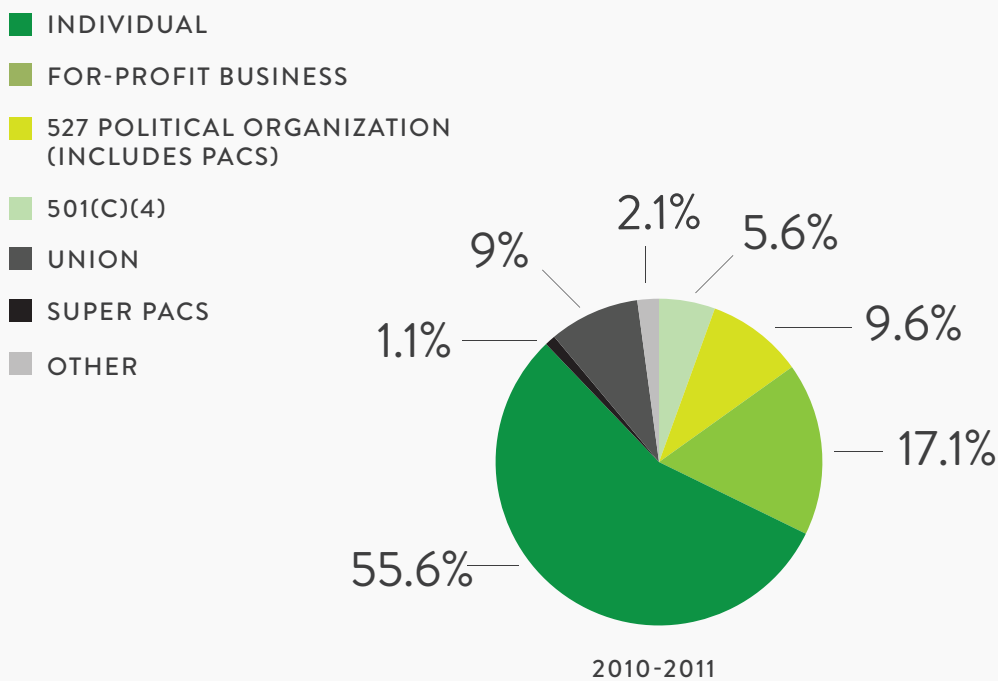
# APPENDIX

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   |
|      | Jenzabar, Inc.                       | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Dalea Partners LP                    | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Glenbrook LLC                        | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Melaleuca, Inc.                      | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Melaleuca of Southeast Asia, Inc.    | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Corporate Land Management Inc.       | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Melaleuca of Japan, Inc.             | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Melaleuca of Asia Ltd. Co.           | \$250,000.00   |
|      | Paumanok Partners LLC                | \$250,000.00   |

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

*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   |

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

**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     |

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

*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     |

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

**Table 3. | SUPERPAC CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE ALL TIME**

| DONOR STATE | SUM OF AMOUNT  |
|-------------|----------------|
| 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 | SUM OF AMOUNT  |
|-------------|----------------|
| 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.

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



**Table 3.2 | SUPERPAC CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE  
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     |

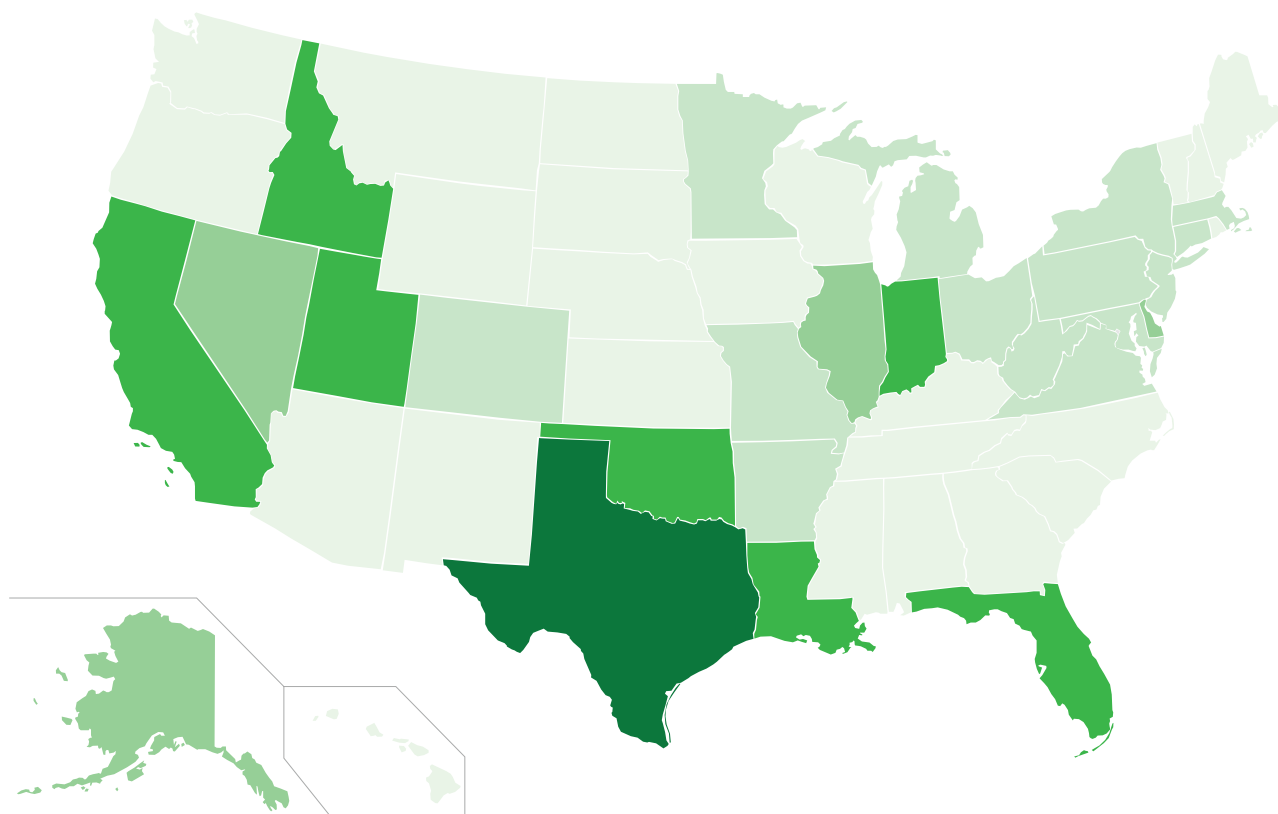
**Table 3.2 | CONTINUED**

| 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.

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

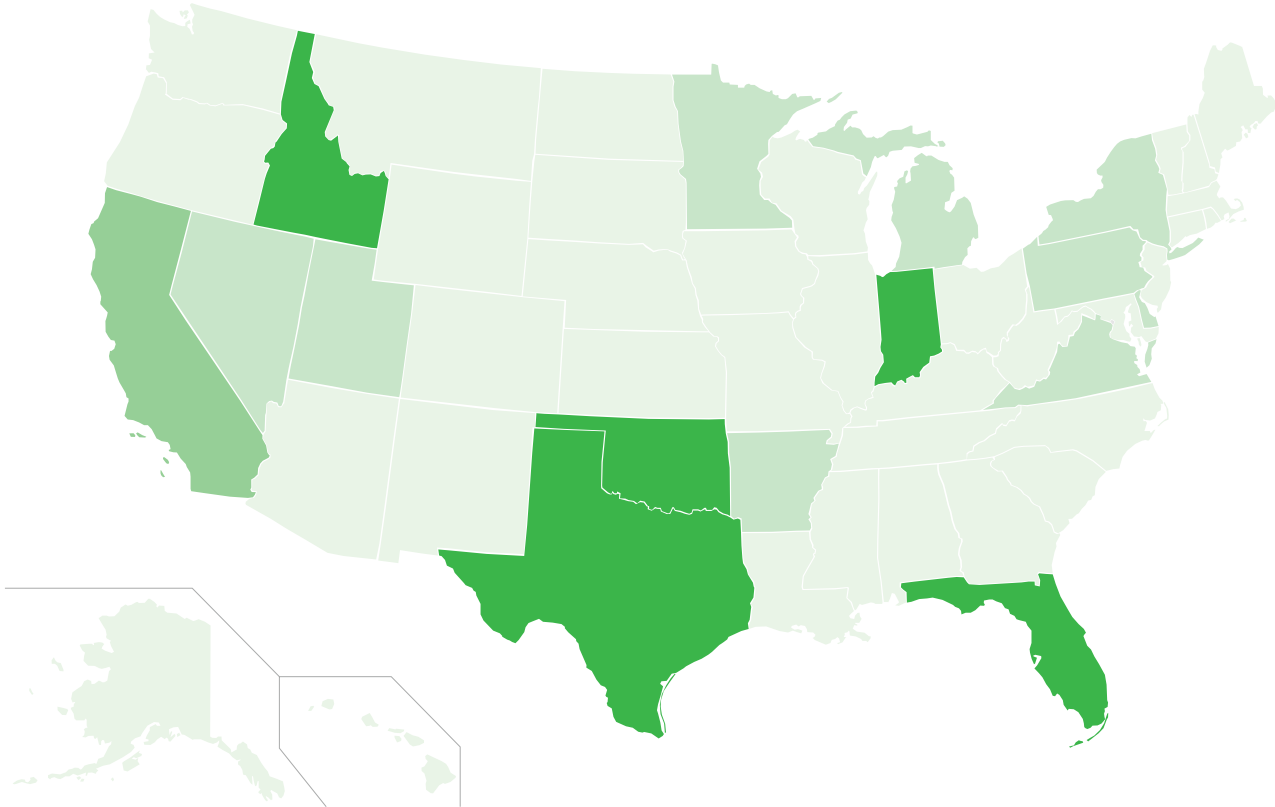
# SUPERPAC CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE, ALL TIME



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

# SUPERPAC CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE, 2011

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



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

**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.

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

**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.**

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





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