

What's Right?

Walmart's Words vs. Walmart's Political Priorities



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PRIMARY RESEARCH FINDINGS:

- The Walmart PAC and the Walton family continue to give overwhelmingly to the GOP.
- The primary area of increasing support for Democratic Party candidates is among conservative Democrats in the House of Representatives.
- Blue Dog Coalition Democrats and members of the Tea Party are overrepresented in Walmart PAC political giving while Progressive Caucus Democrats are significantly underrepresented.
- Democrats supported by Walmart were much more likely to oppose key elements of President Obama's legislative agenda.
- At the state level, the company and family further wield their vast resources to undermine the interests of Walmart's core customers (working families) and associates.

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Walmart's Words vs. Walmart's Political Priorities

In 2008 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that Walmart human resources managers were holding mandatory meetings for store managers and department heads to “make it clear that voting for Democratic presidential hopeful Sen. Barack Obama would be tantamount to inviting unions in,” according to statements from employees who attended the meetings.¹ The managers holding the meetings ominously implied that unionization would mean fewer jobs and that employees would have to pay hefty dues and might have to go on strike unpaid.

Since the election of Barack Obama, a spate of articles have reported a supposed shift in Walmart's political contributions from leaning heavily Republican in federal elections in the early 2000s to seemingly favoring Democrats in the most recent cycle. The *Washington Post* reported last November that “for the first time in its history, [Walmart] gave more money to Democrats than the GOP.”² However, a closer look at Walmart's political contributions shows

that, in fact, Walmart continued to give more in 2010 to Republicans and other candidates who oppose President Obama's agenda.

In this report, we examine the political expenditures of Walmart's political action committee, Wal-Mart Stores Inc. PAC for Responsible Government, which makes contributions to candidates and other political action committees at multiple levels of government. While companies are not permitted to contribute directly to candidates at the federal level and thus act through political action committees, they are able to contribute in state elections, an opportunity Walmart regularly seizes. Additionally, we analyzed the campaign spending of the Walton family.³

It is important to note the analysis that follows is based only on publicly disclosed data, and does not include the resources Walmart funnels through the Retail Industry Leaders Association, the U.S. Cham-

1. Zimmerman, Ann and Kris Maher. “Wal-Mart Warns of Democratic Win.” *The Wall Street Journal*. 1 Aug 2008. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB121755649066303381.html>
2. Mui, Ylan Q and Jia Lynn Yang. “Companies may have to make amends after midterm elections.” *The Washington Post*. 2 Nov 2010. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/11/01/AR2010110106753.html>
See also: Vaida, Bara. “Wal-Mart 2010 Donations Swing To Democrats.” *National Journal*. 13 Jul 2009. <http://undertheinfluence.nationaljournal.com/2009/07/walmart-2010-donations-swing-t.php>
3. As the Walton family's stake in Walmart approaches 50%, their political activity should also be considered. The most recent filings with the SEC show that the Walton Family controls more than 48% of the company's shares. Based on current trends and expectations, the Waltons' holdings will grow to more than 50% within the next year. This will allow the company to receive an exemption from current requirements of the New York Stock Exchange, which require a majority of the board of the company be composed of independent directors. Walmart, and its political giving, will then be controlled by the Walton family. Additionally, the dividends paid by the company to the Waltons and other shareholders are potentially a significant source of funds for the Waltons' current and future political contributions. Therefore, the political giving of the Walton family is an important factor in considering Walmart's political activity.

Despite reports to the contrary, Walmart's political contributions heavily favored Republicans in 2010

	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
Walmart PAC contributions to federal candidates and leadership PACs	\$922,000	\$920,050
Walmart PAC contributions to party committees ⁴	\$7,500	\$88,000
Walmart state-level contributions	\$550,296	\$1,863,344
Walton family contributions to federal candidates and leadership PACs	\$12,700	\$144,450
Walton family contributions to party committees	\$0	\$181,600
Walton family state-level contributions	\$40,800	\$292,250
TOTAL	\$1,533,296	\$3,489,694

Source: Analysis of 2010 election cycle data from the Center for Responsive Politics and the National Institute on Money in State Politics

ber of Commerce, or other trade groups.⁵ Walmart does not make a list of its membership in trade associations publicly available, and most associations do not disclose their full membership lists.

In the 2010 election cycle, Walmart's PAC and members of the Walton family⁶ gave approximately \$1.5 million to Democratic candidates and political committees and more than twice that, about \$3.5 million, went to Republicans in state and federal elections.

It is true that in recent years the Walmart PAC has been increasing donations to Democrats in federal elections as the party has gained power.

But, as a 2009 *National Journal* article points out, Walmart's move to increase contributions to Democrats isn't unique: "Like many others in the business community, the company's campaign contributions have moved with the power shift in Washington to Democrats from Republicans."⁷

- For contributions to party committees, we used the PACs' committee type designation from the Federal Election Commission to determine party affiliation. For this reason, some political action committees were included in the party analysis while others were not. For example, the Republican National Committee and the Massachusetts Democratic State Committee are both designated as qualified party committees and were included in the totals for Walmart PAC's giving to party committees, whereas the Republican Main Street Partnership PAC and the Blue Dog Political Action Committee are considered qualified non-party committees and were excluded from the party analysis.
- "Political Transparency and Accountability Profile (2011): Wal-Mart Stores, Inc. (WMT)." Center for Political Accountability. 2011. <http://www.politicalaccountability.net/index.php?ht=a/GetDocumentAction/i/5292>
- The members of the Walton family included in the political giving analysis throughout this report are John T. Walton, Jim and Lynne Walton, Alice L. Walton, Christy Walton, Samuel Robson Walton, Helen R. Walton, Ann Walton Kroenke, Stanley Kroenke, Nancy Walton Laurie, and Greg and Carrie Walton Penner.
- Vaida, Bara. "Wal-Mart 2010 Donations Swing To Democrats." *National Journal*. 13 Jul 2009. <http://undertheinfluence.nationaljournal.com/2009/07/walmart-2010-donations-swing-t.php>

Walmart's PAC and the Waltons spent nearly twice as much on Republicans in Senate races as Democrats in the 2010 cycle

	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
Walmart PAC contributions to candidates and leadership PACs in Senate races	\$196,500	\$276,000
Walton family contributions to candidates and leadership PACs in Senate races	\$7,400	\$94,450
SENATE TOTAL	\$203,900	\$370,450
Walmart PAC contributions to candidates and leadership PACs in House races	\$725,500	\$644,050
Walton family contributions to candidates and leadership PACs in House races	\$5,300	\$50,000
HOUSE TOTAL	\$730,800	\$694,050
2010 FEDERAL TOTAL	\$934,700	\$1,064,500

Source: Analysis of 2010 election cycle data from the Center for Responsive Politics

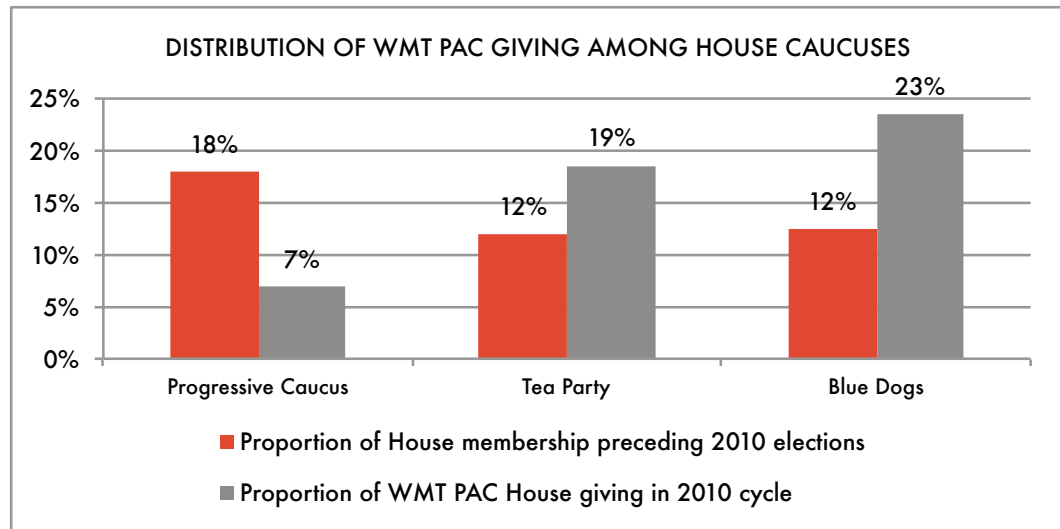
A closer look at this “shift” shows that the Walmart PAC and Walton family spent a total of \$730,800 on Democrats in House races and leadership PACs associated with House Democrats during the 2010 election cycle. This was a relatively even split between parties, with about 51% of their total contributions in House races going to Democrats and about 49% to House Republicans. Among contributions to candidates for the more powerful Senate, the story is different.

The Walmart PAC and Walton family spent nearly twice as much on Republican candidates and leadership PACs in the Senate compared to those of Democrats. In the

Senate races, 35% of contributions went to Democrats and 63% went to Republicans.⁸

Even in its increased contributions to House Democrats, the Walmart PAC did not swing wildly to the left in 2010. Of the \$725,500 the PAC spent on Democrats in House races last year (excluding contributions to party committees) \$326,500 went to 41 past or present members of the Blue Dog Coalition.⁹ While the Blue Dogs only made up about 21% of Democrats in the House before the election,¹⁰ the Walmart PAC spent 45% of their contributions to Democrats in the House on this more conservative group. Whereas Blue Dogs were overrepresented in the Walmart PAC giving, the

8. The remaining 2% of contributions went to Independent candidate Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, a former Republican.
9. Blue Dog Coalition membership comes from “Midterm Losses Bite Blue Dog Democrats.” NPR Weekend Edition. 6 Nov 2010. <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=131093849>. A list of current members can be found at: <http://ross.house.gov/BlueDog/Members/>
10. House party divisions are from the House of Representatives Clerk's Office and reflect party makeup based on election day results. Available online at: http://artandhistory.house.gov/house_history/partyDiv.aspx



Source: Analysis of 2010 election cycle data from the Center for Responsive Politics

Progressive Caucus¹¹ was underrepresented in contributions to Democrats. This caucus made up 30% of House Democrats going into the election, but its members and their leadership PACs received only 13% of the Walmart PAC’s contributions to Democrats.

The emphasis on conservative Democrats, however, does not represent a centrist preference in the Walmart PAC’s political contributions. When analyzing contributions to Republican House candidates, they gave disproportionately more to the extreme right of the Republican Party.

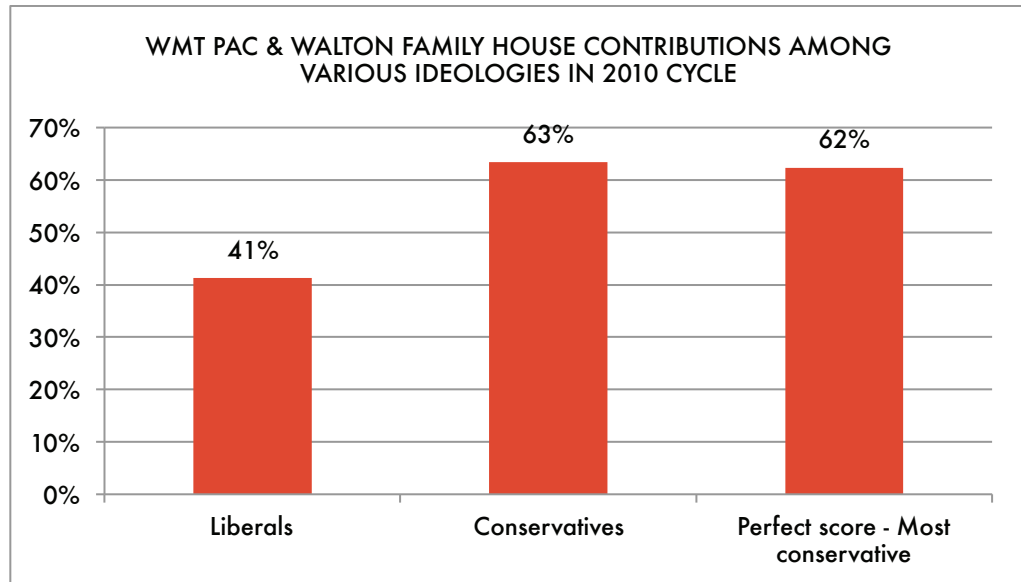
Because of its recent emergence and somewhat unofficial nature, membership in the “Tea Party” is difficult to ascertain. Combining lists from news sources¹² and actual membership in the House Tea Party cau-

cus,¹³ it appears that the Walmart PAC favored Tea Party candidates in its contributions to Republicans in the House in the 2010 cycle. Going into the 2010 elections, the Tea Party caucus comprised about 29% of House Republicans, yet 40% of the Walmart PAC’s contributions to House Republicans went to Tea Party candidates during the 2010 election cycle.

Looking more broadly at the House as a whole, a total of 42% of the Walmart PAC’s political giving to candidates and leadership PACs during the 2010 cycle went to Tea Party candidates and members of the Blue Dog Coalition, two groups that each only represented 12% of the House going into the election. At the same time, the Progressive Caucus, which made up 18% of the House before the 2010 election, received

11. A current list of members of the Progressive Caucus can be found at: <http://cpc.grijalva.house.gov/index.cfm?sectionid=71§iontree=2,71>. A previous list from June 2010 is available at: <http://web.archive.org/web/20100709133232/http://cpc.grijalva.house.gov/index.cfm?ContentID=166&ParentID=0&SectionID=4&SectionTree=4&lnk=b&ItemID=164>
12. “Tea Party Candidates of the 2010 Midterm Election.” Fox News. 31 Oct 2010. <http://www.foxnews.com/politics/2010/10/31/tea-party-candidates-midterm-election/>
Moe, Alexandra. “Just 32% of Tea Party candidates win.” First Read, MSNBC. 3 Nov 2010. http://firstread.msnbc.msn.com/_news/2010/11/03/5403120-just-32-of-tea-party-candidates-win
13. “Members of the Tea Party Caucus.” Updated 31 Mar 2011. <http://bachmann.house.gov/News/DocumentSingle.aspx?DocumentID=226594>
“Members of the Tea Party Caucus,” 21 July 2010. <http://bachmann.house.gov/News/DocumentSingle.aspx?DocumentID=199440>

Source: Analysis of 2010 election cycle data from the Center for Responsive Politics



only 7% of the Walmart PAC's contributions to House candidates.

The American Conservative Union (ACU) also offers a perspective on candidates' ideologies. Its 2010 scorecard¹⁴ rates members of Congress on a number of key votes: a perfect score of 100 represents the most conservative members of the House, while a score of 80 and above is "Conservative" and members with a score of 20 or less are considered "Liberals." For 2010, ACU gave a perfect score to 77 members of the House. Of those, 48, or 62%, received campaign contributions from the Walmart PAC or the Waltons during the 2010 cycle. In comparison, ACU rated 240 members of the House "Liberals," and the Walmart PAC and Waltons contributed to 99 of them, or 41%.

Key Votes

Beyond coalition membership, an examination of the voting records of Walmart-backed House members sheds more light on the company's true political priorities. It is too early to measure the full impact of Walmart's contributions in the most recent

cycle, but we can take a broader look at how the PAC and family's giving during the 2010 cycle relates to votes on some recent major initiatives.

The company's supposedly reformed environmental stance does not hold up well under scrutiny of the PAC and family's political giving. The League of Conservation voters, a national nonprofit working to elect pro-environment candidates, releases a scorecard each year grading members of Congress based on key votes from that year.¹⁵ Eighty-one members of the House received a score of 0 from the League of Conservation voters for their records in 2010. Of those, 48 received campaign contributions from the Walmart PAC or Walton family in 2010 totaling \$239,000. All of them were Republicans. This amounts to almost 17% of Walmart's contributions to House candidates in the 2010 cycle and one third of their contributions to House Republicans.

A number of important bills have passed during President Obama's first two years

14. Available online at: <http://www.conservative.org/ratings/ratingsarchive/2010/2010HouseRatings.htm>

15. Available online at: <http://www.lcv.org/2010-National-Environmental-Scorecard.pdf>

Even as the PAC draws attention for increasing contributions to Democrats, it and members of the Walton family continue to favor candidates who oppose President Obama's agenda.

in office, including health care reform, Wall Street financial reform, the FDA Food Safety Modernization Act, and the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act.

Although Democrats overwhelmingly supported these measures, the votes in the House did not break perfectly along party lines and provide an informative picture of the Walmart PAC and the Walton family political giving.

During the 2010 cycle, the PAC and family gave to nearly two-thirds of the members of the House who voted against each of these measures, compared with 42% to 46% of those who voted in favor of them. Even as the PAC draws attention for increasing contributions to Democrats, it and members of the Walton family continue to favor candidates who oppose President Obama's agenda.

While it is not surprising that large numbers of House Republicans opposed these measures, including ones to whom the Walmart PAC and Waltons made campaign contributions during the 2010 cycle, it is interesting to look at how campaign contributions were distributed among Democrats. The Walmart PAC made contributions to most

of the Democrats who broke with their party and voted against these bills. In fact, the average contribution among Democrats who opposed the measures was higher than the average contribution among Democrats who supported them.¹⁶ There was a gap of at least \$2,600 in average contributions from the Walmart PAC on each of these examples.

On the eve of Obama's election in 2008, Leslie Dach, Walmart's Executive Vice President for Corporate Affairs and Government Relations, was asked if Walmart was picking sides in the election. Dach responded, "No what I think I'd like to say is we've taken the side of the customer. But we've been relentlessly nonpartisan in this."¹⁷

While the company may have convinced some in recent years that its political contributions are nonpartisan, the Walmart PAC and Walton family have clearly continued to support conservative candidates whose ideologies and votes on key issues are not on the side of Walmart's core customers (or associates) at all.

16. Given the Walton family's scant contributions to Democrats, they are excluded from this analysis.

17. "WMT – Wal-Mart Stores Inc. Analyst Meeting Day 1, Part 2 – Transcript Only." Final transcript, Thomson StreetEvents. 28 Oct 2008. <http://walmartstores.com/Download/3330.pdf>

During the 2010 cycle, the Walmart PAC and the Waltons contributed to about two-thirds of House members who opposed key Obama initiatives

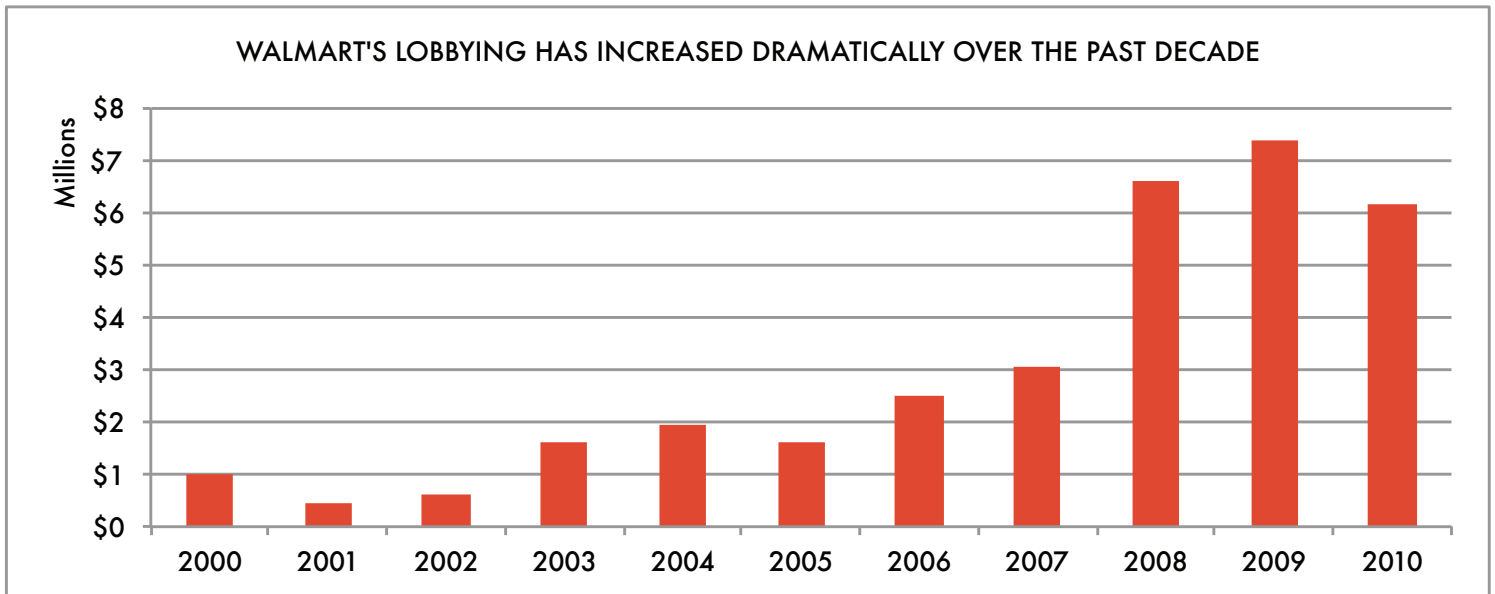
	HEALTH CARE REFORM	WALL ST REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Proportion of House recipients voting against bill who received contributions from Walmart PAC or the Waltons	65%	69%	66%	64%
Proportion of House recipients voting in favor of the bill who received contributions from Walmart PAC or the Waltons	42%	42%	46%	44%

Source: Analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and C-SPAN

Democrats who opposed Obama initiatives got more money from the Walmart PAC on average during the 2010 cycle than Democrats who supported them

	HEALTH CARE REFORM	WALL ST REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Average total contribution among Democrats who opposed	\$5,676	\$7,289	\$5,438	\$9,000
Average total contribution among Democrats who supported	\$2,324	\$2,380	\$2,756	\$2,520
DIFFERENCE	206%	144%	97%	257%

Source: Analysis of data from the Center for Responsive Politics and C-SPAN



Source: Data from the Center for Responsive Politics; totals include Walmart subsidiaries

Further Federal Influence: Lobbying

Company founder Sam Walton didn't think Walmart should be involved in politics, which kept the company out of Washington for a long time.¹⁸ Walmart hired its first lobbyist in 1999, and its lobbying activities have increased dramatically since then. The world's largest retailer spent \$6,090,000 on publicly disclosed federal lobbying activities in 2010, almost six times what the company spent ten years earlier. Walmart's lobbying expenditures have increased dramatically in recent years, totaling between \$6 million and \$7.4 million each year since 2008.¹⁹

Walmart is a leader in industry lobbying. Each year since 2003, the company has been the largest or second largest spender on retail sales lobbying. It has been jockeying for first place in retail lobbying with CVS/Caremark since 2008.

Under the Lobbying Disclosure Act, lobbying firms and organizations with in-house

lobbyists are required to register with the Senate Office of Public Records when they meet certain minimum criteria, and then they have to file quarterly reports listing income (or expenses in the case of in-house lobbyists), issue areas, specific issues lobbied, houses of Congress and federal agencies lobbied, and the names of lobbyists in each issue area. Unfortunately, these reports do not break down income and expenses by issue area, and Walmart and its lobbyists typically do not explain their positions on the issues. They only cite the issues lobbied.

In 2010, Walmart employed fourteen lobbying firms, plus its own in-house lobbyists, for a total of 91 lobbyists. They covered twenty-four different issue areas and met with representatives of twenty-nine different agencies of the federal government, plus the House of Representatives, Senate, and White House.

(See page 11 for detailed listing of Walmart's lobbying firms)

18. Miller, Emily. "Wal-Mart in Washington." PBS *Frontline*. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/walmart/secrets/lobby.html>

19. Walmart Stores lobbying summary, Center for Responsive Politics.

Walmart's Lobbying Firms in 2010

REGISTRANT NAME	INCOME REPORTED
Patton Boggs LLP	\$540,000
Podesta Group, Inc.	\$440,000
Mehlman Vogel Castagnetti, Inc.	\$360,000
Bryan Cave LLP	\$210,000*
Sandler, Travis & Rosenberg, P.A.	\$200,000
Cornerstone Government Affairs, LLC	\$120,000
Miller & Chevalier, CHTD	\$100,000
The Nickles Group, LLC	\$90,000
Green Strategies, Inc.	\$80,000
Sheridan Energy & Environmental Consulting, LLC	\$80,000
D&P Creative Strategies, LLC	\$70,000
Prime Policy Group	\$60,000
Ulman Public Policy & Federal Relations	\$30,000
K&L Gates LLP	-- *
WALMART TOTAL EXPENSES	\$6,090,000

**If a quarter's income is under \$5,000, it is not reported. Walmart's total expenses lobbying expenses include expenditures on outside firms as well as its in-house lobbying costs.*

Source: Secretary of the Senate Lobbying Disclosure Act Database

One way to approximate Walmart's lobbying priorities is to look at the number of lobbying firms that list a particular issue over the course of the year and how many lobbyists are reported on each issue on the quarterly reports. By these measures:

- taxation,
- health issues
- food industry (safety, labeling, etc.)
- financial institutions/ investments/ securities
- labor issues/antitrust/ workplace
- energy
- and the environment

were federal lobbying priorities for Walmart in 2010.

ISSUE AREA	TOTAL NO. FIRMS WORKING ON ISSUE	AVG. NO. LOBBYISTS EACH QUARTER*
Taxation/Internal Revenue Code	8	29
Health Issues	6	29
Food Industry (Safety, Labeling, Etc.)	6	20
Financial Institutions/Investments/ Securities	6	16
Labor Issues/Antitrust/Workplace	5	24
Energy/Nuclear	5	20
Environment/Superfund	4	20
Trade (Domestic/Foreign)	4	9
Consumer Issues/Safety/Products	4	7
Homeland Security	3	18
Immigration	3	6
Communications/Broadcasting/ Radio/TV	2	14
Law Enforcement/Crime/Criminal Justice	2	6
Transportation	2	4
Tariff (Miscellaneous Tariff Bills)	2	1
Pharmacy	1	3
Utilities	1	1
Education	1	<1
Medicare/Medicaid	1	<1
Banking	1	<1
Civil Rights/Civil Liberties	1	<1
Apparel/Clothing Industry/Textiles	1	<1
Agriculture	1	<1
Economics/Economic Development	1	<1

Source: Analysis of data from the Secretary of the Senate Lobbying Disclosure Act Database

California: A Case Study in Walmart's State-Level Political Giving

With more than 4,300 stores across the country, Walmart and the Walton family also actively influence politics at the state level. In 2010 alone, the company and members of the Walton family made contributions in state races totaling over \$2.9 million. From 2005 to 2010, the company employed 325 lobbyists across 49 states.²⁰ Evidence suggests that this less frequently scrutinized activity, like its federal-level counterparts, is not always in the interests of Walmart's consumers or associates.

Walmart and the Walton family have been prominent political contributors in California for the last several election cycles. Between 2004 and 2010, Walmart spent \$3.1 million on state-wide campaigns in California. Private contributions by members of the Walton family have totaled more than \$1.2 million over the same period.²¹ And while Walmart's customers tend to be low-to-middle income — in 2011 the University of California Berkeley Labor Center estimated that 28.1% of the company's sales are purchased by families earning below 200% of the federal poverty level²² — Walmart and the Walton Family have succeeded in using their money to help block legislation and ballot measures that would have benefitted these very people.

Ballot Measures

The Waltons contributed to the defeat of one of the largest early childhood education initiatives in state history. In 2006, Greg Penner, Walmart board member and son-in-law of S. Robson Walton, contributed \$250,000 to “No on 82.”²³ The so-called “Reiner Initiative” — named after its sponsor, actor and director Rob Reiner—sought to establish a universal preschool system in California for four-year-olds by placing an additional income tax on individuals making more than \$400,000 a year, and couples making in excess of \$800,000.²⁴

Walmart has also opposed expanding health care for California's uninsured. In 2004, Walmart made three contributions totaling \$648,000²⁵ — the company's largest contribution to a single ballot measure in the state — to oppose Proposition 72. The measure would have required companies with 200 or more employees to pay at least 80% of workers' health insurance premiums,²⁶ increasing access to health care for Walmart's customer base — California's working families — as well as the company's own workforce.

To a much greater degree than other large retailers, Walmart has relied on the state of

20. Lobbying summary figures from the Center for Money in State Politics.
21. Followthemoney.org, California Contributions Report, accessed 20 May 2011.
22. Ken Jacobs, Dave Graham-Squire and Stephanie Luce. “Living Wage Policies and Big Box Retail: How a Higher Wage Standard Would Impact Wal-Mart Workers and Shoppers.” University of California, Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education. April 2011.
23. Followthemoney.org, California Contributions Report. Accessed 20 May 2011.
24. Furillo, Andy, “Election Law Election law quirk spurs protests; Preschool initiative backers want to know where foes got funds.” *Sacramento Bee*. 3 May 2006.
25. Followthemoney.org, California Contributions Report. Accessed 20 May 2011.
26. “Wal-Mart: muscling into healthcare debate; Wal-mart has contributed \$500, to campaign against a California healthcare measure.” Datamonitor CommentWire. 28 Oct 2004.



California to provide public assistance to its associates: a 2004 Berkeley study found that California tax-payers paid \$32 million annually to provide health care assistance to Walmart's employees.²⁷ And nationally, families of Walmart associates used 40% more in taxpayer-funded health care services than families of other large-retailer employees, in general.²⁸

Walmart's giving ultimately may have made the difference — voters defeated Proposition 72 by a less than 2% margin.²⁹

The Waltons also used their private wealth to oppose initiatives that have called for more employer responsibility on health care.

In 2005, the American Federation of State, Federal and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) sponsored a bill, often referred to as “The Walmart Bill,”³⁰ in the California legislature that would have required the state to publicly disclose the names of companies with twenty-five or more workers and whose employees receive state health benefits through the Medi-Cal, Healthy Families and Access for Infants and Mothers Programs. And, as reported by the *Los Angeles Times*: “On Oct. 7, the day the governor vetoed [the Walmart bill], Christy Walton, widow of Walmart heir John Walton, was recorded as giving \$250,000 to Schwarzenegger's California Recovery Team campaign account.”³¹

Just eleven days later, S. Robson Walton, current Walmart chairman and son of Walmart founder Sam Walton, donated \$250,000 to “Yes on 77,”³² a group formed in support of Proposition 77. Had it not been defeated by California voters, Proposition 77 would have given authority to redraw congressional and legislative districts to three retired judges, shifting that power from the Democrat-controlled General Assembly and strengthening the Republican governor's hand.³³

Ultimately, Governor Schwarzenegger and his corporate allies won out on redistricting: in 2008 California passed Proposition 11 by a 50.8% to 49.2% margin³⁴ and consolidated redistricting powers in the hands of a 14 member commission with no direct accountability to voters. Supporters of the measure raised over \$15 million in campaign funds, \$25,000 of which came from Walmart, dwarfing the \$1.5 million raised by the Prop 11's largely Democratic opponents.³⁵

27. Arindrajit Dube and Ken Jacobs. “Hidden Cost of Wal-Mart Jobs - Use of Safety Net Programs by Wal-Mart Workers in California.” UC Berkeley Labor Center. 2 Aug 2004.

28. Ritu Kalra, “5 Employees Fault Wal-Mart: Event at Capitol Keeps Heat on Retail Giant,” *Hartford Courant*, 18 Nov 2005.

29. SmartVoter.org, “Proposition 72- Health Care Coverage Requirements – State of California,” <http://www.smartvoter.org/2004/11/02/ca/state/prop/72/> Accessed 20 May 2011.

30. Dan Morain, “Initiative Fundraising in High Gear”, *Los Angeles Times*, 27 Oct 2005.

31. *Ibid*

32. Followthemoney.org, California Contributions Report, accessed 20 May 2011.

33. Jim Hopkins, “Wal-Mart, Walton family support Schwarzenegger agenda with \$1M,” *USA Today*, 31 October 2005.

34. SmartVoter.org, “Proposition 11 – Redistricting State of California,” accessed 21 May 2011.

35. John Wildermuth, “Redrawing districts – governor wins big; Dems lose fight to keep authority to set political boundaries,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 November 2008; Followthemoney.org, California Contributions Report, accessed 20 May 2011.

Candidate Contributions

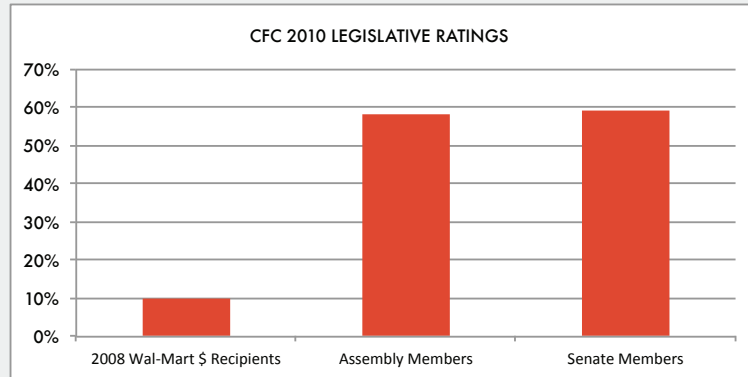
Walmart has played a substantial role in California's electoral politics with candidate contributions. And, as with its contributions to federal races, the company's spending has

overwhelmingly favored conservative candidates over Left-leaning candidates. Of the \$3.11 million that the company spent on California state races and ballot initiatives between 2004 and 2010, roughly 61% (\$1.89 million) went to Republican candidates and committees, 38% (\$1.17 million) went to non-party committees and ballot initiatives and just under 2% (\$53,000) went to Democrats.³⁶ Furthermore, what little Walmart gave to Democrats was only donated in instances where victory was assured. Not once did Walmart contribute to a Democrat who went on to lose their general election.

The lopsidedness of Walmart's political giving and its implications for working families in California is further illustrated by the voting records of candidates who have received contributions from the company. The Consumer Federation of California (CFC) is a nonprofit advocacy organization that scores State Assembly members and Senators based on their votes on issues of interest to consumers in California; the higher the score, the more often the legislator voted with the public interest. On average, state legislators whom Walmart contributed to earned far lower scores on CFC's 2010 Legislative Scorecard than legislators who did not receive Walmart money. Legislators who received Walmart contributions during the 2008 election cycle earned an average legislative rating of 10% in 2010, a considerably lower mark than the averages of 59% in the Senate and 58% in the Assembly.

The pattern of voting among Walmart contribution recipients becomes even clearer when we look at critical votes in isolation.

Legislators who received Walmart dollars overwhelmingly opposed AB 2578, a bill that would have barred excessive rate hikes by health insurers and regulated health insurance premiums, much the same as auto and home insurance rates are currently regulated in California.³⁷ Of the 32 legislators who received Walmart PAC money in 2008, 27 voted against the measure, one was present and not voting (which amounts to a 'No' vote in the California legislature) and four were absent.³⁸ The bill was ultimately defeated in the Senate with help from some of the most



36. Followthemoney.org, California Contributions Report, accessed 20 May 2011.

37. Consumer WatchDog Press Release, 10 Oct 2010.

38. www.leginfo.ca.gov, Accessed 5/20/11.

powerful health insurance lobbyists in the state.

SB 797, which would have prohibited the manufacture or sale of food containers that contain bisphenol A (BPA) for use by infants or toddlers, also died in the Senate — just two votes shy of reaching the Governor's desk.³⁹ And, as was

Similar to its role in the national health care debate, Walmart maintained one position in its dealings with the public but gave money to candidates who consistently opposed the measure.

the case with AB 2578, Walmart contribution recipients were almost universally opposed to the bill: thirty voted against the bill, two were absent from the vote and only one voted in favor.⁴⁰

Though Walmart claims to maintain transparency in its supply chain labor practices, its contribution recipients voted against the public interest on this issue as well. SB 657, which was passed into law in 2010, required large manufacturers and retailers to disclose their efforts to eliminate human trafficking and slave labor from their supply chains. Similar to its role in the national health care debate, Walmart maintained one position in its dealings with the public but gave money to candidates who consistently opposed the measure: twenty-eight Walmart contribution recipients voted against SB 657, two were present and not voting, and one voted in favor of it.⁴¹

Though Walmart claims to maintain transparency in its supply chain labor practices, its

39. "Political Shifts Lead to New Author, Approach for Bill Banning BPA", *Inside CAL/EPA*, 1 April 2011.

40. www.leginfo.ca.gov, Accessed 5/20/11.

41. *Ibid*

Transparency of Giving

It is important to note that an analysis of Walmart's direct contributions to candidates, candidate committees, and ballot measure campaigns may vastly understate the company's impact on elections going forward.

The Citizens United decision allows corporations to fund independent expenditures using unlimited corporate treasury funds. In July 2010, the Center for Political Accountability and its investor partners surveyed the S&P 500, asking whether the companies intended to engage in independent expenditure activity, and whether they planned on disclosing the expenditures and adopting appropriate oversight procedures. CPA reported that "a majority of the responding companies stated that they do not intend to engage in this type of activity, while many respondents declined to state their position or commit to additional disclosure. Others noted that their policies were under review. Walmart did not respond to the letter."⁴²

The preceding analysis is based on publicly available information. It neither includes any funds that the company funnels through trade associations, like the Retail Industry Leaders Association, Business

Roundtable, or the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, nor does it include contributions to newly evolving political organizations that do not fall under disclosure requirements. Walmart does not make a list of its membership in trade associations publicly available, and most associations do not disclose their full membership lists.

Even without the benefit of full disclosure, it is clear that despite Walmart's efforts to reform its image, the company, its PAC, and the Walton family have spent millions of dollars in recent years opposing the Obama agenda. They have used their considerable resources to support candidates and initiatives that work against the interests of consumers and associates nationwide.

42. "Political Transparency and Accountability Profile – Wal-Mart Stores, Inc." Center for Political Accountability, 2011.

Appendix A

Caucus Representation

Walmart PAC¹ and Walton² 2010 election cycle House contributions by caucus

	NO. IN HOUSE 111TH CONGRESS	% OF PARTY IN HOUSE	2010 CYCLE CONTRIBUTIONS	PROPORTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS
Progressive Caucus	75	29%	\$94,000	13%
Blue Dog Coalition	54	21%	\$321,500	44%
ALL DEMOCRATS	257		\$730,800	
Tea Party	52	29%	\$278,500	40%
ALL REPUBLICANS	178		\$694,050	

	NO. IN HOUSE 111TH CONGRESS	% OF HOUSE	2010 CYCLE CONTRIBUTIONS	PROPORTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS
Progressive Caucus	78	18%	\$94,000	7%
Tea Party	52	12%	\$278,500	20%
Blue Dog Coalition	54	12%	\$321,500	23%
HOUSE TOTAL	435		\$1,425,850	

Walmart PAC only 2010 election cycle House contributions by caucus

	NO. IN HOUSE 111TH CONGRESS	% OF PARTY IN HOUSE	2010 CYCLE CONTRIBUTIONS	PROPORTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS
Progressive Caucus	75	29%	\$94,000	13%
Blue Dog Coalition	54	21%	\$321,000	44%
ALL DEMOCRATS	257		\$725,500	
Tea Party	52	29%	\$254,500	40%
ALL REPUBLICANS	178		\$644,050	

	NO. IN HOUSE 111TH CONGRESS	% OF HOUSE	2010 CYCLE CONTRIBUTIONS	PROPORTION OF CONTRIBUTIONS
Progressive Caucus	78	18%	\$94,000	7%
Tea Party	52	12%	\$254,500	19%
Blue Dog Coalition	54	12%	\$321,000	23%
HOUSE TOTAL	435		\$1,370,550	

Appendix B

House Votes

Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2009³

On Agreeing to the Conference Report

06/30/2010

House Roll Call No. 413

111th Congress, 2nd Session

Passed: 237-192, 4 not voting

The House agreed to the conference report to accompany H.R. 4173, to provide for financial regulatory reform, to protect consumers and investors, to enhance Federal understanding of insurance issues, and to regulate the over-the-counter derivatives markets, by a ye-a-and-nay vote of 237 yeas to 192 nays, Roll No. 413.

Votes by party⁴

WALL STREET REFORM	YEA	NAY
House	237	192
Democrats	234	19
Republicans	3	173

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons

WALL STREET REFORM	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	99	132
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	42%	69%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$562,500	\$727,050
Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	99	132
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	42%	69%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$562,000	\$725,050

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons – Democrats only

WALL STREET REFORM	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	98	17
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	42%	89%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$557,500	\$138,500
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC and Waltons	\$2,382	\$7,289

Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	98	17
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	42%	89%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$557,000	\$138,500
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC only	\$2,380	\$7,289

Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act⁵

On Motion to Concur in Senate Amendments

03/21/2010

House Roll Call No. 165

111th Congress, 2nd Session

Passed: 219-212

The House concurred in the Senate amendments to H.R. 3590, to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to modify the first-time homebuyers credit in the case of members of the Armed Forces and certain other Federal employees, and for other purposes, by a recorded vote of 219 ayes to 212 noes, Roll No. 165.

Votes By Party

HEALTH CARE REFORM	YEA	NAY
House	219	212
Democrats	219	34
Republicans	0	178

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons

HEALTH CARE REFORM	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	92	138
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	42%	65%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$509,500	\$781,050

HEALTH CARE REFORM	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	92	138
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	42%	65%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$509,000	\$779,050

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons – Democrats only

HEALTH CARE REFORM	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	92	23
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	42%	68%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$509,500	\$193,000
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC and Waltons	\$2,326	\$5,676

Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	92	23
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	42%	68%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$509,000	\$193,000
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC only	\$2,324	\$5,676

FDA Food Safety Modernization Act⁶

On Motion to Concur in the Senate Amendments

12/21/2010

House Roll Call No. 661

111th Congress, 2nd Session

Passed: 215-144, 74 not voting

Concurred in the Senate amendments to H.R. 2751, to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to the safety of the food supply, by a 2/3 yeas-and-nays vote of 215 yeas to 144 nays, Roll No. 661.

Votes by party

FOOD SAFETY	YEA	NAY
House	215	144
Democrats	205	8
Republicans	10	136

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons

FOOD SAFETY	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	98	95
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	46%	66%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$606,000	\$498,550

Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	98	95
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	46%	66%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$606,000	\$496,550

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons – Democrats only

FOOD SAFETY	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	92	5
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	45%	63%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$565,000	\$43,500
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC and Waltons	\$2,756	\$5,438

Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	92	5
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	45%	63%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$565,000	\$43,500
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC only	\$2,756	\$5,438

Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009⁷

On Passage

01/27/2009

House Roll Call No. 37

111th Congress, 1st Session

Passed: 250-177, 6 not voting

The House passed S. 181, to amend title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, and to modify the operation of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, to clarify that a discriminatory compensation decision or other practice that is unlawful under such Acts occurs each time compensation is paid pursuant to the discriminatory compensation decision or other practice, by a yea-and-nay vote of 250 yeas to 177 nays, Roll No. 37.

Votes by party

FAIR PAY ACT	YEA	NAY
House	250	177
Democrats	247	5
Republicans	3	172

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons

FAIR PAY ACT	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	109	114
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	44%	64%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC AND WALTONS	\$632,000	\$605,050

Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	109	114
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	44%	64%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$631,500	\$603,050

2010 cycle contributions from the Walmart PAC and Waltons – Democrats only

FAIR PAY ACT	YEA	NAY
Recipients of WMT PAC or Waltons contributions in 2010	107	4
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC or Waltons	43%	80%
Total amount from WMT PAC and Waltons	\$623,000	\$45,000
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC and Waltons	\$2,522	\$9,000

Recipients of WMT PAC funds in 2010	107	4
Proportion who received contributions from WMT PAC	43%	80%
TOTAL AMOUNT FROM WMT PAC ONLY	\$622,500	\$45,000
Per capita giving among Democrats from WMT PAC only	\$2,520	\$9,000

(Endnotes)

1. Walmart PAC refers to the Wal-Mart Stores Inc PAC for Responsible Government
2. The members of the Walton family included in the political giving analysis throughout this report are John T. Walton, Jim and Lynne Walton, Alice L. Walton, Christy Walton, Samuel Robson Walton, Helen R. Walton, Ann Walton Kroenke, Stanley Kroenke, Nancy Walton Laurie, and Greg and Carrie Walton Penner.
3. Vote description and tallies come from: <http://capwiz.com/c-span/issues/votes/?votenum=413&chamber=H&congress=1112>
4. There were no Independents voting on any of these four issues in the House.
5. Vote description and tallies come from: <http://capwiz.com/c-span/issues/votes/?votenum=165&chamber=H&congress=1112>; More background on this vote is available from: Pear, Robert and David M. Herszenhorn. "Obama Hails Vote on Health Care as Answering 'the Call of History'." *New York Times*. 21 Mar 2010. <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/22/health/policy/22health.html>
6. Vote description and tallies come from: <http://capwiz.com/c-span/issues/votes/?votenum=661&chamber=H&congress=1112>
7. Vote description and tallies come from: <http://capwiz.com/c-span/issues/votes/?votenum=37&chamber=H&congress=1111>

Appendix C

Walmart PAC & Walton Family Contributions to 2010 House Candidates and Caucus Membership

NOTE: “Walmart PAC” refers to the Wal-Mart Stores Inc PAC for Responsible Government, and the Walton family members considered in this analysis are John T. Walton, Jim and Lynne Walton, Alice L. Walton, Christy Walton, Samuel Robson Walton, Helen R. Walton, Ann Walton Kroenke, Stanley Kroenke, Nancy Walton Laurie, and Greg and Carrie Walton Penner

“X” indicates Caucus Membership

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Adams, Sandy	FL						X
Aderholt, Robert	AL						X
Akin, Todd	MO						X
Alexander, Rodney	LA						X
Altmire, Jason	PA	\$7,000			X		
Amash, Justin	MI	\$2,500					X
Arcuri, Michael	NY				X		
Baca, Joe	CA		\$1,000	\$500	X		
Bachmann, Michele	MN	\$1,500					X
Baily, Stephen	CO						X
Baldwin, Tammy	WI	\$1,000				X	
Barela, Jonathan	NM						X
Barrow, John	GA	\$10,000			X		
Bartlett, Roscoe	MD						X
Barton, Joe	TX	\$4,500					X
Bass, Karen	CA	\$2,500				X	
Beaudry, Paul	VT						X
Becerra, Xavier	CA	\$10,000	\$5,000			X	
Becker, Fran	NY						X
Benishek, Dan	MI						X
Berg, Rick	ND	\$1,000					X
Bergmann, Charlotte	TN						X
Berry, Marion	AR	\$5,000			X		
Berryhill, Michael	CA						X
Bielat, Sean	MA						X
Bilbray, Brian	CA	\$7,500					X
Bilirakis, Gus	FL	\$2,000					X
Bishop, Rob	UT						X
Bishop, Sanford	GA	\$10,000	\$1,000		X		
Black, Diane	TN						X
Blumenauer, Earl	OR					X	
Boren, Dan	OK	\$10,000	\$2,500		X		
Boswell, Leonard	IA	\$9,500			X		
Boyd, Allen	FL	\$10,000	\$2,500		X		
Brady, Robert	PA					X	
Bright, Bobby	AL	\$10,000			X		

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Broadus, Robert	MD						X
Broden, Stephen	TX						X
Brooks, Mo	AL						X
Broun, Paul	GA	\$1,000	\$2,000				X
Brown, Corrine	FL					X	
Bruun, Scott	OR						X
Buerkle, Ann Marie	NY						X
Burgess, Michael	TX	\$2,000					X
Burns, Tim	PA						X
Burton, Dan	IN						X
Byberg, Lee	MN						X
Calvert, Ken	CA	\$7,500					X
Camp, Dave	MI	\$10,000	\$3,500				X
Campbell, Donna	MD						X
Campbell, John	CA						X
Capuano, Michael	MA					X	
Cardoza, Dennis	CA	\$7,500	\$2,500		X		
Carney, Chris	PA	\$7,000			X		
Carson, Andre	IN					X	
Carter, John	TX						X
Carter, Lisbeth	GA						X
Cassidy, Bill	LA	\$4,000					X
Chabot, Steve	OH	\$2,000					X
Chaffetz, Jason	UT						X
Chandler, Ben	KY	\$8,500			X		
Childers, Travis	MS	\$10,000			X		
Christian-Christensen, Donna	VI	\$2,500				X	
Chu, Judy	CA					X	
Cicilline, David	RI					X	
Clarke, Yvette	NY					X	
Clay, William	MO					X	
Cleaver, Emanuel	MO					X	
Clift, Gary	CA						X
Cloud, Doug	WA						X
Coble, Howard	NC	\$1,000					X
Coffman, Mike	CO						X
Cohen, Stephen	TN	\$6,000				X	
Colbert, John	CA						X
Collett, Teresa	MN						X
Contreras, Janet	AZ						X
Conyers, John	MI					X	

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Cooper, Jim	TN	\$5,500			X		
Corrigan, Peter	OH						X
Costa, Jim	CA	\$6,000			X		
Cravaack, Chip	MN						X
Crawford, Rick	AR	\$5,000		\$7,200			X
Crenshaw, Ander	FL						X
Cuellar, Henry	TX	\$10,000			X		
Culberson, John	TX						X
Cummings, Elijah	MD	\$1,000				X	
Dahlkemper, Kathleen	PA	\$4,500			X		
Danz, Theodore	NY						X
Davis, Danny	IL					X	
Davis, Lincoln	TN	\$9,500			X		
DeFazio, Peter	OR					X	
DeLauro, Rosa	CT					X	
Dembrowski, Gerry	MA						X
Demmer, Rand	MN						X
Demos, Joel	MN						X
Dennis, John	CA						X
DesJarlais, Scott	TN						X
Djou, Charles	HI	\$4,500					X
Dold, Robert	IL	\$1,000					X
Donnelly, Joe	IN	\$10,000			X		
Duffy, Sean	WI						X
Duncan, Jeff	SC						X
Edwards, Donna	MD					X	
Ellison, Keith	MN					X	
Ellmers, Renee	NC						X
Ellsworth, Brad	IN				X		
Fallon, Mike	CO						X
Farenthold, Blake	TX						X
Farr, Sam	CA					X	
Fattah, Chaka	PA	\$3,000				X	
Filner, Bob	CA					X	
Fimian, Keith	VA						X
Fincher, Stephen	TN						X
Fleming, John	LA						X
Flores, Bill	TX						X
Folkens, Scott	CA						X
Fortenberry, Jeff	NE						X
Frank, Barney	MA					X	
Franks, Trent	AZ	\$1,000					X

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Frazier, Ryan	CO						X
Fudge, Marcia	OH	\$4,500				X	
Gallegly, Elton	CA						X
Ganley, Tom	OH						X
Gardner, Cory	CO	\$2,500					X
Gibson, Chris	NY	\$2,000					X
Giffords, Gabrielle	AZ				X		
Gingrey, Phil	GA	\$4,000	\$1,000				X
Glading, Dale	NJ						X
Gohmert, Louie	TX						X
Golnik, John	MA						X
Gomez, John	NY						X
Gordon, Bart	TN	\$5,000			X		
Gosar, Paul	AZ						X
Gowdy, Trey	SC						X
Graham, Jim	CA						X
Graves, Tom	GA	\$3,000					X
Grayson, Alan	FL					X	
Griffin, Tim	AR	\$5,000		\$9,600			X
Griffith, H Morgan	VA						X
Grijalva, Raúl	AZ					X	
Grimm, Michael	NY						X
Guinta, Frank	NH						X
Gunn, Bill	MA						X
Gutierrez, Luis	IL					X	
Hall, John	NY	\$5,000				X	
Hall, Ralph	TX						X
Haluszczak, Melissa	PA						X
Hanks, Loren	CA						X
Hare, Phil	IL					X	
Harman, Jane	CA				X		
Harmer, David	CA						X
Harper, Gregg	MS	\$1,000					X
Hartzler, Vicky	MO						X
Hashimoto, Gerald	CA						X
Hastings, Alcee	FL					X	
Hastings, Doc	WA	\$1,000					X
Hauler, John	MI						X
Heck, Joe	NV						X
Heller, Dean	NV	\$8,500					X
Herger, Wally	CA	\$1,000	\$3,000				X
Herrera, Jamie	WA						X

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Herseth Sandlin, Stephanie	SD	\$8,500			X		
Hill, Baron	IN	\$10,000			X		
Hinchey, Maurice	NY					X	
Hirono, Mazie	HI					X	
Hockstra, Peter	MI						X
Holden, Tim	PA	\$3,000			X		
Holmes Norton, Eleanor	DC					X	
Honda, Michael	CA					X	
Hudak, Bill	MA						X
Huelskamp, Tim	KS	\$2,500					X
Huizenga, Bill	MI						X
Hultgren, Randy	IL	\$1,000					X
Iott, Rich	OH						X
Jackson Lee, Sheila	TX	\$2,000				X	
Jackson, Jesse	IL					X	
Jenkins, Lynn	KS	\$3,500					X
Johnson, Bill	OH	\$1,000					X
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	TX	\$1,000				X	
Johnson, Hank	GA	\$1,000				X	
Johnson, Harold	NC						X
Judd, Jim	CA						X
Kaptur, Marcy	OH					X	
Kelly, Jesse	AZ						X
Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks	MI	\$1,000				X	
King, Steven	IA						X
Kinzinger, Adam	IL						X
Kline, John	MN	\$6,500	\$10,000				X
Koster, John	WA						X
Kratovil, Frank	MD	\$10,000			X		
Kucinich, Dennis	OH					X	
Kupiec, John	MI						X
Labrador, Raul	ID	\$1,000					X
Labriola, Jerry	CT						X
Lally, Todd	KY						X
Lamb, Marty	MA						X
Lamborn, Douglas	CO	\$1,000					X
Landry, Jeff	LA						X
Lawson, William	NC						X
Lee, Barbara	CA					X	
Levesque, Jason	ME						X
Lewis, Jerry	CA	\$6,000					X
Lewis, John	GA	\$4,000				X	

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Leyva, Mark	IN						X
Little, Anna	NJ						X
Little, Fenn	GA						X
Loebsack, David	IA					X	
Lollar, Charles	MD						X
Lopez, Delia	OR						X
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	MO	\$2,000					X
Lujan, Ben	NM	\$4,500				X	
Lummis, Cynthia	WY						X
Lungren, Dan	CA	\$8,000					X
Maloney, Carolyn	NY	\$4,000				X	
Marchant, Kenny	TX						X
Marcy, Bill	MS						X
Markey, Betsy	CO	\$7,000			X		
Markey, Ed	MA					X	
Marshall, Jim	GA				X		
Martin, Ed	MO						X
Matheson, Jim	UT	\$8,000	\$1,500		X		
McCarthy, Kevin	CA	\$3,000	\$10,000				X
McClintock, Tom	CA	\$4,000					X
McClung, Ruth	AZ						X
McDermott, Jim	WA	\$2,000				X	
McGovern, James	MA					X	
McIntyre, Mike	NC	\$2,500			X		
McKeon, Howard	CA	\$1,000	\$10,000				X
McKinley, David	WV						X
McMorris Rodgers, Cathy	WA	\$3,000					X
Melancon, Charles	LA				X		
Mele, Anthony	NY						X
Michaud, Mike	ME				X		
Milano, James	NY						X
Miller, Gary	CA						X
Miller, George	CA					X	
Miller, Jeff	FL						X
Minnick, Walt	ID				X		
Mitchell, Harry	AZ	\$1,000			X		
Moore, Dennis	KS	\$2,500			X		
Moore, Gwen	WI					X	
Moran, Jerry	KS						X
Moran, Jim	VA					X	
Mullins, Tom	NM						X
Mulvaney, Mick	SC						X

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Muri, Dick	WA						X
Murphy, Patrick	PA	\$2,500			X		
Murphy, Scott	NY	\$12,500			X		
Myrick, Sue	NC						X
Nadler, Jerrold	NY					X	
Neugebauer, Randy	TX	\$2,500					X
Newman, Teri	IL						X
Noem, Kristi	SD						X
Nugent, Rich	FL						X
Nunes, Devin	CA	\$4,000	\$1,000				X
Nye, Glenn	VA	\$7,000			X		
Olver, John	MA					X	
Pallone, Frank	NJ					X	
Parker, Star	CA						X
Pastor, Ed	AZ	\$6,000				X	
Paulsen, Erik	MN	\$5,500					X
Payne, Donald	NJ	\$1,000				X	
Pearce, Steve	NM						X
Pence, Mike	IN		\$6,500				X
Perry, Jeff	MA						X
Peterson, Collin	MN	\$5,000			X		
Phillips, George	NY						X
Philpot, Morgan	UT						X
Pingree, Chellie	ME					X	
Poe, Ted	TX						X
Polis, Jared	CO					X	
Pollak, Joel	IL						X
Pomeroy, Earl	ND	\$10,000	\$2,000		X		
Pompeo, Mike	KS						X
Popaditch, Nick	CA						X
Pratt, Jim	SC						X
Price, Tom	GA	\$5,000	\$7,000				X
Raczkowski, Rocky	MI						X
Randall, William	NC						X
Rangel, Charles	NY	\$2,000	\$2,500			X	
Rankin, Beth Anne	AR						X
Ratowitz, David	IL						X
Reed, Mark	CA						X
Rehberg, Denny	MT						X
Renacci, James	OH	\$1,000					X
Ribble, Reid	WI						X
Richardson, Laura	CA					X	

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Roberto, Leonard	NY						X
Robinson, Art	OR						X
Roe, David	TN						X
Roe, Phil	TN						X
Rohrbacher, Dana	CA						X
Ross, Dennis	FL						X
Ross, Mike	AR	\$10,000	\$5,000		X		
Rothfus, Keith	PA						X
Rowland, Jill	NY						X
Roybal-Allard, Lucille	CA					X	
Royce, Ed	CA	\$2,000					X
Rush, Bobby	IL	\$1,000				X	
Sahagun, Daniel	CA						X
Salazar, John	CO	\$10,000			X		
Sanchez, Linda	CA					X	
Sanchez, Loretta	CA	\$8,500			X		
Sanders, Bernie	VT					X	
Scalise, Steve	LA	\$2,000	\$1,000				X
Schakowsky, Jan	IL					X	
Schiff, Adam	CA				X		
Schilling, Bobby	IL	\$1,000					X
Schrader, Kurt	OR				X		
Schweikert, David	AZ						X
Scott, David	GA	\$4,000			X		
Scott, Tim	SC	\$2,500					X
Serrano, Jose	NY					X	
Sessions, Pete	TX		\$10,000				X
Shadegg, John	AZ						X
Shuler, Heath	NC	\$10,000			X		
Simpson, Mike	ID	\$1,000					X
Slaughter, Louise	CA					X	
Smith, Adrian	NE	\$1,000					X
Smith, Chuck	VA						X
Smith, Lamar	TX	\$1,000	\$3,000				X
Smith, Paul	CA						X
Southerland, Steve	FL						X
Space, Zack	OH				X		
Stark, Pete	CA					X	
Stearns, Cliff	FL	\$1,000					X
Steele, Rob	MI						X
Stivers, Steve	OH	\$2,000		\$4,800			X
Straten, Roland	NJ						X

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Stutzman, Marlin	IN						X
Sullivan, John	OK	\$1,000					X
Tanner, John	TN				X		
Taylor, Gene	MS	\$10,000			X		
Terry, Lee	NE	\$3,500					X
Thompson, Bennie	MS	\$6,000				X	
Thompson, Charles	OK						X
Thompson, Mike	CA	\$5,000	\$1,000		X		
Tiahart, Todd	KS						X
Tierney, John	MA					X	
Tipton, Scott	CO						X
Tran, Van	CA						X
Trotter, Clayton	TX						X
Tubbs, Rick	CA						X
Turk, Jacob	MO						X
Underwood, Bryan	TX						X
Upton, Fred	MI	\$5,000	\$6,000				X
Urquhart, Glen	DE						X
Velazquez, Nydia	NY					X	
Vidak, Andy	CA						X
Volaric, Don	MI						X
Walberg, Tim	MI						X
Walorski, Jackie	IN						X
Walsh, Joe	IL	\$1,000					X
Wamp, Zach	TN						X
Waters, Maxine	CA					X	
Watkins, James	WA						X
Watson, Diane	CA					X	
Watson, Tom	CA						X
Watt, Melvin	NC	\$4,000				X	
Waxman, Henry	CA	\$7,500				X	
Welch, Peter	VT					X	
Wesley, Tom	MA						X
West, Allen	FL						X
Westmoreland, Lynn	Ga		\$7,000				X
Wilkerson, Charles	CA						X
Willoughby, John	HI						X
Wilson, Charlie	OH				X		
Wilson, Frederica	FL	\$2,500				X	
Wilson, Joe	SC	\$2,000					X
Woolsey, Lynn	CA	\$2,500				X	
Yoder, Kevin	KS			\$2,400			X

HOUSE CANDIDATE NAME	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	BLUE DOG COALITION	PROGRESSIVE CAUCUS	TEA PARTY
Yost, Michael	FL						X
Young, Todd	IN						X

Appendix C

Walmart PAC & Walton Family Contributions to 2010 House Candidates and Key Votes

NOTE: "Walmart PAC" refers to the Wal-Mart Stores Inc PAC for Responsible Government, and the Walton family members considered in this analysis are John T. Walton, Jim and Lynne Walton, Alice L. Walton, Christy Walton, Samuel Robson Walton, Helen R. Walton, Ann Walton Kroenke, Stanley Kroenke, Nancy Walton Laurie, and Greg and Carrie Walton Penner

"X" indicates Caucus Membership

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Allen, Jason	R	MI	\$2,500						
Altmire, Jason	D	PA	\$7,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Amash, Justin	R	MI	\$2,500						
Austria, Steve	R	OH	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Baca, Joe	D	CA		\$1,000	\$500	Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Bachmann, Michele	R	MN	\$1,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Bachus, Spencer	R	AL	\$2,000	\$7,500		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Baldwin, Tammy	D	WI	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Barrow, John	D	GA	\$10,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Barton, Joe	R	TX	\$4,500			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Bass, Karen	D	CA	\$2,500						
Becerra, Xavier	D	CA	\$10,000	\$5,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Berg, Rick	R	ND	\$1,000						
Berry, Marion	D	AR	\$5,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Yea
Biggert, Judy	R	IL	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Yea	Nay
Billbray, Brian	R	CA	\$7,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Bilirakis, Gus	R	FL	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Binnie, William	R	NH			\$2,400				
Bishop, Sanford	D	GA	\$10,000	\$1,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Blackburn, Marsha	R	TN	\$5,000	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Boehner, John	R	OH	\$10,000	\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Bonner, Jo	R	AL	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Bono Mack, Mary	R	CA	\$6,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Boren, Dan	D	OK	\$10,000	\$2,500		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Boswell, Leonard	D	IA	\$9,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Boucher, Rick	D	VA	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
Boustany, Charles	R	LA	\$5,500	\$4,500		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Boyd, Allen	D	FL	\$10,000	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Nay
Brady, Kevin	R	TX	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Braley, Bruce	D	IA		\$5,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Bright, Bobby	D	AL	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Broun, Paul	R	GA	\$1,000	\$2,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Brown, Henry	R	SC	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Brown-Waite, Ginny	R	FL	\$3,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	NV
Bryles, Steve	D	AR			\$4,800				
Burgess, Michael	R	TX	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Butterfield, G	D	NC	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Calvert, Ken	R	CA	\$7,500			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Camp, Dave	R	MI	\$10,000	\$3,500		Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Cantor, Eric	R	VA	\$10,000	\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Cao, Joseph	R	LA	\$5,000			Yea	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Capito, Shelley Moore	R	WV	\$4,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Cardoza, Dennis	D	CA	\$7,500	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Nay	Yea
Carnahan, Russ	D	MO	\$2,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Carney, Chris	D	PA	\$7,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Cassidy, Bill	R	LA	\$4,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Chabot, Steve	R	OH	\$2,000						
Chandler, Ben	D	KY	\$8,500			Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
Childers, Travis	D	MS	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Christian-Christensen, Donna	D	VI	\$2,500						
Clarke, Hansen	D	MI	\$2,500						
Clyburn, James	D	SC	\$6,000	\$10,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Coble, Howard	R	NC	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Cohen, Stephen	D	TN	\$6,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Cole, Tom	R	OK		\$3,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Conaway, Mike	R	TX	\$2,000	\$4,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Connolly, Gerry	D	VA	\$2,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Cooper, Jim	D	TN	\$5,500			Nay	Yea	Yea	Yea
Costa, Jim	D	CA	\$6,000			Yea	Yea	Nay	Yea
Crawford, Rick	R	AR	\$5,000		\$7,200				
Critz, Mark	D	PA	\$2,500			Nay		Yea	
Crowley, Joseph	D	NY		\$8,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Cuellar, Henry	D	TX	\$10,000			Nay	Yea	Yea	Yea
Cummings, Elijah	D	MD	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Dahlkemper, Kathleen	D	PA	\$4,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Davis, Geoff	R	KY	\$5,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Davis, Lincoln	D	TN	\$9,500			Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
DeGette, Diana	D	CO	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Dent, Charlie	R	PA	\$8,000	\$2,000		Nay	Nay	Yea	Nay
Deutch, Ted	D	FL	\$3,500			Yea		Not voting	
Diaz-Balart, Lincoln	R	FL	\$3,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Diaz-Balart, Mario	R	FL	\$8,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Dingell, John	D	MI	\$10,000	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Djou, Charles	R	HI	\$4,500			Nay		Yea	
Dold, Robert	R	IL	\$1,000						
Donnelly, Joe	D	IN	\$10,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Dreier, David	R	CA	\$5,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Edwards, Chet	D	TX	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
Emerson, Jo Ann	R	MO	\$5,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Engel, Eliot	D	NY	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Etheridge, Bob	D	NC	\$3,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	NV
Fattah, Chaka	D	PA	\$3,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Franks, Trent	R	AZ	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Fudge, Marcia	D	OH	\$4,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Gardner, Cory	R	CO	\$2,500						
Garrett, Scott	R	NJ	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Gerlach, Jim	R	PA	\$6,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Gibson, Chris	R	NY	\$2,000						
Gingrey, Phil	R	GA	\$4,000	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Gonzalez, Charlie	D	TX	\$9,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Goodlatte, Bob	R	VA	\$2,000	\$2,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Gordon, Bart	D	TN	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Granger, Kay	R	TX	\$3,500	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Graves, Sam	R	MO	\$2,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Graves, Tom	R	GA	\$3,000			Nay		Nay	
Green, Gene	D	TX	\$6,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Griffin, Tim	R	AR	\$5,000		\$9,600				
Griffith, Parker	R	AL	\$5,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Guthrie, Steven	R	KY	\$6,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Hall, John	D	NY	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Harper, Gregg	R	MS	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Hastings, Doc	R	WA	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Heinrich, Martin	D	NM	\$3,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Heller, Dean	R	NV	\$8,500			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Hensarling, Jeb	R	TX	\$1,000	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Herger, Wally	R	CA	\$1,000	\$3,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Herseth Sandlin, Stephanie	D	SD	\$8,500			Yea	Nay	Not voting	Yea
Hill, Baron	D	IN	\$10,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Himes, Jim	D	CT	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Hinojosa, Ruben	D	TX	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Holden, Tim	D	PA	\$3,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Hoyer, Steny	D	MD	\$10,000	\$7,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Huelskamp, Tim	R	KS	\$2,500						
Hultgren, Randy	R	IL	\$1,000						
Hunter, Duncan	R	CA	\$5,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Hurt, Robert	R	VA	\$1,000						
Inglis, Bob	R	SC	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Inslee, Jay	D	WA	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Israel, Steve	D	NY	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Issa, Darrell	R	CA		\$3,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Jackson Lee, Sheila	D	TX	\$2,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Jenkins, Lynn	R	KS	\$3,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Johnson, Bill	R	OH	\$1,000						
Johnson, Eddie Bernice	D	TX	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Johnson, Hank	D	GA	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Johnson, Sam	R	TX	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Johnson, Timothy	R	IL	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Jordan, James	R	OH		\$2,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks	D	MI	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Kind, Ron	D	WI	\$10,000	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
King, Pete	R	NY	\$3,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Kingston, Jack	R	GA	\$3,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Kirkpatrick, Ann	D	AZ	\$5,500			Nay	Yea	Yea	Yea
Kissell, Larry	D	NC	\$9,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Klein, Ron	D	FL	\$6,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Kline, John	R	MN	\$6,500	\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Kosmas, Suzanne	D	FL	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Kratovil, Frank	D	MD	\$10,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Labrador, Raul	R	ID	\$1,000						

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Lamborn, Douglas	R	CO	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Lance, Leonard	R	NJ	\$5,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Yea
Larsen, Rick	D	WA	\$4,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Larson, John	D	CT	\$8,500	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Latham, Tom	R	IA	\$1,000	\$7,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
LaTourette, Steven	R	OH		\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Lee, Christopher	R	NY	\$8,000			Nay	Nay	Yea	Nay
Lewis, Jerry	R	CA	\$6,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Lewis, John	D	GA	\$4,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Lofgren, Zoe	D	CA	\$2,500			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Lucas, Frank	R	OK	\$6,050			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Luetkemeyer, Blaine	R	MO	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Lujan, Ben	D	NM	\$4,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Lungren, Dan	R	CA	\$8,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Mack, Connie	R	FL	\$3,500	\$2,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Maffei, Dan	D	NY	\$8,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Maloney, Carolyn	D	NY	\$4,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Manzullo, Don	R	IL	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Markey, Betsy	D	CO	\$7,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Matheson, Jim	D	UT	\$8,000	\$1,500		Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
McCarthy, Kevin	R	CA	\$3,000	\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
McCaul, Michael	R	TX	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
McClintock, Tom	R	CA	\$4,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
McCotter, Thad	R	MI	\$4,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
McDermott, Jim	D	WA	\$2,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
McHenry, Patrick	R	NC	\$4,000	\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
McIntyre, Mike	D	NC	\$2,500			Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
McKeon, Howard	R	CA	\$1,000	\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
McMorris Rodgers, Cathy	R	WA	\$3,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Meeks, Gregory	D	NY	\$10,000	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Mica, John	R	FL	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Miller, Brad	D	NC	\$2,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Mitchell, Harry	D	AZ	\$1,000			Nay	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Moore, Dennis	D	KS	\$2,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Murphy, Patrick	D	PA	\$2,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Murphy, Scott	D	NY	\$12,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	
Murphy, Tim	R	PA	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Napolitano, Grace	D	CA	\$3,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Neal, Richard	D	MA	\$5,000	\$5,000		Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Neugebauer, Randy	R	TX	\$2,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Nunes, Devin	R	CA	\$4,000	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Nye, Glenn	D	VA	\$7,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Oberstar, James	D	MN	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Olson, Pete	R	TX	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Ortiz, Solomon	D	TX	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Owens, Bill	D	NY	\$11,000			Nay	Yea	Yea	
Pastor, Ed	D	AZ	\$6,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Paulsen, Erik	R	MN	\$5,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Payne, Donald	D	NJ	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Pence, Mike	R	IN		\$6,500		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Peterson, Collin	D	MN	\$5,000			Yea	Nay	Nay	Yea
Pierluisi, Pedro		PR		\$1,000					
Pitts, Joe	R	PA	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Pomeroy, Earl	D	ND	\$10,000	\$2,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Posey, Bill	R	FL	\$1,000	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Price, Tom	R	GA	\$5,000	\$7,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Quayle, Ben	R	AZ			\$2,400				
Radanovich, George	R	CA	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Rangel, Charles	D	NY	\$2,000	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Reichert, Dave	R	WA	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Renacci, James	R	OH	\$1,000						
Reyes, Silvestre	D	TX	\$5,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Richmond, Cedric	D	LA	\$2,500						
Rigell, Scott	R	VA			\$4,800				
Rivera, David	R	FL	\$2,000						
Rodriguez, Ciro	D	TX	\$8,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Rogers, Hal	R	KY	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Rogers, Mike	R	MI	\$2,000	\$8,500		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Rokita, Todd	R	IN	\$2,500						
Rooney, Tom	R	FL	\$5,500	\$3,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Roskam, Peter	R	IL	\$8,000	\$5,000		Nay	Nay	Yea	Nay
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana	R	FL	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Ross, Mike	D	AR	\$10,000	\$5,000		Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
Royce, Ed	R	CA	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Runyan, Jon	R	NJ	\$1,000						
Ruppersberger, Dutch	D	MD	\$3,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Rush, Bobby	D	IL	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Ryan, Paul	R	WI	\$6,000	\$1,000	\$2,000	Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Salazar, John	D	CO	\$10,000			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Sanchez, Loretta	D	CA	\$8,500			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Scalise, Steve	R	LA	\$2,000	\$1,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Schauer, Mark	D	MI	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Schilling, Bobby	R	IL	\$1,000						
Schock, Aaron	R	IL	\$2,000	\$6,000		Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Schultz, Debbie Wasserman	D	FL		\$7,500		Yea	Yea	Not voting	
Schwartz, Allyson	D	PA	\$3,500	\$1,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Scott, David	D	GA	\$4,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Scott, Robert	D	VA	\$1,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Scott, Tim	R	SC	\$2,500						
Sensenbrenner, F James	R	WI	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	
Sessions, Pete	R	TX		\$10,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Sewell, Terri	D	AL	\$2,500						
Shimkus, John	R	IL	\$5,000	\$3,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Shuler, Heath	D	NC	\$10,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Shuster, Bill	R	PA	\$2,000	\$4,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Simpson, Mike	R	ID	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Sires, Albio	D	NJ	\$5,500			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Skelton, Ike	D	MO	\$10,000			Nay	Nay	Yea	Yea
Smith, Adam	D	WA	\$2,500			Yea	Yea	Not voting	Yea
Smith, Adrian	R	NE	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Smith, Lamar	R	TX	\$1,000	\$3,000		Nay	Nay	Not voting	Nay
Souder, Mark	R	IN	\$2,000				Nay		Nay
Speier, Jackie	D	CA	\$2,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Spratt, John	D	SC	\$2,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Stearns, Cliff	R	FL	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Stivers, Steve	R	OH	\$2,000		\$4,800				
Sullivan, John	R	OK	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Taylor, Gene	D	MS	\$10,000			Not voting	Nay	Yea	Yea

NAME	PARTY	STATE	WMT PAC	WMT PAC TO LEADERSHIP PAC	WALTON FAMILY MEMBER	WALL STREET REFORM	HEALTH CARE REFORM	FOOD SAFETY	FAIR PAY ACT
Teague, Harry	D	NM	\$1,000			Yea	Nay	Yea	Yea
Terry, Lee	R	NE	\$3,500			Nay	Nay	Yea	Nay
Thompson, Bennie	D	MS	\$6,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Thompson, Glenn	R	PA	\$1,500			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Thompson, Mike	D	CA	\$5,000	\$1,000		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Tiberi, Patrick	R	OH	\$10,000	\$5,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	NV
Towns, Edolphus	D	NY	\$2,500	\$2,500		Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Turner, Michael	R	OH	\$1,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Upton, Fred	R	MI	\$5,000	\$6,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Visclosky, Pete	D	IN	\$1,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Walden, Greg	R	OR	\$4,000	\$6,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Walsh, Joe	R	IL	\$1,000						
Walz, Timothy	D	MN	\$2,500						
Watt, Melvin	D	NC	\$4,000			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Waxman, Henry	D	CA	\$7,500			Yea	Yea	Yea	Yea
Webster, Daniel	R	FL			\$4,800				
Westmoreland, Lynn	R	GA		\$7,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Whitfield, Ed	R	KY	\$2,000	\$2,000		Nay	Nay	Nay	Yea
Wilson, Frederica	D	FL	\$2,500						
Wilson, Joe	R	SC	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Wittman, Rob	R	VA	\$2,000			Nay	Nay	Nay	Nay
Womack, Steve	R	AR	\$5,000		\$9,600				
Woodall, Rob	R	GA	\$2,500						
Woolsey, Lynn	D	CA	\$2,500			Not voting	Yea	Yea	Yea
Yoder, Kevin	R	KS			\$2,400				