

Numbers Don't Lie: Michigan-based Corporations Continue to Fund Voter Suppressing Politicians

Executive Summary

The Defend Black Voters Coalition (DBV) was formed to stop the corporate funded attack on voting rights. Extremist Michigan state lawmakers are backing an effort designed to make it harder for Black and working class people to access the ballot. They plan on using a signature-qualifying loophole to pass voting restrictions into law over the governor's veto by the end of 2022.

After months of attempting to engage corporate contributors to politicians behind these efforts, DBV has publicly called out Blue Cross Blue Shield Michigan, Delta Dental of Michigan, DTE, Consumers Energy, General Motors and Ford for their role as top funders of voter suppression despite their professed values on racial justice and voting rights.

Instead of pledging to stop funding the attack on our freedom to vote, our new analysis of recently disclosed corporate political contributions data found that these companies have continued supporting extremist politicians in 2022. **The numbers don't lie:**

- **Top 6 behind the 79:** The top six direct corporate contributors to the 79 extremist Michigan state lawmakers attacking the right to vote for Black and working class people remain the same six companies that have all made statements in support of racial justice and voting rights: Blue Cross Blue Shield of Michigan, DTE, Consumers Energy, Delta Dental of Michigan, General Motors, and Ford.
- **\$1.5 million:** These six companies have given 2,304 direct contributions to these lawmakers totaling almost \$1.5 million since the 2016 election cycle, including \$126,175 so far in 2022.
- **\$2.8 million:** When adding contributions to the party campaign committees that primarily support these extremist lawmakers, the total contributions from these companies increases to over \$2.8 million, including \$260,675 in 2022.
- **#1:** Blue Cross Blue Shield of Michigan remains the largest corporate contributor, contributing \$837k directly and through party committees since the 2016 cycle.
- **\$356,245:** These six companies have also funded the worst Michigan State House propagators of the Big Lie, giving \$356,245 directly to these Michigan State House since the 2016 cycle. Consumers Energy had the largest new contributions to this group in 2022 totaling \$19,500.

The DBV Coalition urges these corporations to immediately take action to ensure their political dollars are aligned with their professed values on voting rights and racial justice and stop funding extremist lawmakers.

Numbers Don't Lie: DBV Corporate Political Contributions Analysis

Since October 2021, the Defend Black Voters Coalition has engaged six of the largest Michigan-based corporate donors who back extremist state lawmakers trying to pass voter suppression legislation. These lawmakers - backed by companies including Blue Cross Blue Shield of Michigan (BCBSM), DTE, CMS Energy (Consumers Energy), Delta Dental of Michigan (Delta Dental), General Motors, and Ford [1] - are poised to pass the Secure MI Vote initiative which is designed to make it harder for Black and working class people to vote.

In December, after none of the corporations were willing to engage in meaningful dialogue, the coalition launched their campaign publicly and published data on campaign contributions that was pulled from the OpenSecrets database in mid-November 2021. The following memo updates political contributions analysis based on end-of-July disclosures that give us the first look at 2022 corporate political spending. [2]

Analysis was done on direct contributions to the 79 extremist lawmakers currently in the state legislature that either voted on the worst voter suppression bills in 2021 or came into office since those bills received a vote but have taken a public position propagating the Big Lie or backing voter suppression measures (Mike Harris and Terence Mekoski). This group makes up every Republican lawmaker in both chambers of the legislature plus Matt Maddock (kicked out of House GOP in April for caucus rules violations).

Analysis was also done on the three major entities that act as conduits to these lawmakers: the House Republican Campaign Committee of Michigan, the Michigan Senate Republican Campaign Committee, and the Michigan Republican Party. Contributions data was analyzed going back to the 2016 election cycle.

DBV's analysis shows that despite publicly supporting racial justice and opposing voter suppression bills, BCBSM, DTE, Consumers Energy, Delta Dental, General Motors, and Ford continue to support extremist legislators in the form of campaign contributions. Our analysis shows that over the course of this most recent filing period, these six companies contributed to these extremist lawmakers 194 times totaling \$260,675. This includes:

- **41 contributions from BCBSM** totaling \$66,800
- **37 contributions from DTE Energy** totaling \$66,000
- **59 contributions from Consumers Energy** totaling \$66,750
- **5 contributions from Ford** totaling \$23,500
- **34 contributions from Delta Dental** of MI totaling \$25,875
- **18 contributions from General Motors** totaling \$11,75

[1] All companies referenced in this memo include affiliated entities such as the company PAC. This analysis does not include direct contributions from employees of any of the named companies to state legislators.

[2] Methodology note: The first Michigan political contribution reports of 2022 for candidate committees and political party committees were disclosed on July 22nd and the second quarterly political contribution statements for political committees were disclosed on July 25th. Community Change Action pulled and analyzed the latest political contributions data from the OpenSecrets database as soon as they were cleaned and uploaded on July 29th.

Due to Michigan Campaign Finance Laws, the sums in the data tables below are likely just the tip of the iceberg for corporate support of extremist lawmakers. Insufficient disclosure requirements allow for major blindspots around leadership PACs (disclosure of contributions required but difficult to trace who controls it), industry associations (company contributions to associations aren't disclosed), and party administrative funds (contribution disclosures not required at all), these major funding streams were not taken into the analysis. There is, however, evidence that the corporations named by DBV have contributed significant money through leadership PACs. For example, according to the Michigan Campaign Finance Network, Compete Michigan PACs 1, 2, and 3 are controlled by GOP Senate Majority Leader Mike Shirkey. Searching the Compete Michigan disclosures reveals that BCBSM has given \$10,000 since the beginning of 2021 to those entities. In the same period, DTE gave \$5,000, Delta Dental gave \$4,000, and General Motors gave \$1,500. (See appendix for disclosure report references.)

Direct Contributions Analysis

Blue Cross Blue Shield of Michigan (BCBSM), DTE, CMS Energy (Consumers Energy), Delta Dental of Michigan (Delta Dental), General Motors, and Ford [3] are the top direct corporate contributors to the extremist lawmakers backing voter suppression, giving 2,304 direct contributions for a total of almost \$1.5 million since the 2016 election cycle.

Direct Contributions (Corporations only since 2016 cycle)

Rank	Contributor	Total Amount	# of Contributions
1	BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD OF MICHIGAN	\$399,400	494
2	DTE ENERGY	\$318,145	453
3	CMS ENERGY	\$299,325	441
4	DELTA DENTAL OF MICHIGAN	\$168,575	377
5	GENERAL MOTORS	\$145,375	329
6	FORD MOTOR CO	\$122,100	210
7	DYKEMA GOSSETT PLLC	\$119,462	284
8	MEIJER INC	\$96,500	107
9	COMERICA BANK	\$87,450	92
10	MUCHMORE HARRINGTON SMALLEY & ASSOCIATES	\$84,408	287

(Table continued on following page).

[3] All companies referenced in this memo include affiliated entities such as the company PAC.

11	AT&T	\$79,700	151
12	CLARK HILL PLC	\$78,737	243
13	COMCAST CORPORATION & NBC UNIVERSAL	\$73,161	76
14	JAMES H KAROUB ASSOCIATES	\$71,800	223
15	FRANKENMUTH	\$66,250	92

Direct and political committee contributions analysis

When adding contributions to the political committees that primarily support these lawmakers, the aforementioned companies have given 2,502 contributions for a total of over \$2.8 million. The below table shows the top corporate givers based on direct and political committee giving. BCBSM, DTE, and Consumers Energy remain the top three.

Direct and political committee Contributions (Corporations only, since 2016 cycle)

Rank	Contributor	Total Amount	# of Contributions
1	BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD OF MICHIGAN	\$836,900	532
2	DTE ENERGY	\$770,120	504
3	CMS ENERGY	\$523,825	484
4	MEIJER INC	\$500,450	134
5	COMCAST CORPORATION & NBC UNIVERSAL	\$334,782	93
6	FORD MOTOR CO	\$283,350	241
7	DELTA DENTAL OF MICHIGAN	\$256,575	415
8	DYKEMA GOSSETT PLLC	\$233,741	304
9	SCHOSTAK FAMILY PAC	\$205,600	32
10	AT&T	\$204,950	171
11	GENERAL MOTORS	\$160,375	344
12	JACKSON HOLDINGS / JACKSON NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE	\$127,050	92
13	FRANKENMUTH	\$126,750	102
14	CLARK HILL PLC	\$96,237	254
15	MUCHMORE HARRINGTON SMALLEY & ASSOCIATES	\$90,408	292

The companies that were named by DBV last year have continued to support extremist lawmakers backing voter suppression. The below table shows how much direct and party committee contributions each of the six named companies have given, including a breakdown of the newly available data in 2022. So far in 2022, BCBSM has made 35 direct contributions to these lawmakers for a total of \$29,300 and made six contributions to the political committees supporting these lawmakers for a total of \$37,500. All together, BCBSM has contributed \$836,900 directly and through political committees since the 2016 election cycle.

Direct and Political Committee Contributions-detailed
(just 6 named corporations, since 2016 cycle)

Contributor	Type of Donation New ('22) or Old (Pre-'22)	Direct or Party Committee	Total Contribution Amount	# of Contributions
BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD OF MICHIGAN	New 2022	Direct	\$29,300	35
		Party	\$37,500	6
		Total	\$66,800	41
	Old Pre-2022	Direct	\$370,100	459
		Party	\$400,000	32
		Total	\$770,100	491
Total		\$836,900	532	
DTE ENERGY	New 2022	Direct	\$26,000	31
		Party	\$40,000	6
		Total	\$66,000	37
	Old Pre-2022	Direct	\$292,145	422
		Party	\$411,975	45
		Total	\$704,120	467
Total		\$770,120	504	
CMS ENERGY	New	Direct	\$41,750	55
		Party	\$25,000	4
		Total	\$66,750	59

(Table continued on following page).

CMS ENERGY	Old	Direct	\$257,575	386
		Party	\$199,500	39
		Total	\$457,075	425
	Total		\$523,825	484
FORD MOTOR CO	New	Direct	\$3,500	3
		Party	\$20,000	2
		Total	\$23,500	5
	Old	Direct	\$118,600	207
		Party	\$141,250	29
		Total	\$259,850	236
Total		\$283,350	241	
DELTA DENTAL OF MICHIGAN	New	Direct	\$15,875	31
		Party	\$10,000	3
		Total	\$25,875	34
	Old	Direct	\$152,700	346
		Party	\$78,000	35
		Total	\$230,700	381
Total		\$256,575	415	
GENERAL MOTORS	New	Direct	\$9,750	16
		Party	\$2,000	2
		Total	\$11,750	18
	Old	Direct	\$135,625	313
		Party	\$13,000	13
		Total	\$148,625	326
	Total		\$160,375	344
GRAND TOTAL			\$2,831,145	2,5200

Continued direct contributions to the worst of the worst

All of these companies have also contributed to the worst propagators of the Big Lie that the elections were stolen. Of the 79 extremist lawmakers referenced above, 31 of them have either signed a letter asking Pence to delay certification; tried to go inside the Capitol with false electors in December; signed onto a letter asking Attorney General Nessel to investigate the debunked 2,000 mules theory; signed onto a letter demanding a full forensic audit of the MI 2020 election; signed onto a letter asking for a national election audit, or been admonished for not ruling out violence in reference to the election.

BCBSM has given 153 direct contributions to these lawmakers for a total of \$101,900, including 12 donations for a total of \$8,300 in the first half of this year. Consumers Energy gave the most new donations of any of the six named companies. They gave 22 donations for a total of \$19,500 this year. Combined, the six companies have given 635 donations for a total of \$356,245 to the worst of the right wing extremist lawmakers backing voter suppression.

Direct Contributions to Big Lie Propogators-detailed
(just 6 named corporations, since 2016 cycle)

Contributor	Type of Donation New ('22) or Old (Pre-'22)	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD OF MICHIGAN	New	\$8,300	12
	Old	\$93,600	141
	Total	\$101,900	153
CMS ENERGY	New	\$19,500	22
	Old	\$72,800	107
	Total	\$92,300	129
DTE ENERGY	New	\$10,000	14
	Old	\$77,370	118
	Total	\$87,370	132
DELTA DENTAL OF MICHIGAN	New	\$3,950	9
	Old	\$25,750	89
	Total	\$29,700	98
GENERAL MOTORS	New	\$1,500	4
	Old	\$25,775	81
	Total	\$27,275	85
FORD MOTOR CO	New	\$2,000	1
	Old	\$15,700	37
	Total	\$17,700	38
GRAND TOTAL		\$356,245	635

Defend Black Voters

DBV is a multi-racial campaign directed by a coalition of Michigan-based, Black-led racial justice organizations: Moses Action, Detroit Action, Michigan People's Campaign, Mothering Justice Action Fund, Emergent Justice and is convened by Community Change Action.

For Reference

- **Compete Michigan Disclosures**

- DTE:

- \$2500, 12-22-21, Compete Michigan PAC 3
- \$2500, 9-1-21, Compete Michigan PAC 2

- BCBSM:

- \$1000, 6-10-22, Compete Michigan PAC 2
- \$2500, 3-3-21, Compete Michigan PAC
- \$1500, 9-22-21, Compete Michigan PAC 2
- \$2500, 9-23-22, Compete Michigan PAC 3
- \$2500, 2-23-21, Compete Michigan PAC

- Delta Dental

- \$1000, 1-26-22, Compete Michigan PAC
- \$1000, 9-9-21, Compete Michigan PAC 2
- \$1000, 9-29-21, Compete Michigan PAC 3
- \$1000, 2-11-21, Compete Michigan PAC

- GM:

- \$1500, 4-19-22, Compete Michigan PAC 3

- **Detailed Contributions to Extremist Lawmakers by Corporation**

- (Tables begin on following page)

Direct Contributions to Big Lie propagators
(detailed w named legislators)

BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD OF MICHIGAN			
Type of Donation New ('22) or Old (Pre-'22)	Suppressionist	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
New	BEELER, ANDREW	1,000	1
	BORTON, KEN	1,300	2
	GREEN, PHILIP	500	1
	HALL, MATTHEW C	2,000	2
	OMALLEY, JACK	500	1
	OUTMAN, PATRICK	500	1
	POSTHUMUS, BRYAN	1,000	1
	ROTH, JOHN R	1,500	3
New Total		\$8,300	12
Old	ALEXANDER, JULIE	5,750	9
	ALLOR, SUE	4,000	5
	BEELER, ANDREW	500	1
	BELLINO JR, JOE	5,500	8
	BERMAN, RYAN	3,500	5
	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	500	1
	CARRA, STEPHEN	500	1
	EISEN, GARY R	1,500	4
	GLENN, ANNETTE	3,000	5
	GREEN, PHILIP	2,500	4
	GRIFFIN, ELIZABETH J (BETH)	6,750	10
	HALL, MATTHEW C	4,500	6
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	2,300	4
	JOHNSON, STEVEN	4,500	8
	KAHLE, BRONNA	6,000	8
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	2,500	4
	MEERMAN, LUKE	1,500	2
OMALLEY, JACK	2,750	6	

(Table continued on following page).

Old	OUTMAN, PATRICK	500	1
	PAQUETTE, BRAD	2,500	4
	POSTHUMUS, BRYAN	3,500	3
	REILLY, JOHN M	1,500	3
	RENDON, DAIRE	6,250	8
	ROTH, JOHN R	500	1
	RUNESTAD, JAMES (JIM)	11,050	16
	WAKEMAN, RODNEY	2,000	4
	WHITEFORD, MARY P	4,250	5
	WOZNIAK, DOUGLAS C	3,500	5
Old Total		\$93,600	141
BLUE CROSS BLUE SHIELD GRAND TOTAL		\$101,900	153

CMS ENERGY			
Type of Donation New ('22), Old (Pre-'22)	Suppressionist	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
New	BEELER, ANDREW	2,000	2
	BELLINO JR, JOE	2,500	1
	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	500	1
	BORTON, KEN	2,000	3
	GREEN, PHILIP	1,500	2
	HALL, MATTHEW C	3,500	2
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	1,000	1
	MEERMAN, LUKE	500	1
	OMALLEY, JACK	2,500	3
	OUTMAN, PATRICK	500	1
	PAQUETTE, BRAD	500	1
	POSTHUMUS, BRYAN	500	1
	ROTH, JOHN R	500	1
	WAKEMAN, RODNEY	1,500	2
New Total		\$19,500	22

(Table continued on following page).

Old	ALEXANDER, JULIE	6,500	11
	BEELER, ANDREW	2,000	2
	BELLINO JR, JOE	18,500	11
	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	2,000	2
	BORTON, KEN	2,000	2
	GREEN, PHILIP	2,250	5
	GRIFFIN, ELIZABETH J (BETH)	8,500	12
	HALL, MATTHEW C	1,500	3
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	500	1
	KAHLE, BRONNA	3,750	10
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	500	1
	MEERMAN, LUKE	2,250	6
	OMALLEY, JACK	2,800	5
	OUTMAN, PATRICK	2,500	2
	PAQUETTE, BRAD	1,250	4
	POSTHUMUS, BRYAN	3,500	4
	RENDON, DAIRE	2,250	6
	ROTH, JOHN R	1,500	2
	WAKEMAN, RODNEY	1,750	5
	WHITEFORD, MARY P	4,250	8
WOZNIAK, DOUGLAS C	2,750	5	
Old Total		\$72,800	107
CMS ENERGY GRAND TOTAL		\$92,300	129

DTE Energy			
Type of Donation New ('22), Old (Pre-'22)	Suppressionist	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
New	BEELER, ANDREW	1,000	1
	BELLINO JR, JOE	1,000	1
	BORTON, KEN	500	2
	GREEN, PHILIP	500	1
	HALL, MATTHEW C	3,000	2
	MEERMAN, LUKE	250	1

(Table continued on following page).

New	OMALLEY, JACK	500	1
	OUTMAN, PATRICK	1,000	1
	ROTH, JOHN R	2,000	3
	WAKEMAN, RODNEY	250	1
New Total		\$10,000	14
Old	ALEXANDER, JULIE	3,800	7
	ALLOR, SUE	1,000	3
	BEELER, ANDREW	2,600	5
	BELLINO JR, JOE	17,170	14
	BERMAN, RYAN	2,650	3
	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	750	2
	BORTON, KEN	500	1
	EISEN, GARY R	1,250	4
	GLENN, ANNETTE	500	1
	GREEN, PHILIP	750	2
	GRIFFIN, ELIZABETH J (BETH)	15,250	13
	HALL, MATTHEW C	1,500	3
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	800	2
	JOHNSON, STEVEN	250	1
	KAHLE, BRONNA	5,875	13
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	1,000	2
	MEERMAN, LUKE	150	1
	OMALLEY, JACK	5,125	7
	OUTMAN, PATRICK	2,000	2
	PAQUETTE, BRAD	1,500	2
	REILLY, JOHN M	500	1
	RENDON, DAIRE	1,500	4
	ROTH, JOHN R	2,000	2
	RUNESTAD, JAMES (JIM)	3,100	8
WAKEMAN, RODNEY	500	2	
WHITEFORD, MARY P	3,950	10	
WOZNIAK, DOUGLAS C	1,400	3	
Old Total		\$77,370	118
DTE ENERGY TOTAL		\$87,370	132

DELTA DENTAL OF MICHIGAN

Type of Donation New ('22) or Old (Pre-'22)	Suppressionist	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
New	BEELER, ANDREW	250	1
	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	250	1
	GREEN, PHILIP	1,000	1
	HALL, MATTHEW C	1,500	2
	MEERMAN, LUKE	500	1
	POSTHUMUS, BRYAN	150	1
	ROTH, JOHN R	300	2
New Total		\$3,950	9
Old	ALEXANDER, JULIE	1,650	5
	ALLOR, SUE	1,700	6
	BEELER, ANDREW	150	1
	BELLINO JR, JOE	1,450	7
	BERMAN, RYAN	1,000	4
	GLENN, ANNETTE	2,700	7
	GREEN, PHILIP	2,000	5
	GRIFFIN, ELIZABETH J (BETH)	750	3
	HALL, MATTHEW C	400	2
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	750	4
	JOHNSON, STEVEN	200	1
	KAHLE, BRONNA	3,550	9
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	350	2
	MEERMAN, LUKE	650	2
	PAQUETTE, BRAD	400	2
	POSTHUMUS, BRYAN	250	1
	RENDON, DAIRE	1,850	5
	ROTH, JOHN R	500	2
	RUNESTAD, JAMES (JIM)	2,650	13
	WHITEFORD, MARY P	1,500	3
WOZNIAK, DOUGLAS C	1,300	5	
Old Total		\$1,300	5
DELTA DENTAL TOTAL		\$29,700	98

GENERAL MOTORS

Type of Donation New ('22) or Old (Pre-'22)	Suppressionist	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
New	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	250	1
	BORTON, KEN	500	1
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	250	1
	ROTH, JOHN R	500	1
New Total		\$1,500	4
Old	ALEXANDER, JULIE	2,950	11
	ALLOR, SUE	2,000	7
	BEELER, ANDREW	250	1
	BELLINO JR, JOE	2,150	7
	BERMAN, RYAN	250	1
	BEZOTTE, ROBERT J	250	1
	BORTON, KEN	250	1
	EISEN, GARY R	250	1
	GLENN, ANNETTE	350	2
	GREEN, PHILIP	1,250	3
	GRIFFIN, ELIZABETH J (BETH)	2,225	8
	HALL, MATTHEW C	1,500	2
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	650	3
	JOHNSON, STEVEN	150	1
	KAHLE, BRONNA	1,300	5
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	400	2
	MEERMAN, LUKE	150	1
	OMALLEY, JACK	1,000	2
	OUTMAN, PATRICK	500	1
	PAQUETTE, BRAD	250	1
	REILLY, JOHN M	400	2
	RENDON, DAIRE	250	1
ROTH, JOHN R	500	1	
RUNESTAD, JAMES (JIM)	4,550	8	

Old	WAKEMAN, RODNEY	750	3
	WHITEFORD, MARY P	250	1
	WOZNIAK, DOUGLAS C	1,000	4
Old Total		\$25,775	81
GENERAL MOTORS		\$27,275	85

FORD MOTOR COMPANY			
Type of Donation New ('22) or Old (Pre-'22)	Suppressionist	Total Contribution Amount (in USD)	# of contributions
New	HALL, MATTHEW C	2,000	1
New Total		\$2,000	1
Old	ALEXANDER, JULIE	650	3
	ALLOR, SUE	200	1
	BELLINO JR, JOE	2,750	6
	GRIFFIN, ELIZABETH J (BETH)	500	2
	HALL, MATTHEW C	1,500	2
	HOITENGA, MICHELE	300	2
	JOHNSON, STEVEN	150	1
	KAHLE, BRONNA	150	1
	MARKKANEN, GREGORY	100	1
	MEERMAN, LUKE	2,000	3
	OMALLEY, JACK	2,000	3
	REILLY, JOHN M	150	1
	RENDON, DAIRE	250	1
RUNESTAD, JAMES (JIM)	3,000	5	
WHITEFORD, MARY P	500	2	
WOZNIAK, DOUGLAS C	1,500	3	
Old Total		\$15,700	37
Ford Motor Company Total		\$17,700	38

**Defend Black
Voters Coalition** 

DefendBlackVoters.org