

# The Big 4's Full Court Press



**An Analysis of the Rise in Political Spending  
from the Big 4 Tech Companies,  
Google, Amazon, Apple and Facebook.**



## **Acknowledgments**

This report was written by Michael Tanglis, Senior Researcher for Public Citizen's Congress Watch division. The report was edited by Congress Watch Research Director Taylor Lincoln and Congress Watch Deputy Director Susan Harley.

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## **Executive Summary: The Big 4 Have Spent \$346 million in Lobbying & Campaign Contributions Since the 2010 Cycle**

In recent years, Google, Amazon, Apple and Facebook (referred to in this report as the “Big 4” technology companies) have become among most valuable companies in the United States, currently accounting for four of the top five.<sup>1</sup>

These corporations, collectively, have evoked widespread alarm for various reasons. Although the allegations directed at each company differ, they have variously been accused of invading consumer privacy, creating platforms that can be hijacked for deceptive purposes, accruing excessive power and engaging in anticompetitive activity.

Fears over the power accrued by the Big 4 have grown so acute that many critics have begun calling for these companies to be broken up and their leaders subject to civil liability.

As the public clamor has grown louder, these four winners of the new economy sweepstakes have resorted to a decidedly old school strategy to prevent Congress from acting on their critics' charges: They have blanketed Capitol Hill with lobbyists and lavished members of Congress with campaign contributions. These companies' political spending has shot upward in recent years in sync with their skyrocketing stock valuations.

This analysis aims to describe the scope of Big 4's political spending, including how much they are spending, how their spending has changed over time, and where exactly they are focusing their efforts.<sup>2</sup>

From 2010 through 2018, the Big 4's political action committees (PACs), their employees, and their lobbyists spent \$346 million on lobbying and campaign contributions to Congress and to the national party committees<sup>3</sup> that raise money for congressional elections (hereinafter: Congress.). Their total jumped from \$19 million in the 2010 cycle to \$118 million in 2018.

### **The Foundation of the Big 4's Political Spending: \$309 Million in Lobbying Since 2009, \$55 Million in 2018**

In 2018, Google, Amazon and Facebook all ranked in the top 10 in terms of lobbying spending by individual companies (i.e., excluding trade groups), according to the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP). It was Facebook's first time appearing in the top 10. Google has been on the list each year since 2012, while Amazon started to appear on the top 10 list in 2017.

The Big 4 tech companies' combined annual lobbying expenditures jumped more than 600 percent from 2009 to 2018, from \$7.5 million in 2009 to \$55.4 million in 2018.

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<sup>1</sup> *Largest Companies by Market Cap Today*, DOGS OF THE DOW, <http://bit.ly/2MlwB30>.

<sup>2</sup> A full Methodology appears in Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), and the National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC).

The increased spending by the Big 4 has led to a steady increase in the number of lobbyists working on their behalf. In 2009, 89 lobbyists worked on behalf of the Big 4. In 2018, that number was 277.

**Big 4 Company PACs, Employees and Lobbyists Have Contributed \$37 Million to Congress Since 2010, \$12 Million in 2018**

Beyond the lobbying dollars, the Big 4 have other avenues in which they can ingratiate themselves to those who will ultimately decide whether to increase regulations on them and, if so, what those new regulations will look like. Public Citizen analyzed three main contribution streams that will benefit the Big 4 as they inevitably fight new oversight: Company Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions, company employee contributions, and contributions from the lobbyists that lobby on their behalf.

In total, from the 2010 election through the 2018 cycle, Congress has received \$37.3 million in contributions from these contributors. During the 2018 election cycle alone, Congress received 12.1 million.

*Big 4 Company PACs Have Contributed \$10.9 Million to Congress Since the 2010 Cycle, \$3.7 Million in 2018*

Company PACs operated by Google, Amazon and Facebook (Apple does not have a PAC) have contributed \$10.9 million to members of Congress since 2010, including \$3.7 million during the 2018 cycle. PAC disbursements were bipartisan, with about half of the money going to Democrats and half going to Republicans. For the Big 4 PACs, it's truly about coverage, not ideology. For example, almost all members of the Democratic and Republican Senate and House leadership received at least \$25,000 combined from Amazon, Google and Facebook PACs during the 2018 cycle.

Further, PACs for Amazon, Google and Facebook all contributed to a filibuster-proof majority of the U.S. Senate in 2018. A stunning 73 percent of the current senators received a campaign contribution from Amazon's PAC during the 2018 election cycle, while Google's PAC contributed to 66 percent of current senators and Facebook's PAC contributed to 60 percent of senators. Almost half the Senate received a contribution from all three in 2018.

In the House, the PACs of Amazon and Google contributed to 54 and 53 percent of representatives, respectively.

*Big 4 Employees Contributed \$3.8 Million in 2018, Double What They Gave in 2016*

Public Citizen analyzed contributions from employees of the Big 4, focusing strictly on contributors who donated \$1,000 or more to an elected official during the election cycle. We excluded smaller contributions because we wanted to narrow our dataset to contributions that were more likely from executives. Contributions from employees of the Big 4 have been increasing steadily since the 2010 cycle. But the increase from the 2016 cycle to that of 2018 was unprecedented, as employees of the Big 4 doubled their spending from the previous election cycle, from \$1.9 million in 2016 to \$3.8 million in 2018.

Google employees contributed the most by far in 2018, \$2 million, accounting for more than half of all the Big 4 employee contributions to Congress combined in 2018.

While Google employees may lead the pack, one specific Big 4 company executive towers above the rest: Facebook Chief Operating Officer (COO) Sheryl Sandberg. Sandberg contributed \$134,800 to Congress during the 2018 election cycle.

Employee contributions overwhelmingly favor Democrats, with 94 percent of contributions going to Democrats in 2018. But some important Big 4 executives keep their contributions bipartisan. Google CEO Sundar Pichai for example, contributed \$33,900 each to the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) and the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) during the 2018 cycle. Pichai's bipartisan national party committee contributions continue a trend started by his predecessor Eric Schmidt, who contributed in a similar fashion during previous cycles.

*Big 4 Lobbyists Have Contributed \$18.4 Million to Congress Since 2010 Cycle, \$4.6 Million in 2018, and Outspent Company PACs and Individuals Each Cycle*

Since the 2010 cycle, individuals paid to lobby on behalf of the Big 4 tech companies during that time contributed \$18.4 million to members of Congress. During the 2018 election cycle, lobbyists for the Big 4 contributed \$4.6 million to Congress.

- During the 2018 election cycle, the Big 4 lobbyist contributions came from 215 lobbyists, resulting in an average of about \$21,000 per lobbyist.
- 14 Big 4 lobbyists contributed \$75,000 or more during the 2018 cycle. These 14 lobbyists contributed a total of \$1.5 million in 2018, amounting to a third of total Big 4 lobbyist contributions during the cycle.

The two Big 4 lobbying firms that contributed the most by far from 2010 through 2018 were the Republican-aligned lobbying firm Fierce Government Relations, which represents Apple, and the Democratic-aligned lobbying firm Subject Matter, which represents Facebook. Since the 2010 cycle, Fierce's lobbyists contributed more than \$2 million to Congress, while Subject Matter's lobbyists contributed \$1.8 million. Along with the campaign money expended, these firms can tout strong connections to the current Congress.

- Fierce's lobbyists include a former Republican National Committee staffer, a George W. Bush White House alum, a staffer who just spent a decade working for current Senate Judiciary Chairman Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), a former policy advisor to Minority Whip Steve Scalise (R-La.), and the former Chief of Staff to current Sen. Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.).
- Subject Matter's lobbyists include a previous employee of former Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.), and prior staffers of former House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) and former Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.). Other Subject Matter lobbyists include the former deputy political director of the DCCC and the former chief of staff of the current Democratic Caucus Chairman Rep. Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.). Subject Matter employs a few Republican lobbyists,

including a former assistant to former Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and the former chief of staff to Sen. Cory Gardner (R-Colo.).

*Members of the Current Congress Have Received \$24.7 Million from Big 4 PACs, Employees and Lobbyists Since 2010; Leadership and Members of Key Subcommittees Received a Third of the Total*

Who exactly Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists contributed their money to is important. Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists have contributed \$24.7 million to the current members of Congress.

Of contributions received by members of the current Congress, nearly a third (\$8 million) has gone to the eight highest-ranking members of Congress and the 65 members of oversight committees and subcommittees important to the Big 4.

Eight highest-ranking members of Congress received \$2.5 million since the 2010 cycle. The \$2.5 million total amounts to 10 percent of all the money received by Congress.

There are 65 members of Congress who either sit on the four important oversight subcommittees – or serve as the chair or ranking member of the overarching standing committee – that will be crucial in any potential oversight of the Big 4. In total, these 65 members received \$5.4 million from Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists from 2010 through 2018.

**Amazon Rising: Bezos' Behemoth Engulfs D.C., Drastically Increases Political Spending in Recent Years**

Amazon's spending is increasing much faster than that of the other Big 4 companies in recent years. Google has long been king of Big 4 political spending, but Amazon is now challenging it for its crown.

- In 2016, 86 individuals lobbied on behalf of Google, while the Big 4 company with the next highest total, 56, was Amazon. But in 2018 Amazon sent 103 lobbyists to Capitol Hill – the most it has ever sent – the same number as Google.
- During the 2016 election cycle just 36 percent of senators received Amazon PAC contributions. During the 2018 cycle, the number shot up to 73 percent, topping Google's PAC, which contributed to 66 percent of Senators. In the House, after contributing to just 29 percent of U.S. House members in 2016, Amazon contributed to 54 percent in 2018, again topping Google's PAC, which contributed to 53 percent of House members.
- During the 2016 election cycle, Amazon's PAC contributed \$587,640 to Congress. In 2018, Amazon contributed \$1.5 million – a 152 percent increase from the previous cycle. Amazon's 2018 total is just shy of Google's \$1.6 million.

In the first quarter of 2019 Amazon spent \$450,000 more on lobbying than Google, marking the first time ever that any of the other Big 4 companies outspent Google in a quarter. In the second quarter, Amazon and Facebook each outspent Google by more than \$1 million.



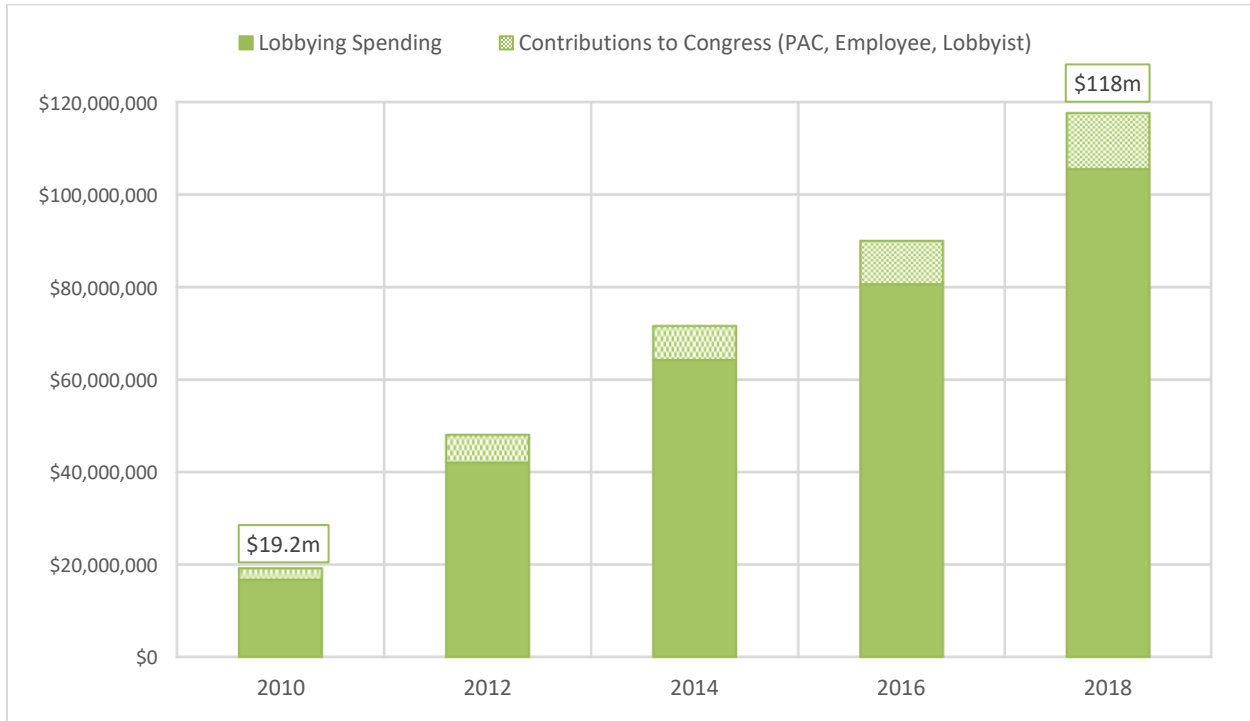
Amazon's political spending increase coincides with other big D.C.-related investments by the company and its founder, Jeff Bezos. In October 2016, Bezos, who is the wealthiest person on earth, with a net worth estimated at \$130 billion, spent \$23 million to purchase the largest house in Washington, D.C. According to blueprints obtained by the *Washingtonian*, as part of a \$12 million renovation, Bezos plans to create a ballroom that could someday host fundraisers for the non-profits Bezos is associated with, or perhaps, the PACs or politicians he likes.

The property purchased by Bezos in 2016 was one of the three major investments made in the Washington, D.C., area by the billionaire and Amazon. In 2013 he purchased *The Washington Post* for \$250 million. And in November 2018, Amazon announced it would open one of its new headquarters in northern Virginia – roughly four miles from the United States Capital.

## I. The Big 4's Political Spending: \$346 million in Lobbying & Contributions Since the 2010 Cycle, \$118 Million in 2018 Alone

During the 2010 cycle, Google, Amazon, Apple and Facebook – the Big 4 tech companies – spent a total of \$19.2 million on lobbying and campaign contributions to members of Congress. During the most recent election cycle, 2018, that number has climbed to \$118 million. [Figure 1]

**Figure 1 – Total Big 4 Lobbying Spending and Campaign Contributions to Congress  
By Election Cycle (2010 through 2018)**



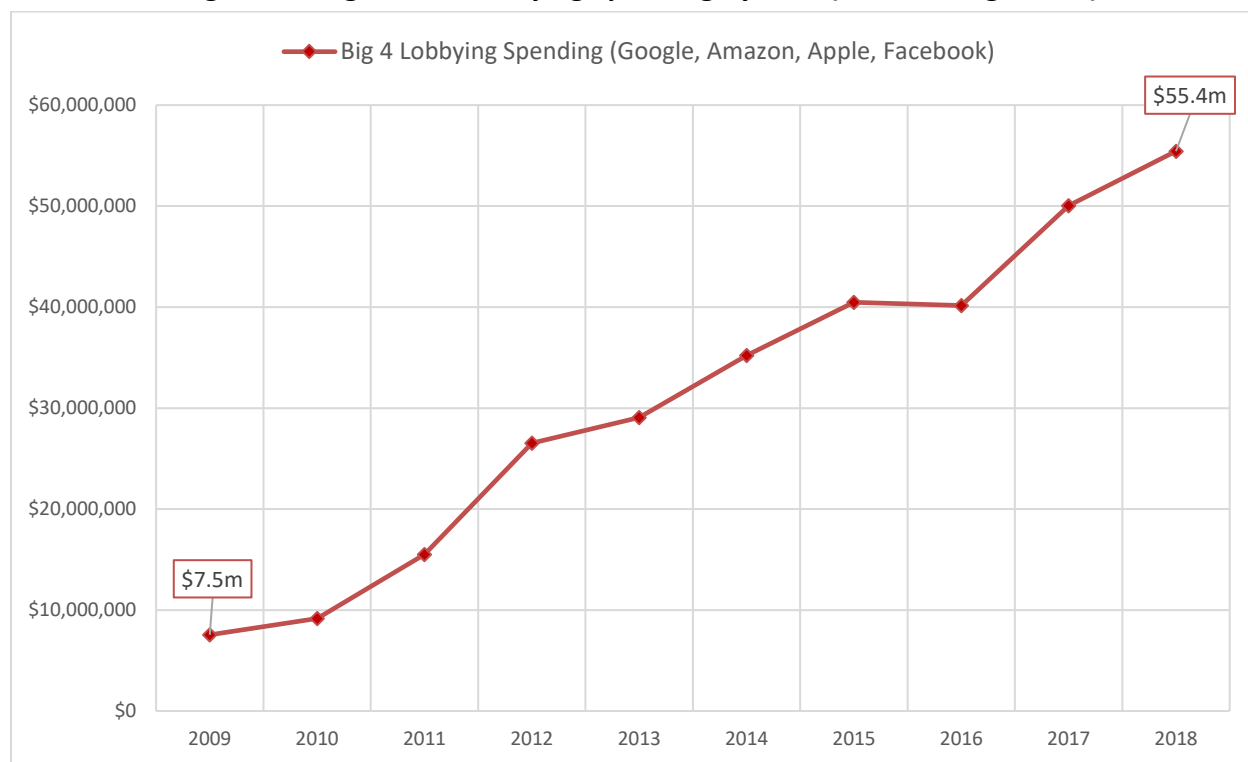
Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

In total, over the five election cycles analyzed, the Big 4 spent a total of \$346 million on lobbying and contributions to Congress. The number is striking. Just four companies attempted to influence policy and legislation using tens of millions of dollars to do so each cycle.

## II. The Foundation of the Big 4's Political Power: \$309 Million in Lobbying Since 2009, \$55 Million in 2018

From 2009 through 2018, the Big 4 tech companies – Google, Amazon, Apple and Facebook – reported spending a total of \$309 million on lobbying. In 2009, they spent \$7.5 million. In 2018, they spent more than \$55 million. [Figure 2]

**Figure 2 – Big 4 Total Lobbying Spending by Year (2009 through 2018)**



Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

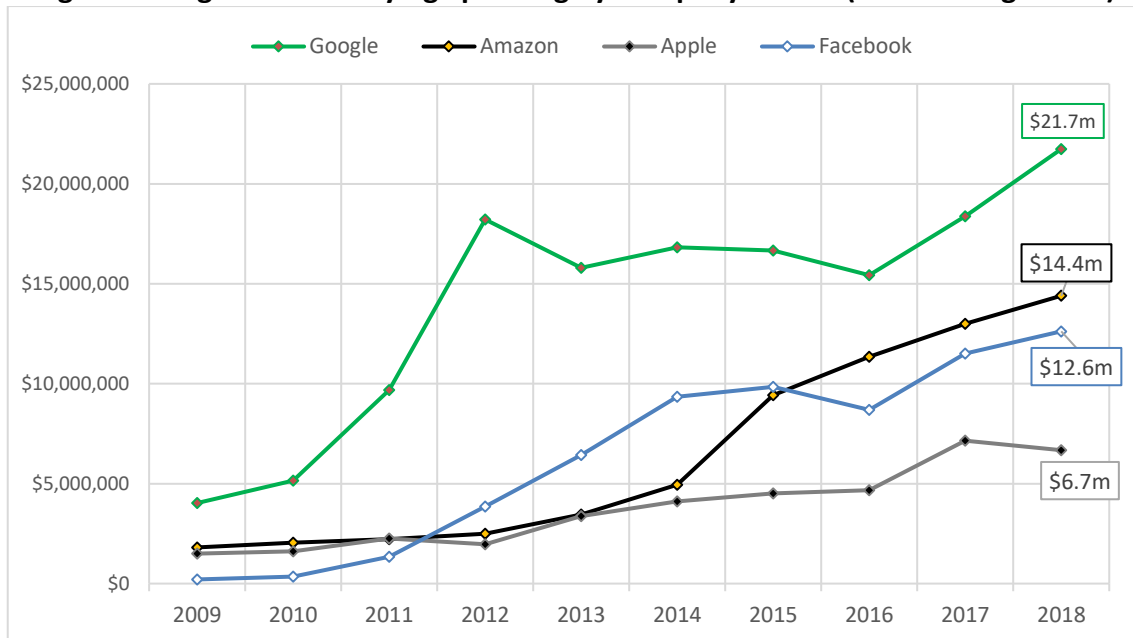
In 2018, Google, Amazon and Facebook all ranked in the top 10 in terms of lobbying spending by individual companies (excluding trade groups), according to CRP.<sup>4</sup> It was Facebook's first time appearing in the top 10. Google has been on the list each year since 2012,<sup>5</sup> while Amazon started to appear on the top 10 list in 2017.<sup>6</sup>

In 2018, Google reported spending \$21.7 million on lobbying – an all-time high for the company, beating its previous record of \$18.4 million from a year earlier. From 2009 through 2018, Google spent \$142 million on lobbying, accounting for 46 percent of the combined Big 4 total over that time. [Figure 3]

<sup>4</sup> *Influence & Lobbying, Top Spenders*, CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS (2018), <http://bit.ly/2JzEobK>.

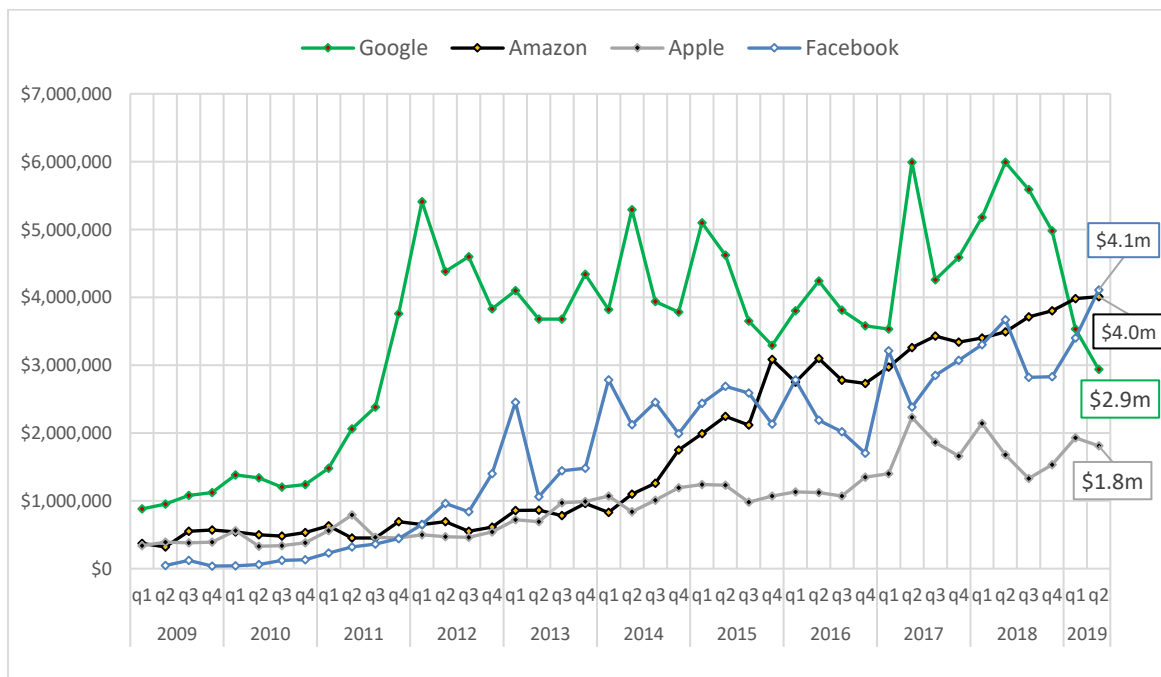
<sup>5</sup> *Influence & Lobbying, Top Spenders*, CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS (2012), <http://bit.ly/2Y687kC>.

<sup>6</sup> *Influence & Lobbying, Top Spenders*, CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS (2017), <http://bit.ly/30yEIBc>.

**Figure 3 – Big 4 Total Lobbying Spending by Company & Year (2009 through 2018)**

Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

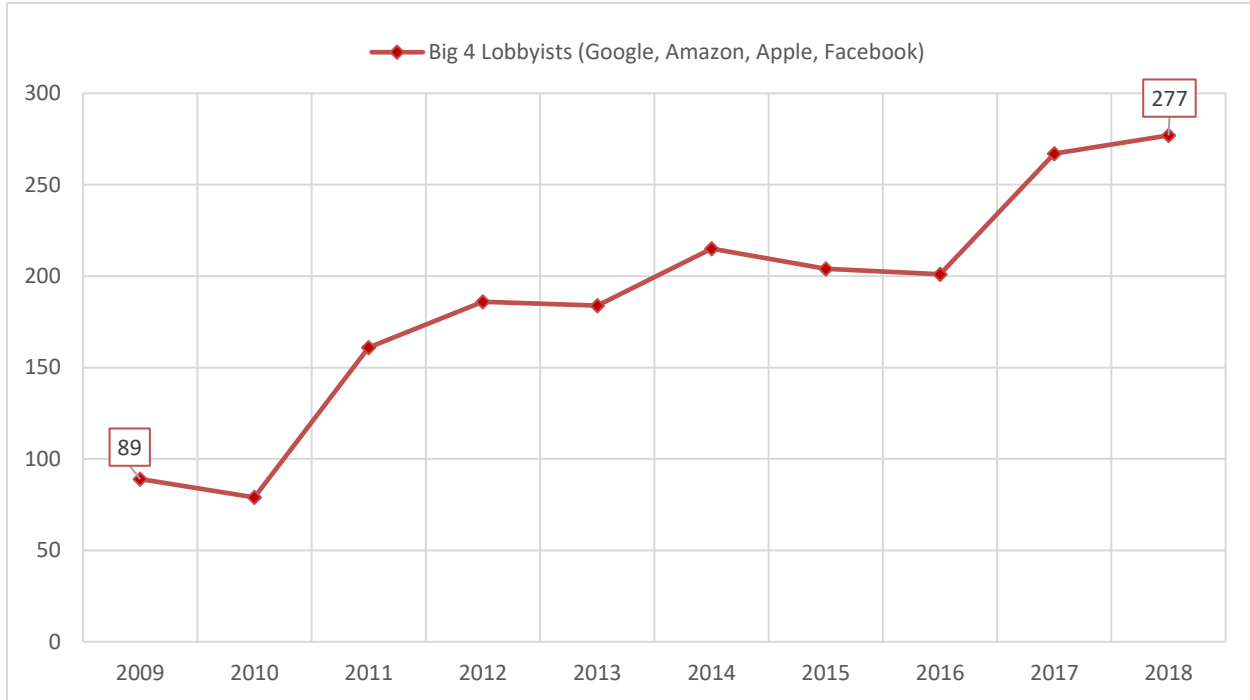
While lobbying spending can fluctuate quarter to quarter, it is important to note that in the first quarter of 2019, Amazon outspent Google by \$450,000 – the first time on record any of the other Big 4 outspent Google in a quarter. In the second quarter of 2019, both Amazon and Facebook outspent Google by more than \$1 million. [Figure 4]

**Figure 4 – Big 4 Total Lobbying Spending by Company, Year & Quarter (2009 through 2018)**

Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

Beyond the dollars spent, the number of lobbyists lobbying Capitol Hill on behalf of the Big 4 has steadily increased over the last decade as well. In 2009 the Big 4 sent 89 lobbyists to lobby the federal government. In 2018, that number was 277. [Figure 5]

**Figure 5 – Number of Lobbyists Working on Behalf of the Big 4 by Year (2009 through 2018)**

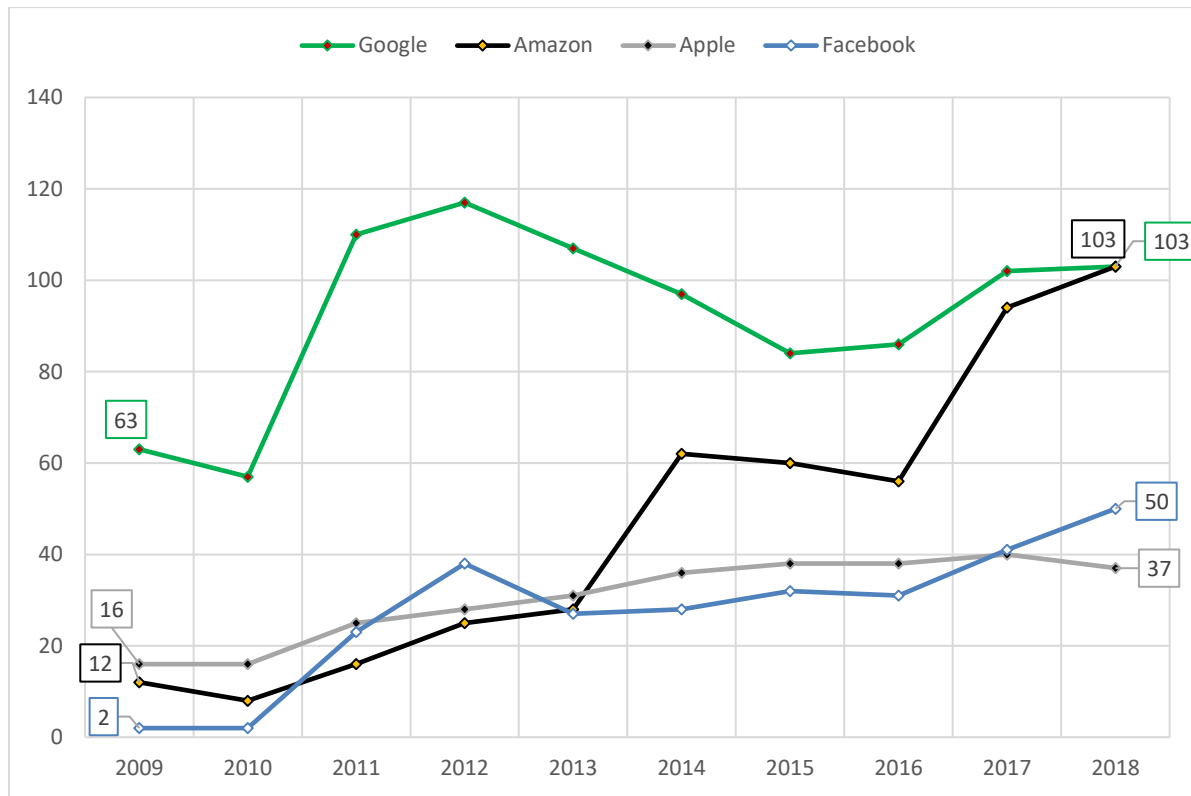


Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

Throughout most the last decade, more individuals have lobbied on behalf of Google than any of the other Big 4 companies, often by a significant margin.

But between 2016 and 2017 Amazon ramped up its lobbying activity significantly. After sending 56 lobbyists to Capitol Hill in 2016, the company sent 94 in 2017. In 2018 Amazon sent 103 – the most it has ever sent – and the same number as Google. [Figure 6]

**Figure 6 – Number of Lobbyists Lobbying on Behalf of the Big 4 by Company & Year (2009 through 2018) \***



Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

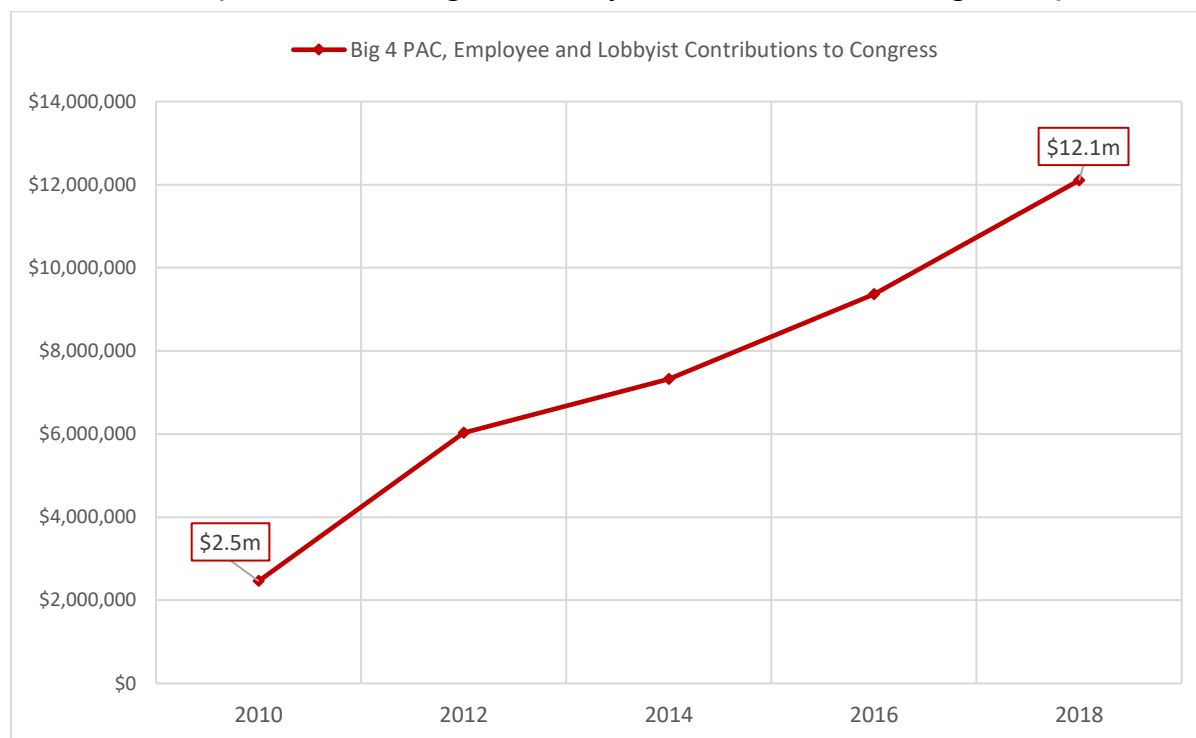
\*A number of lobbyists will lobby on behalf of multiple Big 4 companies in a given year. As such, the combined yearly totals in Figure 4 differ from Figure 3. On average over the last decade, about 12 lobbyists lobbied on behalf of multiple Big 4 companies each year.

### III. Big 4 PACs, Employees and Lobbyists Have Contributed \$37 Million to Congress Since 2010, \$12 Million in 2018

Beyond the lobbying dollars, the Big 4 have other avenues in which they can ingratiate themselves to those who will ultimately decide whether or to increase oversight of the Big 4 and, if so, what those new regulations will look like. Public Citizen analyzed three main contribution streams that will benefit the Big 4 as they inevitably fight new oversight: Company Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions,<sup>7</sup> company employee contributions of \$1,000 or more, and, contributions from the lobbyists that advocate on their behalf.

In total, from the 2010 election through the 2018 cycle, Congress has received \$37.3 million in contributions from these contributors. During the 2018 election cycle alone, Congress received \$12.1 million. [Figure 7]

**Figure 7 – Total Contributions from Big 4's Lobbyists, Employees and PACs to Congress (Members of Congress & Party Committees, 2009 through 2018)**



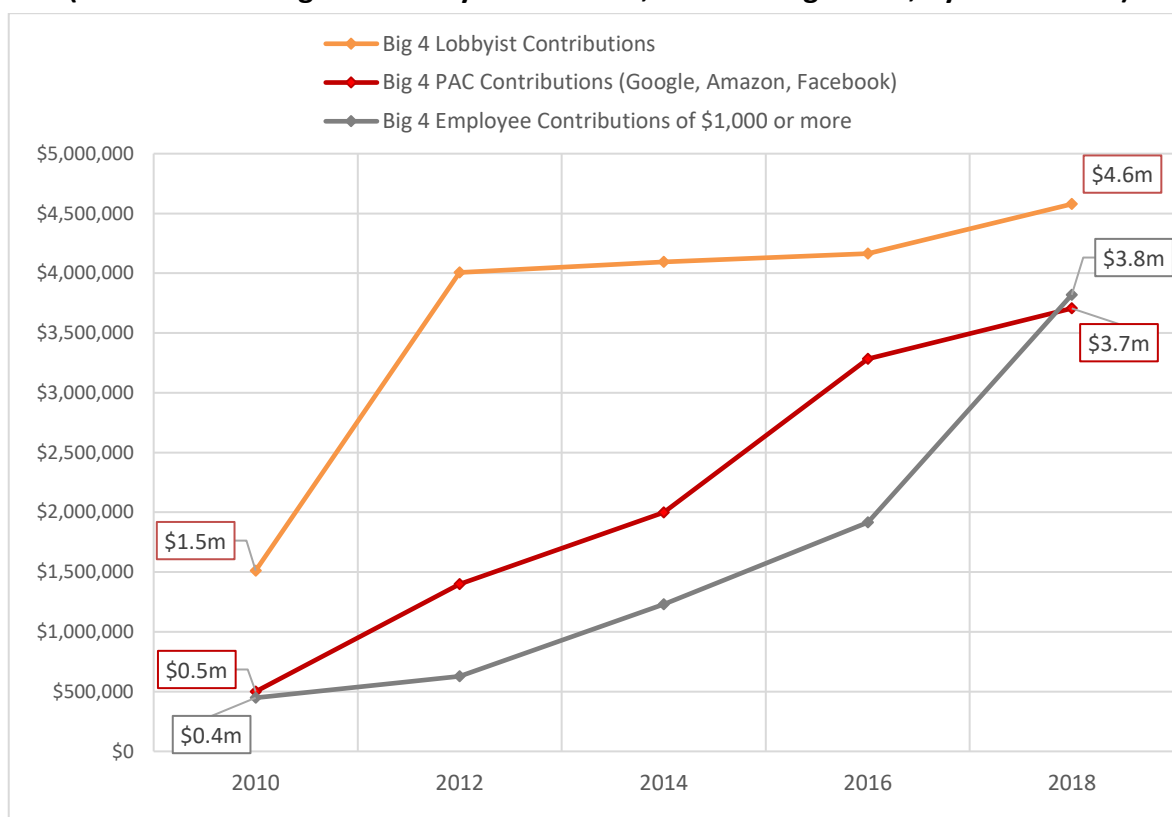
Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

<sup>7</sup> The election cycle totals shown throughout this section are not cumulative. Each cycle includes only the contributions to members who would go on to serve in Congress after the cycle. For example, the 2018 contribution totals only include those contributions made to current members of Congress (the 116th Congress), the 2016 totals only include contributions to members of the 115th Congress, etc.

In each of the five elections cycles analyzed, Big 4 lobbyists have out-contributed the company PACs and the company employees.

In 2018, members of Congress received \$3.7 million from the Big 4 PACs (which includes PACs of Google, Amazon and Facebook), \$3.8 million from Big 4 company employees contributing \$1,000 or more, and another \$4.6 million from Big 4 lobbyists. [Figure 8]

**Figure 8 – Contributions from Big 4's Lobbyists, Employees and PACs to Congress (Members of Congress & Party Committees, 2009 through 2018, By Contributor)**



Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

2018 was the first cycle in which Big 4 employees out-contributed the PACs. During the 2016 cycle, the PACs out-contributed the employees by nearly \$1.4 million.

### **Contributions From PACs: Big Four PACs Contributed \$10.9 Million to Congress Since the 2010 Cycle, \$3.7 Million in 2018, Contribute to a Majority of Members of Congress**

During the 2018 election cycle, Big 4 PACs contributed \$3.7 million to current Congress, up from the \$3.3 million the PACs contributed to the previous Congress. Since the 2010 cycle, these PACs have contributed \$10.9 million to Congress.



But it's important to note, Apple does not have a PAC. Apple CEO Tim Cook has said that he does not believe PACs should exist.<sup>8</sup> Thus, when comparing Big 4 PAC contributions versus Big 4 employee contributions the comparison includes three PACs compared to the workforce of four companies.

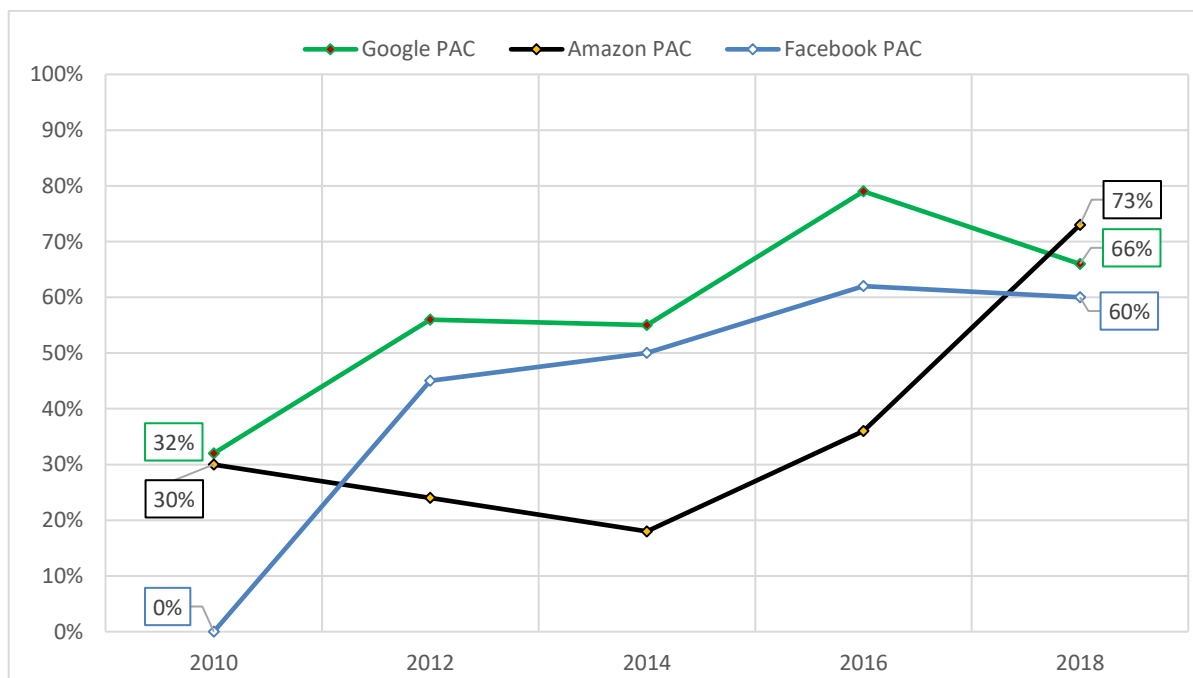
*The PACs of Amazon, Google and Facebook Contributed to a Filibuster-Proof Majority of Senators During the 2018 Election Cycle*

Along with the steady rise in the total dollar amount on contributions from the Big 4 PACs, the scope of the contributions – in terms of the number of elected officials receiving contributions – has also steadily increased.

The vast majority of the Senate, 87 percent, received a PAC contribution from at least one of the three PACs. Almost half the Senate – 46 out of 100 senators – received a PAC contribution from all three PACs.

In terms of reach of each company PAC, Amazon now leads the other two. Seventy-three percent of the Senators seated in the current Congress (116th) were seated after having received a contribution from Amazon's PAC during the 2018 election cycle – the highest percentage ever recorded for Amazon. Amazon is followed by Google, which contributed to 66 percent of the 116th senators. Facebook's PAC contributed to 60 percent of the 116th Senate during the 2018 election cycle – the most on record. [Figure 9]

**Figure 9 – Percentage of U.S. Senators Receiving PAC Contributions  
In the Election Cycle Preceding the New Congress**



Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

<sup>8</sup> Julie Bort, *Tim Cook says that Apple donates \$0 to political candidates and that he refuses to have a PAC because they 'shouldn't exist'*, BUSINESS INSIDER (April 23, 2019), <http://bit.ly/2YVC8Rn>.

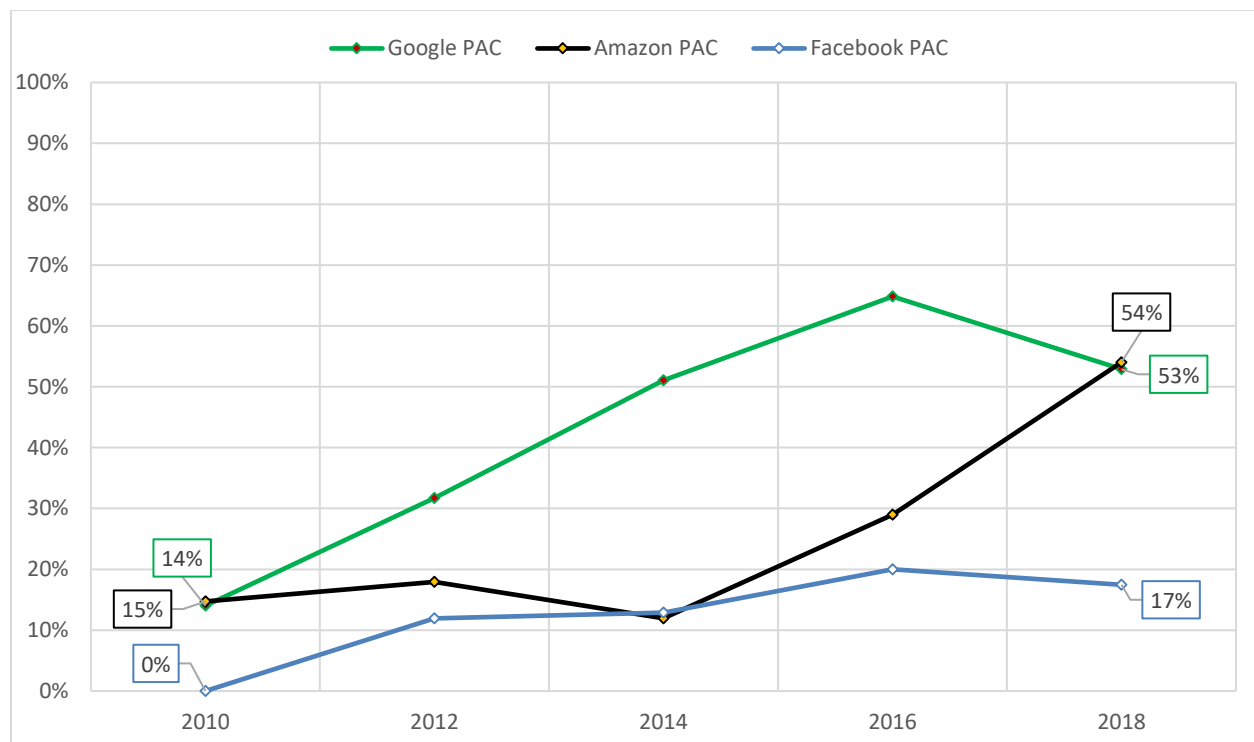
When a bill that is either supported or opposed by Amazon, Facebook and or Google comes to the Senate floor during the 116th Congress for a vote, a filibuster-proof majority of senators will have just received thousands of dollars from the companies' PACs during the most recent election cycle.

*Amazon and Google PACs Contributed to a Majority of Representatives During the 2018 Election Cycle*

A majority of the House, 65 percent, received a PAC contribution from at least one of the three PACs.

The PACs of Amazon and Google also each contributed to a majority of the House. During the 2018 cycle, Amazon contributed to 54 percent of the House while Google contributed to 53 percent. Amazon's 54 percent is a significant increase from the previous cycle in which it contributed to just 29 percent of the House. [Figure 10]

**Figure 10 – Percentage of U.S. Representatives Receiving PAC Contributions  
In the Election Cycle Preceding the New Congress**



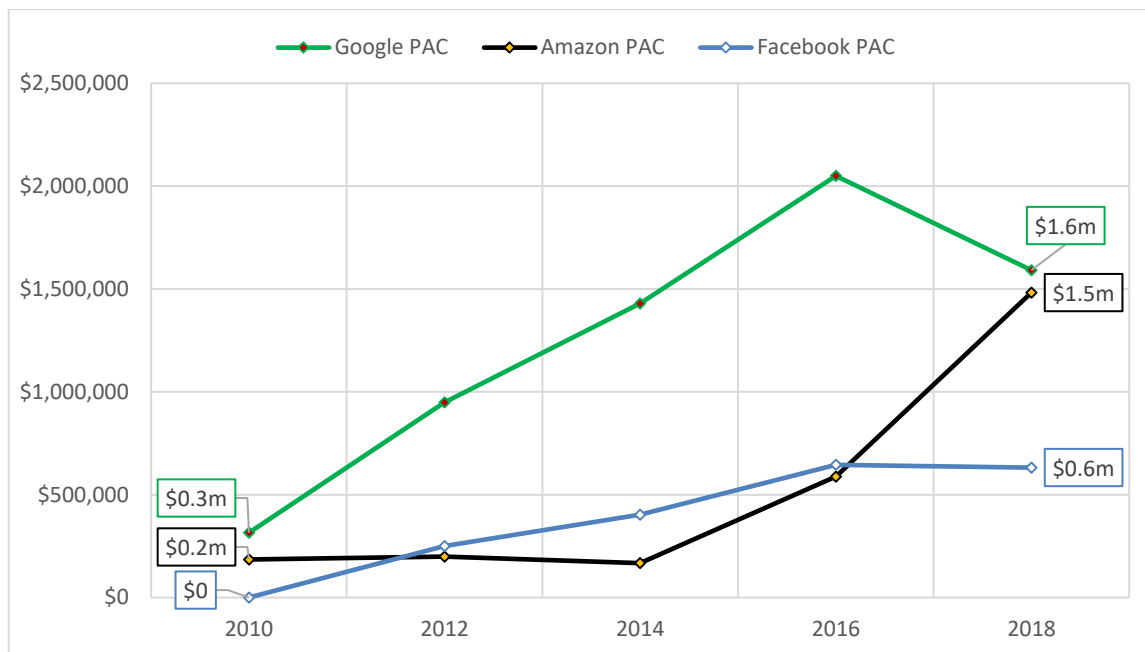
Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

*Google PAC Has Long Outspent Amazon and Facebook in Terms of PAC Contributions Congress, But During the 2018 Cycle Amazon Nearly Caught Google*

During the 2018 election cycle, the 116th Congress received \$1.6 million from Google's PAC, \$1.5 million from Amazon's PAC and \$632,000 from Facebook's PAC, for a total of \$3.7 million.

Amazon's 2018 cycle contribution total to members of the 116th Congress amounts to an all-time high for the company. [Figure 11]

**Figure 11 – Google, Amazon and Facebook PAC Contributions to House, Senate and National Party Committees**



Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

Amazon's 2018 contribution total amounts to a 152 percent increase compared to what the PAC contributed in the previous Congress. Meanwhile, Google's total fell by 22 percent between the two cycles.

*Almost All Members of the Senate and House Leadership Received At Least \$25,000 Combined from Amazon, Google and Facebook PACs During the 2018 Cycle*

If any legislation is proposed during the 116th Congress that Amazon, Google or Facebook have an opinion on, a majority or super majority of the members voting will have received millions in total of PAC contributions from the three tech giants.

The PACs also managed to spread the PAC money to some of the most important members of Congress. The five most powerful elected officials in House leadership for example, have all received more than \$25,000 combined from these three corporate PACs during the 2018 cycle.<sup>9</sup>

Speaker of the House Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) received the most in combined contributions from the three PACs during the 2018 cycle of any member of Congress, \$45,000. The top four leaders in the House were close behind: Republican Leader Rep. Kevin McCarthy (D-Calif.) received \$40,000, the fifth most of any member, Republican Whip Rep. Steve Scalise (R-La.) received \$38,500, the seventh most, Majority Leader Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.) received \$33,500, the tenth most, and Majority Whip Rep. James Clyburn (D-S.C.) received \$31,000 during the 2018 cycle, the twelfth most.

<sup>9</sup> See <https://www.house.gov/leadership>.

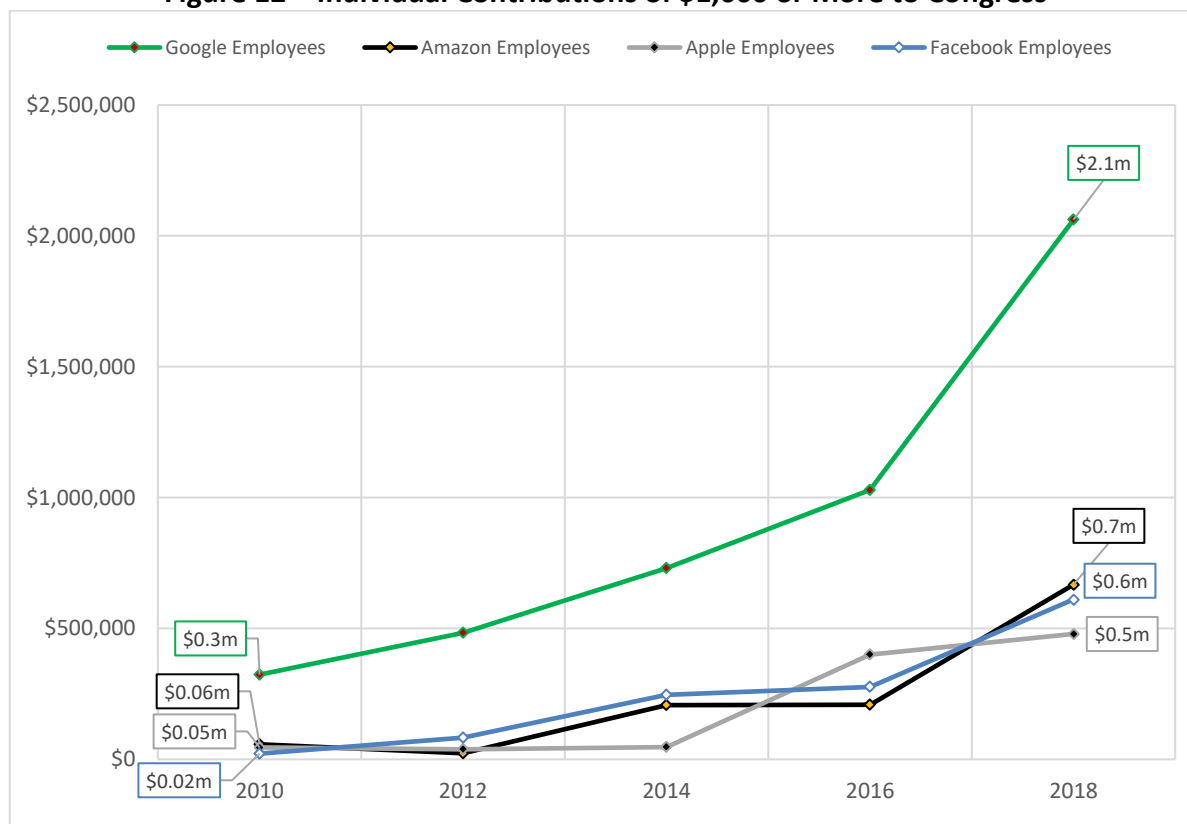
In terms of Senate leadership,<sup>10</sup> Democratic Senate Leader Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Assistant Republican Leader Sen. John Thune both received \$25,000 each during the 2018 cycle. Senate Republican Leader Sen. Mitch McConnell received \$23,500 and Democratic Whip Sen. Richard Durbin (D-Il.) received just \$7,500. A list of all members of Congress receiving \$25,000 or more combined from the three PACs during the 2018 cycles appears in Appendix of this report. [See Appendix II, Table 1]

### **Contributions from Employees: Employees of the Big 4 Tech Companies Contributed \$3.8 Million to Congress in 2018, Almost Double What They Had in 2016**

Public Citizen analyzed contributions from employees of the Big 4 tech companies, as well as their immediate family (hereinafter, employees),<sup>11</sup> who contributed \$1,000 or more. Collectively, they contributed \$3.8 million to the current Congress in 2018, nearly \$2 million more than they had to the previous Congress.

Google employees contributed more than \$2 million during the 2018 cycle, accounting for more than half of all the Big 4 employee contributions to Congress combined in 2018. Google is followed by Amazon, whose employees contributed more than \$667,000 to Congress in 2018. [Figure 12]

**Figure 12 – Individual Contributions of \$1,000 or More to Congress**



Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

<sup>10</sup> See <http://www.senate.gov/senators/leadership.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed methodology, see Appendix I.

The contribution totals for Google, Amazon and Facebook all rose sharply between the 2016 and 2018 cycles. The total from Amazon's employees grew by 220 percent from the 2016 to 2018 cycles. Facebook's total increased by 121 percent while Google's jumped 100 percent. Apple's total increased at a more moderate rate, jumping 20 percent between the two cycles.

While Google may lead the Big 4 pack, one Big 4 company executive towers above the rest: Facebook COO Sheryl Sandberg. Sandberg contributed \$134,800 to members of Congress during the 2018 election cycle.

All Facebook employees together contributed \$610,960 to members of Congress during the 2018 election cycle. Therefore, 22 percent of the total money contributed by Facebook employees came from Facebook CEO Sheryl Sandberg. All of Sandberg's contributions went to Democrats with the exception of one contribution to a Republican, Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine).

Google CEO Sundar Pichai contributed \$33,900 to both the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC) and the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) during the 2018 cycle.<sup>12</sup> Pichai's bipartisan 2018 national party committee contributions continue a trend started by his predecessor Eric Schmidt. During the 2016 cycle, Schmidt contributed \$33,400 to both the DSCC and the NRSC.<sup>13</sup> Before that, during the 2014 cycle Schmidt contributed \$32,300 to both the DSCC and the NRSC as well as another \$32,400 to the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC).<sup>14</sup> In total, from the 2010 cycle through the 2016 cycle, Schmidt contributed \$236,300 to the national party committees.

**Contributions From Lobbyists: Big 4 Lobbyists Have Contributed \$18.4 Million to Congress Since 2010 Cycle, \$4.7 Million in 2018, Outspent Company PACs and Individuals Each Cycle**

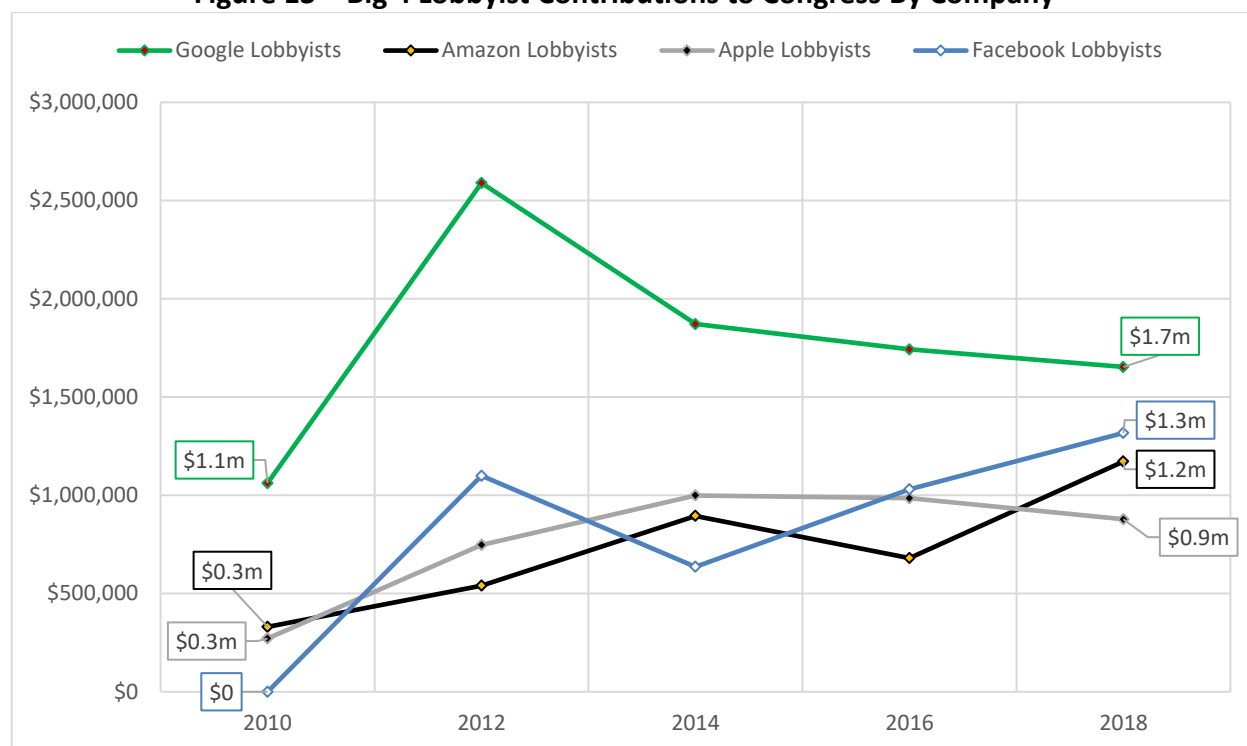
Those who lobby on behalf of the Big 4 companies don't just advocate for the interests of the Big 4 companies, they also contribute directly to the members of Congress they are lobbying. Since the 2010 election cycle, Big 4 lobbyists have contributed \$18.4 million to Congress.

During the 2018 cycle, Big 4 lobbyists contributed \$4.6 million to the incoming Congress, up from the \$4.2 million these lobbyists contributed during the 2016 cycle. [Figure 13]

<sup>12</sup> *Sundar Pichai Campaign Contributions*, FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION (2017-2018), <http://bit.ly/2KIniKw>.

<sup>13</sup> *Eric Schmidt Campaign Contributions*, FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION (2015-2016), <http://bit.ly/2IVb2nZ>.

<sup>14</sup> *Eric Schmidt Campaign Contributions*, FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION (2013-2014), <http://bit.ly/2XebCkM>.

**Figure 13 – Big 4 Lobbyist Contributions to Congress By Company \***

Source: Public Citizen's analysis of data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics ([www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org))

\*The company totals for each cycle shown in Figure 13 include contributions from some individuals who worked for multiple Big 4 companies. The contributions from those lobbyists appear in the totals for more than one company. In 2018, for example, the total from the Big 4 companies in Figure 13 amounts to \$5 million. The grand total excluding duplicates is \$4.6 million for that year. Thus, about \$400,000 in contributions came from lobbyists who worked for more than one Big 4 company that cycle.

#### *Just 14 Lobbyists Account for Nearly a Third of All Big 4 Lobbyist 2018 Contributions*

In 2018, the \$4.6 million Big 4 lobbyist contributions came from 215 lobbyists, resulting in an average of about \$21,000 per lobbyist. But this average is pulled up by a relatively small number of lobbyists that contributed large sums of money.

There are seven Big 4 lobbyists who contributed \$100,000 or more during the 2018 election cycle. There were 14 that contributed \$75,000 or more. [Table 1]

**Table 1 – The 14 Big 4 Tech Company Lobbyists That Contributed \$75,000 or More During the 2018 Election Cycle By Recipient**

Lobbyist, Lobbying Firm	Big 4 Companies Lobbied for in 2018	2018 Contributions to Democrats in Congress*	2018 Contributions to Republicans in Congress	2018 Total Contributions	2010 – 2018 Total Contributions**
Steven Elmendorf, Subject Matter	Facebook	\$182,200		\$182,200	\$631,065
Michael D Smith, Cornerstone Government Affairs	Google	\$160,700		\$160,700	\$160,700
Lisa Kountoupes, KDCR Partners	Google	\$133,250		\$133,250	\$133,250

<b>James 'Jimmy' Ryan</b> , Subject Matter	Facebook	\$115,000		\$115,000	\$417,600
<b>Vic Fazio</b> , Akin Gump	Amazon	\$105,395		\$105,395	\$337,479
<b>Kristen Chadwick</b> , Fierce Government Relations	Apple		\$100,950	\$100,950	\$396,300
<b>Aleix Jarvis</b> , Fierce Government Relations	Apple		\$100,450	\$100,450	\$371,066
<b>John Scofield</b> , S-3 Group	Google	\$1,000	\$94,900	\$95,900	\$269,450
<b>Mike Chappell</b> , Fierce Government Relations	Apple		\$91,700	\$91,700	\$338,400
<b>John J O'Neill</b> , Harbinger Strategies	Facebook		\$90,200	\$90,200	\$229,670
<b>Jonathon J Jones</b> , Peck Madigan Jones	Facebook	\$85,475		\$85,475	\$85,475
<b>Ralph Hellmann</b> , Lugar Hellmann Group	Google & Amazon		\$82,325	\$82,325	\$208,100
<b>Ed Kutler</b> , Subject Matter	Facebook		\$79,850	\$79,850	\$79,850
<b>Kirk Blalock</b> , Fierce Government Relations	Apple		\$76,900	\$76,900	\$281,200

\*The small number of contributions that went to Sen. Angus King (I-Maine.) are included in the total for Democrats.

\*\* The totals include only contributions during cycles in which the lobbyist also reported working for at least one Big 4 company.

The 14 lobbyists appearing in Table 3 contributed \$1.5 million to Congress during the 2018 cycle, amounting to a third of all Big 4 lobbyists contributions to Congress during the cycle.

#### *Just Two Lobbying Firms Account for a Quarter of All 2018 Contributions*

Much of the money comes from lobbyists at a small number of lobbying firms. There were 58 lobbying firms that reported lobbying for at least one of the Big 4 companies in 2018. Lobbyists at some firms contribute far more than others.

During the 2018 cycle, lobbyists at 15 Big 4 lobbying firms contributed a combined total of \$100,000 or more per firm to members of Congress and the national party committees during the 2018 cycle. [Table 2]

**Table 2 – The 15 Big 4 Lobbying Firms That Contributed \$100,000 or More During the 2018 Election Cycle By Recipient**

Lobbying Firm**	Big 4 Companies Lobbied for in 2018	2018 Contributions to Democrats in Congress*	2018 Contributions to Republicans in Congress	2018 Total Contributions	2010 – 2018 Total Contributions**
<b>Subject Matter</b>	Facebook	\$472,530	\$104,350	\$576,880	\$1,823,198
<b>Fierce Government Relations *</b>	Apple		\$500,750	\$500,750	\$2,009,791
<b>Akin, Gump et al</b>	Amazon	\$170,095	\$59,148	\$229,243	\$855,161
<b>S-3 Group</b>	Google	\$1,500	\$210,121	\$211,621	\$395,071

Cornerstone Government Affairs	Google	\$189,950	\$8,000	\$197,950	\$197,950
Peck Madigan Jones	Facebook	\$152,995	\$38,700	\$191,695	\$893,001
Franklin Square Group	Google & Apple	\$148,400	\$39,700	\$188,100	\$890,175
Monument Policy Group	Google & Amazon	\$122,850	\$63,249	\$186,099	\$366,349
Harbinger Strategies	Facebook	\$500	\$180,900	\$181,400	\$424,570
Ogilvy Government Relations		\$175,057		\$175,057	\$175,057
Crossroads Strategies	Google	\$16,631	\$151,225	\$167,856	\$606,193
KDCR Partners,	Google	\$141,750	\$25,624	\$167,374	\$167,374
BGR Group	Amazon	\$59,750	\$95,724	\$155,474	\$155,474
Brownstein, Hyatt et al	Amazon	\$29,000	\$115,600	\$144,600	\$144,600
Lugar Hellmann Group	Google & Amazon		\$106,825	\$106,825	\$302,550

\* Contributions to Independents are counted with the Democratic total.

\*\*Firms regularly change names, merge or expand. The firm Subject Matter is grouped together with an earlier iteration of the firm, Elmendorf Ryan. Fierce Government Relations is grouped together with an earlier iteration of its firm, Fierce, Isakowitz & Blalock

The two firms that contributed the most by far from 2010 through 2018, as well as in the 2018 cycle, were Subject Matter and Fierce Government Relations. Contributions from lobbyists for Subject Matter's and Fierce's lobbyists account for nearly a quarter of all the Big 4 lobbyist contributions during the 2018 cycle.

#### **Big 4 Lobbyists with Old Hill Connections Provide the Cash, While the Fresh Off-The-Hill Lobbyists Provide the Critical Connections to the Current Congress**

The vast majority of Big 4 lobbyists, more than 80 percent each year, are categorized as revolving door lobbyists by CRP. CRP categorizes an individual as having gone through the revolving door if she or he had a position in the federal government and then became a registered lobbyist or served in a position closely tied to registered lobbyists.<sup>15</sup>

Those who lobby on behalf of the Big 4 and are categorized as having gone through the revolving door have a broad range of work history in the federal government and have a mix of old and new Capitol Hill connections.

Public Citizen examined the campaign contributions and work history of dozens of individuals that lobbied on behalf of the Big 4 companies. One trend that emerged was something that helps encapsulate why these lobbying firms can be so effective at advocating the interests of their clients: The longer a lobbyist has been off Capitol Hill the more money that lobbyist contributes to politicians. Many lobbyists that left the Hill years or decades ago contribute large sums of money to Congress

<sup>15</sup> *Influence & Lobbying, Revolving Door Methodology*, CENTER FOR RESPONSIVE POLITICS, <http://bit.ly/2NYmmEf>.



each election cycle. The new arrivals to the lobbying firms – the ones plucked from the staff of current leadership, for example – contribute significantly less. For these new lobbyists, their connections are their currency.

This trend is apparent in two firms that contributed significantly more than any others during the 2018 cycle: The Republican-aligned Apple lobbying firm, Fierce Government Relations, and the Democratic-aligned Facebook lobbying firm, Subject Matter.

*Fierce Government Relations: Apple's Super-Connected Republican Lobbyists That Contributed More Than \$2 Million to Congress Since the 2010 Election Cycle, \$500,750 in 2018*

If Fierce Government Relations lobbyists need to speak to a Republican elected official or staffer, it's likely the Republican they are trying to reach will take their call. All eight of Fierce's lobbyists that lobbied for Apple in 2018 used to work for Congress, some fresh off the staff of some of the most powerful Republicans in Washington, D.C.

These are types of connections Fierce brings to bear for all its clients, including Apple: A former Philip Morris lobbyist who worked for the Republican National Committee, a George W. Bush White House alum, a staffer who just spent a decade working for current Senate Judiciary Chairman Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.), a former policy advisor to Minority Whip Steve Scalise (R-La.), and the former Chief of Staff to current Sen. Majority Leader Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.).<sup>16</sup>

Since the 2010 cycle, the firm has contributed more than \$2 million. Fierce's lobbyist Kirsten Chadwick contributed the most to Congress from the firm, \$396,300. Chadwick's total amounts to the fourth most of any lobbyist covered in this analysis. Three of Fierce's lobbyists rank in the top ten in terms of contributions: Chadwick, as well as Aleix Jarvis who contributed \$371,066, and Mike Chappell who contributed \$338,400.

The sheer number of Republican elected officials – important to their clients like Apple – these Fierce lobbyists reached with their campaign contributions is stunning. Fierce's Mike Chappell, for example, contributed \$1,000 or more to 18 of the 24 Republicans on the House Energy & Commerce Committee. The House Energy & Commerce Committee includes an important subcommittee with oversight of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC). During the 2018 cycle, Chappell contributed \$1,000 or more to eight of the nine Republicans on the subcommittee.

*Subject Matter: Facebook's Go-To Democratic Lobbying Firm That Contributed More Than \$1.8 Million to Congress Since the 2010 Election Cycle, \$576,880 in 2018*

In 2018, 10 lobbyists from Subject Matter lobbied on behalf of Facebook. Nine of the 10 are categorized as revolving door lobbyists.

Subject Matter's lobbyists have deep ties to the Democratic party. Their lobbyists worked for former Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid (D-Nev.), former House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.), and former Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), as well as the former Deputy Political Director of the

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<sup>16</sup> See <http://www.fiercegr.com/our-team/>.

DCCC and the former Chief of Staff of the current Democratic Caucus Chairman Rep. Hakeem Jeffries (D-N.Y.). Subject Matter employs a few Republican lobbyists, including a former assistant to former Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and the former Chief of Staff to Sen. Cory Gardner (R-Colo.).<sup>17</sup>

Subject Matter lobbyists contributed \$1.8 million to Congress from the 2010 through 2018, the vast majority of which went to Democrats. Subject Matter Partner and Co-Founder, Steve Elmendorf, is responsible for sixty percent of Subject Matter's total – \$631,065. Elmendorf contributed more to Congress than any other Big 4 lobbyist in this analysis. Elmendorf's co-founder, Jimmy Ryan, contributed \$417,600 to Congress, the third most of any lobbyist.

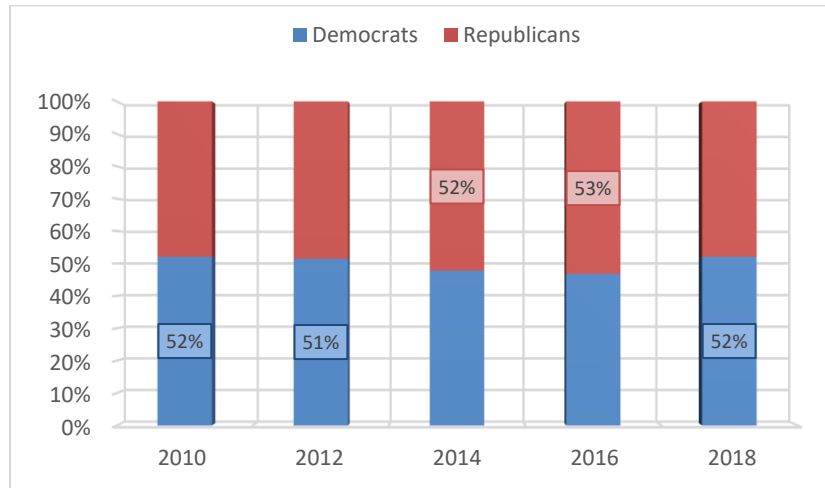
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<sup>17</sup> See <http://teamsubjectmatter.com/team/>.

## IV. Big 4 Employees Overwhelmingly Give to Democrats, the Company PACs and Lobbyists Split Their Contributions

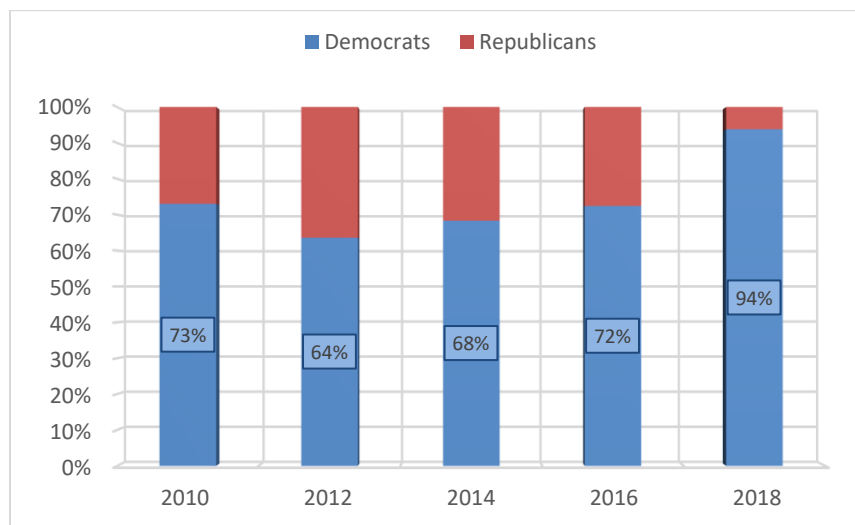
The Big 4 companies with PACs (Google, Amazon and Facebook), almost always spread their contributions around equally among Democrats and Republicans in Congress. In fact, in each of the five elections cycles analyzed, the partisan breakdown of the PAC contributions has always hovered around a fifty-fifty split. [Figure 14]

**Figure 14 – Big 4 PAC Contributions Partisan Breakdown**



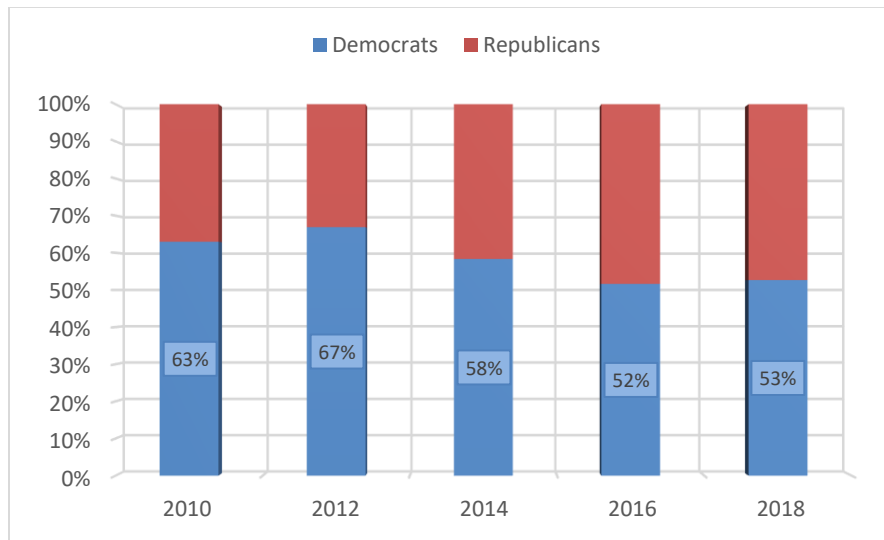
Individual contributions of \$1,000 or more to Congress from employees of the Big 4 are heavily skewed towards Democrats, with the 2018 cycle being the most partisan on record. Ninety-four percent of the \$1,000 or more contributions from Big 4 employees during the 2018 cycle went to Democrats. [Figure 15]

**Figure 15 – Big 4 Employees' Individual Contributions of \$1,000 or more Partisan Breakdown**



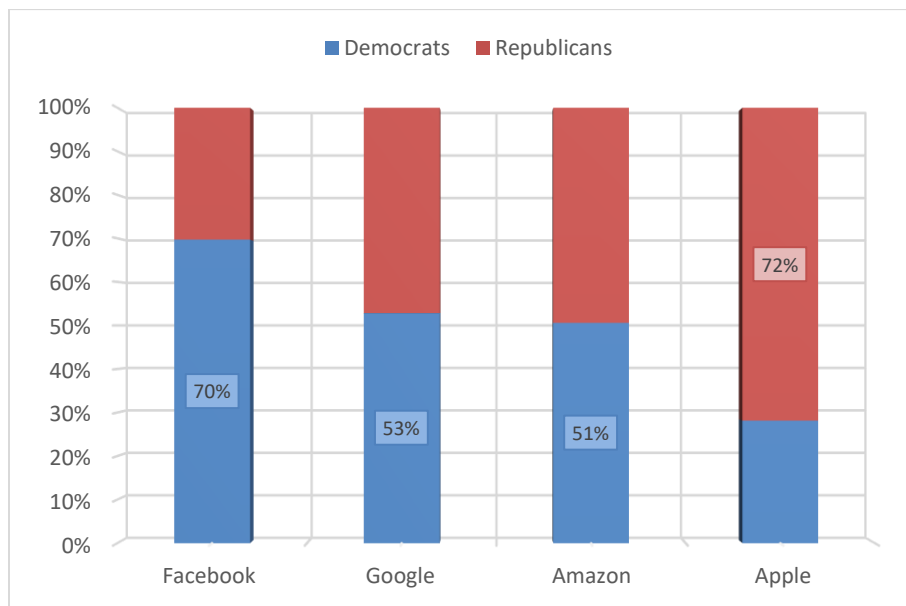
During the 2010 and 2012 election cycles, Big 4 lobbyist contributions skewed towards Democrats. But since the 2012 cycle, the contributions began to become more bipartisan. During the 2016 and 2018 election cycles, the bipartisan nature of the lobbyist contributions looked very similar to that of the PAC contributions. [Figure 16]

**Figure 16 – Big 4 Lobbyist Contributions Partisan Breakdown**



What is interesting about the bipartisan nature of the Big 4 lobbyist contributions is that the lobbyists from individual firms typically give heavily to just one party. But the contributions from the lobbyists from all the firms hired by the Big 4 tend to be about 50-50 in aggregate. [Figure 17]

**Figure 17 – Big 4 Lobbyist Contributions Partisan Breakdown in 2018, By Company**



Seventy percent of the money contributed by Facebook lobbyists in 2018 went to Democrats. Seventy-two percent of the money from Apple lobbyists went to Republicans. Money from Google and Amazon lobbyists was distributed more evenly in 2018.

The partisan nature of Facebook and Apple lobbyist contributions can in large part be traced back to the two firms discussed in the previous section – Subject Matter and Fierce Government relations.

## V. The Current Congress Received \$24.7 Million from the Big 4 Contributors Since 2010, a Third Has Gone to Leadership and Important Subcommittee Members

Members of the current Congress – the 116th – have received \$24.7 million combined from the Big 4 PACs, employees who contributed \$1,000 or more, and Big 4 lobbyists from the 2010 cycle through the 2018 cycle. Big 4 lobbyists contributed the most, \$11 million, followed by the PACs at \$8.3 million, and individuals at \$5.4 million.

Where Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists contributed their money will be important in terms of lobbying against any increased oversight. As is common, the Big 4 companies focus their giving on members of the congressional leadership and key oversight committees. Of the \$24.7 million received by this current Congress from 2010 through 2018, nearly a third, \$8 million, has gone to the eight most senior members of Congress and the 65 members of important oversight committees and subcommittees.

### Congressional Leadership Received \$2.5 Million from 2010 Through 2018

Eight of the highest-ranking members of Congress received \$2.5 million from Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists since the 2010 cycle. The \$2.5 million total amounts to 10 percent of all the money received by Congress. Thus, 10 percent of the money went to 1.5 percent of Congress.

Overall, Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) received more from the three contributor types combined than any other member of Congress, \$561,055. Schumer is followed by Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), who received \$418,800 from 2010 through 2018, and Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.) who received \$366,300.

Schumer, Hoyer and McCarthy are all current members of leadership. Public Citizen analyzed all the contributions to eight members of the current leadership: the two highest ranking members of both parties in the House and the Senate. All but one member of the leadership, Sen. Dick Durbin (D-Ill.), ranks the top 20 in terms of total money received. [Table 3]

**Table 3 – Big 4 PAC, Employee and Lobbyist Contributions to Leadership from 2010 - 2018**

Congressional Leader, Congressional Ranking 2010 – 2018 Total Contributions	2010 - 2018 PAC Contributions	2010 - 2018 Individual Contributions - \$1,000 or more	2010 - 2018 Lobbyist Contributions	2010 – 2018 Total Contributions
<b>Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.), #1</b>	\$111,000	\$221,505	\$228,550	\$561,055
<b>Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), #2</b>	\$127,500	\$24,100	\$267,200	\$418,800
<b>Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.), #3</b>	\$133,000	\$19,900	\$213,400	\$366,300
<b>Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), #7</b>	\$95,000	\$52,400	\$167,200	\$314,600
<b>Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.), #8</b>	\$148,500	\$43,945	\$103,500	\$295,945
<b>Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.), #13</b>	\$90,000	\$14,600	\$148,700	\$253,300
<b>Rep. Steve Scalise (R-La.), #16</b>	\$91,500	\$11,500	\$138,051	\$241,051

Sen. Dick Durbin (D-Ill.), #81	\$50,000	\$5,000	\$34,900	\$89,900
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$846,500</b>	<b>\$392,950</b>	<b>\$1,301,501</b>	<b>\$2,540,951</b>

### **The 65 Members With Oversight of the FTC and Antitrust Issues Received \$5.4 Million from 2010 Through 2018, \$2.1 Million in 2018**

Public Citizen also analyzed contributions to the 65 members of Congress who either sit on the four oversight subcommittees that will be crucial in any potential oversight of the Big 4, or serve as the Chair or Ranking member of the overarching standing committee. Both the Senate and the House have subcommittees with oversight of the FTC as well as jurisdiction over antitrust issues.

In the Senate, the Commerce, Science, & Transportation Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection conducts oversight of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC).<sup>18</sup> While the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights conducts oversight of antitrust law.<sup>19</sup>

In the House, the Energy & Commerce Subcommittee on Consumer Protection & Commerce conducts oversight of the FTC,<sup>20</sup> while the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust, Commercial and Administrative Law has jurisdiction over antitrust matters.<sup>21</sup>

From the 2010 cycle through the 2018 cycle, these 65 members received \$5.4 million from Big 4 PACs, employees giving at least \$1,000 and Big 4 lobbyists: \$2.4 million came from Big 4 lobbyists, \$1.9 million came from Big 4 PACs, and another \$1 million from individuals working for the Big 4 that contributed at least \$1,000. [Table 4]

**Table 4 – Contributions to the 65 Current Members of Important Committee and Subcommittee Members**

Big 4 Type of 2018 Contribution to the 65	2018 Contributions	2010 – 2018 Contributions
PAC Contributions	\$730,000	\$1,953,940
Individual Contributions of \$1,000 or more	\$563,667	\$1,004,247
Lobbyist Contributions	\$833,821	\$2,417,808
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$2,127,488</b>	<b>\$5,375,995</b>

<sup>18</sup> Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection, U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, & TRANSPORTATION, <http://bit.ly/2NXewuy>.

<sup>19</sup> Subcommittee on Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights, U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, <http://bit.ly/2LrmKsW>.

<sup>20</sup> Subcommittee on Consumer Protection & Commerce, U.S. HOUSE COMMITTEE ON ENERGY & COMMERCE, <http://bit.ly/2xN94j7>.

<sup>21</sup> Subcommittee on Antitrust, Commercial and Administrative Law, U.S. HOUSE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, <http://bit.ly/2M0CxP3>.

The \$5.4 million received by the 65 important committee and subcommittee members amounts to 22 percent of all contributions received by the 535 members of the current Congress during that time.

*The Two Senate Subcommittees and Leadership of the Overarching Committee Received More than \$3.5 Million from The Big 4 from 2010 Through 2018, More Than Half of Which Came from Lobbyists*

The subcommittee and leadership of the overarching standing committee that received the most from the Big 4 from 2010 through 2018, a total \$2.5 million, was the Senate subcommittee with oversight of the FTC, the Senate Commerce, Science, & Transportation Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection.<sup>22</sup>

Members of this FTC oversight committee received \$1.3 million from Big 4 lobbyists, \$643,000 from Big 4 PACs, and \$582,500 from Big 4 employees contributing \$1,000 or more.

Chairman of the Commerce, Science, & Transportation, Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.), received \$117,900 from 2010 through 2018, most of which came from Big 4 PACs and lobbyists. Ranking Member Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.) received \$239,500. Sen. Cantwell received \$101,000 from individuals working for the Big 4, the majority of which came from employees of Amazon – a company with its headquarters in the state the senator represents. The majority of Big 4 money received by the senator, \$138,500, came from Big 4 lobbyists. Sen. Cantwell refuses to take PAC money.

On the subcommittee with oversight of the FTC, Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.) hauled in the most Big 4 money from 2010 through 2018, \$253,300, the majority of which came from lobbyists. Thune is followed by Sen. Jacky Rosen (D-Nev.) who received \$245,431, the majority of which came from individuals, and Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.), who received \$185,150. [Table 5]

**Table 5 – Big 4 Contributions to Leadership of Senate Commerce, Science, & Transportation Committee & Members of Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection (2010 - 2018 Election Cycle, By Contributor Type)**

Member of Congress, Congressional Ranking 2010 – 2018 Total Contributions	2010 - 2018 PAC Contributions	2010 - 2018 Individual Contributions - \$1,000 or more	2010 - 2018 Lobbyist Contributions	2010 – 2018 Total Contributions
Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.), Ranking Member, Senate Commerce		\$101,000	\$138,500	\$239,500
Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.), Chairman, Senate Commerce, #56	\$49,500	\$12,200	\$56,200	\$117,900
<b>Members of the Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection</b>				
Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.)	\$90,000	\$14,600	\$148,700	\$253,300
Sen. Jacky Rosen (D-Nev.)	\$5,000	\$193,115	\$47,316	\$245,431

<sup>22</sup> Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection, U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE, SCIENCE, & TRANSPORTATION, <http://bit.ly/2NXewuy>.



<b>Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.)</b>	\$66,500	\$31,300	\$87,350	\$185,150
<b>Sen. Kyrsten Sinema (D-Ariz.)</b>	\$16,000	\$85,125	\$83,166	\$184,291
<b>Sen. Ed Markey (D-Mass.)</b>	\$23,500	\$21,000	\$105,800	\$150,300
<b>Sen. Tammy Baldwin (R-Wis.)</b>	\$21,500	\$50,860	\$64,465	\$136,825
<b>Sen. Brian Schatz (D-Hawaii)</b>	\$59,500	\$17,000	\$50,500	\$127,000
<b>Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.),</b> Ranking Member of the Subcommittee	\$18,500	\$14,200	\$86,200	\$118,900
<b>Rep. Todd Young (R-Ind.)</b>	\$27,000	\$6,500	\$78,050	\$111,550
<b>Sen. Jerry Moran (R-Kans.),</b> Chairman of Subcommittee	\$68,000	\$3,700	\$29,500	\$101,200
<b>Sen. Mike Lee (R-Utah)</b>	\$43,500	\$8,400	\$47,850	\$99,750
<b>Sen. Deb Fischer (R-Neb.)</b>	\$42,000	\$2,000	\$47,036	\$91,036
<b>Sen. Ron Johnson (D-Wis.)</b>	\$36,000	\$2,700	\$45,400	\$84,100
<b>Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-Tenn.)</b>	\$22,000		\$50,449	\$72,449
<b>Sen. Tom Udall (D-N.M.)</b>	\$19,000	\$1,000	\$50,350	\$70,350
<b>Sen. Dan Sullivan (R-Alaska)</b>	\$15,000	\$15,800	\$21,650	\$52,450
<b>Sen. Shelley Moore Capito (R-W.Va.)</b>	\$20,500	\$2,000	\$22,400	\$44,900
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$643,000</b>	<b>\$582,500</b>	<b>\$1,260,882</b>	<b>\$2,486,382</b>

The fact that both Senators Rosen and Sinema were locked into a contested senate race in 2018 certainly helps explain some of the influx in contributions from employees of the Big 4. But, the fact that the lobbyists for the Big 4 gave a significant amount to both as well – \$130,482 in total – is worth noting. These are the lobbyists who are paid by the Big 4 to now directly lobby the new senators and their staff.

Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.), who serves on the FTC oversight committee, also received a significant amount from Big 4 contributors from 2010 through 2018, \$185,150.

Klobuchar also serves on the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights within the Senate Judiciary Committee.<sup>23</sup> The subcommittee, along with leadership of the Judiciary Committee, received \$1.5 Million from Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists from the 2010 election cycle through the 2018 election cycle. The members received \$817,349 from lobbyists, \$425,000 from PACs and \$264,800 from employees.

<sup>23</sup> Subcommittee on Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights, U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY, <http://bit.ly/2LrmKsW>.

There are nine members on the Senate antitrust subcommittee, five of the nine received more than \$100,000 from 2010 through 2018. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) received the most, \$268,850, more than half of which came from lobbyists. Leahy is followed by Sen. Cory Booker (D-N.J.), who received \$217,050, almost sixty percent of which came from employees of the Big 4. [Table 6]

**Table 6 – Big 4 Contributions to Leadership of Senate Judiciary Committee & Members of the Subcommittee on Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights (2018 Election Cycle, By Contributor Type)**

Member of Congress	2010 - 2018 PAC Contributions	2010 - 2018 Individual Contributions - \$1,000 or more	2010 - 2018 Lobbyist Contributions	2010 - 2018 Total Contributions
<b>Rep. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.),</b> Ranking Member, Senate Judiciary	\$39,000	\$24,300	\$68,300	\$131,600
<b>Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.),</b> Chairman, Senate Judiciary	\$22,500	\$10,800	\$86,650	\$119,950
<b>Members of the Subcommittee Antitrust, Competition Policy and Consumer Rights</b>				
<b>Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.)</b>	\$92,500	\$34,600	\$141,750	\$268,850
<b>Sen. Cory Booker (D-N.J.)</b>	\$42,500	\$127,500	\$47,050	\$217,050
<b>Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.),</b> Ranking Member of Subcommittee *	\$66,500	\$31,300	\$87,350	\$185,150
<b>Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa)</b>	\$63,000	\$10,450	\$83,500	\$156,950
<b>Sen. Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.) *</b>	\$18,500	\$14,200	\$86,200	\$118,900
<b>Sen. Mike Lee (R-Utah),</b> Chairman of Subcommittee *	\$43,500	\$8,400	\$47,850	\$99,750
<b>Sen. Mike Crapo (R-Idaho)</b>	\$15,000		\$72,750	\$87,750
<b>Sen. Marsha Blackburn (R-Tenn.) *</b>	\$22,000		\$50,449	\$72,449
<b>Sen. Josh Hawley (R-Mo.)</b>		\$3,250	\$45,500	\$48,750
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$425,000</b>	<b>\$264,800</b>	<b>\$817,349</b>	<b>\$1,507,149</b>

\*Senators Klobuchar, Blackburn, Lee and Blumenthal also appear in Table 9 as the senators are also members of the Subcommittee on Manufacturing, Trade, and Consumer Protection.

Ranking Member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) received \$131,600, half of which came from Big 4 lobbyists, while Chairman Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) received \$119,950, almost three quarters of which came from lobbyists.

*The Two House Subcommittees Received \$1.9 Million from The Big 4 from 2010 Through 2018, More Than Half of Which Came from Company PACs*

In the House, the leadership of the Energy & Commerce Committee and members of its Subcommittee on Consumer Protection & Commerce received \$1.4 million from 2010 through 2018 from Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists: \$821,440 came from PACs, \$502,576 came from lobbyists, and \$107,750 came from employees of the Big 4 contributing \$1,000 or more. [Table 11]

Rep. Greg Walden (R-Ore.), Ranking Member of the House Energy & Commerce Committee, received \$266,322, that vast majority of which came from PACs and lobbyists. Chairman Rep. Frank Pallone (D-N.J.) received \$136,850, sixty percent of which came from Big 4 PACs. [Table 7]

**Table 7 – Big 4 Contributions to Leadership of House Energy & Commerce Committee and Members of the Subcommittee on Consumer Protection & Commerce (2018 Election Cycle, By Contributor Type)**

Member of Congress	2010 - 2018 PAC Contributions	2010 - 2018 Individual Contributions - \$1,000 or more	2010 - 2018 Lobbyist Contributions	2010 - 2018 Total Contributions
<b>Rep. Greg Walden (R-Ore.)</b> , Ranking Member, Energy & Commerce, #12	\$111,000	\$30,400	\$124,922	\$266,322
<b>Rep. Frank Pallone (D-N.J.)</b> , Chairman, Energy & Commerce	\$83,500	\$10,600	\$42,750	\$136,850
<b>Members of the Subcommittee on Consumer Protection &amp; Commerce</b>				
<b>Rep. Fred Upton (R-Mich.)</b> , #30	\$87,000	\$15,200	\$84,280	\$186,480
<b>Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-Wash.)</b> , Ranking Member of Subcommittee, #36	\$119,000	\$6,850	\$41,750	\$167,600
<b>Rep. Ben Ray Lujan (D-N.M.)</b>	\$62,500	\$5,400	\$32,500	\$100,400
<b>Rep. Doris Matsui (D-Calif.)</b>	\$49,000	\$5,300	\$20,000	\$74,300
<b>Rep. Tony Cardenas (D-Calif.)</b>	\$44,440	\$1,000	\$21,250	\$66,690
<b>Rep. Brett Guthrie (R-Ky.)</b>	\$35,000		\$26,250	\$61,250
<b>Rep. Richard Hudson (R-N.C.)</b>	\$22,000		\$27,450	\$49,450
<b>Rep. Jerry McNerney (D-Calif.)</b>	\$23,000	\$23,100	\$750	\$46,850
<b>Rep. Robert Latta (R-Ohio)</b>	\$32,500		\$12,750	\$45,250
<b>Rep. Michael Burgess (R-Tex.)</b>	\$25,500		\$13,500	\$39,000
<b>Rep. Bobby Rush (D-Ill.)</b>	\$23,500		\$4,250	\$27,750
<b>Rep. Cathy Castor (D-Fla.)</b>	\$21,500	\$2,700	\$500	\$24,700
<b>Rep. Debbie Dingell (D-Mich.)</b>	\$8,500		\$16,050	\$24,550
<b>Rep. Robin Kelly (D-Ill.)</b>	\$12,500	\$2,700	\$5,750	\$20,950
<b>Rep. Jan Schakowsky (D-Ill.)</b> , Chair of Subcommittee	\$14,000	\$1,000	\$1,250	\$16,250
<b>Rep. Buddy Carter (R-Ga.)</b>	\$10,500		\$5,062	\$15,562
<b>Rep. Lisa Blunt Rochester (D-Del.)</b>	\$13,000	\$2,500		\$15,500
<b>Rep. Larry Bucshon (R-Ind.)</b>	\$12,000		\$2,312	\$14,312
<b>Rep. Marc Veasey (D-Tex.)</b>	\$6,000		\$7,300	\$13,300
<b>Rep. Darren Soto (R-Fla.)</b>	\$1,000		\$8,950	\$9,950

<b>Rep. Tom O'Halleran (D-Ariz.)</b>	\$4,500	\$1,000	\$2,000	\$7,500
<b>Rep. Greg Gianforte (R-Mont.)</b>			\$1,000	\$1,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$821,440</b>	<b>\$107,750</b>	<b>\$502,576</b>	<b>\$1,431,766</b>

Rep. Fred Upton (R-Mich.) received more money from Big 4 PACs, employees and lobbyists combined from 2010 through 2018, \$186,480, than anyone else on the subcommittee. Upton is followed by Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-Wash.), who received a total of \$167,700, seventy percent of which came from the Company PACs.

The leadership of the House Judiciary Committee and members of its Subcommittee, Antitrust, Commercial and Administrative Law, received \$426,947 – by far the least of any of the four leadership and subcommittees analyzed: \$215,000 came from the company PACs, \$108,850 came from the lobbyists, and \$103,097 came from employees of the Big 4 contributing \$1,000 or more.

Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.) received \$105,500 while Ranking Member Doug Collins (R-Ga.) received \$55,500. [Table 8]

**Table 8 – Big 4 Contributions to Leadership of House Judiciary Committee & Members of the Subcommittee Antitrust, Commercial and Administrative Law (2010 through 2018 Election Cycles, By Contributor Type)**

<b>Member of Congress</b>	<b>2010 - 2018 PAC Contributions</b>	<b>2010 - 2018 Individual Contributions - \$1,000 or more</b>	<b>2010 - 2018 Lobbyist Contributions</b>	<b>2010 – 2018 Total Contributions</b>
<b>Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.),</b> Chairman, House Judiciary	\$58,500	\$32,500	\$14,500	\$105,500
<b>Rep. Doug Collins (R-Ga.),</b> Ranking Member, House Judiciary	\$32,500		\$23,000	\$55,500
<b>Members of the Subcommittee Antitrust, Commercial and Administrative Law</b>				
<b>Rep. James Sensenbrenner (R-Wis.),</b> Ranking Member of Subcommittee	\$48,500	\$8,500	\$7,750	\$64,750
<b>Rep. Pramila Jayapal (D-Wash.)</b>	\$3,500	\$42,535	\$2,750	\$48,785
<b>Rep. David Cicilline (D-R.I.),</b> Chair of Subcommittee	\$15,500		\$16,550	\$32,050
<b>Rep. Val Demings (D-Fla.)</b>	\$12,500	\$9,100	\$7,950	\$29,550
<b>Rep. Hank Johnson (D-Ga.)</b>	\$23,000		\$4,500	\$27,500
<b>Rep. Matt Gaetz (R-Fla.)</b>	\$4,500		\$12,150	\$16,650
<b>Rep. Jamie Raskin (D-Md.)</b>	\$11,500		\$4,750	\$16,250
<b>Rep. Ken Buck (R-Colo.)</b>	\$5,000	\$1,000	\$5,750	\$11,750
<b>Rep. Lucy McBath (D-Ga.)</b>		\$7,462	\$3,000	\$10,462
<b>Rep. Joe Neguse (D-Colo.)</b>		\$1,000	\$1,750	\$2,750
<b>Rep. Greg Steube (R-Fla.)</b>			\$2,700	\$2,700

Rep. Mary Gay Scanlon (D-Pa.)		\$1,000	\$500	\$1,500
Rep. Kelly Armstrong (R-S.D.)			\$1,250	\$1,250
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$215,000</b>	<b>\$103,097</b>	<b>\$108,850</b>	<b>\$426,947</b>

Rep. James Sensenbrenner received the most of any member of the House antitrust subcommittee, \$64,750, three quarters of which came from the PACs.

The Big 4 PACs and lobbyists have spent far less on the House Judiciary subcommittee on antitrust compared to the other three subcommittees analyzed. Compare the House's antitrust committee, which has 13 members and received a total of \$265,947 from 2010 through 2018, to the Senate's antitrust subcommittee (Table 10) which has just nine members who received \$1.3 million over that same timeframe.

Thus far, the House's subcommittee on antitrust has been the most aggressive committee in terms of oversight of the Big 4.

The subcommittee's Chairman, Rep. David Cicilline (D-R.I.) announced a sweeping antitrust review of Google, Amazon, Apple and Facebook.<sup>24</sup>

"This is about how do we get competition back in this space," Cicilline told *The New York Times* when he announced the review, "this is long overdue," he continued.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cecilia Kang, David Streitfeld and Annie Karni, *Antitrust Troubles Snowball for Tech Giants as Lawmakers Join In*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (June 3, 2019), <https://nyti.ms/2Sje3S8>.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.*

## VI. Amazon Rising

In October 2016, Amazon founder Jeff Bezos purchased the largest home in Washington, D.C. for \$23 million.<sup>26</sup> The purchase and renovation is a drop in the bucket for Bezos, who at the time of writing is estimated to be worth more than \$164 billion, making him the wealthiest person on earth.<sup>27</sup>

The property – which includes two separate mansions that Bezos intends to convert to one single family home – was previously a textile museum.<sup>28</sup> According to blueprints obtained by the *Washingtonian*, as part of a \$12 million renovation, Bezos plans to create a home with 25 bathrooms, 11 bedrooms, a solarium, whiskey cellar, three kitchens, two elevators and a ballroom.<sup>29</sup> A ballroom that could someday host fundraisers for the non-profits Bezos is associated with, or perhaps, the PACs or politicians he likes.

The massive property purchased by Bezos in 2016 was one of the three major investments made in the Washington, D.C. area by the billionaire and Amazon. In 2013 he purchased *The Washington Post* for \$250 million.<sup>30</sup> And in November 2018, Amazon announced it would open one of its new headquarters in northern Virginia – roughly four miles from the United States Capitol.<sup>31</sup>

While Bezos himself contributes directly to members of Congress, his direct contributions to members is more moderate than other Big 4 executives and lobbyists. In 2018 for example, he contributed \$5,200 each to Sen. Corey Gardner (R-Colo.), Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.) and former Sen. Orin Hatch (R-Utah).<sup>32</sup> The vast majority of Bezos' spending came in the form of a 2018 contribution of \$10 million to a super PAC, the With Honor Fund, a group that works to elect veterans.<sup>33</sup>

### **Amazon's Lobbying Team Grew by 77 Percent After 2016, the Company Now Employs Far More In-House Lobbyists Than Other Big 4 Companies**

Right after Bezos purchased the home in 2016, not only did his footprint in the nation's capital grow, the footprint of Amazon began to rapidly grow as well. In 2016, Amazon sent 56 lobbyists to Capitol Hill. In 2017, the number grew to 99, a 77 percent increase. Over that same time period, Facebook's lobbyist total grew by 32 percent, the fastest out of the rest of the Big 4. In 2018, Amazon sent 103 lobbyists to Capitol Hill, the same number as Google.

<sup>26</sup> Emily Heil and Kathy Orton, *Jeff Bezos is the Anonymous Buyer of the Biggest House in Washington*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Jan. 12, 2017), <https://wapo.st/2xPLHp5>.

<sup>27</sup> Billionaires List, #1 Jeff Bezos & Family, CEO and Founder, Amazon, FORBES, <http://bit.ly/2M5NBKP>.

<sup>28</sup> Sam Dangremond, *Jeff Bezos Is Renovating the Biggest House in Washington, D.C.*, TOWN & COUNTRY (April 4, 2019), <http://bit.ly/2IzTZYR>.

<sup>29</sup> Mimi Montgomery, *Here Are the Floor Plans for Jeff Bezos's \$23 Million DC Home*, WASHINGTONIAN (April 22, 2018), <http://bit.ly/2YSAkI2>.

<sup>30</sup> Paul Farhi, *Washington Post Closes Sale to Amazon Founder Jeff Bezos*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Oct. 1, 2013), <https://wapo.st/30Ab0wx>.

<sup>31</sup> Jonathan O'Connell and Robert McCartney, *Amazon HQ2 Decision: Amazon Splits Prize Between Crystal City and New York*, THE WASHINGTON POST (Nov. 13, 2018), <https://wapo.st/2XNNvy8>.

<sup>32</sup> *Jeff Bezos Campaign Contributions*, FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION (2017-2018), <http://bit.ly/2XNvdgN>.

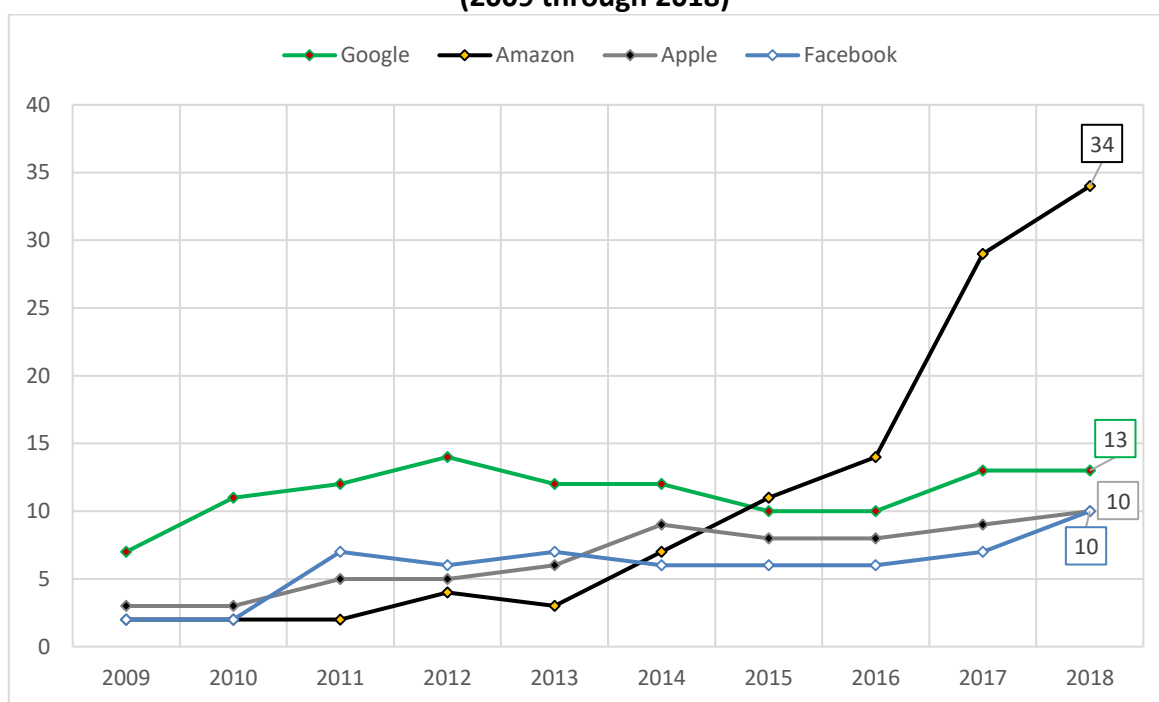
<sup>33</sup> Steve Kovach, *Jeff Bezos Donates \$10 Million to Nonpartisan Super PAC to Elect Military Veterans*, CNBC (Sept. 5, 2018), <https://cnb.cx/2xNvXD8>.

The steep increase in the number of lobbyists hired by Amazon after 2016 is in large part thanks to the rapid increase in the number of in-house lobbyists employed by Amazon.

In most cases, a Big 4 company will pay a lobbying firm which then sends firm employees to lobby on the company's behalf. But the companies also employ full-time lobbyists.

While all Big 4 companies have historically sent in-house lobbyists each year to Capitol Hill, beginning in 2016, Amazon separated itself from the pack. In 2016, Amazon employed 14 in-house lobbyists. In 2017 that number more than doubled to 29, growing to 34 in 2018. That same year the Big 4 company with the next largest total, 13, was Google. [Figure 18]

**Figure 18 – Number of In-House Lobbyists Reported by the Big 4 Companies (2009 through 2018)**



Overall, 33 percent of the individuals who lobbied for Amazon in 2018 were in-house lobbyists. That was a higher percentage than Google, Apple and Facebook. Apple was the closest percentage wise, relying on in-house lobbyists 27 percent of the time.

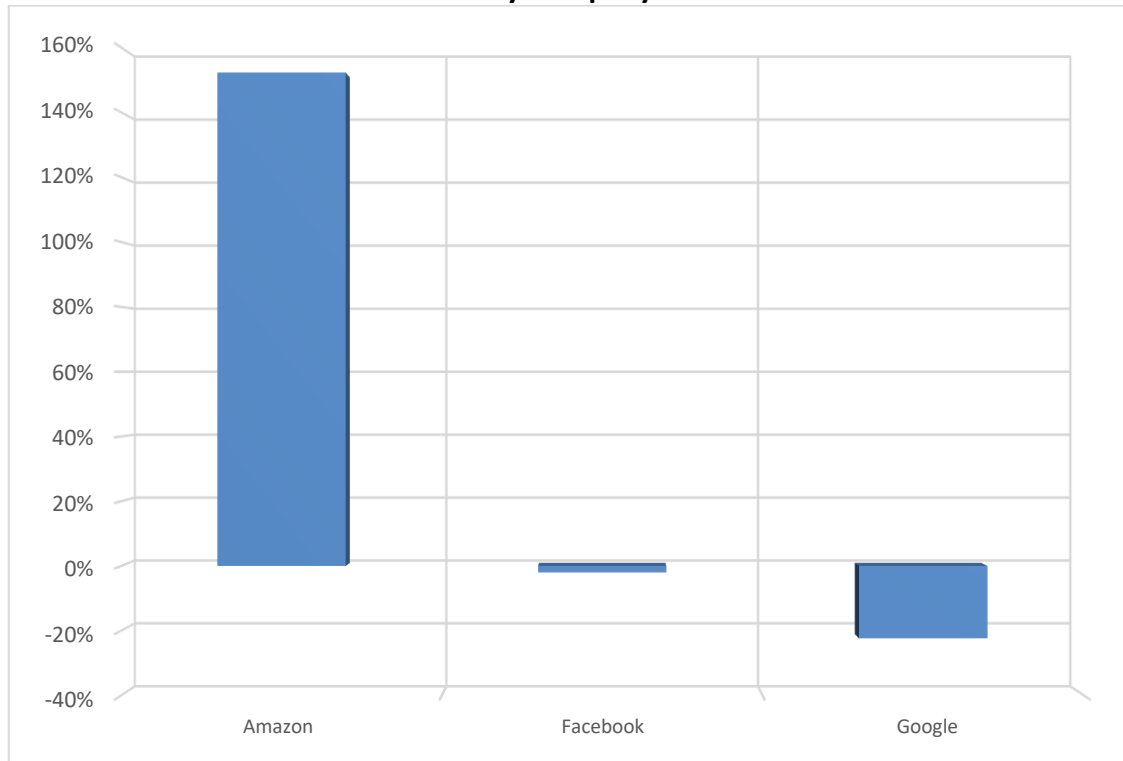
The sheer number of in-house lobbyists sent by Amazon is unprecedented in terms of Big 4 lobbying. Amazon employs almost as many in-house lobbyists (34) as the total number of lobbyists Apple used the entire year, both in-house and from paid firms (37).

### **Amazon's PAC Spending Skyrockets Between 2016 and 2018 Election Cycles**

The place where Amazon's political spending increase is most apparent is with its PAC spending. From the 2016 to the 2018 cycle, Amazon increased the percentage of Senators its PAC contributed to by 115 percent and the percentage of Representatives it contributed to by 93 percent. In total,

Amazon's PAC increased its total contributions to Congress by 152 percent. During that same time, the PACs of Facebook and Google spent less. [Figure 19]

**Figure 19 – Change in PAC Contributions Between the 2016 and 2018 Election Cycles  
By Company**



Prior to the 2018 cycle, Google was very much in a league of its own in terms of PAC spending on Congress. Now, after Amazon's spending spree, the two tech behemoths are very much on the same level in terms of PAC contributions to Congress.

#### **Amazon's Rise May Continue as Bezos and Amazon Continue to Flood the Nation's Capital**

Google is still spending significantly more than Amazon each year in total lobbying spending. In 2018, Google spent \$21.7 million while Amazon spent \$14.4 million. But there are signs that Amazon may be catching up to Google in this category as well.

In the first quarter of 2019, Amazon outspent Google by \$450,000 (Amazon spent \$3.98 million on lobbying while Google spent \$3.53 million). Lobbying spending can fluctuate significantly from quarter to quarter, rising or falling by as much as a million dollars between quarters. But, the fact that Amazon outspent Google in the first quarter of 2019 is significant: It is the first time ever that any of the other Big 4 companies outspent Google in a quarter.

In the second quarter of 2019, Amazon outspent Google by more than \$1 million.



## Conclusion

A few weeks prior to the publication of this report, Facebook announced plans to create a new digital currency named Libra.<sup>34</sup> The move has allegedly concerned regulators<sup>35</sup> and produced scorn from many elected officials.<sup>36</sup> Public Citizen testified against allowing Facebook to create the digital currency.<sup>37</sup> Members of Congress have also called on the Department of Labor to investigate the working conditions in Amazon's warehouses.<sup>38</sup> These issues of course, come after a steady flow of Big 4 scandals over the past few years.

Just last week, the Department of Justice announced an antitrust review of the big internet companies including the Big 4.<sup>39</sup>

The microscope is on these companies more than ever before. If current trends continue, within the next few years the Big 4's political spending, as described in this analysis, may reach a half a billion dollars, or perhaps even more. While Democrats and Republicans are often angry at the Big 4 for different reasons, there is plenty of bipartisan anger towards the companies. If there were ever a time for the Big 4 to call in their chips, that time is now.

The true value of the Big 4's hundreds of millions of dollars in political spending, as well as the strength of the relationships this money cultivated, is about to be put to the test.

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<sup>34</sup> Newsroom, *A New Digital Wallet for a New Digital Currency*, FACEBOOK (June 18, 2019), <http://bit.ly/2XQIqEM>.

<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth Dwoskin and Damian Paletta, *Facebook Privately Pitched its Cryptocurrency Plan Last Month to Regulators. They Were Left Even More Scared*, THE WASHINGTON POST (July 16, 2019), <https://wapo.st/30AsDrb>.

<sup>36</sup> Jessica Smith, *Sen. Brown: Facebook Shouldn't Slow Down on Libra, it Should Stop*, YAHOO FINANCE (July 16, 2019), <https://yhoo.it/2LWa5xG>.

<sup>37</sup> WRITTEN TESTIMONY OF ROBERT WEISSMAN, EXAMINING FACEBOOK'S PROPOSED CRYPTOCURRENCY AND ITS IMPACT ON CONSUMERS, INVESTORS, AND THE AMERICAN FINANCIAL SYSTEM, THE HOUSE FINANCIAL SERVICES COMMITTEE (July 17, 2019), <http://bit.ly/2XLYwAn>.

<sup>38</sup> Ben Fox Rubin, *Sanders, Omar Call for Labor Department Investigation of all US Amazon Warehouses*, CNET (July 16, 2019), <https://cnet.co/2MBAqD>.

<sup>39</sup> Daisuke Wakabayashi, Katie Benner and Steve Lohr, *Justice Department Opens Antitrust Review of Big Tech Companies*, THE NEW YORK TIMES (July 23, 2019), <https://nyti.ms/3150WXT>.

## Appendix I: Methodology

**Lobbying Spending:** Public Citizen analyzed lobbying data it received from the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP).<sup>40</sup> This data, which is the focus of section I & II of this report, was used to determine yearly and quarterly lobbying spending by each Big 4 company as well the number of lobbyists working on behalf of the Big 4 each year.

**PAC & individual campaign contributions:** Public Citizen received data documenting all contributions from Big 4 political action committees (PACs) and Big 4 employees (individuals) of greater than \$1,000 from the 2010 election cycle through the 2018 cycle from CRP. The individual contribution data includes contributions from the immediate family of the individuals employed by the Big 4 companies, as well.

**Lobbyist campaign contributions:** Public Citizen searched for each Big 4 lobbyist using CRP's website search function<sup>41</sup> and added the contributions to the dataset. Only contributions made in election cycles in which the lobbyist also lobbied on behalf of at least one Big 4 company were included.

**Contributions to the House, Senate and national party committees:** Public Citizen identified contributions given by the Big 4's PACs, employees and lobbyists to three different recipient types: 1) members of the House and Senate; 2) the leadership PACs of members of the House and Senate; and 3) the four national party committees – the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee (DSCC), the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC), the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), and the National Republican Campaign Committee (NRCC).

**Election cycle comparison:** When calculating contributions by election cycle, Public Citizen included only contributions made in the election cycle before a new Congress (House and Senate) was seated and only contributions to those who ended up serving in that Congress. For example, our calculation of 2018 election cycle contributions consist of those made to the members of the current Congress. Contributions we attributed to the 2016 election cycle consist of those contributions to those who ended up serving in Congress in 2017 and 2018. We included contributions to candidates who were not in Congress at the time of the contribution but ended up serving in the ensuing Congress. We did not include contributions to those who were in Congress at the time but who did not end up serving in the following Congress.

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<sup>40</sup> See <https://www.opensecrets.org/>.

<sup>41</sup> See <https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/search.php>.

## Appendix II

**Table 1 – Members of the 116th Congress That Received at Least \$25,000 Combined from Amazon, Google and Facebook PACs During the 2018 Cycle**

Elected Official	Leadership Position	Amazon 2018 Cycle	Google 2018 Cycle	Facebook 2018 Cycle	Total 2018 Cycle↓	Total 2010 - 2018 Cycles
Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)	Speaker of the House	\$15,000	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$45,000	\$148,500
Rep. Frank Jr Pallone (D-N.J.)		\$15,000	\$20,000	\$7,500	\$42,500	\$83,500
Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-Wash.)		\$20,000	\$20,000	\$2,000	\$42,000	\$119,000
Rep. Patrick McHenry (R-N.C.)		\$13,500	\$20,000	\$8,000	\$41,500	\$93,000
Rep. Zoe Lofgren (D-Calif.)		\$10,000	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$40,000	\$124,500
Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-Calif.)	Republican Leader	\$10,000	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$40,000	\$133,000
Rep. Steve Scalise (R-La.)	Republican Whip	\$8,500	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$38,500	\$91,500
Rep. Greg Walden (R-Ore.)		\$9,000	\$17,500	\$10,000	\$36,500	\$111,000
Sen. John Cornyn (R-Tex.)		\$15,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$35,000	\$96,500
Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.)	Majority Leader	\$3,500	\$20,000	\$10,000	\$33,500	\$127,500
Rep. Will Hurd (R-Tex.)		\$10,000	\$15,000	\$7,500	\$32,500	\$49,500
Rep. James E Clyburn (D-S.C.)	Majority Whip	\$8,500	\$17,500	\$5,000	\$31,000	\$103,000
Rep. Kevin Brady (R-Tex.)		\$5,000	\$20,000	\$5,000	\$30,000	\$58,500
Rep. Richard Neal (D-Mass.)		\$9,500	\$12,000	\$7,500	\$29,000	\$57,500
Rep. Doug Collins (R-Ga.)		\$8,500	\$15,000	\$5,000	\$28,500	\$32,500
Sen. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio)		\$7,500	\$15,000	\$6,000	\$28,500	\$40,000
Sen. Roger Wicker (R-Miss.)		\$7,500	\$12,500	\$7,500	\$27,500	\$49,500
Sen. Bob Casey (D-Pa.)		\$15,000	\$7,500	\$5,000	\$27,500	\$47,500
Sen. John Barrasso (R-Wyo.)	Republican Conference Chairman	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$7,500	\$27,500	\$73,500
Sen. Tim Kaine (D-Va.)		\$7,500	\$14,500	\$5,000	\$27,000	\$37,000
Sen. Amy Klobuchar (D-Minn.)	Chair of Steering Committee	\$7,500	\$14,000	\$5,000	\$26,500	\$66,500
Rep. Adam Schiff (D-Calif.)		\$14,000	\$5,000	\$7,000	\$26,000	\$42,000
Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.)		\$6,500	\$16,000	\$3,500	\$26,000	\$63,670
Rep. Ben Ray Lujan (D-N.M.)	Assistant Speaker	\$8,500	\$15,000	\$2,000	\$25,500	\$62,500
Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.)		\$7,000	\$11,000	\$7,500	\$25,500	\$92,500
Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)	Democratic Leader	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$10,000	\$25,000	\$111,000
Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.)	Assistant Republican Leader	\$10,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	\$25,000	\$90,000