Walmart v. Roe

How the country's largest private employer impacts abortion access

United for Respect

December 2022

Introduction

On June 24, 2022, the Supreme Court overturned *Roe vs. Wade* by issuing its decision in *Dobbs vs. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, throwing the abortion rights of millions of Americans into jeopardy. The conservative-leaning Supreme Court's ruling dismantled 50 years of national legal protection for bodily autonomy and paved the way for individual states to restrict or even outlaw safe abortion. Following the SCOTUS decision, the attention of retail workers pivoted to the statements and press releases by corporations broadcasting their support for abortion rights.

But unlike the vocal responses from companies like Amazon, Target, and Dick's Sporting Goods, Walmart's initial response to the Supreme Court's ruling was a delayed and quiet one. CEO Doug McMillon initially only told associates that Walmart was, "working thoughtfully and diligently to figure out the best path forward, guided by our desire to support our associates," in an internal memo sent out in July. Finally, two months after SCOTUS' ruling, in August 2022, Walmart declared their healthcare plans would cover abortion for associates in circumstances in which, "there is a health risk to the mother, rape or incest, ectopic pregnancy, miscarriage or lack of fetal viability." Walmart's apparent decision to not cover elective abortion however, severely limits associates' bodily autonomy by placing individual medical decisions into the hands of insurance providers rather than patients.

¹ Case, Brendan. "Walmart Tells Workers It's Studying 'Best Path Forward' on Abortion." Bloomberg. July 1, 2022. Accessed on November 3, 2022.

² Repko, Melissa. "<u>Walmart expands abortion coverage for its employees in the wake of Roe v Wade decision</u>." *CNBC*. August 19, 2022. Accessed on August 19, 2022.

This lack of commitment to protecting access to abortion care is complimented by Walmart's long history of supporting and funding anti-abortion political campaigns. From Senate races to Gubernatorial campaigns to down ballot elections, Walmart's political arm has poured money into anti-abortion candidates intent on restricting abortion access. In this report, *United for Respect* examines the immediate impact of the *Dobbs* ruling on Walmart employees, and attempts an initial accounting of Walmart's political contributions to anti-abortion political candidates and committees.

Impact on Walmart Associates:

- Women and/or nonbinary employees make up 53% or 865,152 of the 1.6 million
 Walmart workers across the United States.³
- Post-*Roe* more than 570,000 Walmart associates are living in states with abortion restrictions or outright abortion bans.
- Walmart does not cover elective abortions for associates and only covers abortions in situations in which, "there is a health risk to the mother, rape or incest, ectopic pregnancy, miscarriage, or lack of fetal viability."
- Walmart announced that it would offer "travel support" to associates and their dependents who cannot obtain the health service within 100 miles of the areas in which they reside.

Political contributions since 2016

- Walmart has made extensive financial contributions to anti-abortion candidates and political committees, with donations topping \$6.3 million since 2016.⁴
- Walmart has donated \$1.1 million to the Republican Governors Association since 2016.
- Walmart has donated over \$233,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee and Republican Senate Leadership since 2016.
- Walmart has donated \$130,000 to the Republican Attorneys General Association since 2016.
- Walmart has donated \$335,000 to the Republican State Leadership Committee since 2016.
- The Walton Family has made extensive contributions to anti-abortion political candidates.

³ "Walmart FY2022 ESG Summary." Walmart. 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

⁴ Open Secrets: Wal-Mart Stores. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

This data makes clear the crucial role that Walmart benefits and policies play in determining whether hundreds of thousands of its associates have access to abortion care in a post-*Roe* United States. At the same time, Walmart's political giving has funded anti-abortion candidates and committees working to reduce abortion access across the country.

IMPACTED ASSOCIATES

Walmart is the largest private-sector employer in the United States employing nearly 1% of America's workforce with 1.6 million associates across 50 states and U.S. territories. Additionally, many of the company's stores are located in Southern and Midwestern states, where abortion rights are most at risk. In fact, a 2021 analysis found that 60% of Walmart's 5,342 US stores were in states that would immediately prohibit abortion post-*Roe*. 6

Based on the most recent company data, women make up the majority of Walmart's workforce with 53% of all associates in America identifying as women. As such, the *Dobbs* decision meant that more than 860,000 female Walmart associates lost their constitutional right to safe and legal abortion, with more than 570,000 of these associates living in states where abortion is already banned or at risk (See table 1).⁷ With gender-nonconforming associates excluded from these tallies due to a lack of data, the full number of Walmart associates who may need abortion care is likely even higher.

⁵ "How many people work at Walmart?" Walmart. 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

⁶ "Notice of 2022 Annual Shareholders' Meeting." Walmart. 2022. Accessed on November 3, 2022.

⁷ "Walmart FY2022 ESG Summary." Walmart. 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

Table 1. Number of Walmart employeess in states where abortion is banned or under threat

			F .: IN
State	Abortion Status	Walmart Employees as of Q2 2022	Estimated Number of Walmart Employees who are Women
Alabama	Full Ban	41,758	22,131
Arizona	Ban blocked	38,309	20,303
Arkansas	Full Ban	54,905	29,099
Florida	15 week ban	119,081	63,112
Georgia	six week ban	68,020	36,050
Idaho	Full Ban	9,486	5,027
Indiana	Ban Blocked	46,006	24,383
Iowa	Ban blocked	19,045	10,093
Kentucky	Full Ban	31,634	16,766
Louisiana	Full Ban	36,583	19,388
Michigan	Ban blocked	35,268	18,692
Mississippi	Full Ban	25,732	13,637
Missouri	Full Ban	46,746	24,775
Montana	Ban blocked	5,379	2,850
North Carolina	20 week ban	63,028	33,404
North Dakota	Ban blocked	4,898	2,595
Ohio	six week ban	56,933	30,174
Oklahoma	Full Ban	35,357	18,739
South Carolina	Ban blocked	36,223	19,198
South Dakota	Full Ban	5,916	3,135
Tennessee	Full Ban	44,582	23,628
Texas	Full Ban	178,594	94,654
Utah	18 week ban	21,831	11,570
West Virginia	Full Ban	11,902	6,308
Wisconsin	Full Ban	34,143	18,095
Wyoming	Ban blocked	5,242	2,778
Total		1,076,601	570,854

People of color, women, and low-wage workers are disproportionately impacted by the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*. Many Walmart associates are at the intersections of these identities. Women make up 53% of Walmart's entire U.S. workforce, additionally, people of color comprise 49% of Walmart's total U.S. workforce. These associates could disproportionately be impacted by the Supreme Court's overruling as Black and Latinx people bear the brunt of restrictive abortion access. Many restrictive abortion laws or outright abortion bans are located in the South and Midwest. More than half of the nation's Black population lives in the South which also features a high concentration of Walmart brick and mortar stores. The outlawing of legal abortion means many women and nonbinary people will have to travel hundreds of miles to states where abortion-care is still legal. This adds an additional layer of complexity for Walmart associates of color as this requires the money for travel & healthcare costs, the ability to take time off from work, and childcare services for any present children.

Arkansas, the state in which Walmart is headquartered, is a prime example of the harmful effects of the *Dobbs* ruling. Since 2019, Arkansas has had an abortion "trigger law" in place which automatically outlawed abortion after the Supreme Court's ruling overturned *Roe v. Wade*. The trigger law, made abortion illegal in most circumstances, without exception for pregnancies resulting from rape or incest. Arkansas' Act 180 made abortion a felony charge in the state, with a fine of up to \$100,000 and imprisonment for up to 10 years. Walmart has 54,907 associates in Arkansas, with nearly 30,000 of those workers identifying as women. As these employees now face immense hurdles to accessing abortion-care, Walmart may find it more difficult to recruit and retain associates in Arkansas. This could negatively impact the company's abilities to meet diversity and inclusion goals, and in the long run, this could adversely affect Walmart's operations, and brand reputation.

HEALTH COVERAGE & PARENTAL LEAVE

Walmart's response to *Roe*'s overturning lagged behind those of other large American retailers such as Amazon, Target, Kroger, and Dick's Sporting Goods, which all provided prompt public statements about supplementing employees financial costs for out-of-state access to abortion care. In July 2022, the largest private employer in the US claimed it was,

⁸ "Equity & Inclusion at Walmart & Beyond." Walmart. July 21, 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

⁹ Hassanein, Nada. "People of color, the poort and other marginalized people to bear the brunt if Roe v. Wade is overturned." USA Today. May 3, 2022. Access on September 19, 2022.

¹⁰ https://grist.org/living/map-walmart-stores-america/

Gasser, Merrilee. "Arkansas' trigger law makes abortion illegal in most circumstances." The Center Square. June 24, 2022. Access on September 24, 2022.

¹² Vinopal, Courtney. "<u>Big U.S. employers like Walmart and Home Depot aren't talking about workplace abortion rights</u>." *The Observer.* June 28, 2022. Access on September 25, 2022.

"listening to associates across [the] company, representing many different viewpoints," in a statement by Doug McMillon. Two months after SCOTUS' ruling, Walmart finally declared it would immediately expand healthcare plans to cover abortion for employees in situations in which, "there is a health risk to the mother, rape or incest, ectopic pregnancy, miscarriage, or lack of fetal viability." Previously, Walmart health benefits only covered abortions in instances in which, "the health of the mother would be in danger if the fetus were carried to term, the fetus could not survive the birthing process, or death would be imminent after birth," according to the Walmart's employee handbook. 15

Questions remain about how broadly Walmart's insurance plans will cover abortion care. While other retailers have stated their health benefits will apply to elective abortion, Walmart has not. Walmart's lack of assurance for elective abortion further deprives associates of their bodily autonomy by placing personal medical decisions in the hands of an insurance provider and the corporation rather than the patient. And that's only in instances when associates have insurance to begin with. A 2021 report by the Kaiser Family Foundation found that only 40% of retail workers were covered by their employers' health benefits, the lowest percent of any industry studied, meaning the majority of retail workers will face financial barriers to accessing abortion care on top of legal ones. ¹⁶ Currently, Walmart does not release data detailing the percentage of employees receiving health insurance.

Outside of Walmart's sparse coverage to help associates access safe abortion, Walmart has no other protections in place to support employees looking to terminate an undesired pregnancy. Instead, Walmart took an almost contradictory approach by announcing a "center for fertility services". Previously Walmart allocated only \$5,000 to associates looking to adopt; but after the overturning of *Roe*, Walmart has increased the monetary assistance to \$20,000. In this way Walmart effectively subsidizes adoption services for some of their associates while denying and hindering bodily autonomy for associates seeking elective abortion, which is not covered within their healthcare policy.

¹³ Case, Brendan. "<u>Walmart (WMT) tells workers it's studying 'best path forward' on abortion</u>." *Bloomberg*. July 1, 2022. Accessed on September 25, 2022.

¹⁴ Yang, Mara. "Walmart expands abortion coverage for employees after Roe overturned." *The Guardian*. August 21, 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

¹⁵ Repko, Melissa. "Walmart to respond to Supreme Court's abortion decision, CEO says in memo." *CNBC*. July 1, 2022. Accessed September 19, 2022.

¹⁶ "2021 Employer Health Benefits Survey". *Kaiser Family Foundation*. November 10, 2021. Accessed on August 20, 2022.

¹⁷ Repko, Melissa. "Walmart expands abortion coverage for its employees in the wake of roe v wade decision. *CNBC*. August 19, 2022. Accessed on September 18, 2022.

Walmart's healthcare and maternity leave policies also lag behind those of some of their competitors. While Amazon offers associates 20 weeks of fully paid leave for birthing parents, under Walmart's current policy, associates only have access to 9 weeks of protected paid maternal leave.¹⁸ There is the possibility for the birthing parent to access up to 16 weeks of paid protective leave by filing for short term disability; though, over the years associates have raised complaints as health care claims take months for follow up.

TRAVEL RELATED BENEFITS

In August 2022, Walmart announced that it would offer "travel support" to associates and their dependents who cannot obtain the health service within 100 miles of the areas in which they reside.²⁰ Unlike many other retailers that have expanded and added supplementary health benefits since SCOTUS overturned *Roe v. Wade*, Walmart's policy is limited and does not appear to cover elective abortion.

POLITICAL GIVING

Walmart donates to politicians and political committees through its corporate political action committee called Walmart INC. PAC for Responsible Giving. Walmart has proclaimed it supports elected officials on "both sides of the aisle" with the objective of ensuring Walmart "operates in the very best business environment possible."²¹ But since its inception, Walmart has donated over \$21 million to the Republican Party compared to \$8 million given to the Democratic Party.²² In the last election cycle, a party breakdown of Walmart's PAC recipients found 57.69%, or \$328,000, going toward Republicans and 41.77%, or \$237,500, going toward Democrats.²³

While Walmart has given to both sides of the political aisle, this analysis examines the money the corporation has given to the anti-abortion movement. Since *Roe v. Wade*, in 1973, the anti-abortion movement has pursued a decades-long strategy of restricting abortion as much as possible at the state level while fighting for Supreme Court justices who would eventually overturn the ruling entirely. Walmart has supported candidates and elected officials at nearly every level of this strategy, and a recent report by Business

¹⁸ "What 20 weeks of fully paid leave does for Amazon Families." Amazon. August 1, 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

¹⁹ "Getting Paid." Walmart. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

²⁰ Case, Brenda. "Walmart eases some curbs on abortion coverage, offers travel aid." *Bloomberg*. August 19, 2022. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

²¹ https://corporate.walmart.com/askwalmart/why-does-walmart-give-money-to-politicians

²² "Walmart." Follow The Money. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

²³ "Walmart Inc PAC." Open Secrets. Accessed on September 19, 2022.

Insider found that Walmart donated nearly \$315,00 to backers of abortion trigger laws.²⁴ This analysis will focus specifically on political contributions to the following:

- Republican Senate leadership, including the National Republican Senatorial Committee;
- The Republican Senators on the Judiciary Committee that voted to advance the nominations of Supreme Court Justices Kavanaugh, Gorsuch, and Coney-Barrett;
- Anti-abortion state governors and the Republican Governors Association;
- Anti-abortion attorneys generals supported by the Republican Attorneys General Association; and
- The Republican State Leadership Committee which funds and supports anti-abortion candidates in state legislatures across the country.

Since 2016, Walmart has given over \$2.1 million to the above elected officials and committees, putting the abortion rights of its associates, and all Americans, in jeopardy. This history of political contributions stands in stark contrast to the recent comments by the company, and throws Walmart's commitment to reproductive rights into question.

GIVING TO ANTI-ABORTION SENATORS

The overturning of *Roe v. Wade* required a Supreme Court dominated by right-wing, anti-abortion Justices. While this might have seemed like a long shot just a few years ago, since 2016, Republican Senate leaders have engineered this court takeover by first refusing to advance the nomination of President Obama's Supreme Court pick, Merrick Garland, out of the Judiciary Committee, and then advancing President Trump's nominations of Justices Kavanaugh, Gorsuch, and Coney Barrett.

During this same period, Walmart contributed to the campaigns of nearly every Republican Senator in party leadership and on the Judiciary Committee. For the purposes of this report, party leadership refers to the top three ranking Republican Senators: Senate Leader Mitch McConnell, Senate Whip John Thune, and Senate Conference Chairman John Barasso, as well as the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC), a PAC which bills itself "the only national organization solely devoted to strengthening the Republican Senate Majority

²⁴ Gaudiano, Nicole. "<u>AT&T, Walmart, Citi, and other megacorporations bankrolled a wave of state abortion bans</u>." *Business Insider.* June 24, 2022. Access on September 19, 2022.

²⁵ Open Secrets: Wal-Mart Stores, years 2016 - 2020. https://www.opensecrets.org/political-action-committees-pacs/walmart-inc/C00093054/summary/2020

and electing Republicans to the US Senate."²⁶ In the past decade, the NRSC has spent hundreds of millions of dollars funding anti-abortion candidates and supporting a Republican-controlled Senate from 2014-2020.²⁷

Table 2. Political contributions since 2016 from Walmart to Republican Senate Leadership			
Committee and Candidates	Walmart Stores Inc. PAC for Responsible Government political contributions since 2016 ²⁸		
National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) and related committees	\$288,500		
Committees linked to Republican Senate Leader Mitch McConnell	\$10,000		
Committees linked to Republican Senate Whip John Thune	\$11,500		
Committees linked to Republican Senate Conference Chairman John Barrasso	\$7,000		
Total	\$317,000		

Additionally, since 2016, Walmart INC. PAC for Responsible Giving has donated \$317,000 to senators who sit on the Senate Judiciary Committee.²⁹ These Senators voted unanimously to advance the nominations of Supreme Court Justices Kavanaugh, Gorsuch, and Coney Barret.

²⁶ "About Us." National Republican Senatorial Committee. 2022. Accessed on August 22, 2022.

²⁷ "NRSC." Federal Election Commission. 2022. Accessed on August 22, 2022.

²⁸ Table 2. Political contributions are based on a search of FEC disbursement data from January 1st, 2016 to July 25th, 2022 for Walmart Stores Inc. PAC. Contributions reported may include multiple committees linked to a single candidate.

Table 3. Political contributions since 2016 from Walmart INC. PAC for Responsible Giving to Republican members of the Senate Judiciary Committee³⁰

Anti-Abortion Senator on the Senate Judiciary Committee	Voted to nominate Kavanaugh	Voted to nominate Gorsuch	Voted to nominate Coney Barrett	Contributions from Walmart's PAC since 2016
Marsha Blackburn	NA	NA	Υ	\$4,500
John Cornyn	Υ	Υ	Y	\$10,000
Mike Crapo	Υ	Υ	Υ	\$10,500
Ted Cruz	Υ	Υ	Υ	\$2,000
Joni Ernst	NA	NA	Υ	\$10,000
Jeff Flake	Υ	Y	NA	\$5,000
Lindsey Graham	Υ	Υ	Y	\$5,500
Chuck Grassley	Υ	Y	Υ	\$20,500
Orrin Hatch	Υ	Υ	NA	\$3.500
Josh Hawley	NA	NA	Υ	\$0
John Neely Kennedy	Υ	Y	Y	\$2,500
Mike Lee	Υ	Υ	Y	\$4,500
Ben Sasse	Υ	Υ	Υ	\$5,000
Thom Tillis	Υ	Υ	Υ	\$10,000
Total				\$93,500

GIVING TO ANTI-ABORTION GOVERNORS

A governor's ability to sign or veto a bill can mean the difference between access to safe abortion care or a total abortion ban with no exceptions. At the state level, Republican Governors have embraced this power, leading the charge against abortion rights and signed increasingly repressive bans into law. Despite this, since 2016, Walmart has contributed \$1,110,450 to the Republican Governors Association (RGA), one of the

³⁰ Table 3. Political contributions are based on a search of FEC disbursement data from January 1st, 2016 to July 25th, 2022 for Walmart Inc. PAC for Responsible Giving. Contributions reported may include multiple committees linked to a single candidate.

preeminent funders and supporters of anti-abortion governors across the country. The RGA is one of the largest spenders in state-level politics and has greatly contributed to the Republican party control of 28 out of 50 gubernatorial seats.³¹ 32 33

Table 4. Political contributions since 2016 from Walmart to the Republican Governors Association				
Year	Contributions to the Republican Governors Association since 2016 ³⁴			
2016	\$0			
2017	\$0			
2018	\$105,450			
2019	\$250,000			
2020	\$255,000			
2021	\$175,900			
2022	\$250,000			
Total	\$1,110,450			

GIVING TO ANTI-ABORTION ATTORNEY'S GENERALS

Along with giving money to Republican Governors, Walmart contributed to the Republican Attorneys General Association (RAGA) in 2019. RAGA is a key player in the anti-abortion movement, funding and supporting Republican Attorneys General that have been essential to the implementation of abortion bans and the use of anti-abortion legal strategies. In fact, a fundraising email from RAGA sent the very day that Roe was overturned said: "Every

³¹ Forrest, Julia. "<u>DGA and RGA spend big ahead of 2021-2022 gubernatorial elections</u>". *Open Secrets*. August 4, 2021, Accessed on August 15, 2022.

³² "RGA Brings In Record-Breaking \$156 Million In 2018 Cycle". Press Release. Republican Governors Association. October 15, 2018. Accessed on August 15, 2022.

Jordan, David. "Republican Governors Association outguns its Democratic counterpart as it gears up for next races". The Center for Public Integrity. February 23, 2017. Accessed on August 15, 2022.
 Table 4. Figures are based on the 8872 Forms filed by the Republican Governors Association from 2016 through the first half of 2022. Publicly available through the Internal Revenue Service, Form 8872 is filed by tax-exempt 527 political organizations. Data retrieved on July 26, 2022.

donation will help the Republican Attorneys General combat the Democrats' pro-abortion agenda and stand tall for life."³⁵

RAGA's website highlights a host of anti-abortion attorneys general, including:

- Matthew DePerno, a candidate for Michigan attorney general, who has said he would enforce the state's abortion ban from 1931 which has no exceptions for rape and incest.³⁶
- Chris Carr, Georgia's Attorney General, who in June 2022 filed a notice in the 11th Circuit requesting the Circuit reverse the District Court's decision and "allow Georgia's Heartbeat law to take effect."

On top of its anti-abortion positions, RAGA garnered national attention in 2021, when The Rule of Defense Fund, its non-profit arm, sent out a robocall inviting "patriots" to attend the January 6th rally that led to the storming of the U.S. Capitol building³⁷. Despite this extremist history, Walmart has contributed \$130,000 to RAGA since 2019.

GIVING TO ANTI-ABORTION STATE LEGISLATURES

For years, Republican state legislatures have tested the limits of *Roe v. Wade* by passing increasingly restrictive anti-abortion bills. Behind many of these legislatures has been the Republican State Leadership Committee (RSLC), an influential group that has funded and supported much of the Republican party's recent down-ballot success. In 2018, for example, the RSLC spent \$1.2 million in Georgia's state elections.³⁸ The following year, the Republican legislature passed a trigger ban that would go into effect upon *Roe*'s reversal.³⁹ Similar anti-abortion bills advanced in Alabama and Missouri after the RSLCs spent heavily in those states' 2018 elections as well.⁴¹ Now, post-*Roe*, the RSLC is spending in

³⁵ Legum, Judd. "<u>The hypocrisy of abortion as a corporate perk</u>." *Popular Information*. June 27, 2022. Accessed on August 8, 2022.

³⁶ Gibbons, Lauren. "<u>Abortion opinion upends Michigan campaigns: see where the candidates stand</u>." *Bridge Michigan.* May 5, 2022.

³⁷ Markay, Lachlan. "<u>Donations fizzle to GOP AG group involved in Jan. 6 rally.</u>" *Axios*. August 3, 2021. Accessed on August 8, 2022.

Bogun, Ally. "The Corporations Funding the Group Behind the Country's Most Extreme Anti-Choice Lawmakers." Rewire News Group. July 10, 2022. Accessed on August 8, 2022.

³⁹ Bogun, Ally. "<u>The Corporations Funding the Group Behind the Country's Most Extreme Anti-Choice Lawmakers.</u>" *Rewire News Group.* July 10, 2022. Accessed on August 8, 2022.

⁴⁰ Fowler, Stephen. "What does Georgia's 2019 abortion law HB 481 do?." GPB News. June 30, 2022. Accessed August 8, 2022.

⁴¹Bogun, Ally. "The Corporations Funding the Group Behind the Country's Most Extreme Anti-Choice Lawmakers." Rewire News Group. July 10, 2022. Accessed on August 8, 2022.

North Carolina's 2022 state elections, where Republicans are hoping to gain enough seats to pass a veto-proof abortion ban.^{42 43}

Despite this well-documented history of supporting and funding state candidates dead set on stripping Americans of their abortion rights, Walmart has contributed generously to the RSLC since 2016, with donations totaling \$335,818.

Table 5. Walmart's contributions to the Republican State Leadership Committee (2016-2022)				
Year	Contributions to the Republican State Leadership Committee since 2016 ⁴⁴			
2016	\$0			
2017	\$0			
2018	\$0			
2019	\$125,818			
2020	\$70,000			
2021	\$70,000			
2022	\$70,000			
Total	\$335,818			

THE WALTON FAMILY

The Walton Family, whose fortune derives from its large ownership stake in Walmart, also has a long history of supporting anti-abortion political candidates. As one of the richest families on the planet, the Walton's exercise immense power and their political

⁴² "RSLC Announces State Legislative Targets for 2022." Republican State Leadership Committee. March 10, 2022. Accessed on August 23, 2022.

⁴³ Schoenhaum, Hannah. "Judge Reinstates North Carolina's 20-Week Abortion Ban." *Bloomberg.* August 17, 2022. Accessed on August 23, 2022.

⁴⁴ Table 5. Figures are based on the 8872 Forms filed by the Republican State Leadership Committee from 2016 through the first half of 2022. Publicly available through the Internal Revenue Service, Form 8872 is filed by tax-exempt 527 political organizations. Data accessed on July 26, 2022.

contributions can have an outsized impact on the reproductive rights of Walmart associates and their families.

Alice Walton, daughter of Sam Walton and heiress to the Walmart fortune has donated more to Republican entities than her siblings, Jim and Rob. In the last 22 years, Alice has donated over \$3 million to Republicans and a mere \$313,000 to Democrats. From 2014-present, Alice donated over \$965,000 to Texas Republican Governor Greg Abbot who would in 2022 sign an abortion trigger into law.⁴⁵ As for party committees, Alice has given \$61,200 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$60,800 to the National Republican Congressional Committee, and over \$50,000 on committees to elect Republicans in the state of Wisconsin.⁴⁶

Rob Walton is the son of Sam Walton, heir to the Walmart fortune, and is the former Chairman of the Board of Directors of Walmart. Rob's political contributions are more limited. Over the last 15 years Rob has given \$156,400 to the Republican party compared to \$392,700 to Democrats. Notable contributions to anti-choice politicians include \$25,000 to Governor Ronald DeSantis who signed a 15-week abortion ban into law earlier in the year. Rob has also donated \$11,000 to anti-choice Congressman Steve Womack over the last two election cycles.

Jim Walton is son to Sam Walton and equally an heir to the Walmart fortune with his siblings. Jim is a staunch supporter of right-wing causes, having donated nearly \$2 million to Republicans and Republican committees over the last 23 years. To date, Jim Walton has donated \$309,200 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee, \$296,200 to the National Republican Congressional Committee, and \$214,400 to the Arkansas Republican Party. As an individual contributor Jim has donated to anti-choice republicans such as Senator Tom Cotton (AR), Senator Roy Blunt (MO), and Congressman Steve Womack (AR).

Stueart Walton is the son of Jim Walton, grandson of Sam Walton, and currently sits as a member of the Board of Directors for Walmart. Like a majority of the Walton family, Steuart has donated significant amounts to Republican causes, totalling \$311,706 over the past 14

<sup>Walton, Alice Louise." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____
"Walton, Alice Louise." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____
"Walton, Samuel Robsion." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____
"15-week abortion ban becomes Florida law with Gov. Ron DeSantis' signature." April 14, 2022. CBS News. Accessed on November 28, 2022.
Walton, Samuel Robsion." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____
"Walton, Jim Carr." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____
"Walton, Jim Carr." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____
"Walton, Jim Carr." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on _____</sup>

years.⁵² Significant donations include those to the NRCC and to Republican gubernatorial races such as William Asa Hutchinson, who would eventually sign an abortion ban into law in 2022.⁵³ ⁵⁴

Conclusion

As the largest private employer in the country, Walmart plays an outsized role in determining the reproductive rights and access to abortion care of its associates and their family members. In a post-*Roe* America, that outsized role comes with even greater responsibility, as Walmart associates in many states face ever higher hurdles in receiving abortion care. But while the company has taken steps to assist associates with travel costs for out-of-state abortion-care, its insurance coverage appears to exclude elective abortions, stripping associates of a fundamental right. Further, Walmart's political giving has fueled politicians and committees working to end abortion access for all Americans. As an industry leader, Walmart has the opportunity to set a new corporate standard for supporting the reproductive rights of its employees, by taking just a few steps:

- Ensure that all employees in states where abortion has been banned or severely restricted are able to travel out-of-state to receive care. Along with the previously announced travel reimbursement, this benefit should include sufficient paid-time-off for the duration of travel and reimbursement for necessary child care during that period.
- Ensure that the above benefits apply to all people who work for Walmart, whether
 full or part-time, seasonal or permanent; and that those benefits are extended to
 app-based workers, independent contractors, and all workers who make the
 company run.
- Withhold all political giving to anti-abortion candidates and political committees and organizations.
- Publicly disclose a detailed accounting of all political contributions, both by the company and any affiliated political action committees, to all candidates, elected officials, PACs, political organizations, 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations, and 501(c)(6) trade associations.

^{52 &}quot;Walton, Steuart L." Follow the Money. 2022. Accessed on ___

^{53 &}quot;Steuart Walton". FEC Individual Contributions. 2022. Accessed on

⁵⁴ Juneau, Jen. "Governor Who Signed Abortion Ban with No Exceptions for Rape or Incest Says 'It's Not the Debate Today'." June 27, 2022. *People*. Accessed on November 28, 2022.

Along with protecting the health and reproductive freedoms of its employees, these actions would bring Walmart in line with the American public, which across gender, age, and race/ethnicity, believes that abortion should be legal in all or most cases. With a presence in nearly every American community, Walmart should be using its influence to safeguard the health and rights of Americans, not undermining them. By following the above recommendations, Walmart can demonstrate corporate leadership on an important issue, while prioritizing the safety of its associates and their families. Abortion care is health care, and given the current political landscape, Walmart should be doing everything in its power to protect the health of the employees on which the company depends.

Table Methodology

- Table 1. The status of abortion rights is based on a nationwide analysis by the New York Times, titled <u>Tracking the States Where Abortion is Now Banned</u>, as of October 31st, 2022. The number of people who work in retail by state is based on the June 2022 figures from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and and the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis.
- Table 2. Political contributions are based on a search of FEC disbursement data from January 1st, 2016 to July 25th, 2022 for Amazon.com Services LLC Separate Segregated Fund (Amazon PAC). Contributions reported may include multiple committees linked to a single candidate.
- Table 3. Political contributions are based on a search of FEC disbursement data from January 1st, 2016 to July 25th, 2022 for Amazon.com Services LLC Separate Segregated Fund (Amazon PAC). Contributions reported may include multiple committees linked to a single candidate.
- Table 4. Figures are based on the 8872 Forms filed by the Republican Governors
 Association from 2016 through the first half of 2022. Publicly available through the
 Internal Revenue Service. Form 8872 is filed by tax-exempt 527 political
 organizations.

^{55 &}quot;Public Opinion on Abortion." Pew Research Center. May 17, 2022. Accessed on August 8, 2022.

• Table 5. Figures are based on the 8872 Forms filed by the Republican State Leadership Committee from 2016 through the first half of 2022. Publicly available through the Internal Revenue Service. Form 8872 is filed by tax-exempt 527 political organizations.