

**REGULATORY/POLITICAL CLIMATE, EDUCATION, INCOME, SUSTAINABILITY & COMPANY  
HEADQUARTER LOCATIONS: WHAT CONNECTION EXISTS, HOW TO INTERPRET IT & NEXT STEPS  
FOR BUSINESS LAW SCHOLARSHIP**

by

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**ABSTRACT**

Do the regulatory and political climates of states affect the probability that they will serve as headquarters for companies? Are other factors better explanatory variables, such as median educational attainment, incomes, or “greenness” of the state? Are businesses in Democratic vs. Republican-leaning states more socially responsible, ethical, or transparent? What do statistics reveal, is there more than one interpretation of the data, and what would be next steps for scholars of business law?

A conventional stereotype is that Republican-leaning or “red” states are generally more pro-business: namely, skeptical of government intervention in markets through regulation, less likely to support public sector solutions to societal problems, and generally in favor of lower taxes. Democratic-leaning or “blue” states are stereotypically less business-friendly, less trusting of unregulated markets, and more inclined to trust active public sector involvement to solve societal problems, including the associated regulatory and tax burdens.

This exploratory study tested whether indeed there is a connection between the number of corporate headquarters in a state and the state’s political climate. The authors begin with a literature review regarding the common factors businesses consider when choosing their headquarters. Next, a hypothesis is established concerning the question of whether the political climate of a state has a statistically significant relationship with the number of company headquarters located within its boundaries. To test this hypothesis, information was collected on just under 1,600 companies in the CSRHub.com database. Data was also collected to establish political climate of each state. In addition to these variables, data on average income, educational success, and perception of relative “greenness” of each state was collected to determine the impacts of these variables on the number of corporate headquarters in a state.

Somewhat counter to what might be guessed based upon prevailing stereotypes, “ultra-blue” states (where an average of 55 percent or more of voters chose the Democratic candidate in presidential elections from 1996-2008) host approximately seven times the number of company headquarters than “ultra-red” states (where the electorate leans most heavily toward the Republican Party). More importantly, multiple regression analysis indicates a strong and positive relationship between propensity of a state’s electorate to vote Democratically and the number of corporations headquartered in that state. No other tested explanatory variable had a significant relationship. The authors acknowledge the limitations of this study, offer several interpretations of this statistical outcome, and provide several provocative directions for future research.

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## I. Introduction

The goal of this exploratory study is to establish whether the political climate of a state has a relationship with the number of corporations headquartered within its boundaries. A commonly held stereotype is that strongly Democratic states tend to have greater regulatory and tax burdens, while Republican states are supposed to be business-friendly. Therefore, a natural guess would be that companies might prefer Republican-leaning states for siting headquarters.

The authors begin with a literature review regarding the common factors that can impact siting a business activity. In addition to developing the main hypothesis, several more variables are identified that might foreseeably have a relationship with the number of corporate headquarters in a state. These include average educational level, income, and the “greenness” of a state. Data sources and methodology are described and key findings are reviewed. The authors conclude by offering several interpretations and suggesting directions for future research.

From the onset, it should be noted that large companies often incorporate in one state, have headquarters in another, and production and/or service locations in a diversity of states or even countries. Arguably, this might lead one to guess that there is no significant relationship between regulatory/political climates of states and their likelihood to host business headquarters.

It is therefore all the more surprising that companies prefer, by a 7:1 margin, to locate in the cohort of states whose electorates have the greatest propensity to vote for the Democratic Party as opposed to the cohort of states that are Republican strongholds. A regression test using data from almost 1,600 companies confirmed that this is a strong positive relationship. The same test failed to find a statistically significant relationship between, as independent variables, income, education, and “greenness” of states and the dependent variable of number of corporate headquarters in a state.

The authors conclude by acknowledging the limitations of this study, offering interpretations of the statistical results, and suggesting questions for further research.

## II. Literature Review

Where companies choose to locate their headquarters is not a question that has a generalizable answer. Commonly accepted salient factors include access to resources, location of markets, supply of skilled workers, and favorable tax codes.<sup>1</sup> At first glance, this list of four factors seems to summarize most of what would dictate a decision of where to locate a corporate headquarters, but the simple fact that a location already hosts a lot of businesses may attract other headquarters to that location, especially if they are involved in the same industry.<sup>2</sup> General economic stability and quality of life for employees enters the equation. Certain key factors that seem to be universal include customer demand, market of available and competent suppliers and existence of closely linked companies in similar fields.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the aforementioned factors, businesses also take into account the overall business climate of the area.<sup>4</sup> Inherently, one of the factors embedded in the business culture of an area includes the political atmosphere.<sup>5</sup> More specifically, the “quality of governmental politics...quality of relationships between politicians and commercial sector” are a part of the criteria in deciding where to locate a business or its headquarters.<sup>6</sup> Political atmosphere implicitly includes favorable tax and regulation schemes for businesses.<sup>7</sup> However, some of the not overtly political factors affecting choice of location of a headquarters – such as supply of an educated workforce and infrastructure resources – are closely tied to decisions of where to invest public resources, which ultimately can be related to the larger factor of political climate.<sup>8</sup> The political climate of state also has a self-evident effect on tax rates and the tendency to use regulation and the public sector to solve or mitigate problems – these government interventions in the market and associated taxes are commonly characterized as burdens.

Clear stereotypes are associated with the tendency of states to vote for one major political party or the other.<sup>9</sup> Put simply, Democratically-leaning states are stereotyped as having an electorate and government officials that are more likely to favor government actions to solve or mitigate problems – including regulations and public sector programs and associated taxes.<sup>10</sup> Republican-leaning states are stereotyped as having an electorate and government officials that are more likely to trust the private sector and distrust government action – and for this reason are often characterized as more business-friendly.<sup>11</sup>

Based on the foregoing literature and reasoning, the authors set out to test whether indeed business headquarters are more likely to be located in Democratic-leaning vs. Republican-leaning states. In statistical terms, the political leanings of a state would be an independent variable and the number of company headquarters in a state would be the dependent variable.

However, drawing on the literature review above and input from other scholars, several other factors emerged as potentially more powerful determinants of where companies locate headquarters. Specifically, as mentioned, the availability of skilled and educated workers can greatly affect where a company locates its offices, and higher education attainment tends to the quality of a workforce in these respects.<sup>12</sup> For this reason, the authors decided to test whether an indicator of average educational attainment in a state would be a better predictor of the number of corporate headquarters. A somewhat countervailing factor is average income; potentially, higher average educational attainment leads to higher incomes which makes a state less desirable because of high costs of labor. Therefore, average income in a state was added as an

independent variable to test as potentially affecting the number of corporate headquarters located in a given state. The choice of data and methodology for including these variables in the test follow this section.

The last independent variable included is the green score of each state. These scores were determined by Brian Wingfield and Miriam Marcus based on each state’s carbon footprint, air quality, water quality, hazardous waste management, policy initiatives and energy consumption.<sup>13</sup> Arguably, these scores reflect not only comparative environmental quality, but also relative regulatory burdens in each state and therefore could be – as mentioned above – negatively correlated with the number of corporate headquarters. Conversely, according to some, green innovations and reputation (whether imposed by law or voluntarily embraced) contribute to business efficiency<sup>14</sup> and morale of employees,<sup>15</sup> and practices such as sustainability reporting are embraced more frequently by older and larger companies.<sup>16</sup> For these reasons, it is not obvious whether and how comparative greenness of a state might relate to the number of corporate headquarters within its boundaries.

### III. Hypothesis

Based on the foregoing literature review and reasoning, the following hypothesis is proposed:

*H<sub>1</sub>: The political climate of a state has a significant impact on the number of corporate headquarters in the state.*

Additionally, given that this is an exploratory study, and as explained above and further described below, statistics reflecting average educational attainment, income, and comparative greenness of states were included to test if any of these factors were more powerful determinants of where companies locate their headquarters.

### IV. Data & Methodology

To test the hypothesis above, information was gathered from various sources on the dependent variable and independent variables. The political climate or leanings of states could have been determined several ways. For example, something like current voter registration data could have been used, or outcomes of recent state-level elections. However, registration data can change over time and does not always predict outcomes, and state-level elections can be won by individuals that may nominally belong to one party, but would, on a national level, not match the party platform or values.

Instead, the authors looked for a variable that would reflect (1) the long-term political leanings of a state (2) consistently gauge state-level political climate as it compares to the national spectrum. Using results of the last four presidential election cycles fit these two criteria. Next, the variable has to be continuous. Fortunately, in a two-party system, the percentage of the popular vote won in each state by one party has a near-perfectly inverse relationship with the percentage of the popular vote won by the other party. Therefore, one party’s share of the popular vote in each state accurately reflects the electorate’s leanings toward both parties, and also meets the needs of performing the statistical analysis.

The specific data points collected were the percentages of the popular vote in all fifty states for the years 1996, 2000, 2004, and 2008 that were won by the Democratic Party.<sup>17</sup> The mean percentage won by the Democratic Party in these four presidential election cycles was then calculated for each state. With these means calculated, the states were then grouped into five cohorts that reflect the propensity of states to vote in favor of Democratic vs. Republican presidential nominees, as illustrated in the following table.

STATE POLITICAL CLIMATE COHORTS DEFINED

MEAN PERCENTAGE OF POPULAR VOTE WON BY DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE 1996-2008	POLITICAL CLIMATE: DEMOCRATIC PARTY vs. REPUBLICAN PARTY FAVORED	COHORT
≥ 55%	Strong Democratic	ULTRA BLUE
50.5% -54.9%	Likely Democratic	BLUE
47.5%-50.4%	Swing	PURPLE
43.1-47.4%	Likely Republican	RED
≤ 43%	Strong Republican	ULTRA RED

For example, the share of the Massachusetts popular vote in each presidential election between 1996-2008 that was won by the Democratic Party’s nominee was 62%, 62%, 60%, and 61% with an average of 61.3%. This percentage puts Massachusetts in the “ultra-blue” classification. Using this methodology, states were categorized as illustrated in the table below. Using this methodology, 11 states are categorized as ultra-blue, 9 as blue, 6 as purple, 13 as red, and 11 as ultra-red.

## States' Tendency to Vote Democratic from 1996-2008

ULTRA BLUE		BLUE		PURPLE		RED		ULTRA RED	
STRONG DEMOCRAT		LIKELY DEMOCRAT		SWING STATE		LIKELY REPUBLICAN		STRONG REPUBLICAN	
MA	61.25	ME	53.25	NH	50	VA	47	MS	42
RI	60.75	MI	52.75	CO	48.75	WV	46	TX	41
HI	59.75	WA	52.5	FL	48.75	AR	46	AL	40.25
NY	59.75	PA	51.5	OH	48.25	AZ	45.25	ND	38.5
VT	57.75	MN	51	NV	48.25	NC	45.25	KS	37.75
MD	57.25	WI	50.75	MO	47.5	TN	45	OK	36.5
IL	56.5	NM	50.75			LA	44.75	NE	35.75
CT	56	IA	50.5			GA	44.25	AK	33.75
DE	55.5	OR	50.5			IN	43	ID	32
CA	55					SC	42.75	WY	31.75
NJ	55					KY	42	UT	29.75
						SD	41		
						MT	40		

Next, the CSRHub database was used for gathering company information. The 1,686 companies in the CSRHub database includes 93% of the Fortune 1000 and more than 95% of the S&P 500.<sup>18</sup> Companies included in the CSRHub database tend to be publicly-traded companies about whom there is enough information to generate a report concerning their corporate responsibility activities.<sup>19</sup> CSRHub aggregates more data and ratings on companies related to corporate social responsibility than any other source.<sup>20</sup> This data includes twelve indicators related to company impacts on employees, the environment, and communities, and governance, as well as information such as location of company headquarters. 1,596 companies matched the basic criteria of being headquartered in the United States and as having enough visibility to be listed with a full profile on CSRHub. The next table displays the number of company headquarters in each state.

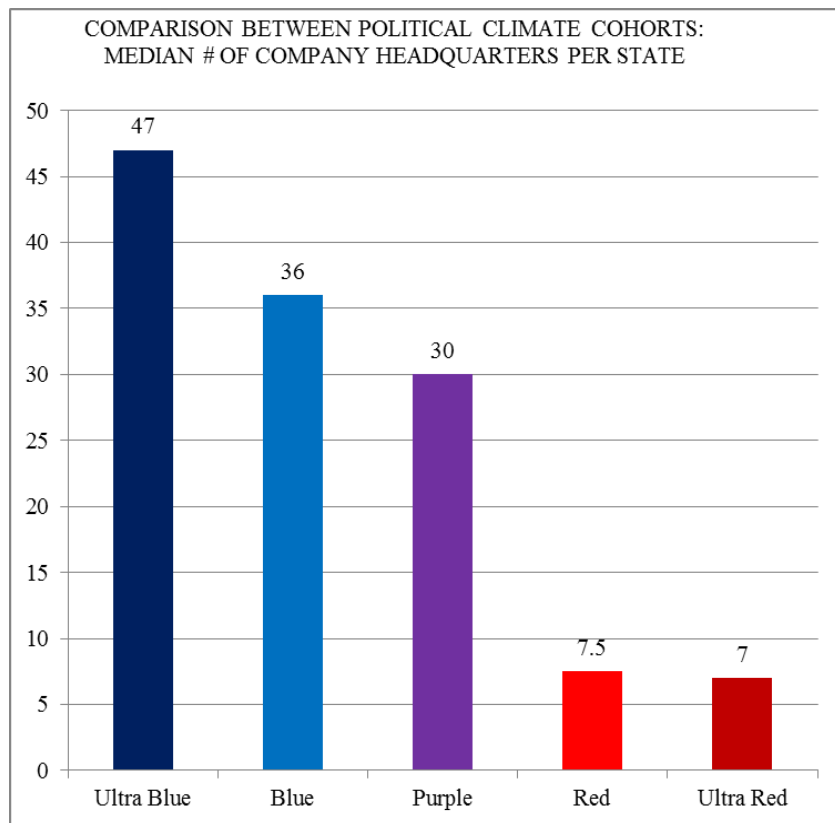
## Number of Companies with HQs by State

AL	7	HI	4	MA	73	NM	3	SD	3
AK	0	ID	6	MI	41	NY	159	TN	27
AZ	15	IL	101	MN	50	NC	37	TX	176
AR	10	IN	10	MS	3	ND	1	UT	7
CA	252	IA	7	MO	31	OH	40	VT	3
CO	22	KS	8	MT	1	OK	17	VA	45
CT	47	KY	12	NE	7	OR	14	WA	31
DE	3	LA	14	NV	15	PA	84	WV	0
FL	33	ME	2	NH	4	RI	3	WI	27
GA	49	MD	28	NJ	58	SC	6	WY	0

To test the alternative independent variables, the following data points were used. As an indicator of educational attainment, the number of bachelor's degree holders per capita in each state was used.<sup>21</sup> As an indicator of the comparative cost of labor, median income per state was used.<sup>22</sup> As already mentioned, the comparative "greenness" of each state was tested as an independent variable using the rankings of Wingfield and Marcus.<sup>23</sup>

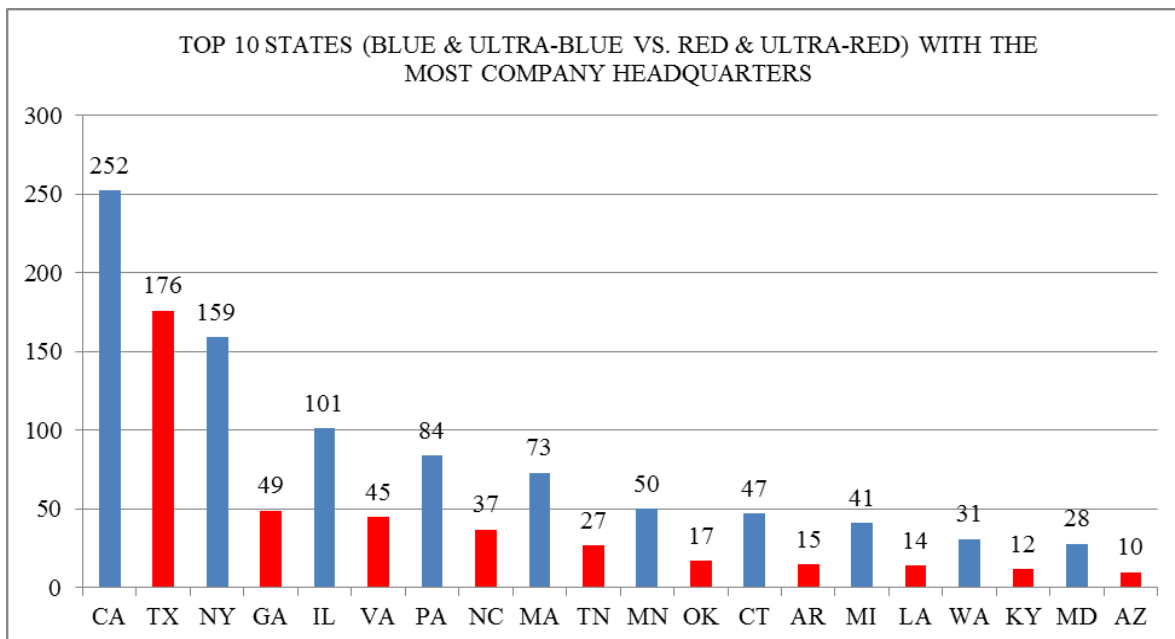
### V. Findings and Discussion

An elementary examination of the data suggested that this study was worth pursuing. This initial comparison of the median number of corporate headquarters in each political climate cohort did not yet consider any other potential independent variables, and yielded the following chart.



This illustrates that, for example, states characterized as ultra-blue have the highest median number – forty-seven – of corporate headquarters. A pattern is strikingly clear: the median number of company headquarters per state drops as one moves across the cohorts from ultra-blue, to blue, to purple, to red, and finally to ultra-red (where the Republican Party wins the highest percentage of the popular vote), a cohort where the median number of company headquarters per state is seven. Put another way, by a margin of about 7:1, companies favor having their headquarters in ultra-blue v. ultra-red states.

Another way to understand this data is to rank, side-by-side, the top ten states (Democratic-leaning vs. Republican-leaning) by number of corporate headquarters. The following chart results.



This graph shows the top ten states (ranked from left to right by the number of corporate headquarters that each hosts) that qualify as either blue or ultra-blue or else red or ultra-red. For example, California (ultra-blue) has 252 corporate

headquarters (the most of any state), with Texas (an ultra-red state) in second place overall, and New York (an ultra-blue state) in third place. The same pattern is strikingly clear: blue and ultra-blue states tend to host more company headquarters.

Based on these observations, the authors proceeded to include all of the previously mentioned independent variables and the dependent variable in a regression test. The results of this multiple regression are detailed in the table below.

SUMMARY OUTPUT

<i>Regression Statistics</i>	
Multiple R	0.411078651
R Square	0.168985657
Adjusted R Square	0.074552209
Standard Error	46.84443029
Observations	50



ANOVA					
	<i>df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Significance F</i>
Regression	5	19634.05145	3926.810289	1.78946825	0.1348189
Residual	44	96553.62855	2194.400649		
Total	49	116187.68			

	<i>Coefficients</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>t Stat</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>Lower 95%</i>	<i>Upper 95%</i>	<i>Lower 95.0%</i>	<i>Upper 95.0%</i>
Intercept	-66.56100207	17.77151226	-3.74537637	0.033221592	-123.11789	-10.004	-123.12	-10.004
LIKELIHOOD OF VOTING DEMOCRATIC	2.015371806	0.832094806	2.422045891	0.019259434	0.3423331	3.688411	0.3423331	3.6884105
GREEN STATE %	-0.892591772	1.343993665	-0.664133913	0.510070089	-3.601233	1.816049	-3.601233	1.8160494
MEDIAN INCOME	-0.00158627	0.001389274	-1.141797328	0.259714129	-0.0043862	0.001214	-0.004386	0.0012136
COLLEGE GRAD %	0.614760961	1.02216783	0.601428594	0.550640856	-1.4452829	2.674805	-1.445283	2.6748048

Only political climate has a statistically significant impact. Average education level and income and greenness of states have statistically insignificant impacts on the number of company headquarters in a state. The following model captures the relationship between the independent variables and dependent variable:

$$Y = -66.56 + 2.02x_1 - 0.89x_2 - 0.002x_3 + 0.61x_4$$

As communicated by this equation, for every percentage point increase in the share of a state’s electorate that votes for the Democratic Party’s nominee for president (e.g. from 54% to 55%, represented by  $x_1$  in the equation), and holding everything else constant, the median number of companies increases by two. There are a few possible interpretations of the key findings.

Since the sample includes 93% of the Fortune 1000 and more than 95% of the S&P 500, one could interpret the reality above to simply mean that, *by a large margin, U.S. companies perceive the best locations for running a business to be in bluer states.* As none other than former GE CEO Jack Welch once said, he would favor locating a business where there is an educated workforce and good transportation infrastructure (although, just preceding this statement, he said that he would avoid locating in states with high tax rates).<sup>24</sup> Public investments in education and infrastructure tend to be favored more in blue vs. red states, so this “election result” perhaps should not be surprising. However, average education level – as measured by number of bachelor’s degrees per capita – was shown to have an insignificant impact on the number of company headquarters. There could be other variables that underlie and explain these results. Identifying and testing other possible underlying causative factors is a rich potential vein for future research by scholars of business law, political science, and policy.

Inasmuch as the 1,686 companies in the CSRHub database tend to be publicly-traded companies about whom there is more information (either good or bad, and generally related to environmental, societal, and economic impacts) the results could be interpreted to suggest that companies that are comparatively more transparent and visible tend to favor bluer states. Thus, two hypotheses are implied for further future testing: that *more transparent companies favor bluer states* and that *visible companies favor bluer states.* Transparency of companies could be gauged by considering whether and to what extent they reveal statistics on their societal, economic, and environmental impacts. This is therefore a promising future direction for investigation. Considering that 95% of the Global Fortune 250 now actively report on societal, economic, and environmental impacts, one specific and testable hypothesis could be: *companies that engage in sustainability reporting tend to locate in ultra-blue states.*

Presuming further that a connection between being transparent and actually being responsible is established – which is in itself is a hypothesis that urgently needs testing, since governments and specific laws such as the Dodd-Frank Act are requiring more disclosures – it would be interesting to test if in fact more responsible companies tend to locate in bluer states. On a somewhat related note, Co-Founder and CEO of CSRHub Bahar Gidwani recently published an analysis of whether better performing companies tend to be located in more sustainable cities.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, it is vital to acknowledge a major objection or limitation to the present study – but one which ironically only adds to the compelling nature of the key findings. Namely, this study arguably focused on the wrong dependent variable: companies choose their state of incorporation with an eye to minimizing tax burdens (and can further creatively take advantage of tax laws to pay less than the official corporate rates), and commonly choose where to locate operations to take advantage of cheap labor or other resources. Perhaps other future studies should take into account, as dependent variables, where companies choose to incorporate or locate activities, and not where their headquarters are. However, if one accepts this critique and line-of-reasoning, and political climates of states ought to be irrelevant to a company's choice of locating headquarters, then how does one explain the key findings of this study? Why would the bluest states be chosen by a 7:1 margin over the reddest states for locating headquarters, and why is there a strong positive relationship a state's electorate favoring Democratic presidential nominees and the number of headquarters in that state? Regardless of one's interpretation(s) of these results, the statistics discussed above should provoke some substantive debate about which political, cultural, regulatory, and tax climates – or discrete policy prescriptions – are truly pro-business. It may be that some answers turn out to be contrary to a lot of unquestioned assumptions.

## VI. Conclusion

The goal of this exploratory study was to establish whether political climate of a state has a relationship with the number of corporations headquartered within its boundaries. A commonly held stereotype is that strongly Democratic states tend to have greater regulatory and tax burdens, while Republican states are supposed to be business-friendly. As discussed, one might therefore be tempted to think that Republican-leaning states attract more company headquarters. However, having examined data on voting patterns in the 50 states over four presidential cycles and locations of 1,596 corporate headquarters, a key finding of this study is that companies are vastly more likely – by a 7:1 margin – to locate in strongly Democratic (ultra-blue) states rather than a strongly Republican (ultra-red) states.

A regression analysis further confirmed a strong and positive relationship between a state's electorate favoring the Democratic Party in national elections and the number of corporate headquarters in the state. Other possible indicators were included in the study. Indicators of average educational attainment and income and relative "greenness" of the state do not appear to have a statistically significant impact on the choice of headquarter location.

As discussed, several possible interpretations are possible. Because the database used is quite comprehensive and the sample includes almost 1,600 companies, it is possible that these results do reflect a general tendency of companies to locate headquarters in more Democratic-leaning states. As acknowledged at the outset, companies often incorporate in one state for tax benefits and locate operations in other states or countries to enjoy lower costs while their headquarters are sited in yet another location. So the finding of this study does not provide dispositive proof of some kind in arguments over lowering or raising tax rates or eliminating or adding regulation. The finding does, however, provide an interesting insight that provokes further questions.

First and foremost, it is possible that one or more variables that were not tested are actually causing the observed patterns. If average educational levels and income and greenness of a state do not have an impact on how many companies are sited in its boundaries, and political climate seems a dubious causative factor, then what does explain the observed pattern? As discussed, the database used for the study includes companies about which there is a certain threshold level of publicly available data, leading to the suggestion that future studies also examine whether there is another pattern emerging; namely, whether more transparent firms or more responsible firms have different siting preferences than others.

## Footnotes

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<sup>1</sup> John R Borchert, *Major Control Points in American Economic Geography*, 68 ANNALS ASS'N AM. GEOGRAPHERS 2, 214, 215 (1978).

<sup>2</sup> See Robert J. Bennett, Daniel J. Graham, and William Bratton, *The Location and Concentration of Businesses in Britain: Business Clusters, Business Services, Market Coverage and Local Economic Development*, 24 TRANS. INST. BRITISH GEOGRAPHERS 4, 393-420 (1999).

<sup>3</sup> Julian Birkinshaw, et al., *Why Do Some Multinational Corporations Relocate Their Headquarters Overseas*, 27 STRAT. MGMT. J. 7, 681, 682 (2006).

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*

<sup>8</sup> Alberta, Di Giuli and Leonard Kostovetsky, *Are Red or Blue Companies More Likely To Go Green? Politics and Corporate Social Responsibility*, 29 INT'L. CONF. FR. FIN. ASS'N (2012).

<sup>9</sup> See Kevin Arceneaux, *Can Partisan Cues Diminish Democratic Accountability?* 30 POL. BEHAV. 2, 139-160 (2008).

<sup>10</sup> *Id.*

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<sup>11</sup> *Id.*

<sup>12</sup> Patricia Beeson and Edward Montgomery, *The Effects of Colleges and Universities on Local Labor Markets*, 75 REV. ECON. & STAT. 4, 753, 754 (1993).

<sup>13</sup> Brian Wingfield and Miriam Marcus, *America's Greenest States*. FORBES, available at: [http://www.forbes.com/2007/10/16/environment-energy-vermont-biz-beltway-cx\\_bw\\_mm\\_1017greenstates.html](http://www.forbes.com/2007/10/16/environment-energy-vermont-biz-beltway-cx_bw_mm_1017greenstates.html) (last visited June 1, 2013).

<sup>14</sup> See Oliver Salzmann et al., *The Business Case for Corporate Sustainability: Literature Review and Research Options*, 23 EUR. MGMT. J. 27, 27-35 (2005); Marc Gunther, *Tree Huggers, Soy Lovers, and Profits*, 147 FORTUNE 98, 98-105 (2003); Björn Stigson, Foreword to Charles O. Holliday, Jr. et al., WALKING THE TALK: THE BUSINESS CASE FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT 8-9 (2002); Pamela Ruebusch, *The Triple Bottom Line: What It Means and Why We Need to Embrace It*, 105 CAN. TRANSP. LOGISTICS 18 (2002).

<sup>15</sup> See Cassandra Walsh and Adam J. Sulkowski, *A Greener Company Makes for Happier Employees More So Than Does a More Valuable One: a Regression Analysis of Employee Satisfaction, Perceived Environmental Performance and Firm Financial Value*, 11 INTERDISC. ENVT'L REV. 4, 274-282 (2010).

<sup>16</sup> See Christopher Hughey and Adam J. Sulkowski, *More Disclosure = Better CSR Reputation? An Examination of CSR Reputation Leaders and Laggards in the Global Oil & Gas Industry*. 12 J. ACAD. B. & ECON., 2, 24-34 (2012); Jia Wu, Linxiao Liu, and Adam J. Sulkowski, *Environmental Disclosure, Firm Performance, and Firm Characteristics: An Analysis of S&P 100 Firms*. 10 J. ACAD. BUS. & ECON., 4, 73-84 (2011); Lu Wei, Wang Wenjun, Adam J. Sulkowski, and Jia Wu, *The Relationships between Environmental Management, Firm Value and Other Firm Attributes: Evidence from Chinese Manufacturing Industry*, 10 INT'L J. ENVT'L & SUS. DEV. 1, 78-95 (2011); Adam J. Sulkowski and D. Steven White, *Financial Performance, Pollution Measures and the Propensity to Use Corporate Responsibility Reporting: Implications for Business and Legal Scholarship*, 21 COL. J. INT'L ENVT'L L. & POL'Y 3, 491-514 (2009).

<sup>17</sup> Federal Election Commission, *Election Results*, available at: <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/electionresults.shtml> (last visited June 1, 2013).

<sup>18</sup> Authors' conversation with CSRHub Founder & CEO Bahar Gidwani, October 10, 2012.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*

<sup>20</sup> CSRHUB, available at: <http://www.csrhub.com/content/about-csrhub/> (last visited June 1, 2013).

<sup>21</sup> National Science Foundation, STATE INDICATORS 8-74, available at: <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/seind12/pdf/c08.pdf> (last visited June 1, 2013).

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, STATE & COUNTY QUICKFACTS, available at: [http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long\\_INC910211.htm](http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/meta/long_INC910211.htm) (last visited June 1, 2013).

<sup>23</sup> Wingfield and Miriam, *supra* note 11.

<sup>24</sup> Jack Welch, Speech at University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, October 27, 2005.

<sup>25</sup> Bahar Gidwani, *Can Companies Collaborate With Cities On Sustainability?* CSRHUB, August 9, 2012, available at: <http://www.csrhub.com/blog/2012/08/can-companies-collaborate-with-cities-on-sustainability.html> (last visited June 1, 2013).