

# ***Senator v. Governor:***

## ***GOP Pumps \$29 Million Into First Round of Slugfest***

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**An Analysis of Gubernatorial Fundraising  
by Kay Bailey Hutchison and Rick Perry**

**By Texans for Public Justice  
© September 2009**

# *Senator v. Governor*

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Download contributions to *Texans for Kay Bailey Hutchison* [here](#).

Download contributions to *Texans for Rick Perry* [here](#).

## Introduction

At this writing nine candidates had announced their intent to be elected Texas Governor in November 2010. Just three contestants in this exorbitant slugfest reported holding more than \$30,000 in the bank by the end of June. In fact, the race's two Republican frontrunners *each* boasted war chests more than 20 times larger than the best-funded candidate running as a Democrat: Tom Schieffer.<sup>1</sup> So far, there has been little contest apart from the multi-million-dollar GOP rivalry between Governor Rick Perry and U.S. Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison. This report focuses on the money raised by Perry and Hutchison because, to date, that's where the money is. Time remains to dissect other candidates' finances if and when they break into the big leagues.

## Gubernatorial Campaign Finance Facts

Candidate	Party-Label Claimed	Period Covered	Amount Raised	Cash On Hand 6/30/09
Kay B. Hutchison	R	12/9/08 - 7/2/09	*\$14,861,847	\$12,547,260
Rick Perry	R	1/1/07 - 7/2/09	\$14,431,275	\$9,355,100
Tom Schieffer	D	3/2/09 - 7/2/09	\$513,680	\$454,156
Kinky Friedman	D	4/14/09 - 7/2/09	\$62,869	\$29,213
Debra Medina	R	2/11/09 - 7/2/09	\$41,418	\$10,968
Hank Gilbert	D	1/1/09 - 6/30/09	\$9,400	\$0
Larry Kilgore	R	7/1/08 - 7/2/09	\$2,078	\$609
Mark Thompson	D	5/13/09 - 7/15/09	\$0	\$0
Felix Alvarado	D	No Filings	NA	NA
<b>TOTALS:</b>			<b>\$29,922,567</b>	<b>\$22,397,306</b>

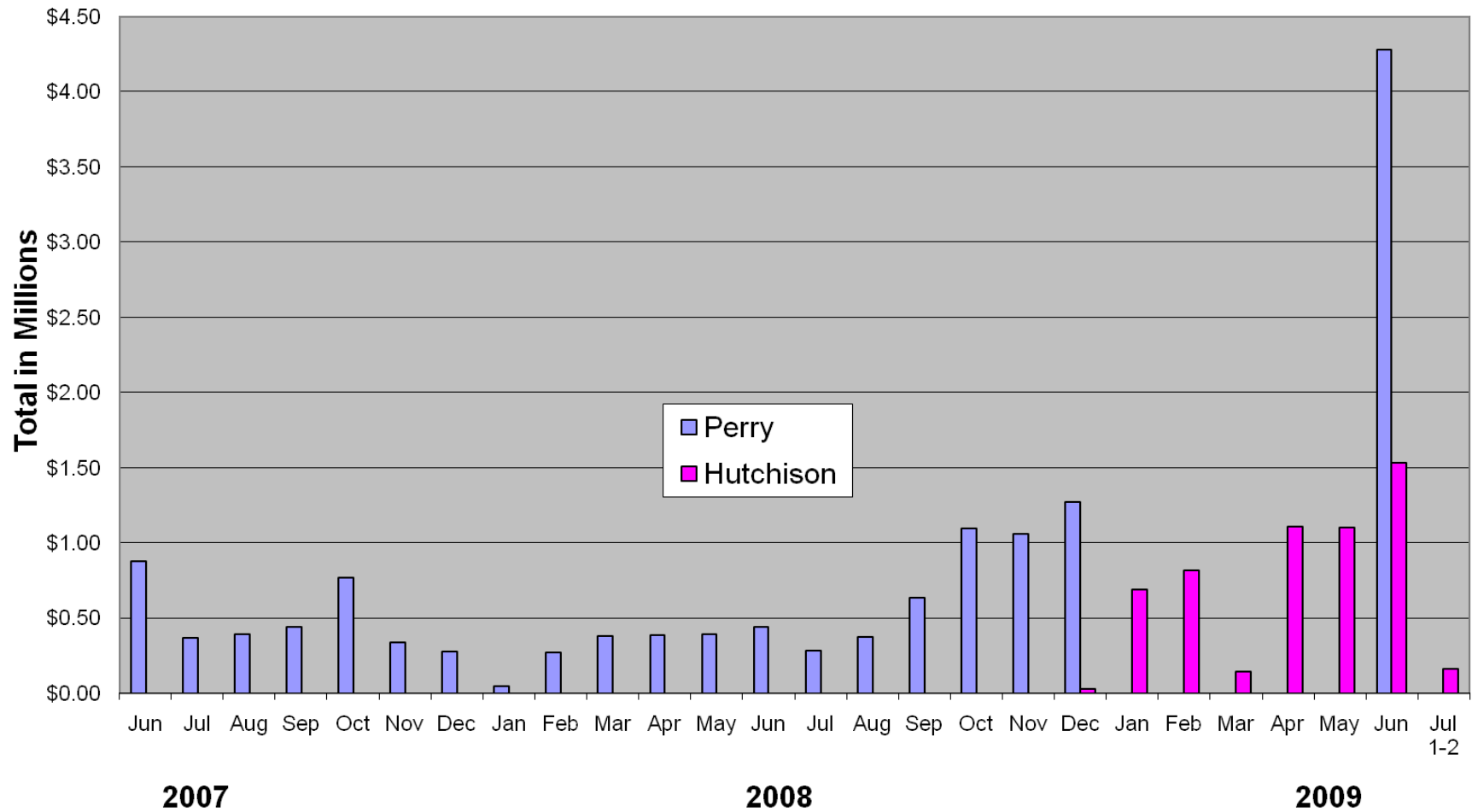
\*Includes almost \$8 million transferred from Hutchison's federal campaign.

The fundraising timetables analyzed here are not the same for Governor Perry and Senator Hutchison, despite the fact that both were last reelected in 2006. The longest-serving governor in Texas history, Perry has been raising and spending gubernatorial campaign cash for a decade. The only meaningful interruption for his fundraising machine has been the state law that bars lawmakers and top officials from raising money for a six-month period surrounding biennial legislative sessions.<sup>2</sup> This report analyzes the money Perry raised after closing the books on his 2006 reelection campaign. Specifically, it covers the \$14,431,275 that Perry raised from January 1, 2007 through his last reported contributions dated July 2, 2009.<sup>3</sup>

By contrast, Senator Hutchison did not appoint a *state* campaign treasurer until December 4, 2008.<sup>4</sup> Ostensibly, this report focuses on the \$14,861,847 that Hutchison's state campaign raised from that time through July 2, 2009. Yet this is just half of Hutchison's campaign-finance story. Last December her Senate committee transferred \$7,961,645 in federal campaign dollars to Hutchison's new state committee. Because these federal funds account for 54 percent of the money that Hutchison's state campaign has reported to date, researchers asked the Washington-based Center for Responsive Politics to analyze contributions to Senator Hutchison's federal war chest. That analysis appears at the end of this report.

Thanks in large part to her Senate largesse, Hutchison's state campaign had \$12.5 million left in the bank at the end of June—surpassing Governor Perry's \$9.3 million. In addition, Hutchison's federal senate campaign, which raised almost \$13,000 in the first half of 2009, had \$770,372 in the bank at the end of June. Hutchison's federal leadership committee, KPAC, had \$200,947 in the bank at the end of June. These arsenals remain at Hutchison's disposal.

## Monthly Campaign Contributions, Jan. 2007 - July 2009 (Excludes Hutchison's Federal Funds)



Perry and Hutchison still were not on equal footing when they both were up and running in the first half of 2009. Hutchison raised money freely in this period while the governor was subject to a session-related fundraising ban until the last days of June. Yet this ban did not bar the governor from rallying supporters to give when his legal fundraising window reopened, which they did. In the last eight days of June, the governor raked in \$4.2 million—closing the gap on the \$6.7 million that Hutchison raised in the first half of 2009.<sup>5</sup>

## Funding By Check Size

Texas infamously imposes no limits on how much money individuals or political committees can contribute to candidates for the state’s legislative and executive branch. During 16 years in the U.S. Senate, Hutchison was subject to federal campaign limits (currently prohibiting individuals from giving federal candidates more than \$2,400 per election).<sup>6</sup> More recently, Hutchison’s state campaign has embraced Texas’ wild-West system, taking \$100,000 checks from six Texas tycoons.<sup>7</sup>

### Total Amount Raised By Check Size

Contribution Check Size	Hutchison Amount <sup>8</sup>	Hutchison Percent	Perry Amount	Perry Percent
≥\$50,000	\$1,650,000	24%	\$3,450,000	24%
\$25,000 - \$49,999	\$665,000	10%	\$5,259,219	36%
\$5,000 - \$24,999	\$2,158,145	31%	\$3,644,838	25%
\$1,000 - \$4,999	\$1,606,843	23%	\$1,551,637	11%
\$100 - \$999	\$705,891	10%	\$459,390	3%
<\$100	\$114,322	2%	\$66,192	0%
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>\$6,900,201</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>\$14,431,275</b>	<b>100%</b>

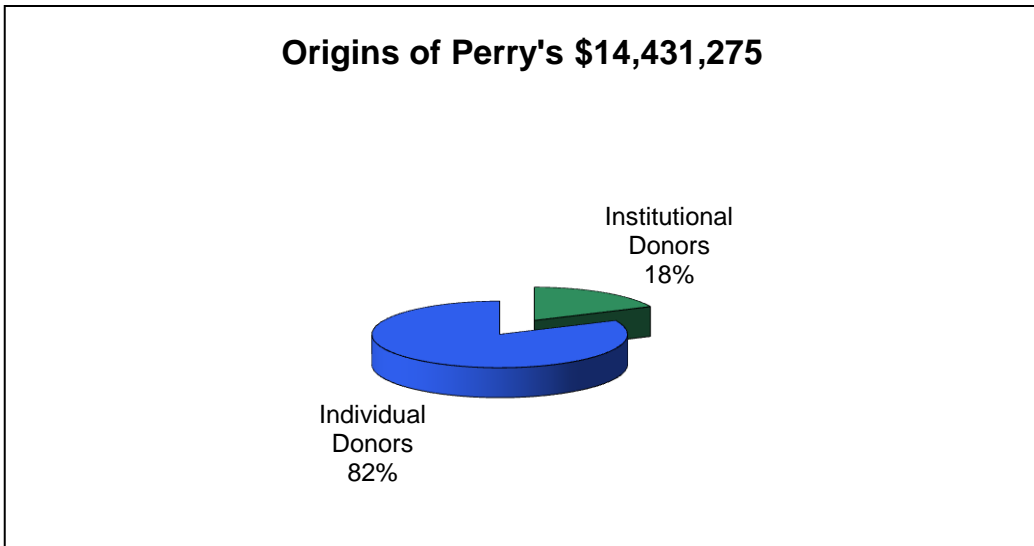
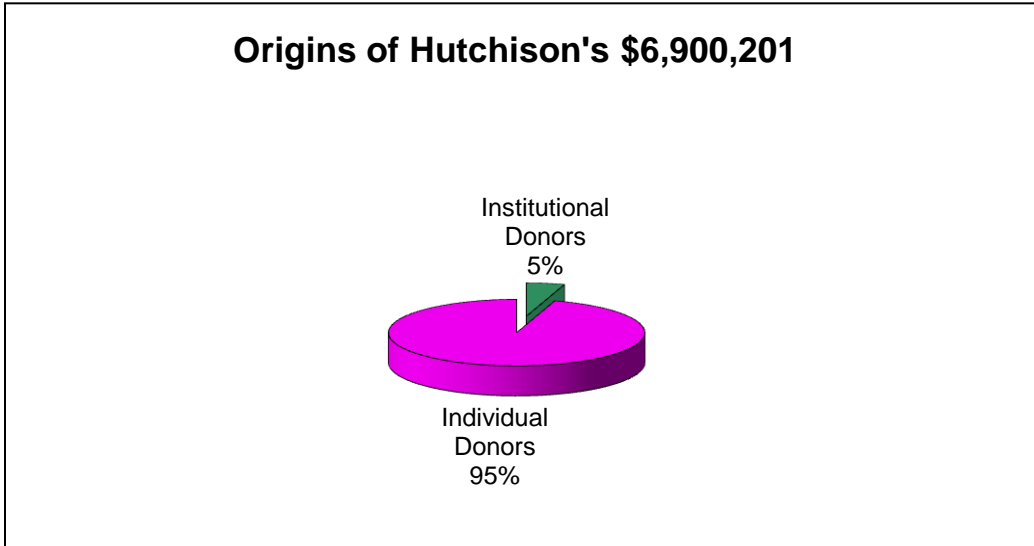
Perry is even more dependent on large-denomination donations. He amassed 60 percent of his money from checks worth \$25,000 or more. These whopper checks accounted for 34 percent of the money that Hutchison raised from sources other than her federal campaign.<sup>9</sup> At the other end of the spectrum, checks of less than \$1,000 accounted for 12 percent of Hutchison’s money and just 3 percent of Perry’s total. Overall, Hutchison had a wider fundraising base. Putting aside her federal funds, she collected more than 8,000 checks totaling \$6.9 million. Perry relied on fewer than 6,000 checks to raise more than twice as much money.<sup>10</sup>

### Number of Contributions By Check Size

Contribution Check Size	Hutchison Number <sup>8</sup>	Hutchison Percent	Perry Number	Perry Percent
≥\$50,000	27	<1%	58	1%
\$25,000 - \$49,999	26	<1%	209	4%
\$5,000 - \$24,999	322	4%	480	8%
\$1,000 - \$4,999	1,155	14%	1,008	17%
\$100 - \$999	2,906	36%	1,734	30%
<\$100	3,578	45%	2,314	40%
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>8,014</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>5,803</b>	<b>100%</b>

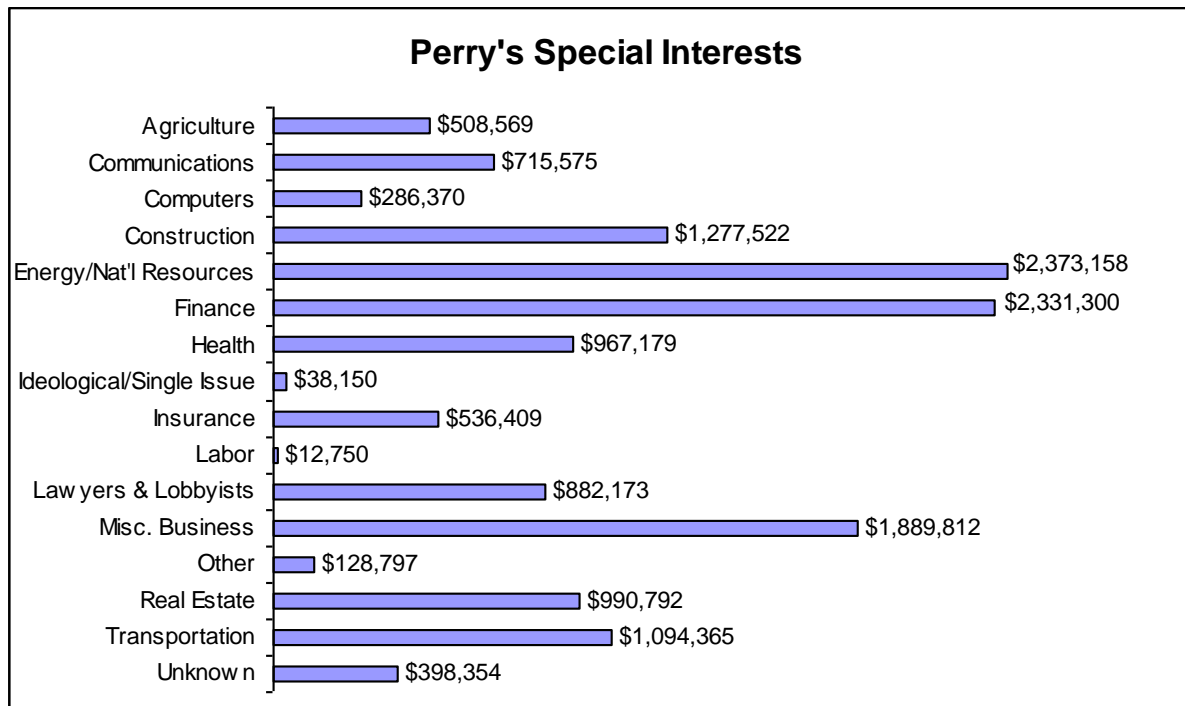
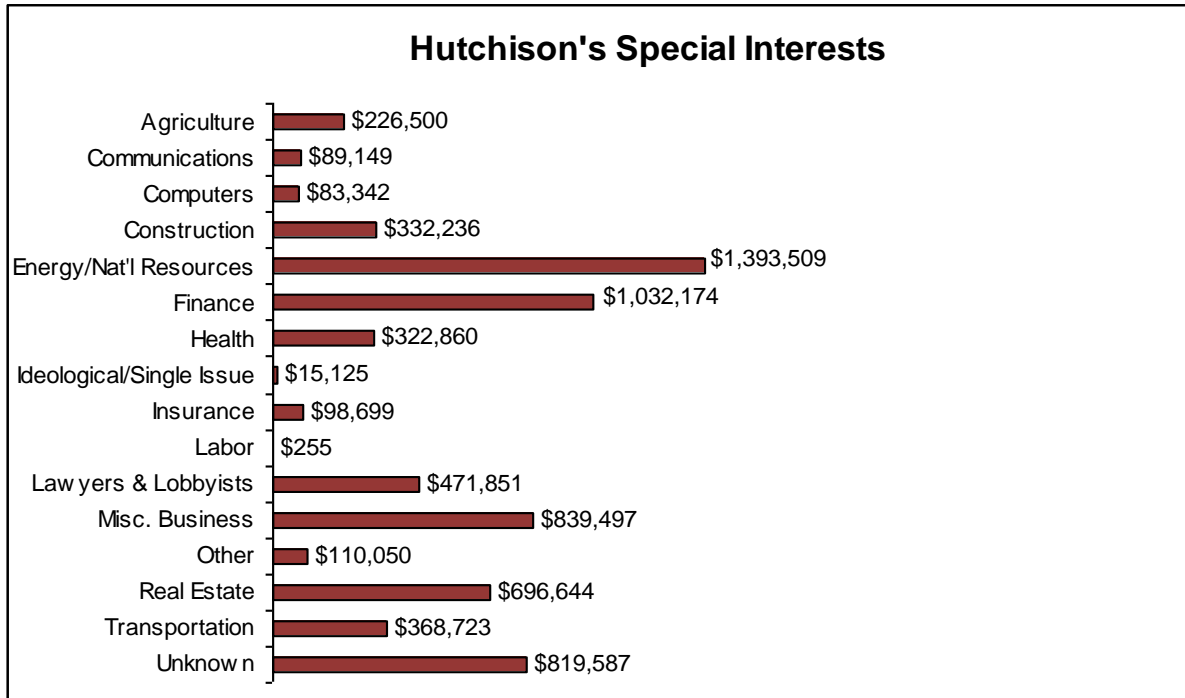
## Individual v. Institutional Funds

Governor Perry relied more on institutional donors such as political committees and businesses (18 percent of his total) than Hutchison (5 percent). The average institutional contribution to Perry was \$6,273, or almost five times the average institutional contribution to Hutchison (\$1,271). Perry's average individual contribution of \$1,559 was almost twice Hutchison's average individual contribution of \$847.



## Funding By Interest Category

The top three industries funding Governor Perry also were the leading bankrollers of Senator Hutchison's state campaign. The industry groups with the biggest investments in these campaigns were: 1. Energy & Natural Resources; 2. Finance and 3. Miscellaneous Business (the top-contributor lists for Perry and Hutchison identify the big guns from these industries). See the last section for an industry analysis of Hutchison's federal funds.



## Special-Interest Percentages

Interest Group	Hutchison Percent	Perry Percent
Agriculture	3.3%	3.5%
Communications	1.3%	5.0%
Computers & Electronics	1.2%	2.0%
Construction	4.8%	8.9%
Energy/Natural Resources	20.2%	16.4%
Finance	15.0%	16.2%
Health	4.7%	6.7%
Ideological/Single Issue	0.2%	0.3%
Insurance	1.4%	3.7%
Labor	0.0%	0.1%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	6.8%	6.1%
Miscellaneous Business	12.2%	13.1%
Other	1.6%	0.9%
Real Estate	10.1%	6.8%
Transportation	5.3%	7.6%
Unknown	11.9%	2.8%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

Note that Hutchison—who championed the oil and gas industry in Congress—is even more dependent on the Energy & Natural Resources sector (20 percent of her total) than Perry (16 percent). Tracking nine key oil-industry votes since 2005, Washington-based Oil Change International found that Texas’ two senators voted the oil industry’s position every time.<sup>11</sup>

Hutchison’s next bastion of support comes from Real Estate and Lawyers & Lobbyists. Perry turned next to Construction and Transportation—backers of his troubled Trans-Texas Corridor scheme. He also received relatively more support from the Health, Communications and Insurance industries.

Researchers failed to identify interest categories for 12 percent of Hutchison’s funds, notably more than the 3 percent of Perry’s money classified as “Unknown.” Hutchison’s donors proved harder to identify for several reasons. As previously discussed, she relies more on smaller-denomination contributors, who are harder to identify. Hutchison also raised almost five percent of her money from contributors identified as “homemaker” or “housewife” (such donors supplied one-tenth of one percent of Perry’s funds). Identifying the interests of breadwinners in these households is more challenging.

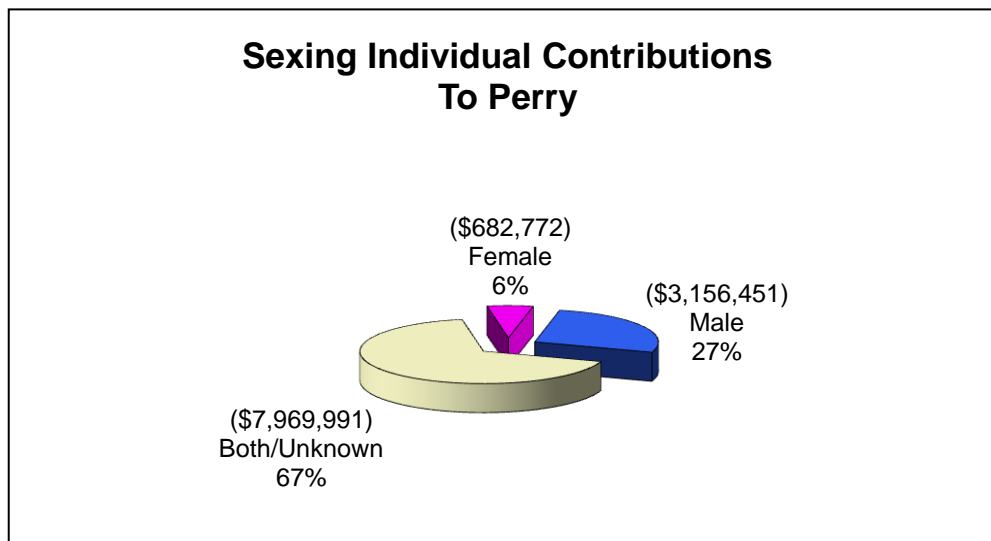
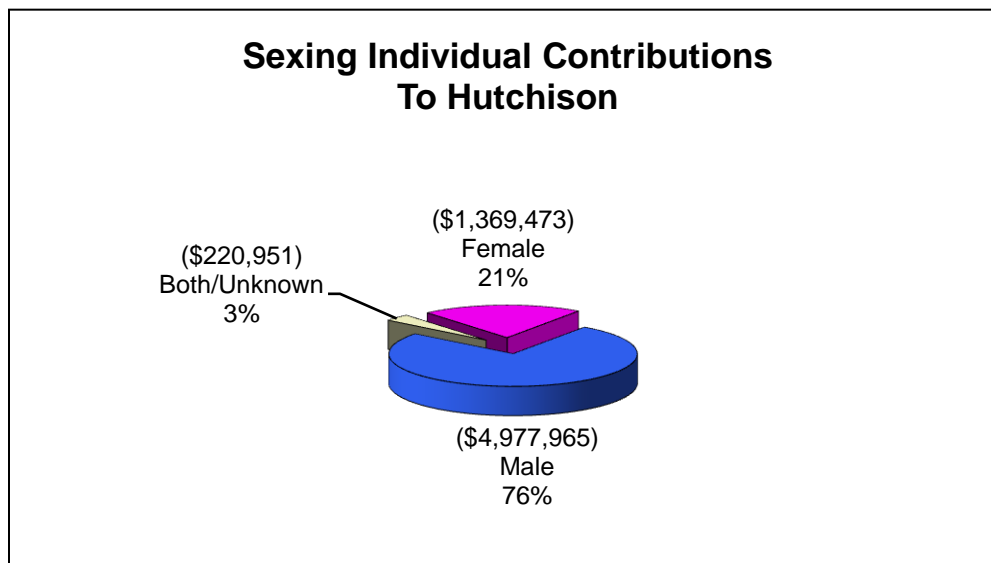


## Funding By Gender

Does this “homemaker” disparity suggest that Hutchison received a larger share of her funds from female contributors? To parse a possible gender gap, researchers divided individual contributors into those with masculine first names, feminine first names and first names of indeterminate gender.<sup>12</sup> Unlike Hutchison, Governor Perry also provided gender cues in the form of courtesy titles such as “Mr.,” “Mrs.” and “Ms.”

In fact, most of Perry’s individual money could not be gender segregated due to his heavy use of dual-sex titles such as “Mr. and Mrs. Harold Simmons.” In the end, women accounted for 21 percent of the money that Hutchison raised from individuals and just 6 percent of Perry’s individual funding.<sup>13</sup> Putting aside her federal funds, Hutchison’s state committee raised about half as much money as Perry. Nonetheless, in absolute terms she raised twice as many dollars from women donors.

### Individual-Contributor Gender Bender



## Top States

A fable central to Perry's primary reelection pitch depicts the governor donning a white Stetson to defend a beneficent state government from the wicked witch of Washington. Campaign-finance geography does not provide strong support for this story line (the last section analyzes contributions to Hutchison's Dallas-based Senate committee).

### Richest Hutchison States

Top Donor States	Amount	Percent
TX	\$6,787,231	98.4%
DC	\$25,515	0.4%
MA	\$25,145	0.4%
VA	\$19,275	0.3%
FL	\$10,710	0.2%

### Richest Perry States

Top Donor States	Amount	Percent
TX	\$13,253,190	91.8%
NY	\$236,637	1.6%
CA	\$119,922	0.8%
GA	\$108,600	0.8%
FL	\$101,761	0.7%

Hutchison's state campaign raised 2 percent of its money outside Texas, considerably less than the 8 percent of Perry's money that came from other states. While the beltway areas of Washington and Virginia were lucrative sources of Hutchison's out-of-state funding, Washington, D.C. accounted for almost one-half of one percent of the money raised by both Hutchison and Perry. The favorite foreign watering holes of the secessionist-leaning Governor Perry were New York and California.

## Top Cities

Seven Texas cities made the top-10 fundraising lists for both Hutchison and Perry. Only Perry's top-10 list also includes New York, Midland and Bryan, while just Fort Worth, Temple and San Angelo made that cut for Hutchison. Both candidates leaned on their top-10 cities for more than 70 percent of the money in their war chests.

### Richest Hutchison Cities

City	Amount
Dallas	\$1,795,549
Houston	\$1,525,927
Fort Worth	\$360,332
San Antonio	\$313,276
Austin	\$305,224
Plano	\$219,110
El Paso	\$124,038
Irving	\$120,871
Temple	\$102,194
San Angelo	\$97,539
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>\$4,964,060</b>
<b>PERCENT:</b>	<b>72%</b>

### Richest Perry Cities

City	Amount
Houston	\$3,629,174
Austin	\$2,093,234
Dallas	\$2,028,795
San Antonio	\$1,166,515
El Paso	\$735,193
New York	\$221,267
Plano	\$215,132
Midland	\$183,688
Bryan	\$173,267
Irving	\$166,836
<b>TOTALS:</b>	<b>\$10,613,101</b>
<b>PERCENT:</b>	<b>74%</b>

## Top Zip Codes

Hutchison traces 28 percent of her money to just five zip codes and five postal codes account for 20 percent of Perry's funds. Two Houston zip codes richly financed both campaigns. Hutchison's home base in the DFW Metroplex accounted for three of her most fertile postal codes. Perry's Austin base supplied two of his richest zip codes. The habitat of Austin's powerful lobby, 78701, supplied eight percent of the governor's funds.

### Richest Hutchison Zip Codes

Zip	City	Amount	Percent
75205	Dallas	\$726,482	10.5%
77019	Houston	\$546,763	7.9%
76107	Ft. Worth	\$253,556	3.7%
77002	Houston	\$187,732	2.7%
75320	Dallas	\$182,618	2.6%
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>\$1,897,151</b>	<b>27.5%</b>

### Richest Perry Zip Codes

Zip	City	Amount	Percent
78701	Austin	\$1,090,562	7.6%
77002	Houston	\$717,736	5.0%
77019	Houston	\$353,833	2.5%
78746	Austin	\$347,868	2.4%
75229	Dallas	\$320,870	2.2%
<b>TOTAL:</b>		<b>\$2,830,868</b>	<b>19.6%</b>

The next two charts list top campaign contributors to Hutchison and Perry. Hutchison got almost \$2.1 million from her top 32 donors listed below (30 percent of the money that she raised from sources other than her federal war chest). Perry got almost \$4.5 million from his top 34 donors listed below (31 percent of his total haul). Texas' next governor will be heavily indebted to deep-pocket contributors such as these.

## Top Contributors

### Hutchison's Top Contributors (Dec. 2008 Through July 2, 2009)

Amount	Contributor	City	Company	Interest
\$106,682	Nancy Kinder	Houston	Kinder Foundation	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$104,438	Richard W. Moncrief	Fort Worth	Moncrief Oil	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,867	Robert Rowling	Irving	TRT Holdings, Inc.	Miscellaneous Business
\$100,000	John L Adams	Dallas	Trinity Industries, Inc.	Transportation
\$100,000	Hushang Ansary	Houston	Stewart & Stevenson	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,000	Andrew Beal	Plano	Beal Bank	Finance
\$100,000	Tim Byrne	Dallas	Lincoln Property Co.	Real Estate
\$100,000	Ray L. Hunt	Dallas	Hunt Consolidated, Inc.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,000	Drayton McLane Jr.	Temple	McLane Co. Inc.	Miscellaneous Business
\$100,000	Mike A. Myers	Dallas	Myers Financial Corp.	Real Estate
\$100,000	John Nau III	Houston	Silver Eagle Distributors	Miscellaneous Business
\$100,000	Charles Tate	Sugar Land	Capital Royalty LLC	Finance
\$77,305	Ned S. Holmes	Houston	Parkway Investments	Real Estate
\$56,461	James Perkins	Rusk	Citizens First Bank	Finance
\$55,000	Erle A. Nye	Dallas	TXU Energy Corp.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$52,559	Winstead PC	Dallas	Winstead PC	Lawyers/Lobbyists
\$52,500	H. Ross Perot	Plano	Hillwood Development Group	Real Estate
\$51,368	J. Robert Brown	El Paso	Desert Eagle Distributing	Miscellaneous Business
\$51,000	Robert D. Gillikin	Dallas	Cummins Southern Plains	Miscellaneous Business
\$50,000	Louis A. Beecherl	Dallas	Beecherl Companies	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,000	Dan L. Duncan	Houston	Enterprise Products Partners	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,000	James C. Flores	Houston	Plains Exploration	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,000	Joe Long	Austin	First State Bank Central TX	Finance
\$50,000	Fayez Sarofim	Houston	Fayez Sarofim & Co.	Finance
\$40,000	Harlan Crow	Dallas	Crow Holdings	Real Estate
\$35,000	Craig/Shannon Callewart	Dallas	North Texas SpineCare	Health
\$30,000	William H. Flores	Sugar Land	Phoenix Exploration Co.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$30,000	Dian Owen Stai	Abilene	Owen Healthcare Inc.	Health
\$27,031	John McStay	Dallas	McStay & Associates	Finance
\$26,000	Trisha Wilson	Dallas	Wilson & Associates	Construction
\$25,861	Steve Stephens	San Angelo	Town & Country Food Stores	Miscellaneous Business
\$25,050	Q PAC	Fort Worth	Q Funding, LP	Finance

## Perry's Top Contributors (Jan. 2007 Through July 2, 2009)

Amount	Contributor	City	Company	Interest
\$325,000	'Mica' Mosbacher	Houston	Mosbacher Energy Co.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$213,334	George Brint Ryan	Dallas	Ryan & Co.	Finance
\$202,654	B.J. 'Red' McCombs	Sn Antonio	Red McCombs Automotive	Transportation
\$188,130	Thomas Dan Friedkin	Houston	Friedkin Companies	Transportation
\$175,000	Gary R. Petersen	Houston	EnCap Investments LP	Finance
\$160,988	Peter Holt	Blanco	Holt Co's/San Antonio Spurs	Construction
\$155,250	AT&T Texas PAC	Austin	AT&T	Communications
\$155,000	Bob Perry	Houston	Perry Homes	Construction
\$155,000	Harold C. Simmons	Dallas	Contran Corp.	Finance
\$150,410	Tilman J. Fertitta	Houston	Landry's Restaurants	Miscellaneous Business
\$150,000	Kenny Troutt	Dallas	Mt. Vernon Investments	Communications
\$145,036	Paul L. Foster	El Paso	Western Refining Co.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$129,047	Phil D. Adams	Bryan	Phil Adams Co.	Insurance
\$127,670	Jeff Davis Sandefer	Austin	Sandefer Capital Partners	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$125,000	Ralph J. Ellis Jr.	Irving	Belmont Oil & Gas Corp.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$125,000	L.E. Simmons	Houston	SCF Partners	Finance
\$112,604	Woody L. Hunt	El Paso	Hunt Corp.	Real Estate
\$110,000	Mickey Long	Midland	Westex Well Services	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$105,617	Larry Anders	Dallas	Summit Alliance Co's	Insurance
\$100,000	Moshe Azoulay	Dallas	American Garment Finishers	Miscellaneous Business
\$100,000	Dan L. Duncan	Houston	Enterprise Products Partners	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,000	Gallagher Law Firm	Houston	Gallagher Law Firm	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$100,000	Larry Martin	Houston	USA Waste	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,000	Lowry Mays	Sn Antonio	Clear Channel Entertainment	Communications
\$100,000	James Doug Pitcock	Houston	Williams Bros. Construction	Construction
\$100,000	Ira Rennert	New York	Renco Group	Finance
\$100,000	Robert Waltrip	Houston	Service Corp. International	Miscellaneous Business
\$100,000	Charles Wood	Dallas	Dallas Fire Insurance Co.	Insurance
\$81,949	Robert Mosbacher	Houston	Mosbacher Energy Co.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$83,000	James Dondero	Dallas	Highland Capital Mgmt.	Finance
\$80,000	Stevan Hammond	Dallas	Marketing Investors Corp.	Communications
\$80,000	Rahul Nath	Houston	TX Nerve & Paralysis Institute	Health
\$80,000	Richard Scott	Houston	Trans-Global Solutions, Inc	Transportation
\$78,859	Lonnie A. 'Bo' Pilgrim	Pittsburg	Pilgrim's Pride Poultry	Agriculture
\$77,191	Harold Hahn	El Paso	Rocky Mountain Mortgage	Finance

### Contributors To Both Candidates

Some contributors gave to the campaigns of both Perry and Hutchison. The next chart lists 38 contributors who have distributed at least \$15,000 between both of these Republican candidates. Some gave more to the incumbent, others favored the challenger and a few split their money down the middle. Notably, just 10 of the 38 dual contributors gave to Governor Perry after Hutchison established her state campaign committee on December 4, 2008.

## Top Contributors To State Campaigns of Hutchison *and* Perry

Amount To Both	KBH Amount	Perry Amount	Contributor	City	Company
\$160,250	\$5,000	\$155,250	*AT&T	Austin	AT&T
\$150,000	\$50,000	\$100,000	*Dan L. Duncan	Houston	Enterprise Products Partners
\$150,000	\$100,000	\$50,000	Drayton McLane Jr.	Temple	McLane Co.
\$150,000	\$100,000	\$50,000	Charles W. Tate	Sugar Land	Capital Royalty LLC
\$140,000	\$100,000	\$40,000	Ray L. Hunt	Dallas	Hunt Consolidated, Inc.
\$127,956	\$100,000	\$27,956	John L. Nau III	Houston	Silver Eagle Distributors LP
\$125,867	\$100,867	\$25,000	Robert Rowling	Irving	TRT Holdings, Inc.
\$105,000	\$55,000	\$50,000	Erle A. Nye	Dallas	TXU Energy Corp.
\$104,870	\$77,304	\$27,566	Ned S. Holmes	Houston	Parkway Investments
\$102,500	\$52,500	\$50,000	H. Ross Perot	Plano	Hillwood Development Group
\$101,368	\$51,368	\$50,000	J. Robert Brown	El Paso	Desert Eagle Distributing Co.
\$101,000	\$51,000	\$50,000	Robert D. Gillikin	Dallas	Cummins Southern Plains
\$100,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	Louis A. Beecherl	Dallas	Beecherl Companies
\$100,000	\$25,000	\$75,000	*Charles B. Lawrence	Houston	Kirby Corp.
\$100,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	Joe R. Long	Austin	First State Bank Central
\$100,000	\$25,000	\$75,000	*Robert C. McNair Jr.	Houston	Cogen Technologies
\$91,949	\$10,000	\$81,949	*Robert Mosbacher	Houston	Mosbacher Energy Co.
\$80,531	\$27,031	\$53,500	John McStay	Dallas	McStay & Associates
\$72,559	\$52,559	\$20,000	Winstead P.C.	Dallas	Winstead, PC
\$65,000	\$40,000	\$25,000	Harlan Crow	Dallas	Crow Holdings
\$55,000	\$50,000	\$5,000	James C. Flores	Houston	Plains Exploration &
\$50,000	\$25,000	\$25,000	David Booth	Austin	Dimensional Fund Advisors
\$50,000	\$25,000	\$25,000	Larry & Susan Kellner	Houston	Continental Airlines, Inc.
\$46,500	\$10,000	\$36,500	*Richard Wallrath	Centerville	Champion Window, Inc.
\$40,000	\$30,000	\$10,000	Dian Owen Stai	Abilene	Owen Healthcare, Inc.
\$40,000	\$5,000	\$35,000	*Union Pacific Fund	Washington	Union Pacific Railroad
\$35,000	\$10,000	\$25,000	Bobby Ray	Plano	Hovnanian Enterprises
\$35,000	\$10,000	\$25,000	Randall Stephenson	Dallas	AT&T
\$35,000	\$25,000	\$10,000	*Valero PAC	San Antonio	Valero Energy Corp
\$32,000	\$30,000	\$2,000	William H. Flores	Sugar Land	Phoenix & Gryphon
\$30,000	\$20,000	\$10,000	Julia Jones Matthews	Abilene	Dodge Jones Foundation
\$22,000	\$1,000	\$21,000	Locke Lord Bissell	Houston	Locke Lord Bissell & Liddell
\$21,000	\$5,000	\$16,000	Jack A. Cardwell	El Paso	Petro Stopping Centers
\$20,000	\$5,000	\$15,000	Andrews Kurth LLP	Houston	Andrews & Kurth LLP
\$15,000	\$10,000	\$5,000	Steven Alvis	Houston	NewQuest Properties
\$15,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	*Robert G. Hallam	Dallas	Ben E. Keith Co.
\$15,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	*Alfred Jackson	Houston	Inroads Group
\$15,000	\$5,000	\$10,000	R. Randall Onstead Jr.	Houston	Randalls Food Markets, Inc.
<b>\$2,800,350</b>	<b>\$1,398,629</b>	<b>\$1,401,721</b>	<b>TOTALS</b>		

Note: Covers Dec. 4, 2008 through July 2, 2009 for Hutchison; Jan. 1, 2007 through July 2, 2009 for Perry.

\*Donor gave to Perry *after* Hutchison formed her state political committee on Dec. 4, 2008.

## Hutchison's Federal Funds

Senator Hutchison's state campaign got 54 percent of the \$14.9 million that it raised from December 4, 2008 through July 2, 2009 from Hutchison's federal campaign committee. Given the role of these federal funds in Hutchison's state campaign, Texans for Public Justice asked the Washington-based Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) to analyze the \$1,635,715 in contributions that Hutchison's federal campaign raised from January 1, 2007 through June 30, 2009<sup>14</sup> (virtually the same period analyzed above for Perry's campaign).<sup>15</sup> In a December 2008 spending spree, Hutchison's federal campaign wrote three checks totaling \$7,961,645 to a new Texas committee: Texans for Kay Bailey Hutchison.<sup>16</sup>

Dissecting the almost \$1.7 million that Hutchison's federal campaign raised in this period, CRP found that individuals contributed 87 percent of this money and political committees contributed 13 percent.<sup>17</sup> Checks of less than \$200 accounted for \$194,839 of Hutchison's federal funds, or 12 percent of the total. Federal candidates do not itemize detailed information for such small contributors. As a result, CRP could not analyze that portion of Hutchison's funds in the analysis below.

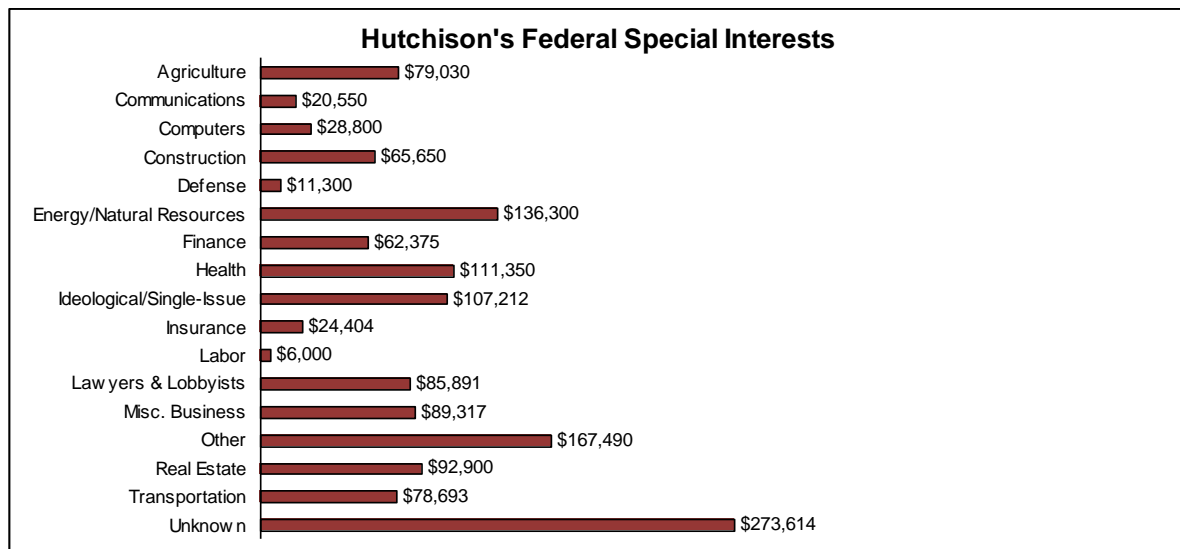
Texas accounted for 84 percent of Hutchison's itemized federal funds, with the Washington beltway areas of DC and Virginia accounting for another 8 percent.<sup>18</sup> New York and California rounded out the list of the most lucrative states for Hutchison's federal campaign. In the list of Hutchison's top federal contributors below, two-thirds of them hail from Texas.

### Top States For Federal Funds

Top Donor States	Hutchison Amount	Percent
TX	\$1,207,384	84.0%
DC	\$68,900	4.8%
VA	\$41,200	2.9%
NY	\$18,400	1.3%
CA	\$14,450	1.0%

Source: Center For Responsive Politics

CRP was unable to identify the interests associated with 19 percent of Hutchison's itemized federal contributions. It found that Hutchison's top sectors were the Other category (12 percent), Energy & Natural Resources (10 percent) and Health (8 percent). The Other category includes retirees, civil servants, military, non-profits and educational institutions.



Source: Center For Responsive Politics

**Top Donors To Hutchison's Federal Campaign  
(Jan. 2007 Through June 2009)**

<b>Amount</b>	<b>Contributor Source</b>	<b>City</b>	<b>Interest</b>
\$23,000	Bass Brothers Enterprises	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$15,000	Farm Credit Council	Washington	Agriculture
\$13,800	Weatherford International	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$11,500	Craig International	McKinney, TX	Real Estate
\$9,600	Trinity Industries	Dallas	Transportation
\$9,200	Mario Sinacola & Sons	Frisco, TX	Construction
\$8,600	Meyers & Associates	Washington	Lawyer & Lobbyists
\$8,100	Vinson & Elkins	Houston	Lawyer & Lobbyists
\$7,300	Advanced Acoustic Concepts	Hauppauge, NY	Defense
\$7,150	Sam Kane Beef Processors	Corpus Christi	Agriculture
\$6,900	Darling Homes	Dallas	Construction
\$6,900	Entrust, Inc.	Houston	Health
\$6,900	Martin Sprocket & Gear	Arlington, TX	Miscellaneous Business
\$6,900	Perot Systems	Plano, TX	Computers & Electronics
\$6,900	Staubach Co.	Dallas	Real Estate
\$6,600	Beecherl Companies	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$5,600	Burlington Northern Santa Fe Corp	Fort Worth	Transportation
\$5,500	Valero Energy	San Antonio	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$5,300	Tee Bee Caprock	McKinney, TX	Real Estate
\$5,250	Hospital Partners of America	Charlotte, NC	Health
\$5,100	Associa	Dallas	Real Estate
\$5,100	DR Horton, Inc.	Fort Worth	Construction
\$5,000	American Dream PAC	Schertz, TX	Ideological/Single Issue
\$5,000	American Surgical Hospital Assn	Sioux Falls, SD	Health
\$5,000	Continental Airlines	Houston, TX	Transportation
\$5,000	Fed'l Aviation Admin Managers Assn	Atlantic Beach, FL	Labor
\$5,000	Fund for a Conservative Future	Alexandria, VA	Ideological/Single Issue
\$5,000	Grayson Group	Austin	Lawyer & Lobbyists
\$5,000	Maverick PAC	San Antonio	Ideological/Single Issue
\$5,000	National Business Aircraft Assn	Washington	Transportation
\$5,000	SCOOTER Store	New Braunfels, TX	Health
\$5,000	Solvay Pharmaceuticals	Marietta, GA	Health
\$5,000	Texas Assn for Home Care	Austin	Health
\$5,000	Textron Inc	Providence, RI	Transportation

Note: Contributions made by affiliated employees and PACs.

Source: Center For Responsive Politics



## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Schieffer's campaign borrowed another \$200,000 from its treasurer, Waco banker Lyndon L. Olson.

<sup>2</sup> Texas' regular legislative sessions meet during the first five months of odd-numbered years.

<sup>3</sup> Due to a special legislative session in the summer of 2009, Perry, Hutchison and other state candidates had to file special campaign reports that added just two new days of disclosures. The new data covered the first two days of July, when Hutchison raked in \$163,002 and Perry raised \$1,118. Candidates do not report their cash on hand in special-session reports.

<sup>4</sup> The campaign reported that it received its first contributions on December 9, 2008. Hutchison's treasurer is Allan Shivers, Jr. The son of a former Texas governor, Shivers was active in George W. Bush's campaigns for governor and president. In January 2009 Hutchison named an assistant treasurer: Austin attorney and insurance lobbyist Hector DeLeon.

<sup>5</sup> Perry spent \$1.3 million in campaign funds during the first six months of 2009, while Hutchison spent almost \$1.9 million.

<sup>6</sup> Political committees cannot give more than \$5,000 to a federal candidate in each election. Note that the primary and general constitute separate elections for this purpose. As such, contributors who maxed out in the primary can give to the same candidate again if he or she advances to the general election.

<sup>7</sup> In the Dallas area Hutchison received six-figure checks from executives John L. Adams, Andrew Beal, Ray Hunt and Robert Rowling. She also collected whopper checks from Houston's Ansary Hushang and Charles Tate.

<sup>8</sup> Excludes \$7,961,645 from Hutchison's federal campaign.

<sup>9</sup> Again, Hutchison raised her U.S. Senate campaign money under federal rules that cap individual contributions at no more than \$2,400 per election.

<sup>10</sup> This analysis looks at individual checks. Aggregating checks from contributors who gave a total of \$1,000 or more, 1,326 major donors gave Hutchison \$6,136,300 (89 percent of her total). Perry received \$13,975,839 (97 percent of his total) from 1,285 major donors.

<sup>11</sup> See "Follow the Oil Money," at <http://oilmoney.priceofoil.org/voteTables.php>. The nine votes included three climate-change measures, three energy-policy initiatives and three votes to fund wars in the Middle East. One of the latter appropriations was contingent on Iraq opening its oil industry to foreign investment.

<sup>12</sup> Causes of indeterminate gender include the use of first-name initials and gender-ambiguous first names such as "Pat." This method is further complicated in a region where some hard-ass fathers name their sons "Sue." Researchers admittedly spent more time trying to sex big contributors. Apparently, size matters.

<sup>13</sup> Women accounted for 51 percent of the overall Texas electorate in November 2006, when Perry and Hutchison were last elected, according to CNN exit polls. In the 2008 general election, women accounted for 53 percent of the Texas electorate (Republican John McCain won 52 percent of Texas' female vote and 59 percent of its male vote). Women cast 49 percent of the ballots cast in the 2008 Republican primary, CNN exit polls found.

<sup>14</sup> CRP found that Hutchison's campaign reported *net receipts* in this period of \$2.4 million. Apparently the campaign invested surplus funds, earning more than \$750,000 in investment income during this period.

<sup>15</sup> The sole difference is that Perry's contributions also cover the first two days of July 2009.

<sup>16</sup> Transfers to Hutchison's state campaign account for most of the \$8,949,228 that Hutchison's federal campaign spent in this period. Note that Hutchison also has maintained a federal leadership committee: KPAC. It raised and spent approximately \$1.1 million from 2005 through June 2009 but did not contribute to Hutchison's state committee. KPAC had \$200,947 in the bank at the end of June 2009.

<sup>17</sup> Again, these contributors were subject to federal rules that cap individual donors at \$2,400 per election and political committees at \$5,000.

<sup>18</sup> Hutchison received \$6,800 from the beltway state of Maryland (0.5 percent).