

## **Fundraising Central: Majority of Presidential Bundlers and Other Fundraisers Hail from Only Five U.S. Industries: Lawyers and Law Firms, Three Finance Industries, and Real Estate**

### ***“Bundlers” and Other Fundraisers Appear Responsible for Majority of Contributions to Best-Financed Presidential Campaigns***

This joint Campaign Finance Institute-Public Citizen study of over 2,000 individuals reported to be raising contributions for the 2008 presidential candidates finds that 56 percent of the fundraisers came from just three segments of the U.S. economy: lawyers and law firms, three finance industries, and real estate.

Democrats and Republicans were equally successful in recruiting support from the considerable number of securities and investment industry fundraisers. Republicans held a significant edge in garnering assistance from those in the real estate and lobbying industries. Democrats received more support from lawyers and law firms, and from the TV, movies and music industry.

It is impossible to know how much money each industry has provided because, under the current regime of voluntary disclosure, none of the candidates are releasing precise information about how much each of their fundraisers are generating. Furthermore, John Edwards is the only candidate who is disclosing all of his fundraisers, although he is providing no information about how much each has raised. The campaigns of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, and to a lesser extent, Rudy Giuliani, are disclosing some information about how much their bundlers have raised or promised to raise. The sporadic and incomplete reporting by campaigns of their designated fundraisers points to the need for legislation on this matter.

On the basis of this new study, we conclude with confidence that more than half of the people reported as soliciting contributions for the 2008 presidential candidates' campaign coffers come from only five identified industries – three of which are part of the finance sector. Only an extremely thin slice of Americans are mobilizing their financial and social networks to finance the presidential race.

### **Background: “Bundlers” and Other Fundraisers Appear Largely Responsible for 2008 Presidential Contributions**

Most of the 2008 presidential candidates are using “bundlers” to raise money for their campaigns. Bundlers are fundraisers whose success at bringing in specific amounts of money is tracked by the candidate they are supporting. Often, they receive honorific titles for surpassing certain thresholds.

Bundlers have become increasingly important to candidates largely because of the failure of Congress to update the 30-year-old presidential public financing system to keep pace with the cost of running a presidential campaign. Since 2000, more and more candidates have opted out

of the system and proceeded to raise and spend money beyond the public system's spending limits. Thus far, the amount of private money that has flowed into the current campaign is more than double that in each of the previous two presidential cycles. A bill to fix the system, the Presidential Funding Act of 2007, S. 346, was recently introduced in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. It would update the presidential public funding system by increasing the amounts that participating candidates could spend in the primary and general elections, and increasing the public match on private campaign contributions of \$200 or less.

Some 2008 presidential fundraisers have not been publicly labeled as "bundlers" by the candidates. But because these individuals serve on fundraising committees or sponsor fundraising events, we have included them in the figures below. Some of these people may be bundlers or may have less specific financial goals and receive less formal recognition than bundlers.

### **Bundlers and Other Large Fundraisers Appear to Collect Bulk of Campaign Contributions**

The best information available on the overall amounts raised by bundlers is being provided by Clinton and Obama. This information strongly suggests that a relatively small universe of bundlers and other large fundraisers is responsible for arranging the majority of contributions to at least these two campaigns, which are the best financed so far. Obama has publicly disclosed 328 of his bundlers. Of these:

- 179 have raised \$50,000-\$100,000;
- 71 have raised \$100,000-\$200,000; and
- 78 have raised over \$200,000.

If each of Obama's bundlers raised the minimum for his or her range, the total would come to \$32 million of Obama's total of \$79 million. More plausibly, if bundlers in the first two categories raised the average of their ranges (\$75,000 and \$150,000) and those in the third category averaged \$300,000, or one-third higher than the minimum, the amount raised would total \$47.5 million of the \$79 million (or 60.1 percent). And the \$47.5 million would not include the funds bundled by those who are not reported on by the campaign because they have thus far raised less than \$50,000.

Clinton lists 311 "Hillraisers" who have collected at least \$100,000 each, totaling at least \$31 million of her \$78 million (or 39.7 percent). Some Clinton bundlers have pledged to raise as much as \$1 million each. If the Hillraisers averaged only \$150,000, they would account for \$46 million, or 59 percent, of the money Clinton has raised. Again this does not take account of bundlers under \$100,000.

While Edwards and Republicans Mitt Romney, Giuliani, John McCain and Fred Thompson are providing no specific information on how much their bundlers or other fundraisers have actually raised (Giuliani has disclosed those who have either pledged or raised at least \$50,000), each of them has provided a substantial list of bundlers or fundraisers. Each has also indicated that some fundraisers were expected to produce tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of dollars. There is no reason to suspect that these campaigns are any less reliant on their fundraisers than Clinton and Obama.

## **A Few Industries Dominate Presidential Fundraising**

To create as comprehensive as possible a picture of presidential fundraising through the third quarter of 2007, CFI and Public Citizen collaborated to expand Public Citizen's "White House for Sale" database and Web site. Beginning with the limited campaign reporting and credible press disclosures of the identities of presidential bundlers/fundraisers, the augmented database provides additional information about their states of residence, occupations, employers and – with the valuable assistance of the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) – fundraisers' industries. (CRP lists 102 "industries" that are overwhelmingly sections of the economy but also include unions, issues and ideological groups, clergy etc.) The full bundler/fundraiser database can be found at [www.whitehouseforsale.org](http://www.whitehouseforsale.org).

We were able to locate relevant employers and industries for 2,017 out of 2,494 reported bundlers/fundraisers, or more than 80 percent of the total. This was a significant accomplishment given the number of bundlers/fundraisers for whom employer information could not be obtained or whose employers' industries could not be identified. (See methodological note below)

Leaving aside 58 "homemaker" fundraisers whose employed spouses are overwhelmingly also fundraisers, and whom we treat separately below, we examined 1,959 persons who were coded by industry. Of these, 1,134 (56 percent) work in just five U.S. industries:

- Lawyers/law firms: 608
- Three finance industries (securities and investment, miscellaneous finance, and commercial banks): 336
- Real estate: 190

Lawyers listed as fundraisers include corporate lawyers, consumers lawyers and lawyers who perform other services. There is good reason to believe that the financial impact of lawyers and law firms is significantly less than the relative numbers of fundraisers suggest. This is because 327 of the 608 individuals in this category were identified as bundling for Edwards. They are the great majority of his bundlers. But, unlike Democrat candidates Clinton and Obama, and Republican candidate Giuliani, Edwards imposes no minimum dollar requirement for his fundraisers to be identified as bundlers. The Edwards campaign has also raised less than half the contributions of either Clinton or Obama, but he lists nearly twice as many bundlers as either of them. Still, even if Edwards' candidacy did not exist, lawyers and law firms would rank near the top of industry fundraisers.

The next leading industry sources of bundlers and other fundraisers were:

- Business services: 132
- TV, movies and music: 75
- Lobbyists: 61
- Civil servants and public officials: 59
- Computers/internet: 46

In contrast, the great majority of the 70 fundraiser industries revealed in our study – such as food and beverage, telecom services, automotive, defense and education – furnished fewer than 15 fundraisers each.

For a complete list of industries for bundlers/fundraisers with identified employers or occupations see Table 1.

Separately, we examined 78 bundlers designated as “homemakers” in the FEC’s campaign finance records. We found that 58 of them had a spouse with an identifiable industry, and in 54 cases the spouse was already a bundler. Of these 58 industry-connected homemakers, exactly half came from the three finance industries, lawyers and law firms, or real estate.

### **Republican and Democratic-Leaning Industries**

Among the leading industries furnishing bundlers/fundraisers, certain significant categories provided almost equal support for candidates from the two parties:

- Securities and investment (part of finance) (D-123, R-116); and
- Business services (D-67, R-65).

Republicans received significantly more support than Democrats in other areas:

- Miscellaneous finance (R-39, D-22)
- Commercial banks (R-23, D-13)
- Insurance (R-16, D-10)
- Real estate (R-120, D-70); and
- Lobbyists (R-51, D-10).

Democrats held strong advantages in:

- Lawyers and law firms (D-80, R-128); and
- TV, movies and music (D-63, R-12).

To see a list of industries with at least 10 bundlers/fundraisers, along with their party breakdown, see Table 2.

### **Individual Candidate Support**

Further insights come from looking at specific candidates’ top sources of fundraisers. Among the best-financed campaigns:

- Democrats Obama and Clinton drew their top-ranked bundlers almost equally from lawyers and law firms and securities and investment with real estate sources trailing somewhat further behind. In contrast, Edwards’ “fundraising solicitors” were overwhelmingly from law, with his next most important categories, TV/Movies/Music, business services and real estate lagging far behind.

- Republican Romney depended first on finance-related industries (securities and investment and miscellaneous finance), followed by real estate and lawyers and law firms. His strength was in the business sector. McCain and Giuliani shared an emphasis on lawyers and law firms, securities and investment and real estate. The big contrast was with Thompson. His top categories were, in order: lawyers/law firms, lobbyists, and civil servants and public officials. This indicates he has gained less traction with business than his rivals.

There is little to say about the less well-financed candidates because their numbers of disclosed bundlers/fundraisers are either in the single or low double digits. Candidates such as Republican Mike Huckabee and Democrats Joe Biden, Chris Dodd and Bill Richardson have released no official information on their fundraisers. Huckabee has recently risen into the top tier of competitive primary candidates, proving that money is not everything in the presidential primaries – at least in the short run!

See Table 3 for the top five and total number of industry-related categories of bundlers/fundraisers for all Democratic and Republican presidential candidates with identified fundraisers.

Campaign Finance Institute Executive Director Michael J. Malbin commented, “One question raised by this study is whether people who can mobilize their business and social networks to amass even hundreds of thousands of dollars in contributions from others, and gain credit from the candidate for having done so, are putting themselves in the same position as if they gave the money themselves. We need to fully gauge this problem, and its consequences for our campaign finance laws, by mandating official public disclosure of who is raising the money and getting the credit in these circumstances.”

Methodological Note: From a bundler/fundraiser database of 2,494 people, we were able to identify employer/occupation information on 2,137, of whom 49 were classified as retired, 23 as homemakers without spouse industry information, and 48 unsuccessful employer matches to CRP’s industry database. Thus, we had a net total of 2,017 bundlers/fundraisers for whom we were able to identify the industry associated with their employment status. The remaining 357 bundlers that we were unable to classify by industry fell into two categories: 1) There was not sufficient (or any) information available about the bundler/fundraiser’s employment or occupation, or 2) There was information on the bundler/fundraiser’s employment but the employer was not on CRP’s list of employer organizations classified by industry for the last three election cycles, and we were unable to find enough other information to code the employer.

Those categorized as lobbyists include only those who work for firms specifically tasked with lobbying. Other federally registered lobbyists, tabulated in a previous Public Citizen report, are categorized here by the industry for which they are lobbying. Hence, totals for lobbyists are lower by this methodology than the previous study found.

### Acknowledgements

The primary authors of this report were Steve Weissman of Campaign Finance Institute and Taylor Lincoln of Public Citizen’s Congress Watch. Essential contributions to this effort were made by Brendan Glavin and Margaret Sammon of CFI, and Alex Cohen and Kaifi Jamil of Congress Watch. Editorial supervision was provided by Michael Malbin of CFI and Laura MacCleery of Congress Watch. The Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) provided industry coding for employers identified in this study.

**Table 1: Breakdown of Presidential Fundraisers by Industry**

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Number of Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	608
Securities & Investment	239
Real Estate	190
Business Services	132
TV/Movies/Music	75
Lobbyists	61
Misc Finance	61
Civil Servants/Public Officials	59
Computers/Internet	46
Commercial Banks	36
Insurance	26
Retail Sales	24
Misc Manufacturing & Distributing	23
Oil & Gas	22
Health Professionals	21
General Contractors	21
Non-Profit Institutions	19
Automotive	19
Recreation/Live Entertainment	18
Printing & Publishing	17
Education	14
Home Builders	14
Telecom Services & Equipment	13
Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	12
Food & Beverage	11
Lodging/Tourism	11
Beer, Wine & Liquor	11
Health Services/HMOs	10
Accountants	9
Electric Utilities	9
Food Processing & Sales	9
Building Materials & Equipment	8
Hospitals/Nursing Homes	8
Chemical & Related Manufacturing	8
Air Transport	8
Construction Services	7

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Number of Fundraisers</b>
Misc Business	5
Agricultural Services/Products	5
Misc Health	4
Misc Defense	4
Crop Production & Basic Processing	3
Telephone Utilities	3
Textiles	3
Steel Production	3
Human Rights	3
Trucking	3
Misc Energy	3
Livestock	3
Misc Transport	3
Casinos/Gambling	2
Abortion Policy/Pro-Choice	2
Misc Services	2
Forestry & Forest Products	2
Defense Electronics	2
Finance/Credit Companies	2
Democratic/Liberal	2
Railroads	2
Special Trade Contractors	2
Waste Management	2
Environment	1
Building materials and equipment	1
Business Associations	1
Tobacco	1
Defense Aerospace	1
Employment agencies	1
Foreign & Defense Policy	1
Generic Occupation/Category Unknown	1
Sea Transport	1
Republican/Conservative	1
Lodging /Tourism	1
Electronics Mfg & Services	1
Republican/Conservative	1
Sea Transport	1
Building materials and equipment	1

**Table 2: Party Breakdown of Industries Providing at Least 10 Fundraisers**

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Republican</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	608	480	128
Securities & Investment	239	123	116
Real Estate	190	70	120
Business Services	132	67	65
TV/Movies/Music	75	63	12
Lobbyists	61	10	51
Misc Finance	61	22	39
Civil Servants/Public Officials	59	26	33
Computers/Internet	46	22	24
Commercial Banks	36	13	23
Insurance	26	10	16
Retail Sales	24	11	13
Misc Manufacturing & Distributing	23	12	11
Oil & Gas	22	6	16
Health Professionals	21	8	13
General Contractors	21	3	18
Non-Profit Institutions	19	9	10
Automotive	19	2	17
Recreation/Live Entertainment	18	7	11
Printing & Publishing	17	14	3
Education	14	10	4
Home Builders	14	2	12
Telecom Services & Equipment	13	8	5
Pharmaceuticals/Health Products	12	5	7
Food & Beverage	11	4	7
Lodging/Tourism	11	4	7
Beer, Wine & Liquor	11	1	10
Health Services/HMOs	10	3	7



**Table 3: Breakdown of Industry Support By Candidate**

**Democrats**

**Joe Biden**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	7
Real Estate	2
Business Services	2
Lobbyists	1
Misc Finance	1
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>14</b>

**Hillary Clinton**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	57
Securities & Investment	40
Real Estate	28
Business Services	25
TV/Movies/Music	19
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>282</b>

**Chris Dodd**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
TV/Movies/Music	3
Securities & Investment	2
Lobbyists	1
Misc Manufacturing & Distributing	1
Lawyers/Law Firms	1
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>12</b>

**John Edwards**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	339
TV/Movies/Music	23
Business Services	23
Real Estate	18
Homemakers/Non-income earners	17
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>543</b>

**Barack Obama**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	80
Securities & Investment	63
Real Estate	19
TV/Movies/Music	18
Business services	16
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>302</b>

**Bill Richardson**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Real Estate	3
Securities & Investment	3
Lawyers/Law Firms	3
TV/Movies/Music	1
Civil Servants/Public Officials	1
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>13</b>

**Republicans**

**Rudy Giuliani**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	30
Securities & Investment	26
Business Services	24
Real estate	19
Lobbyists	11
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>196</b>

**Mike Huckabee**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Commercial Banks	2
Business Services	1
Livestock	1
Retail Sales	1
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>5</b>

**John McCain**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	56
Real Estate	54
Securities & Investment	40
Business Services	21
Lobbyists`	20
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>386</b>

**Mitt Romney**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Securities & Investment	45
Real Estate	45
Lawyers/Law Firms	27
Misc Finance	22
Homemakers/Non-income earners	13
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>312</b>

**Fred Thompson**

<b>Industry</b>	<b># Fundraisers</b>
Lawyers/Law Firms	15
Lobbyists	10
Civil Servants/Public Officials	8
Business Services	7
Homemakers/Non-income earners	6
<b>Total for All Industries</b>	<b>82</b>