



## GIVE TO GET?

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT MADE HEFTY CAMPAIGN  
DONATIONS SCORE BIG BUCKS FROM THE GOVERNMENT

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NATIONAL INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE POLITICS

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**A**T THE END OF 2008, THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT INITIATED THE AMBITIOUS Troubled Assets Relief Program (TARP) in an attempt to stabilize the country's troubled financial sector.

TARP allows the U.S. Treasury Department to distribute \$700 billion to financial institutions nationwide in an effort to increase lending and boost the country's struggling economy. As of January 22, 2009, more than 300 banks had received nearly \$200 billion from taxpayers. Billions more had been allocated but not yet distributed by the Treasury Department.

The National Institute on Money in State Politics examined contributions from 75 financial institutions that met two criteria: they received TARP funds and they had contributed to state-level politics from 2000 to 2007.<sup>1 2</sup>

The financial institutions identified by the Institute were found using a partial name query of our database. As a result, contributions by companies operating under a name that is vastly different from their holding company may not have been found.

## **CONTRIBUTIONS FROM FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING TARP FUNDS**

The 75 financial institutions identified by the Institute contributed \$20.4 million to state-level candidates, party committees and ballot measure committees in all 50 states over the 7-year study period. The majority of their money (60 percent) was spent in states other than the state where their company was headquartered.

California received the largest sum of money (\$2.9 million), followed by New York (\$2.3 million) and Ohio (\$2.1 million). Only 18 of the 75 identified institutions were headquartered in those three states.

The financial institutions typically increased their contributions during the seven years studied. Contributions given in 2000 (\$2.7 million) nearly doubled in 2002 to \$4.7 million. There was a slight decrease in the contributions given in 2004 (\$4.3 million), but they increased again in 2006 (\$6.7 million). Since most states hold their elections during even-numbered years, contributions given in odd-numbered years never surpassed \$750,000.

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<sup>1</sup> 2008 data is still being compiled

<sup>2</sup> The complete list of financial institutions that had received TARP funds as of January 22, 2009 may be viewed at <http://money.cnn.com/news/specials/storysupplement/bankbailout>.

**CONTRIBUTIONS BY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
RECEIVING TARP FUNDS, 2000-2007**

<b>FINANCIAL INSTITUTION</b>	<b>STATE</b>	<b>TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS</b>	<b>TARP FUNDS RECEIVED</b>
Bank of America	NC	\$5,977,719	*\$25,000,000,000
Citigroup	NY	\$4,356,101	\$25,000,000,000
JP Morgan Chase & Co.	NY	\$1,478,438	\$25,000,000,000
Wells Fargo & Co.	CA	\$8,000	\$25,000,000,000
Goldman Sachs	NY	\$531,850	\$10,000,000,000
Morgan Stanley	NY	\$266,126	\$10,000,000,000
PNC Financial Services Group	PA	\$40,000	\$7,579,200,000
US Bancorp	MN	\$563,233	\$6,599,000,000
Suntrust Banks	GA	\$500	\$4,850,000,000
Capital One Financial Corp.	VA	\$9,125	\$3,555,199,000
Regions Financial Corp.	AL	\$981,534	\$3,500,000,000
Fifth Third Bancorp	OH	\$703,180	\$3,408,000,000
American Express	NY	\$11,524	\$3,388,890,000
Branch Banking & Trust Corp.	NC	\$885,060	\$3,133,640,000
Keycorp	OH	\$679,861	\$2,500,000,000
CIT Group	NY	\$10,000	\$2,330,000,000
Comerica Inc.	TX	\$811,393	\$2,250,000,000
State Street Corp.	MA	\$94,050	\$2,000,000,000
Marshall & Ilsley Corp.	WI	\$30,400	\$1,715,000,000
Northern Trust Corp.	IL	\$122,660	\$1,576,000,000
Zions Bancorporation	UT	\$274,010	\$1,400,000,000
Huntington Bancshares	OH	\$610,500	\$1,398,071,000
Synovus Financial Corp.	GA	\$886,943	\$967,870,000
Popular Inc.	PR	\$35,311	\$935,000,000
City National Corp.	CA	\$104,640	\$400,000,000
TCF Financial Corp.	MN	\$20,000	\$361,172,000
South Financial Group	SC	\$47,850	\$347,000,000
Wilmington Trust Corp.	DE	\$86,702	\$330,000,000
East West Bancorp	CA	\$1,000	\$306,546,000
Susquehanna Bancshares	PA	\$13,210	\$300,000,000
Trustmark Corp.	MS	\$4,250	\$215,000,000
Umpqua Holdings Corp.	OR	\$10,100	\$214,181,000
Washington Federal Savings	WA	\$175	\$200,000,000
MB Financial	IL	\$5,550	\$196,000,000
First Midwest Bancorp	IL	\$24,883	\$193,000,000
United Community Banks	GA	\$246,900	\$180,000,000
Provident Bancshares Corp.	MD	\$22,980	\$151,500,000
Banner Corp.	WA	\$1,400	\$124,000,000
1st Source Corp.	IN	\$27,560	\$111,000,000
S&T Bancorp	PA	\$16,450	\$108,676,000
Old National Bancorp	IN	\$37,850	\$100,000,000
FNB Corp.	PA	\$350	\$100,000,000
Iberiabank Corp.	LA	\$5,250	\$90,000,000
Sun Bancorp	NJ	\$16,400	\$89,310,000
Columbia Banking System	WA	\$1,000	\$76,898,000
Townebank	VA	\$59,200	\$76,458,000
Bank of the Ozarks	AR	\$1,750	\$75,000,000
Old Second Bancorp	IL	\$2,200	\$73,000,000
Virginia Commerce Bancorp	VA	\$1,800	\$71,000,000
Flushing Financial Corp.	NY	\$3,925	\$70,000,000
Nara Bancorp	CA	\$1,000	\$67,000,000
Union Bankshares Corp.	VA	\$500	\$59,000,000

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**CONTRIBUTIONS BY FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS  
RECEIVING TARP FUNDS, 2000-2007 (CONTINUED)**

FINANCIAL INSTITUTION	STATE	TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	TARP FUNDS RECEIVED
Great Southern Bancorp	MO	\$8,450	\$58,000,000
Liberty Bancshares	AR	\$26,594	\$57,500,000
WSFS Financial Corp.	DE	\$27,850	\$52,625,000
Exchange Bank	CA	\$7,000	\$43,000,000
Capital Bank Corp.	NC	\$500	\$41,279,000
Eagle Bancorp	MD	\$250	\$38,235,000
Bridgeview Bancorp	IL	\$60,693	\$38,000,000
State Bankcorp	NY	\$5,160	\$36,842,000
Encore Bancshares	TX	\$100,000	\$34,000,000
Colony Bancorp	GA	\$1,000	\$28,000,000
Eastern Virginia Bankshares	VA	\$500	\$24,000,000
Blue Valley Ban Corp.	KS	\$381	\$21,750,000
Ameriserv Financial	PA	\$6,020	\$21,000,000
Midsouth Bancorp	LA	\$250	\$20,000,000
Bar Harbor Bankshares	ME	\$250	\$18,751,000
First Community Corp.	SC	\$125	\$11,350,000
Midland States Bancorp	IL	\$10,615	\$10,189,000
Grandsouth Bancorporation	SC	\$2,000	\$9,000,000
Fidelity Bancorp	PA	\$1,200	\$7,000,000
Old Line Bancshares	MD	\$500	\$7,000,000
Patapsco Bancorp	MD	\$25	\$6,000,000
Mission Community Bancorp	CA	\$500	\$5,116,000
Calvert Financial Corp.	MO	\$100	\$1,037,000
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$20,392,356</b>	<b>\$178,436,985,000</b>

\*Includes money allocated to Merrill Lynch, which was purchased by Bank of America on January 1, 2009.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES

Contributions to legislative and statewide candidates accounted for \$12.6 million, or 62 percent of the contributions made by the identified financial institutions. Although gubernatorial candidates dominated the top 10 candidates' list, legislative candidates as a group actually received 63 percent of the contributions to candidates. House candidates received \$4.7 million, while Senate candidates received \$3.3 million.

TARP recipients slightly favored Republican candidates by donating \$7.4 million to them; Democratic candidates received \$5.1 million. Contributions were primarily given to incumbents, who received a staggering \$10.2 million—in stark contrast to the \$572,226 going to candidates challenging an incumbent, and \$1.8 million to candidates vying for an open seat. Seventy-eight percent of the money contributed (\$9.9 million) went to winning candidates. Losing candidates received only \$1.6 million. Lawmakers not up for election received \$1.1 million.

### TOP RECIPIENTS OF TARP CONTRIBUTIONS, 2000–2007

CANDIDATE	OFFICE	STATE	PARTY	TOTAL
Gray Davis	Governor	CA	Democrat	\$256,264
Arnold Schwarzenegger	Governor	CA	Republican	\$182,700
Robert Riley	Governor	AL	Republican	\$170,000
Rick Perry	Governor	TX	Republican	\$119,000
George Pataki	Governor	NY	Republican	\$83,650
Greg Abbott	Attorney General	TX	Republican	\$83,200
David Dewhurst	Lieutenant Governor	TX	Republican	\$78,750
Sonny Perdue	Governor	GA	Republican	\$78,250
Tom Craddick	House	TX	Republican	\$71,500
Drayton Nabers	Supreme Court	AL	Republican	\$71,000
<b>TOTAL</b>				<b>\$1,194,314</b>

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES

Contributions to state-level political parties accounted for \$5.5 million, or 27 percent of the contributions made by the 75 financial institutions. The Republican Party was favored (\$3.7 million) over the Democratic Party (\$1.9 million).

Collectively, political parties in only four states received 66 percent of the contributions to parties in all 50 states. New York party committees received a total of \$1.6 million. Florida, Georgia and Ohio party committees each received \$828,445, \$677,416 and \$553,943, respectively.

<b>CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES, 2000-2007</b>	
<b>POLITICAL PARTY</b>	<b>CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED</b>
Florida Republican Party	\$548,500
Senate Republican Campaign Committee of New York	\$544,550
New York State Republican Party	\$523,454
Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee of New York	\$361,460
Georgia Republican Party	\$328,003
Georgia Democratic Party	\$314,914
Florida Democratic Party	\$272,445
California Republican Party	\$246,200
Ohio Republican Party	\$205,100
Republican Senate Campaign Committee of Ohio	\$156,400
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$3,501,026</b>

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES

Contributions to support or oppose 43 ballot measure committees in 16 states accounted for nearly \$2.3 million, or 11 percent of the contributions made by the 75 identified financial institutions. The majority of the contributions (72 percent) were given to support ballot measures; of that amount, 61 percent went to ballot measures that passed. Of the \$620,631 given to oppose ballot measures, \$307,800 went to ballot measures that failed.

THE TOP 5 BALLOT MEASURES RECEIVING CONTRIBUTIONS, 2000-2007			
STATE	YEAR	BALLOT MEASURE	CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED
CA	2004	Proposition 64	\$295,000
CA	2005	Proposition 74	\$264,000
OH	2003	Issue 1	\$250,000
MI	2006	Proposal 06-2	\$201,060
NC	2004	Amendment 1	\$160,500
TOTAL			\$1,170,560

### PROPOSITION 64

Proposition 64 was approved by voters in California during the 2004 general election. It sought to allow private lawsuits against a company only if an individual was actually injured by, and suffered a loss because of, an unfair business practice. All of the money contributed by the financial institutions was given in support of the measure. Bank of America and Citigroup were the largest contributors, giving \$100,00 each.

### PROPOSITION 74

Proposition 74 was defeated in California during the 2005 special election. It sought to increase the length of time required before a public school teacher could become a permanent employee. All of the money contributed by the financial institutions was given in support of the measure. Citigroup was the largest contributor, giving \$150,000. Bank of America was the second-largest contributor, giving \$100,000.

### ISSUE 1

Issue 1 was defeated in Ohio during the 2003 general election. It sought to stimulate economic growth by issuing bonds to promote scientific and technological research. All of the money contributed by the financial institutions was given in support of the measure. Fifth Third Bancorp was the largest contributor, giving \$75,000. Goldman Sachs and Huntington Bancshares were the second-largest contributors, giving \$40,000 each.

### PROPOSAL 06-2

Proposal 06-2 was approved by voters in Michigan during the 2006 general election. It sought to ban affirmative action programs in the state as they applied to admissions at public universities and state hiring practices. All of the money contributed by the financial institutions was given to oppose the measure. Comerica was the largest contributor, giving \$150,000. JP Morgan Chase & Co. was the second-largest contributor, giving \$50,000.

## AMENDMENT 1

Amendment 1 was approved by voters in North Carolina during the 2004 general election. It sought to allow counties, cities and towns to raise taxes in order to fund projects they felt would promote economic development in their communities. All of the money contributed by financial institutions was given in support of the measure. Bank of America was the largest contributor, giving \$100,000. Branch Banking & Trust Corp was the second-largest contributor, giving \$50,000.

## CONTRIBUTIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS

The Institute identified an additional \$4.7 million given by individual donors who identified their employer as one of the 75 financial entities included in this analysis. Four individuals and their spouses contributed \$1.2 million, 27 percent of the contributions. These were the only individuals identified who contributed more than \$100,000.

<b>CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MAJOR INDIVIDUAL DONORS EMPLOYED BY THE TARP FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, 2000-2007</b>		
<b>CONTRIBUTOR</b>	<b>AFFILIATION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
William & Sharon Cooper	TCF Financial Corp.	\$404,450
Philip & Tammy Murphy	Goldman Sachs	\$372,300
Dinakar Singh & Florence Eng	Goldman Sachs	\$256,000
James Blanchard	Synovus Financial Corp.	\$201,106
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$1,233,856</b>

The vast majority of the "big four's" contributions (\$910,500) was given to political parties. Legislative and statewide candidates received only \$215,856; ballot measure committees received \$107,500. The majority of the contributions (\$743,184) was given to candidates and political parties affiliated with the Democratic Party. Candidates and political parties affiliated with the Republican Party received \$375,550, half of the money given to Democratic entities.

The "big four" contributed the majority of their money (80 percent) to incumbents. Winning candidates, incumbents and non-incumbents combined received 74 percent of the contributions. Apparently content with the status quo, the "big four" contributed only \$23,800 to candidates who were challenging an incumbent. Candidates competing for an open seat received even less (\$18,934). The "big four" were highly successful at contributing to winning campaigns. They contributed only \$51,234 to losing candidates. Candidates who were not up for election that year received \$4,600.

## WILLIAM COOPER

William Cooper is the Chief Executive Officer of TCF Financial Corporation and has been the company's Chairman of the Board since 1987. He served as Chairman of the Minnesota Republican Party from 1997 to 1999. It is no surprise, then, that the majority of the contributions from Cooper and his wife, Sharon, was given to the Minnesota Republican Party and the House Republican Campaign Committee of Minnesota. Contributions to these two party committees totaled \$301,000, accounting for 74 percent of their total contributions. Cooper and his wife gave their second-largest contribution (\$100,000) to Governor Schwarzenegger's California Recovery Team to support ballot measures in California during



the 2005 special election. Schwarzenegger's committee used the money it raised to support Propositions 74 and 77. Proposition 74 sought to increase the length of time required before a public school teacher could become a permanent employee; Proposition 77 sought to allow a three-person panel to adjust the state's electoral districts after each national census. Both propositions were rejected by voters.

The remaining \$3,450 contributed by Cooper and his wife was given to legislative and statewide candidates. Eighty-six percent of the contributions went to Republican candidates and 14 percent to Independent candidates.

### PHILIP MURPHY

Philip Murphy is a former Goldman Sachs' executive who became the National Finance Chair of the Democratic National Committee in 2006. Like Cooper, Murphy contributed the majority of his money (\$257,750) to party committees. He contributed only \$30,700 to legislative and statewide candidates. All of the party committees and candidates to whom he contributed were affiliated with the Democratic Party.

Murphy's wife, Tammy, however, contributed to both the Democratic Party and the Republican Party. She contributed \$36,450 to candidates and political parties affiliated with the Democratic Party or the left-leaning Liberal Party of New York and \$37,400, an almost equal amount, to candidates and political parties associated with the Republican Party.

As a couple, Philip and Tammy Murphy contributed \$2,500 to the Arkansas Democratic Party.

The remainder of the Murphys' contributions (\$7,500) were given to support California ballot measures. Philip Murphy contributed \$5,000 to support Proposition 71 in 2004, and \$2,500 to support Proposition 82 in 2006. Proposition 71 sought to regulate and provide funding for stem cell research. Proposition 82 sought to increase the state's income tax to fund voluntary preschool for four-year-olds. Proposition 71 was passed by voters; Proposition 82 was defeated.

### DINAKAR SINGH

Dinakar Singh is a former Goldman Sachs' executive who left the company in 2004 to found TPG-Axon Capital, a global investment firm. Singh and his wife, Florence Eng, gave 100 percent of their contributions to candidates and political parties affiliated with the Democratic Party. The majority of their contributions (\$236,000) were given to political parties in Colorado, Iowa, Louisiana, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island and South Dakota. The remaining \$20,000 was given to Eliot Spitzer's gubernatorial campaign in New York.

### JAMES BLANCHARD

James Blanchard was the Chief Executive Officer of Synovus Financial Corporation until 2005. He then served as the company's Chairman of the Board until 2006. Blanchard contributed all of his money to candidates and political parties in Alabama and Georgia. The vast majority of his contributions (\$191,106) were given to entities in Georgia, the state where Synovus Financial Corporation is headquartered. The remaining \$10,000 was given to gubernatorial candidates in Alabama. Democrat Don Siegelman received \$5,000 from Blanchard in 2002. Republican Bob Riley received \$5,000 from Blanchard in 2006.

Sixty-seven percent (\$135,106) of Blanchard's contributions went to legislative and statewide candidates. Democratic candidates received \$98,784, whereas Republican candidates received only \$34,200. Nonpartisan candidates received the remaining \$2,122. Any money not given to candidates (\$66,000) was given to the Georgia Democratic Party.

Blanchard's contributions peaked in 2002 when he gave \$97,434, more than double what he had given in 2000 (\$46,400) and more than five times what he gave in 2004 (\$18,450). His contributions in 2006 (\$38,822) were more than double what he gave in 2004, but still two and a half times less than what he gave in 2002.