

LOBBY WATCH



TEXANS FOR PUBLIC JUSTICE 609 W. 18TH ST., SUITE E, AUSTIN, TX 78701 PH: (512)472-9770 FAX: (512)472-9830

Rumble in da Rotunda:

May 19, 2017

\$1.7 M. Ideological Dollars Drove Patrick-Straus Rift?

If politicians are what they eat, the dueling heads of the Texas House and Senate must have different diets. Stool samples from their respective chamber pots reveal that the biggest difference between the two leaders involves red-meat Ideological/Single Issue contributors.¹

Since Dan Patrick launched his lieutenant governor campaign in June 2013, he has raised almost \$30 million—or 69 percent more than the almost \$18 million that Speaker Joe Straus raised in that period (including his Texas House Leadership Fund).

Meanwhile Ideological/Single Issue contributors gave Patrick almost \$2 million, which is 674 percent more than that sector gave to Straus (\$254,876). This polarizing sector supplied 7 percent of Patrick’s war chest, compared to just 1 percent of the Speaker’s cash.

This Ideological discrepancy marks the biggest single funding difference between the two leaders, whose chambers have fought many ideological brawls this session.

Dan Patrick & Joe Straus Contributions by Interest (6/25/2013 through 12/31/2016)

Interest Group	Patrick Amount	Patrick %	Straus Amount	Straus %	DP% -JS%
Agriculture	\$360,879	1.2%	\$461,550	2.6%	-1.4%
Communications	\$668,235	2.2%	\$598,269	3.4%	-1.2%
Computers & Electronics	\$239,307	0.8%	\$117,750	0.7%	0.1%
Construction	\$2,369,231	7.9%	\$1,843,057	10.4%	-2.5%
Energy/Nat'l Resources	\$5,946,798	19.9%	\$3,079,759	17.5%	2.4%
Finance	\$3,015,742	10.1%	\$1,721,277	9.8%	0.3%
Health	\$2,457,980	8.2%	\$1,698,069	9.6%	-1.4%
Ideological/Single Issue	\$1,973,152	6.6%	\$254,876	1.4%	5.2%
Insurance	\$653,475	2.2%	\$642,203	3.6%	-1.4%
Labor	\$126,970	0.4%	\$269,551	1.5%	-1.1%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,691,609	5.7%	\$1,469,615	8.3%	-2.6%
Miscellaneous Business	\$4,031,238	13.5%	\$1,962,999	11.1%	2.4%
Other	\$499,416	1.7%	\$683,107	3.9%	-2.2%
Real Estate	\$3,049,029	10.2%	\$1,233,692	7.0%	3.2%
Transportation	\$1,910,186	6.4%	\$1,007,071	5.7%	0.7%
Unknown	\$817,336	2.7%	\$595,452	3.4%	-0.7%
TOTALS	\$29,810,582	100%	\$17,638,297	100%	

More than 100 big contributors gave a total of \$100,000 to Dan Patrick *and/or* Joe Straus since June 2013. About half of those donors favored Patrick with at least 75 percent of the total money that they gave to *both* leaders (see next page). Meanwhile, just seven big contributors heavily favored Straus over Patrick (led by mega-grocer Charles Butt and oilman Curtis Mewbourne). Meanwhile, approximately half of the large contributors split their money more evenly, giving neither leader more than 74 percent or less than 26 percent of the total (see last page).

The preferential donor table on the next page reveals that a few huge Ideological/Single Issue contributors drove much of that sector's preference for Tea-Party hardliner Patrick. He pocketed 87 percent of the almost \$825,000 that Texans for Lawsuit Reform PAC gave to the two legislative leaders. Empower Texans PAC gave almost as much without giving Straus a cent. The only other major Ideological/Single Issue contributor listed, the Kickapoo Tribe, gave Patrick \$175,000 and Straus nothing (the Kickapoo and Tea Party generally oppose expanding Texas gambling laws).

Patrick also had an edge with the Energy & Natural Resources sector, led by Kelcy Warren of Energy Transfer Partners, and the Miscellaneous Business sector, led by Drayton McLane of the McLane Group. Straus claimed comparative advantages with the Real Estate, Lawyers & Lobbyists and Construction sectors.

No big donor who gave comparable amounts to both leaders is classified as Ideological. The

contributors supporting the heads of both chambers are dominated by business interests who seek to influence whoever wields power rather than to orchestrate ideological purges. TxDOT contractor Doug Pitcock, who gave \$300,000 to the head of each chamber, heads that list of pragmatists. That pragmatist list is full of lobby firms, trade associations and corporate PACs, which rarely show an overwhelming preference for the leader of just one chamber.

The Straus House and Patrick Senate have been unusually combative over competing priorities this session. The more [tight-fisted](#) Patrick has used more pessimistic revenue forecasts, resisted use of rainy-day funds and been more aggressive on tax cuts. Those measures could cut into such major programs as Medicaid and public education. Patrick's Senate also more vigorously promotes [radical social agendas](#) involving transgender bathrooms, abortion and sanctuary cities. Many commercial interests worry that these divisive issues are not good for business. This ideological rift between the two chambers already existed in campaign-finance tea leaves before the session's start.

Different electorates choose the House and Senate leaders. Texas voters elected Patrick directly, whereas the 150 House members elected Speaker Straus. He started this session strong, without the usual Tea Party challengers to his position on the dais. Late in the session, however, 12 Freedom Caucus members protested the House's jilting of their priorities (akin to Patrick's agenda) by procedurally [derailing](#) 120 largely non-controversial bills.



Speaker Straus



Lt. Gov. Patrick

Big Patrick-Straus Donors Who Strongly Favored One or the Other (Contributors Favoring Speaker Straus in Bold)

Total to DP & JS	DP Total	JS Total	DP %	Contributor	Interest Group
\$824,969	\$714,280	\$110,689	87%	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	Ideological/Single Issue
\$768,000	\$768,000	\$0	100%	Empower Texans	Ideological/Single Issue
\$475,000	\$375,000	\$100,000	79%	Border Health PAC	Health
\$456,816	\$456,816	\$0	100%	Trammell S Crow (Crow Holdings)	Real Estate
\$406,000	\$351,000	\$55,000	86%	T. Dan Friedkin (Gulf States Toyota)	Transportation
\$375,000	\$325,000	\$50,000	87%	Ryan LLC (Ryan & Co)	Finance
\$352,500	\$300,000	\$52,500	85%	Robert D. McLane Jr. (McLane Group)	Miscellaneous Business
\$350,000	\$75,000	\$275,000	21%	Charles C Butt (HEB Grocery)	Miscellaneous Business
\$300,000	\$300,000	\$0	100%	Timothy Horner (Premier Designs)	Miscellaneous Business
\$289,781	\$239,781	\$50,000	83%	Tilman J Fertitta (Landry's Seafood)	Miscellaneous Business
\$260,000	\$200,000	\$60,000	77%	Robert B Rowling (TRT Holdings)	Miscellaneous Business
\$257,060	\$244,560	\$12,500	95%	Richard Scott (Trans-Global Solutions)	Transportation
\$252,500	\$252,500	\$0	100%	Kelcy L Warren (Energy Transfer Partners)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$217,927	\$170,000	\$47,927	78%	Mickey L Long (Westex Well Services)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$204,390	\$194,390	\$10,000	95%	Steven D Alvis (NewQuest Properties)	Real Estate
\$201,089	\$191,089	\$10,000	95%	T Boone Pickens (BP Capital)	Finance
\$200,000	\$200,000	\$0	100%	Al Boenker (Al Boenker Insurance)	Insurance
\$200,000	\$200,000	\$0	100%	Chas. 'John' Wilder (Bluescape Resources)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$193,507	\$150,000	\$43,507	78%	Trevor D Rees-Jones (Chief Oil & Gas)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$187,500	\$187,500	\$0	100%	Kyle L Stallings (Desert Royalty Co)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$180,000	\$175,000	\$5,000	97%	S Reed Morian (DX Holding Co.)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$175,000	\$175,000	\$0	100%	Kickapoo Traditional Tribe	Ideological/Single Issue
\$175,000	\$175,000	\$0	100%	Kenny A Troutt (Mt. Vernon Investments)	Communications
\$161,610	\$125,610	\$36,000	78%	Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)	Real Estate
\$160,000	\$125,000	\$35,000	78%	Darwin A Deason (Deason Capital Service)	Finance
\$150,835	\$25,000	\$125,835	17%	Curtis Mewbourne (Mewbourne Oil Co)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$150,000	\$150,000	\$0	100%	Carleton A Allen Jr (Heritage Bag Co)	Miscellaneous Business
\$150,000	\$150,000	\$0	100%	Marcus Hiles (Western Rim Investments)	Finance
\$150,000	\$150,000	\$0	100%	Paul J Sarvadi (Administaff/Insperity)	Miscellaneous Business
\$150,000	\$150,000	\$0	100%	Pin Ti Wang (GTC Technology)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$145,000	\$125,000	\$20,000	86%	H Ross Perot (Perot Co/Hillwood)	Real Estate
\$136,372	\$136,372	\$0	100%	James H Lee (Ascendant Advisors, LLC)	Finance
\$131,446	\$131,446	\$0	100%	Tim M Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest Oi)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$129,800	\$129,800	\$0	100%	Alice L Walton (Wal-Mart)	Miscellaneous Business
\$125,434	\$125,434	\$0	100%	George Brint Ryan (Ryan & Co)	Finance
\$125,000	\$125,000	\$0	100%	K Alan Hassenflu (Fidelis Realty Partners)	Real Estate
\$125,000	\$125,000	\$0	100%	C. Cary Patterson (Nix Patterson & Roach)	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$125,000	\$125,000	\$0	100%	Farris Wilks (Wilks Bros/Frac Tech Service)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$120,000	\$100,000	\$20,000	83%	Gerald Ford (Diamond-A Ford/Hilltop Hold.)	Finance
\$120,000	\$120,000	\$0	100%	E Pierce Marshall (Maropco)	Finance
\$115,000	\$10,000	\$105,000	9%	'Beth' Robertson (CockSpur/Westview Dev)	Real Estate
\$115,000	\$15,000	\$100,000	13%	Meredith J Long (Meredith J Long Galleries)	Miscellaneous Business
\$115,000	\$115,000	\$0	100%	Joe B Thornton (Holliday Fenoglio Fowler)	Real Estate
\$112,014	\$26,014	\$86,000	23%	TX Consumer Lenders	Finance
\$110,000	\$10,000	\$100,000	9%	Edward P Bass (Bass Brothers Enterprises)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$110,000	\$110,000	\$0	100%	Vernon N Reaser (TX Teachers, LLC)	Miscellaneous Business
\$107,251	\$107,251	\$0	100%	Joseph B Swinbank (Sprint Waste Services)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$105,000	\$100,000	\$5,000	95%	Forrest E Hoglund (SeaOne Maritime Corp.)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$105,000	\$105,000	\$0	100%	Roger A Elswick (Community Toyota)	Transportation
\$102,799	\$101,799	\$1,000	99%	Gene & Dana Powell (Powell Co's/Bitterblue)	Real Estate
\$101,395	\$101,395	\$0	100%	Don R McGill (Don McGill Auto Group)	Transportation
\$101,000	\$100,000	\$1,000	99%	James Davis (West TX Gas/JL Davis Gas)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,241	\$0	\$100,241	0%	Clyde H Alexander (lobbyist)	Lawyers & Lobbyists

Big Patrick-Straus Contributors Who Backed Both Fairly Evenly

Total to DP & JS	DP Total	JS Total	DP %	Contributor	Interest Group
\$600,000	\$300,000	\$300,000	50%	J. Doug Pitcock. (Willismas Bros. Const.)	Construction
\$460,000	\$225,000	\$235,000	49%	Peter M Holt (Holt Co's/SA Spurs)	Construction
\$440,000	\$275,000	\$165,000	63%	John R Weisman (Hunter Industries)	Construction
\$340,281	\$203,139	\$137,142	60%	Woody L Hunt (Hunt Companies)	Real Estate
\$323,938	\$222,148	\$101,789	69%	John L Nau III (Silver Eagle Distrib.)	Miscellaneous Business
\$297,249	\$199,754	\$97,495	67%	Barry G Andrews (Andrews Distrib.)	Miscellaneous Business
\$280,000	\$170,000	\$110,000	61%	Blackridge Consulting	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$278,400	\$125,000	\$153,400	45%	TX Assn of Realtors	Real Estate
\$275,000	\$100,000	\$175,000	36%	Farmers Insurance	Insurance
\$257,600	\$115,000	\$142,600	45%	Associated General Contractors of TX	Construction
\$250,000	\$100,000	\$150,000	40%	A T & T	Communications
\$217,500	\$125,000	\$92,500	57%	James Dannenbaum (Dannenbaum Engin.)	Construction
\$200,000	\$75,000	\$125,000	38%	J Ralph Ellis (Belmont Oil & Gas)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$198,231	\$122,731	\$75,500	62%	Hillco Partners	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$185,500	\$85,500	\$100,000	46%	TX Apartment Assn	Real Estate
\$185,000	\$100,000	\$85,000	54%	Ray L Hunt (Hunt Consolidated)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$182,500	\$92,500	\$90,000	51%	Good Government Fund (Bass Brothers)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$167,500	\$45,000	\$122,500	27%	United Services Auto Assn Group (USAA)	Insurance
\$165,000	\$90,000	\$75,000	55%	Q Funding/Q Investments	Finance
\$150,000	\$100,000	\$50,000	67%	Trevor L Ahlberg (Cash Store)	Finance
\$146,500	\$101,500	\$45,000	69%	TX Dental Assn	Health
\$143,500	\$50,000	\$93,500	35%	Energy Future Holdings	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$135,500	\$55,000	\$80,500	41%	Burlington Northern & Santa Fe Railway	Transportation
\$135,000	\$55,000	\$80,000	41%	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn	Agriculture
\$135,000	\$100,000	\$35,000	74%	Syed Javid Anwar (Midland Energy Inc)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$130,000	\$75,000	\$55,000	58%	Ardon E Moore (Lee M. Bass, Inc.)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$126,460	\$55,000	\$71,460	43%	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	Miscellaneous Business
\$125,000	\$40,000	\$85,000	32%	MJB Operating LP	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$125,000	\$50,000	\$75,000	40%	TX Automobile Dealers Assn (TADA)	Transportation
\$125,000	\$55,000	\$70,000	44%	Dian Owen Graves Stai (Owen Healthcare)	Health
\$120,826	\$58,826	\$62,000	49%	TX Medical Assn (TEXPAC)	Health
\$117,500	\$52,500	\$65,000	45%	Time Warner Cable	Communications
\$115,000	\$50,000	\$65,000	43%	Linebarger Goggan Blair & Sampson	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$113,000	\$75,000	\$38,000	66%	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	Insurance
\$113,000	\$52,500	\$60,500	46%	Winstead PC	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$112,375	\$70,000	\$42,375	62%	Stuart Stedman (Stedman West Int.)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$111,173	\$69,673	\$41,500	63%	TX Optometric Assn.	Health
\$107,715	\$35,000	\$72,715	32%	Julia Matthews (Dodge Jones Fdn.)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$107,500	\$70,000	\$37,500	65%	Allen Boone Humphries Robinson	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$107,500	\$60,000	\$47,500	56%	William Greehey (NuStar Energy)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$107,500	\$47,500	\$60,000	44%	PSEL PAC (Bass Bros.)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$105,000	\$75,000	\$30,000	71%	Andrews Kurth	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$105,000	\$55,000	\$50,000	52%	North Cypress Medical Center	Health
\$105,000	\$55,000	\$50,000	52%	Safe Enviro. Responsible Transpo.	Transportation
\$103,000	\$45,500	\$57,500	44%	TX State Farm Agents	Insurance
\$102,575	\$45,000	\$57,575	44%	Jeff Hildebrand (HilCorp. Energy)	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$101,000	\$26,000	\$75,000	26%	Valero Energy Corp.	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$100,000	\$50,000	\$50,000	50%	MCNA Health Care Holdings	Health
\$100,000	\$45,000	\$55,000	45%	TX Assn. of Builders	Construction
\$100,000	\$45,000	\$55,000	45%	Union Pacific Railroad	Transportation

¹ TPJ is indebted to the dogged activists at the [Phoenix Foundation](#) for gathering requisite stool samples.