

# **News Release**

**Texans for Public Justice \*\* 609 W. 18th Street, Suite E, \*\* Austin, TX 78701**

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## Texas Lawmakers Go Out of District For 75 Percent of All Campaign Dollars

Just 9 Legislators Got More Than Half of Their Money In-District

**Austin, TX:** Texas lawmakers went outside of their home districts for 75 percent of the \$42.5 million that they raised for the 2002 election, according to a new Texans for Public Justice analysis<sup>1</sup>. The state’s 150 House members raised \$24.7 million, getting just 21 percent of it from constituents in the districts they were elected to represent<sup>2</sup>. Representing much larger districts, Texas’ 31 senators raised \$17.8 million, of which just 30 percent came from within the recipient’s district.

<b>Legislators' In-District Money (2002 Election)</b>				
	<b>House Members</b>		<b>Senate Members</b>	
<b>In-District Money (%)</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>No.</b>	<b>Percent</b>
< 10%	43	29%	2	6%
10%-20%	44	29%	6	19%
20%-30%	21	14%	13	42%
30%-40%	22	15%	6	19%
40%-50%	14	9%	1	3%
> 50%	6	4%	3	10%
TOTALS:	150	100%	31	100%

“Texans who lack a voice in the capitol will not be shocked to learn that 95 percent of our lawmakers go outside their home districts for most of their campaign money,” said Texans for Public Justice Director Craig McDonald. “This system has two classes of constituents—those who vote and those who pay for the campaigns. Those who pay get the access.”

Just six Representatives (4 percent of the House) and three Senators (10 percent of that chamber) raised more than half of their money in-district. Yet one in four lawmakers (two Senators and 43 Representatives) raised more than 90 percent of their money outside their home district. Rep. Miguel Wise, D-Weslaco, did not report a single in-district contribution. The contributions of Rep. Kevin Bailey, D-Houston, could not be analyzed because—in violation of

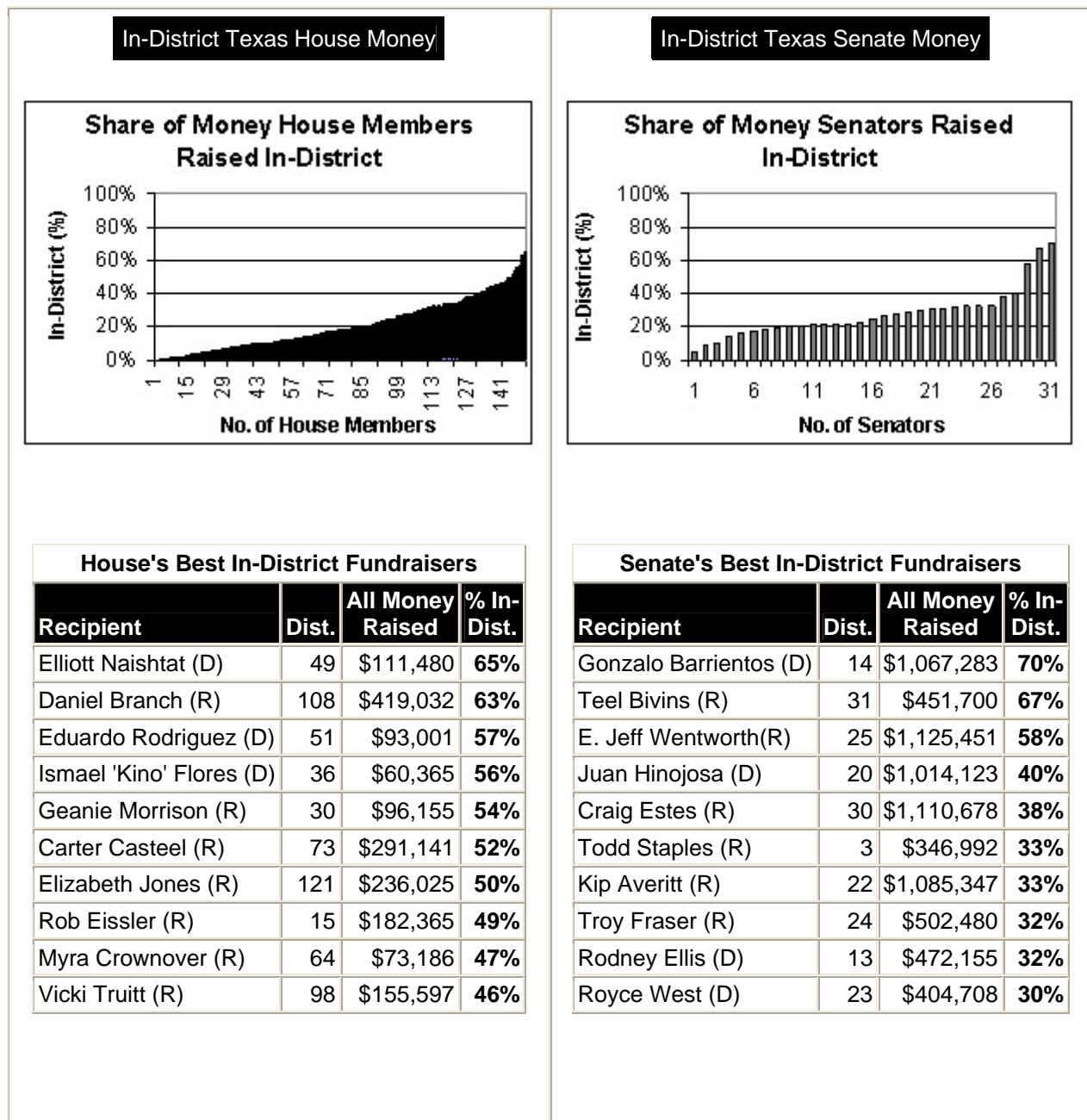
state law—he failed to report his donors’ zip codes. Five other House members (including House Speaker Tom Craddick and predecessor Pete Laney) raised just 1 percent of their money in-district.

The zip codes of just 10 business districts in Austin, Houston, Dallas and Fort Worth accounted for 36 percent of all lawmaker money. In fact, Austin’s premiere lobby zip code, 78701, accounted for 19 percent of all the money that lawmakers raised.

Given the power of the Austin lobby, it is not surprising that the two lawmakers who raised the greatest share of money in-district represent lucrative central Austin districts. Austin Sen. Gonzalo Barrientos, D, raised 70 percent of his money in-district, while 65 percent of Democratic Rep. Elliott Naishtat’s money came from his Austin district.

In the House, Republicans got 22 percent of their money in-district compared to 20 percent for House Democrats. In the Senate, in-district money accounted for 29 percent of all Republican money and 34 percent of Democratic money.

This analysis applied here grants legislators the benefit of the doubt. If any part of a zip code fell within a lawmaker’s district, every donation from that zip code was treated as in-district.



**House's Worst In-District Fundraisers**

Recipient	Dist.	All Money Raised	% In-Dist.
Miguel Wise (D)	39	\$48,950	0%
Ron Wilson (D)	131	\$52,700	1%
Robert Puente (D)	119	\$98,201	1%
Senfronia Thompson (D)	141	\$251,075	1%
James 'Pete' Laney (D)	85	\$832,176	1%
Tom Craddick (R)	82	\$1,095,536	1%
Lois Kolkhorst (R)	13	\$63,546	2%
Joe Nixon (R)	133	\$52,290	2%
Harold Dutton (D)	142	\$61,250	2%
Timoteo Garza(D)	80	\$48,100	2%

**Note:** Rep. Kevin Bailey's money could not be analyzed because he failed to report donor zip codes.

**Senate's Worst In-District Fundraisers**

Recipient	Dist.	All Money Raised	% In-Dist.
Robert Deuell (R)	2	\$1,056,661	5%
Frank Madla (D)	19	\$331,351	9%
James Jackson (R)	11	\$246,534	10%
Chris Harris (R)	9	\$317,661	14%
Eduardo Lucio (D)	27	\$328,073	16%
Kenneth Armbrister (D)	18	\$539,094	17%
Stephen Ogden (R)	5	\$251,773	18%
Kenneth Brimer (R)	10	\$725,860	19%
Kyle Janek (R)	17	\$1,088,416	20%
Leticia Van De Putte (D)	26	\$354,143	20%

**Appendix**

**In-District Texas Senate Money (2002 Election Cycle)**

Recipient	Party	Dis-trict	All Money Raised	In-District Money	Percentage In-District
Armbrister, Kenneth	D	18	\$539,094	\$92,100	17%
Averitt, Kip	R	22	\$1,085,347	\$352,740	33%
Barrientos, Gonzalo	D	14	\$1,067,283	\$742,893	70%
Bivins, Teel	R	31	\$451,700	\$301,120	67%
Brimer, Kenneth	R	10	\$725,860	\$135,934	19%
Carona, John J.	R	16	\$648,807	\$174,452	27%
Deuell, Robert F.	R	02	\$1,056,661	\$50,444	05%
Duncan, Robert L.	R	28	\$332,335	\$87,850	26%
Ellis, Rodney G.	D	13	\$472,155	\$150,150	32%
Estes, Craig	R	30	\$1,110,678	\$424,912	38%
Fraser, Troy	R	24	\$502,480	\$160,633	32%
Gallegos, Mario V.	D	06	\$244,638	\$50,775	21%
Harris, Chris	R	09	\$317,661	\$45,986	14%
Hinojosa, Juan	D	20	\$1,014,123	\$410,408	40%
Jackson, James M.	R	11	\$246,534	\$25,330	10%
Janek, Kyle	R	17	\$1,088,416	\$218,235	20%
Lindsay, Jon S.	R	07	\$170,775	\$38,000	22%
Lucio, Eduardo A.	D	27	\$328,073	\$52,142	16%
Madla, Frank	D	19	\$331,351	\$29,100	09%
Nelson, Jane	R	12	\$534,111	\$112,995	21%

Ogden, Stephen E.	R	05	\$251,773	\$46,400	18%
Ratliff, William R.	R	01	\$557,655	\$135,601	24%
Shapiro, Florence	R	08	\$492,497	\$147,893	30%
Shapleigh, Eliot G.	D	29	\$292,154	\$84,555	29%
Staples, Todd	R	03	\$346,992	\$113,576	33%
Van De Putte, Leticia	D	26	\$354,143	\$72,235	20%
Wentworth, E. Jeffrey	R	25	\$1,125,451	\$647,351	58%
West, Royce	D	23	\$404,708	\$122,948	30%
Whitmire, John	D	15	\$440,325	\$92,250	21%
Williams, Thomas D.	R	04	\$917,386	\$195,091	21%
Zaffirini, Judith	D	21	\$395,775	\$112,996	29%
<b>TOTALS:</b>			<b>\$17,846,941</b>	<b>\$5,427,095</b>	<b>30%</b>

<b>In-District Texas House Money (2002 Election Cycle)</b>					
<b>Recipient</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>District</b>	<b>All Money Raised</b>	<b>In-District Money</b>	<b>Percentage In-District</b>
Allen, Robert R.	R	106	\$87,685	\$3,610	04%
Alonzo, Roberto R.	D	104	\$90,400	\$14,475	16%
Bailey, Kevin E.	D	140	\$138,444	*Unknown	*Unknown
Baxter, Todd A.	R	048	\$514,849	\$208,347	40%
Berman, Leo	R	006	\$26,875	\$5,300	20%
Bohac, Dwayne A.	R	138	\$311,409	\$55,341	18%
Bonnen, Dennis H.	R	025	\$79,388	\$8,913	11%
Branch, Daniel H.	R	108	\$419,032	\$262,754	63%
Brown, Betty J.	R	004	\$182,874	\$32,329	18%
Brown, Frederick H.	R	014	\$111,920	\$37,920	34%
Burnam, Lon	D	090	\$115,104	\$32,550	28%
Callegari, William A.	R	132	\$117,929	\$10,100	09%
Campbell, Scott E.	R	072	\$134,404	\$43,341	32%
Canales, Gabriella S.	D	035	\$71,843	\$13,732	19%
Capelo, Jaime L.	D	034	\$265,196	\$119,151	45%
Casteel, Carter	R	073	\$291,141	\$150,856	52%
Castro, Joaquin	D	125	\$159,643	\$19,958	13%
Chavez, Norma P.	D	076	\$90,127	\$18,377	20%
Chisum, Warren D.	R	088	\$163,883	\$6,300	04%
Christian, Walter W.	R	009	\$226,810	\$67,291	30%
Clark, Ronald H.	R	062	\$21,300	\$8,200	38%
Coleman, Garnet F.	D	147	\$149,075	\$35,300	24%
Cook, Byron Curtis	R	008	\$287,096	\$95,362	33%
Cook, Robert L.	D	017	\$170,617	\$29,475	17%
Corte, Frank J.	R	122	\$121,617	\$37,417	31%

Crabb, Joe	R	127	\$97,701	\$11,101	11%
Craddick, Tom	R	082	\$1,095,536	\$13,800	01%
Crownover, Myra E.	R	064	\$73,186	\$34,450	47%
Davis, John E.	R	129	\$84,103	\$15,470	18%
Davis, Yvonne	D	111	\$70,316	\$4,615	07%
Dawson, Glenda L.	R	029	\$224,656	\$43,155	19%
Delisi, Dianne W.	R	055	\$110,825	\$21,250	19%
Denny, Mary	R	063	\$103,375	\$7,350	07%
Deshotel, Joseph D.	D	022	\$43,780	\$10,480	24%
Driver, Joe	R	113	\$105,640	\$12,700	12%
Dukes, Dawwna	D	046	\$78,217	\$4,950	06%
Dunnam, James R.	D	057	\$188,340	\$76,615	41%
Dutton, Harold V.	D	142	\$61,250	\$1,000	02%
Edwards, Al	D	146	\$49,975	\$5,075	10%
Eiland, Craig	D	023	\$142,539	\$38,700	27%
Eissler, Rob	R	015	\$182,365	\$89,434	49%
Elkins, Gary	R	135	\$83,151	\$5,000	06%
Ellis, Daniel P.	D	018	\$167,763	\$16,500	10%
Farabee, David L.	D	069	\$111,902	\$30,714	27%
Farrar, Jessica	D	148	\$93,327	\$16,255	17%
Flores, Ismael "Kino"	D	036	\$60,365	\$33,543	56%
Flynn, Dan	R	002	\$238,266	\$51,196	21%
Gallego, Pete P.	D	074	\$245,019	\$44,234	18%
Garza, Timoteo	D	080	\$41,800	\$700	02%
Gattis, Dan	R	020	\$135,975	\$17,050	13%
Giddings, Helen	D	109	\$108,275	\$9,350	09%
Goodman, Toby	R	093	\$142,157	\$6,710	05%
Goolsby, Tony	R	102	\$93,986	\$7,950	08%
Griggs, Bob E.	R	091	\$80,181	\$23,804	30%
Grusendorf, Kent	R	094	\$94,860	\$2,310	02%
Guillen, Ryan A.	D	031	\$29,074	\$5,000	17%
Gutierrez, Roberto	D	041	\$12,675	\$4,900	39%
Haggerty, Patrick B.	R	078	\$41,505	\$13,855	33%
Hamilton, Michael W.	R	019	\$263,091	\$25,497	10%
Hamric, Peggy	R	126	\$97,925	\$9,100	09%
Hardcastle, Richard L.	R	068	\$282,653	\$48,167	17%
Harper-Brown, Linda L.	R	105	\$123,206	\$32,591	26%
Hartnett, Will	R	114	\$39,135	\$6,384	16%
Heflin, Talmadge L.	R	149	\$369,542	\$13,990	04%
Hegar, Glenn A.	R	028	\$123,666	\$46,881	38%
Hilderbran, Harvey R.	R	053	\$117,870	\$37,200	32%
Hill, Fred	R	112	\$48,270	\$2,475	05%
Hochberg, Lindsey S.	D	137	\$203,396	\$14,790	07%

Hodge, Gladys E.	D	100	\$70,850	\$15,800	22%
Homer, Mark S.	D	003	\$38,350	\$13,200	34%
Hope, Ruben	R	016	\$146,035	\$49,147	34%
Hopson, Charles L.	D	011	\$169,540	\$67,015	40%
Howard, Charles F.	R	026	\$44,350	\$6,100	14%
Hughes, D. Bryan	R	005	\$213,064	\$26,535	12%
Hunter, Bob	R	071	\$112,025	\$46,500	42%
Hupp, Suzanna G.	R	054	\$37,537	\$2,850	08%
Isett, Carl H.	R	084	\$120,496	\$49,546	41%
Jones, Delwin	R	083	\$135,220	\$60,212	45%
Jones, Elizabeth A.	R	121	\$236,025	\$117,425	50%
Jones, Jesse W.	D	110	\$54,100	\$5,450	10%
Keel, Terrence M.	R	047	\$146,935	\$21,475	15%
Keffer, James L.	R	060	\$149,350	\$49,667	33%
Keffer, William R.	R	107	\$143,613	\$18,467	13%
King, Phillip S.	R	061	\$224,369	\$96,867	43%
Kolkhorst, Lois W.	R	013	\$63,546	\$1,000	02%
Krusee, Michael	R	052	\$115,837	\$8,288	07%
Kuempel, Edmund P.	R	044	\$255,836	\$24,566	10%
Laney, James E.	D	085	\$832,176	\$10,350	01%
Laubenberg, Jodie A.	R	089	\$168,885	\$18,060	11%
Lewis, Glenn O.	D	095	\$49,188	\$4,950	10%
Luna, Vilma	D	033	\$151,743	\$37,500	25%
Mabry, John P.	D	056	\$219,339	\$100,238	46%
Madden, Jerry A.	R	067	\$145,736	\$21,660	15%
Marchant, Kenny E.	R	115	\$201,072	\$12,322	06%
Martinez Fischer, Trey	D	116	\$117,578	\$11,650	10%
McCall, James B.	R	066	\$274,812	\$26,030	09%
McClendon, Ruth J.	D	120	\$117,704	\$32,534	28%
McReynolds, James M.	D	012	\$171,447	\$40,329	24%
Menendez, Jose	D	124	\$129,509	\$4,800	04%
Mercer, Kenneth B.	R	117	\$195,242	\$37,281	19%
Merritt, Thomas C.	R	007	\$165,455	\$59,815	36%
Miller, Sidney C.	R	059	\$363,262	\$49,904	14%
Moreno, Joe E.	D	143	\$137,173	\$4,500	03%
Moreno, Paul	D	077	\$86,014	\$11,750	14%
Morrison, Geanie W.	R	030	\$96,155	\$51,755	54%
Mowery, Anna	R	097	\$48,375	\$18,175	38%
Naishtat, Elliott	D	049	\$111,480	\$72,440	65%
Nixon, Joe	R	133	\$52,290	\$850	02%
Noriega, Richard J.	D	145	\$72,425	\$3,550	05%
Oliveira, Rene O.	D	037	\$128,036	\$28,550	22%
Olivo, Dora F.	D	027	\$76,401	\$11,839	15%

Paxton, W. Kenneth	R	070	\$198,060	\$49,505	25%
Pena, Aaron	D	040	\$61,950	\$16,900	27%
Pickett, Joseph C.	D	079	\$90,799	\$15,350	17%
Pitts, James R.	R	010	\$180,354	\$58,106	32%
Puente, Robert R.	D	119	\$98,201	\$800	01%
Quintanilla, Inocente	D	075	\$75,197	\$19,441	26%
Rangel, Irma	D	043	\$144,048	\$7,700	05%
Raymond, Richard E.	D	042	\$442,898	\$203,751	46%
Reyna, Elvira	R	101	\$11,550	\$3,050	26%
Riddle, Deborah A.	R	150	\$95,495	\$9,750	10%
Ritter, Allan B.	D	021	\$253,808	\$90,585	36%
Rodriguez, Eduardo R.	D	051	\$93,001	\$52,993	57%
Rose, Patrick	D	045	\$540,502	\$170,227	31%
Seaman, Eugene J.	R	032	\$378,033	\$90,535	24%
Smith, Richard Wayne	R	128	\$189,441	\$12,950	07%
Smith, Todd A.	R	092	\$66,155	\$12,850	19%
Smithee, John T.	R	086	\$44,870	\$5,350	12%
Solis, Jim	D	038	\$181,255	\$61,755	34%
Solomons, Burt	R	065	\$199,801	\$6,850	03%
Stick, Jack	R	050	\$315,450	\$38,192	12%
Swinford, David A.	R	087	\$247,076	\$80,825	33%
Talton, Robert E.	R	144	\$93,791	\$17,631	19%
Taylor, Larry	R	024	\$299,097	\$45,836	15%
Telford, Barry B.	D	001	\$240,592	\$44,350	18%
Thompson, Senfronia	D	141	\$251,075	\$2,550	01%
Truitt, Vicki	R	098	\$155,597	\$72,327	46%
Turner, Sylvester	D	139	\$552,837	\$48,000	09%
Uresti, Carlos I.	D	118	\$76,969	\$1,550	02%
Van Arsdale, J. Corbin	R	130	\$96,285	\$12,510	13%
Villarreal, Michael U.	D	123	\$161,297	\$72,600	45%
West, G. E.	R	081	\$83,652	\$20,275	24%
Wilson, Ron	D	131	\$52,700	\$300	01%
Wise, Miguel D.	D	039	\$48,950	\$0	00%
Wohlgemuth, Arlene	R	058	\$205,705	\$38,420	19%
Wolens, Steven D.	D	103	\$363,630	\$29,210	08%
Wong, Martha J.	R	134	\$611,934	\$186,599	30%
Woolley, Beverly	R	136	\$38,950	\$4,000	10%
Zedler, William W.	R	096	\$57,060	\$7,278	13%
<b>TOTALS:</b>			<b>\$24,662,175</b>	<b>\$5,280,303</b>	<b>21%</b>

**Note:** Rep. Bailey's money could not be analyzed because he failed to report donor zip codes.

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<sup>1</sup> Texas law does not require candidates to itemize the source of contributions of \$50 or less; this study could not and did not analyze contributions of unknown origins.

<sup>2</sup> By comparison, in-district money accounted for 20 percent of the \$14.6 million that House members raised for the 1996 election (see TPJ's Mortgaged House, January 1998).

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[Texans for Public Justice](#) is a non-profit, non-partisan research and advocacy organization that tracks the role of money in Texas politics.