

Ain't Nobody's Business:



Lawmakers Flunk Big-Donor Disclosure

**Texans for Public Justice
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Table of Contents:

- I. Summary
- II. Introduction
- III. Big-Picture Disclosure
 - A. Republicans Beat Democrats
 - B. Incumbents Beat Rookies
- IV. Top Mystery Donors
- V. Legislative Report Cards
 - A. Senate Report Cards
 - B. House Report Cards

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Texans for Public Justice is a non-profit, non-partisan research and advocacy organization that monitors money in Texas politics and promotes campaign finance and judicial-selection reforms.

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I. Summary

- A campaign reform that took effect in January 2004 requires Texas state candidates to disclose the employer and occupation of individual donors of \$500 or more.
- The 181 Texas lawmakers elected as of November 2004 reported receiving 14,454 of these large contributions in 2004 and 2005. These contributions added up to more than \$17 million.
- A standardized test of the contribution disclosure reports filed by these lawmakers found that they adequately disclosed occupation and employer data for just 58 percent of this money. As such Texas lawmakers flunked their own disclosure law.
- Performances of individual lawmakers varied wildly. Three senators and eight representatives aced disclosure with scores exceeding 90 percent. Rep. Joseph Deshotel (D-Beaumont) got a perfect score on his disclosure of his sole large donor. Senator Duncan (R-Lubbock) led the upper chamber, with a disclosure grade of 93 percent. House Speaker Tom Craddick got a “C,” disclosing 75 percent of his large contributions.
- Three senators and 28 representatives left the occupation *and* employer fields blank *every time* they reported a large donation. Sen. Judith Zaffirini (D-Laredo) raised the largest amount of these all-blank big contributions (\$226,400). Rep. Kino Flores (D-Palmview) claimed this title in the House, raising \$110,100 in big donations with nary an employer or occupation reported.
- Republican lawmakers disclosed 64 percent of the \$10.6 million in large contributions that they reported, outperforming their Democratic colleagues, who disclosed just 48 percent of their \$6.4 million haul. Incumbent lawmakers got a collective 58 percent, a score that is comparable to that of the rookies first elected in November 2004.
- Twenty-three lawmakers flunked disclosure on at least one huge contribution of \$10,000 or more. Rep. Mark Homer (D-Paris) had little excuse to flub disclosure on the largest poorly disclosed contribution: a \$150,000 check from his parents.
- Five lawmakers blew disclosure on huge checks from Texas’ No. 1 kingmaker: homebuilder Bob Perry. Four colleagues identified billionaire Wal-Mart heiress Alice Walton—whose \$16 billion ranks her as the planet’s 20th richest person—as a businesswoman, investor or rancher. Sen. Kevin Eltife (R-Tyler) tagged aging rocker Don Henley—who helped produce the world’s best-selling album—as a self-employed investor. Rep. Tracy King (D-Batesville) choked on the disclosure of a former Texas governor.

II. Introduction

A 2003 campaign reform required Texas state candidates to disclose the employers and occupations of large campaign donors starting in January 2004.¹ Candidates are required to do so for any individual who gives them an aggregate of \$500 or more in a given reporting period. As of January 1, 2005, candidates lacking this information are required to use their “best efforts” to obtain it. The law defines “best efforts” as making at least one documented oral or written request for it within 30 days of the contribution. The Texas Ethics Commission can impose a civil fine on violators of up to \$5,000 or three times the amount involved in the violation—whichever is greater.² Alternatively, the commission can treat incomplete disclosure reports as late reports, which face a civil fine of up to \$10,000.³

This report is a first attempt to gauge compliance with this new reform. It analyzes reporting of occupation and employer information by the 181 Texas lawmakers who had been elected as of November 2004.⁴ In particular, it analyzes every individual contribution of \$500 or more that these lawmakers received in calendar years 2004 and 2005 and had reported to the Texas Ethics Commission by mid-January 2006.⁵

To grade these disclosure reports, researchers devised a standardized test: the Texas Assessment of Contributor Secrecy (TACS). They applied the TACS exam to the 14,454 individual contributions of \$500 or more that the lawmakers reported receiving during calendar 2004 and 2005. These large contributions added up to more than \$17 million.

Working blind to the identities of the recipient lawmakers, researchers graded how well the occupation and employer of each large donor was disclosed. While they tried to grant lawmakers the benefit of the doubt, researchers did not yield to what President Bush calls the “soft bigotry of low expectations.” Contributions with adequate disclosure of the donor’s employer *and* occupation received full credit. Contributions with adequate disclosure of *either* the donor’s employer *or* occupation received half credit. Finally, contributions that left these fields blank or provided inadequate disclosure information received zero credit. Inadequate disclosures are so vague that they obscure the donor’s occupation, employer or economic interest. Common examples include listing a donor as a “self-employed” “investor” or “businessman,” or listing a donor’s industry (e.g. “oil and gas”) as a donor’s occupation or employer.

TACS scores generate two kinds of grades based on:

1. *The number of large contributions* with an adequately disclosed employer and occupation; or
2. *The total value* of adequately disclosed contributions.

The 181 lawmakers studied in this report collectively earned an “F” under both of these grading methods. Reflecting the disclosure law’s recognition that the need for disclosure rises with the amount of money contributed, this report emphasizes disclosure grades based on the total value of big contributions.⁶ While this report often provides both scores, when only one score is given it is based on value. Under this method, Texas lawmakers earned a failing disclosure grade of 58 percent. The same legislators collectively earned an even lower disclosure grade of 56 percent when graded on the basis of the total *number* of large contributions that they received.

Two Ways To Grade Donor Disclosure

Donor Disclosure Analyzed By	Totals	Employer/Occupation Report Card
Number of Big Donations	14,454	F (56% well disclosed)
Value of Big Donations	\$17,025,769	F (58% well disclosed)

Covers state legislative donations \geq \$500 during calendar years 2004 and 2005.

III. Big-Picture Disclosure

The 181 lawmakers analyzed here collectively earned an “F” by adequately disclosing the required occupation and employer data for just 58 percent of the more than \$17 million that they collected in large contributions during 2004 and 2005. In fact, lawmakers left both the employer *and* occupation fields utterly blank for \$3,108,111 worth of large contributions—a remarkable 18 percent of the total. There were 31 lawmakers who failed to report the occupation *or* employer of a single major donor.

A. Republicans Beat Democrats

Democrats and Republicans both earned horrendous disclosure grades. While Republican lawmakers collectively earned a remedial disclosure grade of 64 percent, at least they did not utterly flunk disclosure—as Democrats did. The collective disclosure grade of Democrats was a pitiful 48 percent.

Donor Disclosure Grades By Party

Party	No. of Lawmakers	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
DEMs	75	\$6,420,930	F: 48%	5,576	F: 47%
REPs	106	\$10,604,839	D: 64%	8,878	D: 62%
TOTALS	181	\$17,025,769	F: 58%	14,454	F: 56%

B. Incumbents Comparable To Rookies

Despite their experience, lawmakers who already were incumbents in 2004 earned comparable disclosure grades to the rookies who were first elected in that year. The six new members who won open seats collectively earned a disclosure grade of 59 percent, thereby nosing out the 164 incumbents who scored 58 percent. Meanwhile, the 11 challengers who unseated incumbents in 2004 earned a grade of just 55 percent.

Donor Disclosure Grades By Candidate Status

Candidate Status	No. of Lawmakers	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Incumbent	164	\$15,528,719	F: 58%	13,143	F: 56%
Challenger	11	\$908,525	F: 55%	819	F: 49%
Open Seat	6	\$588,525	F: 59%	492	F: 54%
TOTALS:	181	\$17,025,769	F: 58%	14,454	F: 56%

IV. Top Mystery Donors

Many lawmakers failed to identify the occupation and employer of donors who gave them five-figure contributions. Indeed, 23 legislators flunked disclosure on one or more contributions of \$10,000 or more.

Top Mystery Donors

Amount	Unidentified Donor	City	The Scoop	Recipient
\$150,000	Molly & Frank Homer	Paris	Retired Sonic restaurant franchiser	Mark Homer
\$50,000	Bob Perry◇	Houston	Perry Homes owner	Elizabeth Jones
\$50,000	T. Boone Pickens◇	Dallas	CEO BP Capital; corporate raider	Tom Craddick
\$25,000	Maurico R. Celis	Corpus Christi	Owen & Associates attorney	*Abel Herrero
\$25,000	Peter M Holt	Blanco	Holt (tractor) Co.; SA Spurs owner	Elizabeth Jones
\$25,000	Wayne Reaud†	Beaumont	Reaud Morgan & Quinn attorney	*Judith Zaffirini
\$25,000	Walter Umphrey†◇	Beaumont	Provost & Umphrey attorney	Judith Zaffirini
\$25,000	Alice L. Walton◇	Mineral Wells	Wal-Mart heiress	Tom Craddick
\$25,000	Alice L. Walton◇	Mineral Wells	Wal-Mart heiress	Craig Estes
\$25,000	Alice L. Walton◇	Mineral Wells	Wal-Mart heiress	Todd Staples
\$25,000	John Eddie Williams†◇	Houston	Williams Bailey Law Firm attorney	Judith Zaffirini
\$15,000	Hon. Dolph Briscoe†	Uvalde	Ex-governor; Briscoe Ranch owner	Tracy King
\$15,000	Bob Perry◇	Houston	Perry Homes owner	Elvira Reyna
\$15,000	Charlotte Rhodes	Dripping Spgs	Wife of ex-Rep. Alec Rhodes	*Patrick Rose
\$15,000	Alice L. Walton◇	Mineral Wells	Wal-Mart heiress	Jim Keffer
\$12,500	Bennett Joe Glazer	Dallas	Glazer's Wholesale Beverage CEO	Tom Craddick
\$12,500	Barkley J. Stuart◇	Dallas	Glazer's Wholesale Beverage COO	Tom Craddick
\$10,000	David Alameel†◇	Dallas	Jefferson Dental Clinic	Roberto Alonzo
\$10,000	David Alameel†◇	Dallas	Jefferson Dental Clinic	Yvonne Davis
\$10,000	Bobby D. Cox◇	Fort Worth	Bobby Cox Co.[fast-food franchises]	Tom Craddick
\$10,000	Eleanor Crook	San Marcos	Widow of LBJ's VISTA director	Patrick Rose
\$10,000	J.H. Duplissey†	Beaumont	Owens Conex Int'l [construction] Corp.	Allan B. Ritter
\$10,000	Herbert Graham†	Odessa	Graham Bros. [nightclubs] owner	John Whitmire
\$10,000	Frank Hegar	Hockley	Hegar Brothers rice farm	Glenn Hegar
\$10,000	Don Henley◇	Woodland Hills	Ex-member of the Eagles rock band	Kevin Eltife
\$10,000	Albert Huddleston◇	Dallas	Hyperion Resources executive	Kevin Eltife
\$10,000	Maria Loya†	El Paso	Owens Fred Loya Insurance	Paul Moreno
\$10,000	Joe LaMantia, Jr.†	McAllen	L&F [beer] Distributors owner	Juan Hinojosa
\$10,000	Charles McMahan	Schulenburg	Retired Compass Bank executive	Tom Craddick
\$10,000	Robert J. Peltier†	Tyler	Peltier Enterprises car dealer	Kevin Eltife
\$10,000	Bob Perry†◇	Houston	Perry Homes owner	Robert R. Allen
\$10,000	Bob Perry†	Houston	Perry Homes owner	Eddie Lucio
\$10,000	Bob Perry†◇	Houston	Perry Homes owner	Sylvester Turner
\$10,000	Bob Perry†◇	Houston	Perry Homes owner	*John Whitmire
\$10,000	Dian Graves Stai◇	Abilene	Ex-Chair Owen Healthcare	Elizabeth Jones
\$10,000	Alice L. Walton◇	Mineral Wells	Wal-Mart heiress	Kim Brimer
\$10,000	David Williams†	Colleyville	Ex-Colleyville sheriff?	Kim Brimer

*Lawmaker received more than one poorly identified donation of at least \$10,000 from this donor.

†Lawmaker left the occupation *and* employer fields blank for this contribution.

◇Ranked among the top 50 individual donors to Texas candidates and PACs in 2004.

Rep. Mark Homer (D-Paris) claimed the largest mystery donation despite knowing the donors as well as his own parents. Molly and Frank Homer, a retired Sonic restaurant franchiser, gave \$150,000 to their son's campaign. The campaign reported the elder Homers' employer as "retired," leaving the occupation blank.

Some of the biggest understatements involved Alice Walton, T. Boone Pickens and Don Henley. Alice Walton's Wal-Mart inheritance fed her estimated \$16 billion worth. Yet Sen. Todd Staples (R-Palestine), Speaker Tom Craddick (R-Midland) and Rep. Jim Keffer (R-Eastland) identified this heiress—whom *Forbes* ranks No. 20 among the world's richest inhabitants—as a self-employed rancher or investor. Rep. Kim Brimer (R-Fort Worth) dubbed her a retired businesswoman. While Sen. Craig Estes (R-Wichita Falls) got it right, identifying this donor as a Wal-Mart "owner."

Speaker Tom Craddick similarly identified T. Boone Pickens, the billionaire corporate raider who ranks No. 512 on the *Forbes* list, as a self-employed investor. Sen. Kevin Eltife (R-Tyler) also identified aging Eagles rocker Don Henley—who helped produce the best-selling album in world history—as a self-employed investor.

Sen. Judith Zaffirini (D-Laredo), a champion of tobacco-control legislation, failed to identify the employers or occupations of three trial lawyers who litigated Texas' \$15 billion lawsuit against the tobacco industry. Rep. Tracy King (D-Batesville) failed to identify ex-Governor Dolph Briscoe, despite having used the title "Honorable" before this donor's name.

Democratic Sens. Eddie Lucio (Brownsville) and John Whitmire (Houston) and Reps. Elvira Reyna (R-Mesquite), Robert Allen (R-Grand Prairie) and Sylvester Turner (D-Houston) all flunked disclosure for Texas' top individual donor. Houston homebuilder Bob Perry gave Texas PACs and candidates \$4.6 million in the 2004 election cycle alone. The accompanying table flags 10 other top mystery donors who ranked among Texas' top 50 individual donors in 2004.

V. Legislative Report Cards

Both chambers of the Texas Legislature got poor disclosure marks. Texas' 31 Senators collectively earned a disclosure grade of 58 percent, falling just behind the 59 percent grade of the 150 members of the Texas House.

House and Senate Report Cards

Chamber	No. of Lawmakers	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Senate	31	\$5,607,651	58%	4,504	60%
House	150	\$11,418,118	59%	9,950	54%
TOTALS:	181	\$17,025,769	58%	14,454	56%

A. Senate Report Cards

The Senate as a whole flunked large-donor disclosure. Yet individual performances ranged from three senators who aced disclosure to three colleagues who routinely left blank the occupation and employer fields of every one of their large donors. Sens. Robert Duncan (R-Lubbock), Rodney Ellis (D-Ellis) and Florence Shapiro (R-Plano) led the upper chamber. They fully reported better than 90 percent of the occupation and employer data on a total of 370 large contributions adding up to \$454,000. Sen. Shapiro was the disclosure ace who raised the most large-donor cash (\$231,150).

Senate Report Cards

Grade	No. of Senators	Percent of Senate
A's	3	10%
B's	7	23%
C's	3	10%
D's	5	16%
F's	13	42%
TOTALS:	31	100%

A's To C's: Best Senate Grades

Senator	Party	Value of Big Donations		No. of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Robert Duncan	R	\$42,500	A 93.2%	45	96.1%
Rodney Ellis	D	\$180,350	A 92.1%	139	87.9%
Florence Shapiro	R	\$231,150	A 90.4%	186	86.3%
Chris Harris	R	\$46,425	B 86.0%	35	78.6%
Steve Ogden	R	\$135,600	B 84.1%	108	80.8%
Kip Averitt	R	\$122,430	B 83.0%	135	77.8%
Troy Fraser	R	\$41,000	B 82.9%	19	78.9%
Frank Madla	D	\$138,100	B 81.9%	167	80.4%
Todd Staples	R	\$404,757	B 81.2%	302	80.6%
Tommy Williams	R	\$127,800	B 80.1%	96	74.2%
Jeff Wentworth	R	\$243,500	C 79.7%	225	79.1%
Kel Seliger	R	\$411,239	C 76.6%	405	74.8%
Mario Gallegos	D	\$87,000	C 75.3%	71	75.7%

D's: Remedial Senate Grades

Senator	Party	Value of Big Donations		No. of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Kim Brimer	R	\$165,950	D 68.2%	123	74.6%
Jane Nelson	R	\$170,300	D 67.0%	172	67.2%
Kyle Janek	R	\$174,500	D 65.7%	190	70.0%
Kevin Eltife	R	\$806,300	D 62.9%	439	59.7%
Robert Deuell	R	\$196,203	D 61.1%	105	69.0%

The Senate's weakest performances came from Sens. Jon Lindsay (R-Houston), Eddie Lucio (D-Brownsville) and Judith Zaffirini (D-Laredo). These senators collectively reported a total of 306 large contributions totaling \$412,150. Yet they left the occupation *and* employer field blank for every one of their large donors. Altogether 13 senators flunked disclosure, including two members of the Senate Government Organization Committee that unanimously approved this disclosure reform in 2003 (Sens. Armbrister and Whitmire).

F's: Failing Senate Grades

Senator	Party	Value of Big Donations		No. of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Jon Lindsay	R	\$67,500	F 0.0%	56	0.0%
Eddie Lucio	D	\$118,250	F 0.0%	114	0.0%
Judith Zaffirini	D	\$226,400	F 0.0%	136	0.0%
*John Whitmire	D	\$257,200	F 9.4%	181	8.1%
Gonzalo Barrientos	D	\$23,500	F 10.1%	28	10.7%
Mike Jackson	R	\$37,000	F 15.5%	33	17.4%
Chuy Hinojosa	D	\$209,090	F 22.0%	162	25.3%
Eliot Shapleigh	D	\$80,500	F 31.2%	84	38.4%
John Carona	R	\$125,450	F 38.5%	111	41.9%
*Ken Armbrister	D	\$193,850	F 46.7%	146	38.7%
Craig Estes	R	\$262,072	F 50.1%	204	55.5%
Royce West	D	\$178,086	F 52.6%	172	55.7%
Leticia Van de Putte	D	\$103,650	F 54.2%	115	55.2%

Three Senators left every occupation & employer field blank.

*Sat on the Government Organization Committee that approved this disclosure reform in 2003.

B. House Report Cards

The 150 members of the Texas House collectively flunked large-donor disclosure. Yet the performances of individual members ranged from one perfect score to 28 members who left the occupation and employer fields blank for all of their large donors.

Rep. Joseph Deshotel (D-Beaumont) won the legislature's only perfect score, fully disclosing information on his sole large donor. Seven other House members aced disclosure. These aces included Reps. Ken Paxton (R-McKinney) and Richard Raymond (D-Laredo), who made the A-team despite having raised more than \$100,000 apiece in large contributions.

House Report Cards

Grade	No. of Members	Percent of House
A's	8	5%
B's	17	11%
C's	16	11%
D's	20	13%
F's	89	59%
TOTALS:	150	100%

A's: Best House Grades

House Member	Party	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Joseph Deshotel	D	\$1,000	A 100.0%	1	100.0%
Betty Brown	R	\$17,672	A 96.5%	22	94.3%
Bill Callegari	R	\$33,250	A 95.9%	40	95.6%
Ken Paxton	R	\$112,250	A 94.1%	94	88.6%
Larry Phillips	R	\$7,500	A 93.3%	10	97.5%
Richard Noriega	D	\$22,000	A 92.0%	35	95.7%
Hubert Vo	D	\$83,808	A 90.7%	72	88.9%
Richard Raymond	D	\$123,400	A 90.5%	99	86.6%

B's: Good House Grades

House Member	Party	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Mark Strama	D	\$290,631	B 88.7%	233	81.5%
Mike Krusee	R	\$68,434	B 88.6%	72	84.0%
Scott Hochberg	D	\$61,026	B 87.3%	60	77.1%
Phil King	R	\$130,675	B 87.0%	114	89.3%
Pat Haggerty	R	\$37,250	B 86.6%	53	84.9%
Martha Wong	R	\$244,542	B 86.4%	267	85.6%
Larry Taylor	R	\$25,325	B 85.7%	38	85.5%
Stephen Frost	D	\$94,000	B 84.7%	66	85.6%
Scott Campbell	R	\$29,283	B 84.6%	29	76.7%
Jim Jackson	R	\$34,946	B 84.6%	36	73.6%
Bill Zedler	R	\$30,650	B 83.7%	27	72.2%
Joe Nixon	R	\$382,300	B 83.6%	229	75.8%
Burt Solomons	R	\$99,950	B 82.6%	81	77.5%
Jim Pitts	R	\$169,664	B 81.9%	170	79.1%
Tommy Merritt	R	\$99,885	B 80.8%	105	77.9%
Bryan Hughes	R	\$163,125	B 80.4%	84	68.5%
David Farabee	D	\$48,025	B 80.3%	77	77.9%

C's: Acceptable House Grades

House Member	Party	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Joe Crabb	R	\$8,250	C 79.6%	9	83.3%
Robert Talton	R	\$52,750	C 78.7%	67	76.1%
Jim Dunnam	D	\$74,600	C 77.8%	69	76.1%
Todd Smith	R	\$9,000	C 77.8%	15	80.0%
Leo Berman	R	\$33,500	C 77.2%	46	75.5%
David Swinford	R	\$36,573	C 76.8%	31	65.3%
Spkr. Tom Craddick	R	\$835,752	C 74.9%	371	80.8%
Trey Martinez	D	\$42,734	C 74.8%	54	73.6%
Allan Ritter	D	\$151,750	C 74.7%	123	65.9%
Brian McCall	R	\$88,000	C 73.9%	85	71.2%
Elliott Naishtat	D	\$10,000	C 73.8%	16	71.9%
Ryan Guillen	D	\$22,000	C 72.2%	22	70.5%
Bob Griggs	R	\$11,731	C 71.8%	14	71.4%
Tony Goolsby	R	\$69,008	C 71.4%	53	58.5%
Joe Pickett	D	\$19,500	C 70.5%	32	68.8%
Lon Burnam	D	\$49,672	C 70.1%	67	65.3%

D's: Remedial House Grades

House Member	Party	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Wayne Smith	R	\$71,250	D 69.8%	102	72.5%
Rene Oliveira	D	\$13,000	D 69.2%	13	80.8%
Sid Miller	R	\$52,000	D 67.8%	44	48.9%
Jim McReynolds	D	\$68,500	D 67.7%	69	51.8%
Aaron Pena	D	\$26,995	D 67.5%	33	68.2%
Pete Laney	D	\$21,500	D 67.4%	34	72.1%
Carter Casteel	R	\$28,188	D 66.9%	42	78.6%
Marc Veasey	D	\$63,503	D 66.6%	76	51.3%
Abel Herrero	D	\$236,071	D 66.4%	138	67.9%
Helen Giddings	D	\$32,000	D 65.2%	44	61.4%
Dennis Bonnen	R	\$71,475	D 64.6%	73	55.5%
Delwin Jones	R	\$31,355	D 64.5%	51	62.3%
Chuck Hopson	D	\$57,885	D 64.2%	88	60.8%
Toby Goodman	R	\$24,750	D 64.1%	38	59.9%
Todd Baxter	R	\$189,800	D 64.0%	142	51.9%
John Smithee	R	\$4,000	D 62.5%	6	58.3%
Charlie Geren	R	\$109,250	D 62.1%	116	58.6%
Elizabeth Jones	R	\$644,175	D 61.9%	347	53.8%
Patrick Rose	D	\$1,415,21	D 61.9%	954	65.1%
Gene Seaman	R	\$90,350	D 61.6%	124	61.3%

Rep. Patrick Rose (D-Dripping Springs), who reported the biggest pile of large-contribution money (\$1.4 million), got a poor disclosure grade of 62 percent. Sen. Kevin Eltife (R-Tyler) similarly scored 63 percent after raising the most big-contribution money in his chamber (\$806,300).

An extraordinary 28 members of the House (19 percent) not only flunked disclosure but left the occupation *and* employer fields blank for every one of their large donors. Three members accomplished this feat while raising more than \$100,000 apiece in large contributions. They are Reps. Kino Flores (D-Palmview), Veronica Gonzales (D-McAllen) and Sylvester Turner (D-Houston).

House Zeroes (Left All Occupation & Employer Fields Blank)

House Member	Party	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations		
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade	
Roberto Alonzo	D	\$17,000	F	0.0%	5	0.0%
Rafael Anchia	D	\$61,008	F	0.0%	73	0.0%
Dwayne Bohac	R	\$75,000	F	0.0%	85	0.0%
Fred Brown	R	\$13,500	F	0.0%	16	0.0%
Norma Chavez	D	\$51,650	F	0.0%	57	0.0%
John Davis	R	\$31,800	F	0.0%	41	0.0%
Glenda Dawson	R	\$10,050	F	0.0%	16	0.0%
Harold Dutton, Jr.	D	\$31,289	F	0.0%	41	0.0%
Craig Eiland	D	\$32,000	F	0.0%	29	0.0%
Jessica Farrar	D	\$13,500	F	0.0%	19	0.0%
Kino Flores	D	\$110,100	F	0.0%	113	0.0%
Veronica Gonzales	D	\$104,700	F	0.0%	129	0.0%
Terri Hodge	D	\$17,000	F	0.0%	27	0.0%
Fred Hill	R	\$5,250	F	0.0%	8	0.0%
Charlie Howard	R	\$55,832	F	0.0%	27	0.0%
Suzanna Hupp	R	\$13,000	F	0.0%	19	0.0%
Jesse Jones	D	\$7,500	F	0.0%	12	0.0%
Anna Mowery	R	\$3,000	F	0.0%	5	0.0%
Chente Quintanilla	D	\$25,800	F	0.0%	48	0.0%
Elvira Reyna	R	\$26,500	F	0.0%	10	0.0%
Debbie Riddle	R	\$19,000	F	0.0%	20	0.0%
Eddie Rodriguez	D	\$5,000	F	0.0%	9	0.0%
Jose Menendez	D	\$33,040	F	0.0%	50	0.0%
Paul Moreno	D	\$22,700	F	0.0%	16	0.0%
Jim Solis	D	\$4,000	F	0.0%	5	0.0%
Senfronia Thompson	D	\$24,250	F	0.0%	25	0.0%
Sylvester Turner	D	\$102,750	F	0.0%	91	0.0%
Buddy West	R	\$75,050	F	0.0%	96	0.0%

Finally, 61 House members flunked disclosure after providing very limited occupation and employer information on large donors. When these members are combined with those who left all of these fields blank, 80 House members—59 percent—flunked disclosure law. These failures include every member of the House Select Ethics Committee that approved this reform, except committee chair and reform author Steve Wolens, who retired from the legislature thereafter. The members who flunked their own committee’s reform are Reps. Dawinna Dukes (D-Austin), Mary Denny (R-Aubrey), Pete Gallego (D-Alpine), Ruben Hope (R-Conroe), Carl Isett (R-Lubbock) and Lois Kolkhorst (R-Brenham). Almost half of the House’s members got a disclosure grade of less than 50 percent.

Other Failing House Grades (F's)

House Member	Party	Value of Big Donations		Number of Big Donations	
		Amount	Grade	Number	Grade
Yvonne Davis	D	\$71,250	F 1.4%	76	2.0%
Al Edwards	D	\$16,190	F 3.1%	16	6.3%
Jerry Madden	R	\$25,000	F 4.0%	34	5.9%
Rob Eissler	R	\$41,770	F 6.9%	64	7.0%
Mark Homer	D	\$188,188	F 7.8%	47	43.1%
Robby Cook	D	\$23,000	F 8.7%	34	6.6%
*Ruben Hope	R	\$14,350	F 12.2%	21	9.5%
Ruth McClendon	D	\$35,000	F 13.9%	44	17.0%
Harvery Hilderbran	R	\$111,550	F 15.3%	114	18.0%
Will Hartnett	R	\$13,500	F 16.7%	14	23.2%
Joe Moreno	D	\$7,500	F 16.7%	9	27.8%
Joe Driver	R	\$41,400	F 17.5%	37	17.6%
Dan Gattis	R	\$37,882	F 18.8%	49	19.9%
Rick Hardcastle	R	\$12,500	F 19.0%	10	20.0%
Warren Chisum	R	\$18,950	F 20.8%	20	25.0%
Myra Crownover	R	\$12,500	F 21.5%	22	21.6%
Vilma Luna	D	\$30,000	F 22.9%	35	22.1%
David Leibowitz	D	\$42,075	F 25.0%	31	32.3%
Yvonne Toureilles	D	\$61,360	F 26.4%	64	23.4%
Carlos Uresti	D	\$33,171	F 27.5%	37	15.5%
Garnet Coleman	D	\$71,609	F 30.3%	95	29.5%
Edmund Kuempel	R	\$35,639	F 31.4%	45	28.9%
Charles Anderson	R	\$85,948	F 31.8%	66	28.8%
Frank Corte, Jr.	R	\$11,750	F 34.0%	15	25.0%
Tracy King	D	\$75,750	F 34.6%	76	40.8%
Alma Allen	D	\$47,500	F 34.7%	30	40.0%
Kevin Bailey	D	\$18,000	F 34.7%	16	40.6%
Gary Elkins	R	\$12,750	F 36.3%	11	29.5%
*Dawnna Dukes	D	\$15,500	F 37.1%	21	31.0%
James Keffer	R	\$70,900	F 38.5%	63	48.0%
Juan Escobar	D	\$18,200	F 39.0%	18	33.3%
Armando Martinez	D	\$32,250	F 42.6%	27	59.3%
Dan Flynn	R	\$40,665	F 43.2%	42	43.5%
Bill Keffer	R	\$18,750	F 43.3%	31	41.9%
Vicki Truitt	R	\$125,918	F 43.6%	134	42.2%
*Mary Denny	R	\$2,000	F 43.8%	4	43.8%
Dora Olivo	D	\$2,500	F 45.0%	3	41.7%
Mike Villareal	D	\$28,075	F 45.2%	40	41.9%
Bryon Cook	R	\$30,125	F 45.8%	47	43.1%
Roy Blake, Jr.	R	\$82,000	F 47.4%	82	48.5%
Bob Hunter	R	\$47,500	F 49.2%	47	69.7%
*Carl Isett	R	\$92,006	F 49.2%	125	46.2%
Linda Harper-Brown	R	\$54,500	F 49.5%	50	63.5%
Diane Delisi	R	\$40,900	F 49.6%	60	53.3%

Beverly Woollev	R	\$22,500	F	50.0%	24	37.5%
Peggy Hamric	R	\$88,533	F	50.3%	77	50.6%
Rob Orr	R	\$80,500	F	50.6%	97	52.8%
*Lois Kolkhorst	R	\$61,541	F	51.3%	75	54.7%
Mike Hamilton	R	\$45,900	F	51.5%	55	52.7%
Robert Puente	D	\$45,250	F	51.5%	60	53.3%
Geannie Morrison	R	\$50,750	F	52.0%	59	54.7%
Corbin Van Arsdale	R	\$28,500	F	53.5%	36	56.9%
Jodie Laubenberg	R	\$74,300	F	55.8%	64	59.4%
Glenn Hegar	R	\$67,750	F	56.1%	63	57.9%
Terry Keel	R	\$59,095	F	56.9%	44	57.4%
John Otto	R	\$21,000	F	57.1%	15	45.0%
Joaquin Castro	D	\$3,000	F	58.3%	5	60.0%
Ray Allen	R	\$93,144	F	58.6%	77	57.1%
Kent Grusendorf	R	\$58,499	F	58.8%	67	60.8%
*Pete Gallego	D	\$67,484	F	59.1%	53	53.3%
Dan Branch	R	\$484,560	F	59.7%	339	53.8%

*Sat on the House Select Ethics Committee that approved this disclosure reform in 2003.

¹ House Bill 1606 codified as §254.0312 of the Elections Code.

² §571.173 of the Government Code.

³ See details at §254.042 of the Elections Code.

⁴ As such this report does not analyze campaign disclosures by the four new House members elected in special elections after November 2004 (Reps. Joes Straus, Ana Hernandez, Donna Howard and Kirk England).

⁵ Note that this method is simpler than the disclosure law itself. The law requires candidates to disclose the employer and occupation of any individual who contributes an *aggregate* of at least \$500 in a reporting period. For simplicity, this report just examines single individual contributions of \$500 or more.

⁶ Assume a politician who raised \$100,000 in large contributions reported: \$50,000 with full employer/occupation disclosure; \$10,000 with one of the two fields disclosed; and \$40,000 with no disclosure. This effort earns a 55 percent TACs grade, based on the formula $[\$50,000+(\$10,000/2)]/\$100,000$.