



# Texas PACs: 2014 Election Cycle Spending

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

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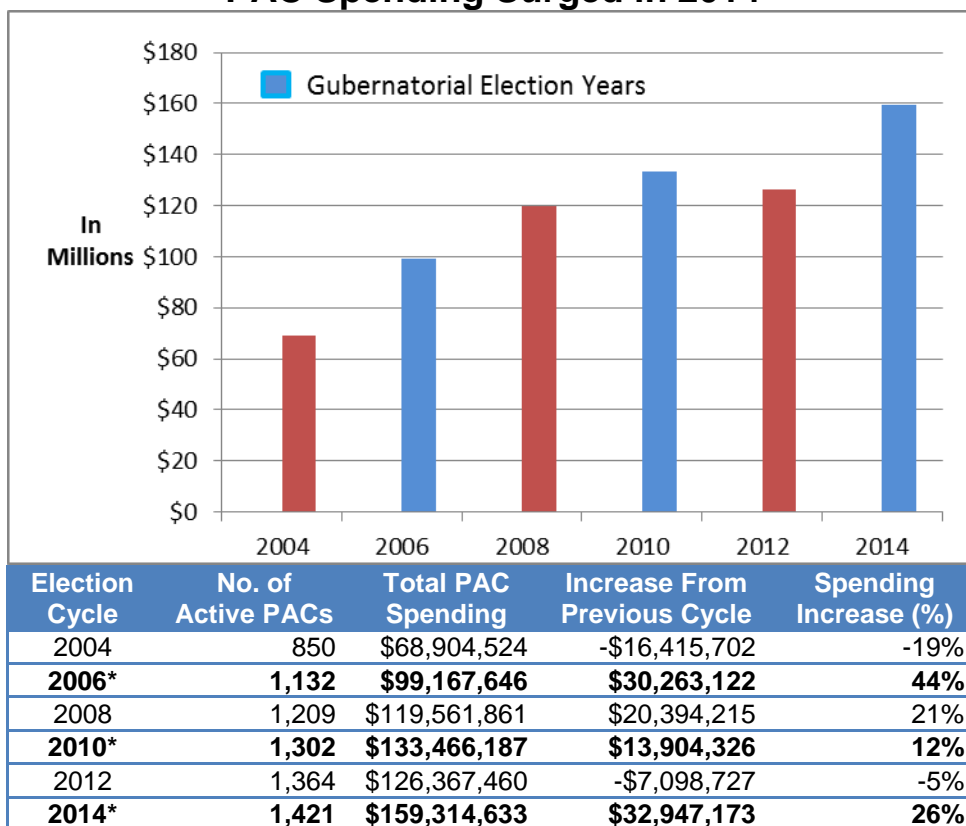
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## I. Total Texas PAC Spending

Most of this report ranks and identifies Texas' top general-purpose political action committees (PACs) in the 2014 election cycle (additional sections analyze special-purpose PACs and "dark-money" non-profits). This analysis excludes \$25 million spent by the Texas Victory Committee and Battleground Texas because they acted as appendages of Wendy Davis's failed gubernatorial campaign rather than as general-purpose PACs. Rankings are based on total PAC expenditures reported to the Texas Ethics Commission. During the two-year election cycle ending in December 2014 a record 1,421 general-purpose PACs reported spending \$159 million—marking a 26 percent increase from the 2012 election cycle.<sup>1</sup> PACs typically dig deeper in gubernatorial election years to influence the elections of a bumper crop of statewide offices.

### PAC Spending Surged in 2014

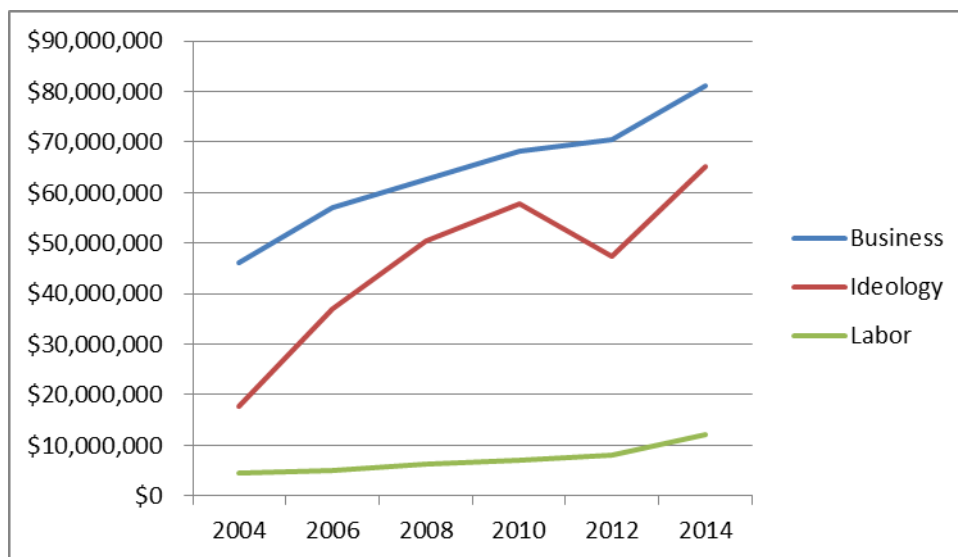
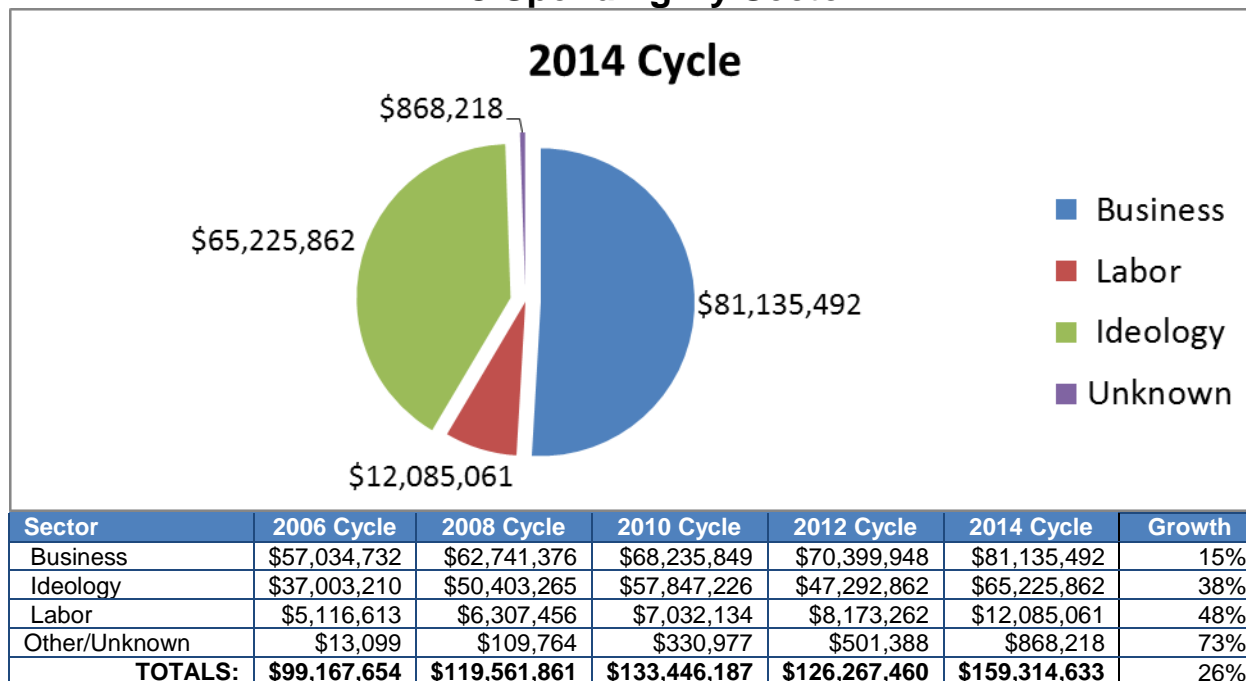


\*Gubernatorial election cycle.

## II. Business, Ideological & Labor PACs

Business PACs spent \$81 million in the 2014 cycle, up 15 percent from what they spent in the previous cycle. The Business sector accounted for 51 percent of all PAC spending (the next section discusses Business PACs in depth). Spending by Ideological and Single-Issue PACs increased 38 percent. The \$78 million that these PACs spent equaled 41 percent of PAC spending. Labor PACs increased their 2014 spending 48 percent to \$12 million. Labor PACs controlled just 6 percent of all PAC money.

### PAC Spending By Sector



## Dark-Money Sorcerers

2014 Cycle Spending	Top Dark-Money Groups	Interest
\$545,037	Empower Texans	Ideological/Single Issue
\$318,343	TX Organizing Project (TOP)	Labor
\$211,284	Education Reform Now Advocacy	Ideological/Single Issue
\$150,094	TX Can Do Better	Labor
\$134,067	Keep TX Working	Miscellaneous Business
\$102,133	TX Right to Life Committee	Ideological/Single Issue
\$75,240	National Coalition for Safer Roads	Transportation
\$74,456	TX Future Business Alliance	Miscellaneous Business
\$51,880	TX Home School Coalition	Ideological/Single Issue
\$50,000	Working TX Fund	Labor
\$24,412	TX Organizing Project Education Fund	Labor
\$18,000	Lost Creek Neighborhood Assn.	Ideological/Single Issue

The Texas Senate killed an [ethics reform](#) package in 2015 after the House [demanded](#) a provision to force so-called “dark-money” non-profits to disclose who finances their independent political expenditures (dark non-profits must disclose expenditures). The top 12 dark-money non-profits reported spending more than \$1.7 million in the 2014 election cycle.

When the oft-corrected filings of the [Empower Texans](#) non-profit are cleaned up, it appears to have spent about \$545,037, or one-third of Texas’ dark-money dollars. Meanwhile, Empower’s PAC, which must disclose contributors, spent almost \$5.5 million (91 percent of all Empower expenditures). This marks a huge increase over the \$460,000 that both Empower entities spent on the 2012 election cycle (when dark money accounted for [77 percent of Empower’s total spending](#)). Midland oilman Tim Dunn formed Empower (AKA Texans for Fiscal Responsibility) in 2006, a few years after his pal Tom Craddick became Texas’ first post-Reconstruction GOP Speaker. Empower is best known for primary attacks on relatively moderate Republicans, especially after the more moderate GOP Speaker Joe Straus dethroned Craddick in 2009. Straus loyalists in the House then filed long-[pending](#) ethics [complaints](#) in 2012 alleging that Empower’s non-profit acts as an illegal PAC and that Empower President Michael Quinn Sullivan violated lobby-registration laws. Empower spent most of its dark money in 2014 on mailers, phone banks and online ads to support hardline conservatives over moderates in the Republican Primary. It spent more than \$256,000 promoting Rep. Jonathan Stickland and more than \$145,000 on Sen. Charles Perry. It also spent almost \$45,000 on Mike Canon’s failed primary challenge of Sen. Kel Seliger and more than \$11,000 on Sen. Don Huffines.

Affiliated with the Texas Organizing Project PAC (see Labor PACs), the **Texas Organizing Project** nonprofit (TOP) spent \$318,343 from undisclosed sources (TOP PAC is funded by the Mostyn Law Firm and labor unions). The non-profit spent most of its money on canvassing operations in Houston and San Antonio. It spent \$225,000 on wages, \$38,000 on literature and postage, \$11,000 for gas and mileage, and almost \$10,000 on computers. The much smaller **TOP Education Fund** spent less than \$25,000 on similar expenditures in Houston.

New York-based **Education Reform Now Advocacy** is part of a Democratic education think tank run by a [board](#) of wealthy fund managers. It spent most of its money on direct mail, phone banks and canvassers promoting five Democrats. A new Dallas-area member of the State Board of Education, Erika Beltan, benefitted from almost \$123,000 in such expenditures. The group also spent between \$16,000 and \$32,000 apiece on Reps. Ramon Romero and Marisa Marquez, and on the failed House races of Carol Donovan and Naomi Gonzalez.

A PAC overseen by the American Federation of Teachers may be a misnomer. **Texas Can Do Better** blew most of its money on failed gubernatorial candidate Wendy Davis. It spent the rest on Libby Willis, who got walloped by new GOP Sen. Konni Burton.

GOP operative Luke Bellsnyder founded the business-booster group: [Keep Texas Working](#) (see also the specific-purpose PAC section). This non-profit spent dark money on the 2014 Republican primary to cancel out some Empower Texans expenditures. Keep Texas Working promoted moderate Republicans who invest in infrastructure while attacking hardliners who don't. Its biggest expenditures came in the primary runoff, when it spent \$29,000 on failed attacks on Rep. Matt Shaheen, \$22,000 in failed attacks on Sen. Bob Hall and \$19,000 attacking Ted Seago, who lost to Rep. Will Metcalf.

The **Texas Right to Life Committee** shot its wad on radio ads to help new Sen. Bob Hall win the GOP primary. Hall led 2015 efforts to force cities to phase out red-light cameras. Democratic Rep. Joe Pickett [killed Hall's effort](#) to append that measure to a transportation bill, saying it was local-control issue. The [National Coalition for Safer Roads](#), a front for red-light-camera giant American Traffic Solutions, spent about \$75,000 on primary voter calls and mailers. Houston, Arlington and College Station voters have banned the cameras.

The **Texas Future Business Alliance** (AKA Texas Future) represents such [big business interests](#) as chemicals, banks and builders that want to challenge such Tea Party interests as Empower Texans. That cannot be done, however, for the less than \$75,000 that they spent. This group spent most of its dark money on mailers backing Rep. Byron Cook. That Straus-appointed chair of the House State Affairs Committee insisted that any 2014 ethics package must expose dark-money contributors.

The **Texas Home School Coalition Association** invested in mailers backing a Republican slate. It spent approximately \$16,000 apiece on ticket headliners Greg Abbott and Dan Patrick and more than \$8,000 on Ted Seago, who lost the GOP primary to new Rep. Will Metcalf. The Texas Home School Coalition and Texas Right to Life filed to [intervene](#) in a 2014 Empower Texans lawsuit, they urged a federal judge to toss out Texas Ethics Commission subpoenas seeking information about the group's donors.

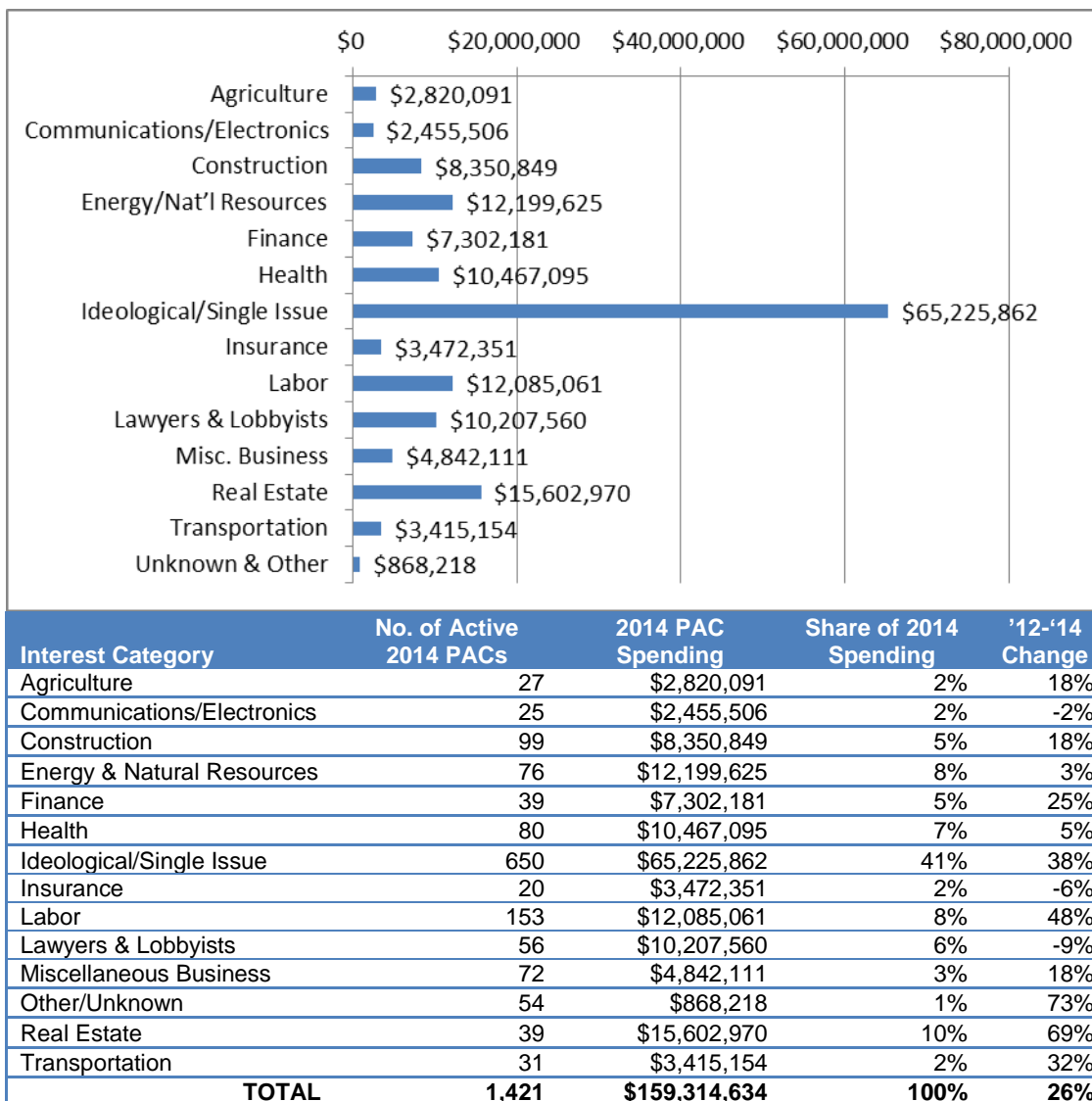
The Texas AFL-CIO's **Working Texas Fund** spent \$50,000 on a radio ad plugging Wendy Davis. **Lost Creek Neighborhood Association** represents residents of a municipal utility district in West Austin. It spent its money on Democratic consultant Edward Espinoza.



Big Brother is watching you.

### III. Top Business PAC Categories

The \$81 million spent by Business PACs accounted for 51 percent of all PAC spending. This section focuses on the four top-spending Business sectors: Real Estate, Energy & Natural Resources, Health and Lawyers & Lobbyists.



## Real Estate

Real Estate was the leading Business sector. Thirty-nine Real Estate PACs spent \$15.6 million, up 69 percent from the 2012 cycle. The **Texas Association of Realtors** (TAR) spent \$6.9 million, ranking as the state's No. 2 PAC. TAR's sister **Texas Association of Realtors Issues Mobilization PAC** increased spending 161 percent to \$4.5 million. Their combined total of \$11.4 million accounted for 73 cents of every Real Estate PAC dollar.

TAR PAC spent \$75,000 apiece on Gov. Greg Abbott and House Speaker Joe Straus. The \$60,000 that it spent on Democratic Rep. Celia Israel, exceeded the \$55,000 that it spent on Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick, possibly signaling discomfort with tea-party Republicans (it spent \$50,000 on predecessor David Dewhurst). TAR PAC spent from \$45,000 to \$50,000 apiece on Straus House lieutenants Drew Darby and John Otto, Senators Brandon Creighton and Kevin Eltife, as well as Bexar County Judge Nelson Wolff.

TAR PAC paid more than \$500,000 to [SGS](#), a for-profit arm of the Orlando Regional Realtor Association. SGS does commercial and electoral data mining. TAR PAC earmarked some SGS expenditures for ads promoting specific candidates. This included \$41,000 for Glenn Callison, who lost the GOP primary to tea-party Rep. Matt Shaheen, \$22,000 for Rep. John Wray and almost \$15,000 apiece for Reps. Cindy Burkett, Rodney Anderson and Bryan City Council member Chuck Konderla.

TAR's Issues Mobilization PAC spent \$4.5 million, up 161 percent from 2012. Collecting \$100,000 from the Texas Infrastructure Now PAC (see Specific-Purpose PACs) it spent \$1.6 million promoting 2014's Proposition 1, which earmarks oil and gas revenue for state highways. TAR Issues Mobilization spent another \$500,000 promoting 2013's Proposition 6 to invest \$2 billion in water infrastructure. It spent \$35,000 opposing CoServ Electric transmission lines in the Metroplex area. It gave \$25,000 to Texas Future Business Alliance, which opposes the GOP's tea party wing. It spent \$16,000 on surveys about short-term rentals in Austin and Fort Worth (TAR generally opposes restricting short-term leases).

### Top Real Estate PACs

2014 Spending	PAC	2014 Rank	2012 Rank	'12-'14 Growth
\$6,890,372	TX Assn. of Realtors	2	3	42%
\$4,530,162	TX Assn. of Realtors Issues Mobilization	4	11	161%
\$723,493	TX Apartment Assn.	37	44	28%
\$454,144	Houston Realty Business Coalition	70	104	44%
\$397,069	TX Land Title Assn.	86	96	6%
\$346,014	TX Realtors PAC	96		
\$293,260	Boma Advocacy Committee	111	214	136%
\$240,775	Apartment Assn. of Greater Dallas	127	160	31%
\$233,853	Houston Apartment Assn.	129	121	-10%
\$231,987	Associations, Inc. 'Associa PAC'	132	315	192%
\$213,832	MetroTex Assn. of Realtors	141	158	16%
\$187,931	Austin Board of Realtors	160	403	252%
\$117,859	Apartment Assn. of Tarrant County	227	259	21%
\$108,333	Austin Apartment Assn.	245	375	82%
\$102,371	San Antonio Apartment Assn.	260	302	24%

The **Texas Apartment Association** was the only other real estate PAC to spend more than \$500,000. It gave \$50,000 apiece to Greg Abbott and Joe Straus. This real estate PAC also displayed discomfort with the GOP's Tea-Party wing. It gave \$35,000 to Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick and \$15,000 to Patrick primary opponent David Dewhurst. It gave \$17,500 to Sen. John Carona and \$10,000 to Don Huffines, Carona's successful Tea Party opponent. It gave \$25,000 each to Attorney General candidates Dan Branch and Ken Paxton.



The **Houston Realty Business Coalition** spent heavily to endorse a slate of pro-business candidates for state and local offices, and earmarked some expenditures exclusively for Gov. Abbott. It collected \$27,000 apiece from commercial developers Dick Weekley and Alan Hassenflu and \$16,000 or more from Tanglewood Corp., MetroNational Investment and the Texas Association of Builders.

The **Texas Land Title Association** gave \$10,000 to Abbott and \$5,000 apiece to Dan Patrick, Joe Straus, Ken Paxton, Sen. John Carona and Rep. Rodney Anderson. Gov. Abbott signed into law this trade group's top priority. [SB 584](#) ensures that corrections to land titles are recorded in the names of the original parties to a land deal, not in the name of whoever filed the correction. The association argued that the latter practice sows confusion.

The Chicago-based National Association of Realtors bankrolled the almost \$350,000 spent by the new **Texas Realtors PAC**. It spent heaviest on local government races around the state. This included spending a total of almost \$84,000 on Corpus Christi city council candidates Kelley Allen and Brian Rosas and \$28,200 on Collin Co. Commissioner Mark Reid. The PAC's largest legislative outlay of \$22,000 went to Rep. Will Metcalf.



The **BOMA Advocacy Committee** increased spending 136 percent to more than \$293,000, with \$56,685 coming from the Houston chapter of the Building Owners and Managers Association (BOMA) and another \$10,000 from ABM Janitorial Services. BOMA PAC lists more than \$200,000 in confusing reimbursements and donations between it and its Houston chapter. It gave \$10,000 to the Houston Police Foundation and \$2,000 to Houston Mayor Annise Parker.



## Energy & Natural Resources

Fracking-engorged oil and gas companies helped make Energy & Natural Resources the No. 2 PAC-spending category. PACs in this sector spent \$12.2 million, up 3 percent from the 2012 cycle. During the first 18 months of the 2014 cycle the price of West Texas Intermediate crude fluctuated in a bullish range from \$90 to \$110 a barrel. Those prices began plummeting in mid-2014, ending the year south of \$50. Note that some top energy PACs reported both state and *national* political expenditures to the Texas Ethics Commission.

### Top Energy & Natural Resources PACs

2014 Spending	PAC	2014 Rank	2012 Rank	'12-'14 Growth
\$1,792,366	Valero Energy Corp.	15	9	-11%
\$1,097,523	Atmos Energy Corp.	21	21	20%
\$881,975	Good Government Fund	30	91	158%
\$544,543	CenterPoint Energy, Inc.	50	46	-3%
\$527,100	Texas Oil & Gas PAC	52	58	11%
\$510,239	ConocoPhillips	57	32	-29%
\$508,262	Phillips 66	59	153	170%
\$492,934	NuStar	63	45	-12%
\$417,459	NRG Energy, Inc.	80	134	90%
\$340,260	*Oncor (filer No. 66868)	98	246	222%
\$317,552	Chesapeake Energy	101	130	37%
\$289,875	PSEL PAC	113	156	57%
\$236,580	American Electric Power	128	69	-40%
\$228,275	Occidental Petroleum Corp.	134	162	26%
\$212,070	TX Electric Cooperatives	143	144	4%
\$194,000	WCS -TX Waste Control Solutions, Inc.	157	66	-53%
\$193,200	Apache Corp.	158	193	35%
\$178,650	*Energy Future Holdings Corp. 'EnergyPAC'	170	169	4%
\$171,000	Exxon Mobil Corp.	179	215	40%
\$167,040	Denbury Resources, Inc.	183	168	-2%
\$144,030	Pioneer Natural Resources USA, Inc.	196	240	34%
\$141,686	*Energy Future Holdings Corp. 'PowerPAC'	200	209	12%
\$140,000	Texas Progress Fund	202	691	662%
\$137,500	*Oncor (filer No. 66869)	208	126	-44%
\$133,750	Tenaska	211	247	27%
\$129,782	Energy Transfer Partners	214	243	21%
\$124,000	Chevron Corp.	220	236	13%
\$120,901	Devon Energy Corp.	223	348	75%
\$109,916	Dow Chemical Co.	241	51	-80%
\$108,750	Marathon Oil Co.	244	561	269%
\$108,305	Lyondell Chemical Co.	246	124	-57%
\$104,033	El Paso Electric Co.	257	222	-13%
\$104,004	*Energy Future Holdings Corp. TX Employee PAC	258	251	2%

\*PACs affiliated with Texas Energy Future Holdings Corp. (EFH).

The oil and gas industry ostensibly is regulated by the misnamed Texas Railroad Commission. The three commissioners running this captured agency are elected in \$1 million campaigns funded by the industry that they are supposed to regulate.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, non-judicial state candidates got 17 cents of every dollar that they raised in the cycle from the Energy & Natural Resources sector. By default, the only meaningful fracking regulations came from local governments in communities affected by fracking-related earthquakes or by fracking air, water and

noise pollution. In a 2015 backlash, lawmakers who just received [\\$5.5 million](#) from oil and gas interests passed a law [prohibiting](#) local governments from adopting industry rules exceeding the state's indulgent standards.

Texas has downplayed fracking's thirst. The [Texas Observer](#) found that frackers in just three Eagle Ford Shale counties used 15,000 acre feet of water in 2012 (enough to supply 45,000 households for a year). Frackers in those three counties alone reported that they already consume half the water that the Railroad Commission estimated that the entire 24-county Eagle Ford Shale will use at its projected production peak 10 years hence.<sup>3</sup> In 2013 voters approved \$2 billion for water infrastructure projects. Most of the money spent promoting passage of this initiative came from the energy industry and from the construction industry that will land the resulting contracts (see "Specific-Purpose PACs").



Gas flares over the Eagle Ford Shale.

Although the Valero and Atmos PACs reported spending more than \$1 million apiece, those PACs spent most of their money outside Texas. As a result the billionaire Bass family and **Energy Future Holdings Corp.** (EFH) control Texas' biggest energy PACs.

Fort Worth wildcatter Sid Richardson struck an oil fortune in the Depression with a \$40 loan from sister Ann Richardson Bass. He left part of his estate to nephew [Perry Bass](#), whose sons—Sid, Edward and Lee Bass—inherited a diversified energy, stock and real estate fortune. **PSEL PAC** takes the first initial

of the first names of those four Bass men, whose family also controls the **Good Government Fund** and the **Texas Progress Fund**. The three Bass PACs collectively spent \$1.3 million, with each of them expanding between 57 percent and 662 percent since the 2012 cycle. Bass PACs gave \$120,000 to Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick and \$109,000 to Abbott. Lee M. Bass, Inc. President Ardon Moore chaired a \$4 million [inaugural party](#) for Abbott and Patrick. Bass PACs gave \$65,000 apiece to Comptroller Glenn Hegar and to the Forward Fort Worth Partnership. Ed Bass and the partnership helped persuade local voters to pony up half of the money for the \$450 million [Fort Worth Multipurpose Arena](#). Bass PACs gave \$45,000 to Speaker Straus and backed Supreme Court justices led by Chief Justice Nathan Hecht.

Five Energy Future Holdings PACs together spent just over \$900,000 (almost all that money stayed in Texas). EFH PACs collectively favored the state's top three politicians, led by the \$53,000 that they gave to Speaker Straus. EFH is the product of history's largest leveraged buyout. The \$45 billion purchase of TXU Corp. in 2007 amounted to a misguided bet that Texas electricity prices—which track natural gas prices—would stay high. Instead, fracking cratered gas prices, pushing EFH into [bankruptcy](#). EFH's most valuable asset is its majority owned **Oncor** power-line company. Dallas billionaire Ray Hunt's Hunt Consolidated seeks to [buy Oncor](#) for more than \$18 billion in a [controversial deal](#) that would control the utility through a real estate investment trust.

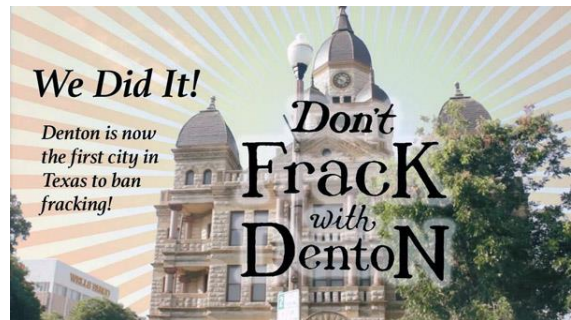
Three-quarters of the \$1.8 million spent by San Antonio-based refiner **Valero Energy Corp.** PAC went outside Texas. This included a \$100,000 total to two arms of the California Republican Party and a total of \$95,000 to arms of the National Republican Senatorial Committee and National Congressional Campaign Committee.<sup>4</sup> Back home Valero gave \$50,000 to its longtime local favorite Greg Abbott, who devoted much of his attorney general tenure to suing the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.<sup>5</sup> Valero also gave \$45,000 to homeboy Speaker Joe Straus and \$25,000 to the Water Texas PAC, which helped pass the \$2 billion water-infrastructure initiative. The PAC of **NuStar Energy**, a refining and asphalt spinoff now independent of Valero, favored Abbott, Strauss and then-U.S. House Speaker John Boehner.

Dallas-based **Atmos Energy Corp.** PAC spent just over \$1 million, with 55 percent staying in its home state (its biggest out-of-state contribution—of \$85,000—went to the Republican Governor’s Association). This gas utility lost a \$50,000 bet on ex-Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst (it contributed \$15,000 post-primary to Dan Patrick). Atmos gave \$25,000 to Abbott and \$17,500 to Straus. It gave \$15,000 each to current and former Railroad Commissioners Christi Craddick, David Porter and Barry Smitherman. The Railroad Commission repeatedly approves gas-rate [hikes](#) for Atmos and Houston-based **Centerpoint Energy**.<sup>6</sup>

Spending more than \$500,000, the **Texas Oil and Gas Association** trade group led the charge to [preempt local fracking regulations](#). It handed out \$25,000 checks to the Big Three, Comptroller Hegar, three Supreme Court justices and to current and former Railroad Commissioners Ryan Sitton and Barry Smitherman. The PAC’s top contributor was Quintana Minerals CEO Corbin Robertson.

Oklahoma-based **ConocoPhillips** bought into North Texas’ Barnett Shale with its 2006 acquisition of Burlington Resources. The company’s PAC spent \$510,239, dropping more than \$200,000 (40 percent) in Texas. It gave \$17,500 to Abbott and \$6,000 or more to Supreme Court Justices Phil Johnson and Nathan Hecht.

After increasing its spending 170 percent, Houston’s **Phillips 66** was the last energy PAC to clear \$500,000. It spent \$156,000 in Texas (31 percent), giving \$11,000 to Abbott and \$5,000 apiece to Straus and Patrick.



## Health

Health PACs increased spending 5 percent to \$10.5 million, thereby accounting for 7 percent of all PAC expenditures. Texas has the nation's worst insurance rate, with [27 percent](#) of Texas residents uninsured in 2014. "Obamacare" offered \$100 billion in federal funds to expand Medicaid to cover up to 1.5 million more Texans. This \$100 billion would benefit the politically weak uninsured, as well as the powerful Health industry. Houston physician and Republican Rep. John Zerwas failed to craft a 2013 face-saving "[Texas solution](#)" to allow an anti-Obama legislature to take the money without appearing to endorse Obamacare. In 2015 anti-Obamacare leaders led by Gov. Abbott again vowed to [kill Medicaid-expansion](#) proposals backed by much of the industry.

**Border Health PAC** increased its spending 13 percent to \$2.3 million. This PAC tied to the Doctor's Hospital at Renaissance, far surpassed spending by the powerful Texas Medical Association. Doctor's Hospital at Renaissance was featured in a 2009 *New Yorker* article about McAllen's runaway health costs. The city trails the nation in household income yet spends almost twice the national average on Medicare enrollees. The article attributed these numbers to entrepreneurial local doctors, many of whom refer patients to Doctors Hospital at Renaissance or other doctor-owned facilities.<sup>7</sup> Border Health blew \$162,500 on Lieutenant Governor David Dewhurst and then gave \$150,000 to Dan Patrick. It gave \$150,000 to McAllen native son Senator Juan 'Chuy' Hinojosa and \$100,000 to Abbott.

### Top Health PACs

2012 Spending	PAC	2012 Rank	2010 Rank	'10-'12 Growth
\$2,335,151	Border Health	12	1	13%
\$1,589,986	TX Medical Assn.	17	12	-6%
\$715,338	TX Optometric PAC	38	29	-4%
\$467,402	TX Dental Assn.	68	50	-16%
\$451,928	TX Hospital Assn.	71	109	53%
\$354,703	TX Assn. for Home Care & Hospice	93	100	11%
\$346,363	TX Society Of Anesthesiologists	95	74	-6%
\$245,950	Centene Corp.	125	213	97%
\$232,085	TX Pharmacy Assn.	131	141	12%
\$231,331	HCA	133	197	69%
\$204,090	U.S. Anesthesia Partners	152	564	610%
\$185,500	Friends of Baylor Med	162	164	4%
\$182,073	TX Radiological Society	166	182	16%
\$177,451	TX Health Care Assn.	171	127	-28%
\$171,310	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	177	147	-12%

The **Texas Medical Association** (TMA) failed to get state leaders to expand Medicaid through Obamacare. It also [lost a battle](#) to extend another Obamacare benefit, which increased federal Medicaid payments to primary care doctors for two years. A bill to maintain higher Medicaid payouts to Texas doctors passed the House but [not the Senate](#). TMA neutered [attempts](#) to expand telemedicine, even as the leading company selling online-doctor consults [sued](#) the Texas Medical Board to loosen such restrictions. TMA also helped shoot down many proposals to expand the practices of competing health professionals. Lawmakers did not pass bills to expand prescription authorities for physician assistants, nurse practitioners and [optometrists](#). The latter bill's death was a victory for the **Texas Ophthalmological Association** at the expense of the **Texas Optometric PAC**. TMA also defeated proposals to expand the practices of physical therapists and chiropractors. Meanwhile, **Texas Radiological Society** members have disagreed over whether or not radiologists should refer patients to proprietary scanning facilities.<sup>8</sup>

The **Texas Dental Association** has long labored to expand dental coverage by insurance companies. The Texas dental profession also has been marred by reports of massive [Medicaid fraud](#) (Texas Medicaid spent more on braces in 2010 than all other states combined). Some dentists attribute such abuses to the profit-maximizing practices of corporate “dental service organizations.” The Texas Dental Association, which gave from \$25,000 to \$30,000 to each of the Big Three, backed a failed 2013 [bill](#) to subject these dental companies to regulation and disciplinary review. Revolving-door lobbyist Jaime Capelo formed a new PAC in 2012 that appears to represent dental service organizations. **Dental Group Practice** PAC took most of its money from out-of-state dental companies, including California’s Modern Dental Professionals and Illinois-based Heartland Dental Care.

The **Texas Health Care Association**, which represents nursing homes such as those owned by **Harden Healthcare**, and the **Texas Association for Home Care & Hospice** have fought in recent sessions to increase Medicaid reimbursements.<sup>9</sup> Both trade groups gave heavily to House Appropriations Chair Jim Pitts and to Senator Bob Deuell, who authored a failed 2013 euthanasia [bill](#).<sup>10</sup>

**Southwestern Research and Medical PAC** and **Friends of Baylor Med PAC** promote teaching and research institutions tied to the scandal-plagued Cancer Prevention and Research Institute of Texas (CPRIT). Baylor and Southwestern helped establish the disastrous Statewide Clinical Trials Network of Texas (CTNet). After receiving a record \$25 million CPRIT grant, [CTNet folded in 2013](#) as CPRIT tried to recover funds that CTNet squandered on lavish and inappropriate expenses. CPRIT, which recruited its first chief scientific officer from Southwestern, violated its own protocols to improperly steer an \$11 million grant to [Peloton](#)



[Peloton Therapeutics](#). That private venture was

launched at Southwestern with funding from a major GOP donor.<sup>11</sup> UT Southwestern received [more CPRIT money](#) than any other institution through 2012 (36 percent), despite the fact that the National Cancer Institute awards three times more money to Houston’s MD Anderson.





## Lawyers & Lobbyists

No. 4-ranked Lawyers & Lobbyists PACs spent \$10.2 million. In a sign of the times, the PAC of the **HillCo Partners** lobby firm increased spending by 14 percent to surpass two dwindling trial-lawyer PACs. HillCo PAC did this despite the April 2013 [death](#) of homebuilder Bob Perry, a big HillCo client and PAC contributor. A third of HillCo's PAC money this cycle came from Dallas Cowboys owner Jerry Jones, with MJB Operating, LP providing another 11 percent. MJB's owner, hotelier Monty Bennett, opposes a \$2.3 billion Tarrant Regional Water District (TRWD) [pipeline](#) that would cross his East Texas ranch. Bennett contributed \$235,000 to three TRWD board candidates.<sup>12</sup> Another TRWD candidate, John Basham, [repeatedly failed](#) to file legally required campaign disclosures while running the group "Texans for Government Transparency." HillCo PAC reported giving \$125,000 to Basham—making him the *top* recipient of money from this Bennett-backed PAC. Also a Texans for Lawsuit Reform supporter, Bennett sued TRWD for alleged open-meeting law violations.<sup>13</sup> HillCo PAC's other favorite politicians were Dan Branch (\$100,000), Ken Paxton (\$90,000) and Dan Patrick (\$80,000). The PAC gave \$34,500 to Comptroller Glenn Hegar, whose predecessor awarded a [controversial \\$27 million](#) to HillCo client Jerry Jones to host the 2011 Super Bowl.

The Texas Trial Lawyer Association PAC, which wielded enormous power with then-powerful Democrats in the 1980s, spent almost \$1.1 million. That was down 35 percent from the \$1.7 million that this PAC spent a decade earlier. Houston attorney Michael Gallagher's \$100,000 accounted for 11 cents of every dollar that this PAC raised. TTLA's next tier of contributors drops to the \$13,000-\$14,000 range. They are James Mitchell of Dallas, Douglas Monsour of Longview and David Dobbs of Tyler. TTLA's top PAC expenditure of \$150,000 went for voter databases. It spent almost \$125,000 on Democrat Susan Criss's failed House race against Wayne Faircloth. It spent almost \$102,000 on Rep. Philip Cortez's failed reelection bid. Its costliest victory was the \$45,000 that it spent on Sen. Sylvia Garcia's 2013 special election.

### Top Lawyers & Lobbyists PACs

2014 Spending	PAC	2014 Rank	2012 Rank	'12-'14 Growth
\$1,105,559	HillCo PAC	20	18	14%
\$1,058,811	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	24	15	-4%
\$856,560	Andrews Kurth LLP	31	36	41%
\$704,461	Texans for Insurance Reform	39	4	-76%
\$522,939	Bracewell & Giuliani	54	84	54%
\$519,181	Vinson & Elkins	55	46	-3%
\$518,214	Fulbright & Jaworski	56	42	-7%
\$500,300	Winstead PC	61	66	31%
\$487,046	TX Assn. of Consumer Lawyers	65		
\$417,736	Texans for Family Values	79	255	322%
\$404,518	Jackson Walker	84	90	25%
\$331,292	Baker Botts	99	91	3%
\$320,510	Gardere Wynne Sewell LLP	100	135	61%
\$310,000	Haynes & Boone	104	57	-30%
\$303,791	Greenberg Traurig, P.A.	107	127	45%
\$233,050	Balance PAC	130	111	-8%
\$225,588	K & L Gates LLP	136	78	-36%
\$212,728	TX Bipartisan Justice Committee	142	322	173%
\$155,675	Focused Advocacy	188	256	59%
\$130,620	Christian Attorneys for Texans	213	935	1,809%

The largest corporate law PAC spent almost \$857,000, a 41 percent increase over what **Andrews Kurth** spent in 2012. Gov. Abbott collected 11 percent of this money (\$90,000). Andrews Kurth contributed from \$20,000 to \$36,500 to the reelections of the four high court justices on the 2014 ballot. The firm gave \$25,000 to highway-



funding PAC Move Texas Forward (see “Specific-Purpose PACs”). It gave \$25,000 to Attorney General Ken Paxton and \$20,000 apiece to Dan Patrick and Joe Straus.

**Texans for Insurance Reform** (TIR) spent almost \$705,000, down a striking 76 percent from the preceding cycle. More than half of this PAC’s funds came from the plaintiff firms Nix Patterson & Roach and Provost & Umphrey. TIR spent almost \$300,000 (42 percent) promoting Democrat Libby Willis, who lost to Sen. Konni Burton. It spent more than \$137,000 (19 percent) on Cesar Blanco’s successful House race. It also gave \$50,000 to TOP PAC (see Labor PACs).

**Bracewell & Giuliani** increased spending 54 percent to almost \$523,000. Bracewell’s biggest outlay of \$50,000 went to Gov. Abbott. It gave from \$15,000 to \$22,500 to help reelect the four incumbent Supreme Court justices on the ballot. It gave \$20,000 apiece to Bexar County Judge Nelson Wolff and Dan Patrick (as well as \$11,000 to Patrick opponent Leticia Van de Putte). Bracewell contributed \$16,000 to Ken Paxton.



Indicted Attorney General Ken Paxton

**Vinson & Elkins** and **Norton Rose Fulbright** (previously Fulbright Jaworski) each spent close to \$520,000 and gave \$50,000 apiece to Abbott. V&E gave from \$25,000 to \$31,000 to Supreme Court justices Jeff Boyd, Jeff Brown, Nathan Hecht and Phil Johnson. It also gave \$25,000 to Paxton and \$15,000 to Patrick. Norton Rose gave \$45,000 to Dewhurst and \$25,000 to Dan Patrick. The firm spent another \$25,000 on the Abbott-Patrick inauguration. It gave \$15,000 apiece to Paxton and to Supreme Court justices Boyd and Hecht.

**Winstead PAC** cleared \$500,000, giving \$41,000 to Abbott and \$20,000 apiece to Comptroller Hegar and Speaker Straus. Winstead contributed \$17,500 to Patrick and \$12,500 to Paxton. Land Commissioner George P. Bush and Harris County Commissioner Jack Morman collected \$10,000 apiece from Winstead.

The new **Texas Association of Consumer Lawyers** PAC spent almost \$500,000, with Houston plaintiff lawyer Steve Mostyn providing two-thirds of the cash. The PAC spent most of its money on two failed showdowns with candidates backed by Texans for Lawsuit Reform. Consumer Lawyers PAC spent half of its money on Lyda Ness-Garcia, who lost the Democratic primary to Rep. Marisa Marquez. It dropped another \$92,500 on Libby Willis, who lost to GOP Sen. Konni Burton. In its biggest victory the PAC spent \$57,400 on Rep. Cesar Blanco.

Becky Lanier of Houston’s Lanier Firm was the treasurer of two fast-growth trial lawyer PACs. She headed **Texans for Family Values**, which grew 322 percent to spend almost \$418,000, and **Christian Attorneys for Texans**, which spent almost \$131,000—an 1,800 percent increase. Texans for Family Values received \$100,000 from Provost & Umphrey and \$50,000 checks from six other plaintiff lawyers or plaintiff firms. The \$50,000 top donors to Christian Attorneys for Texans were Lisa Blue Baron and the Williams Kherker firm. Both PACs spent most of their money on mailing “voter registration guides.”

**Balance PAC** got \$100,000 from Arnold & Itken and \$25,000 apiece from the two Lanier-led PACs discussed above. The PAC paid Florida-based Sachs Media Group \$225,000 to produce ads. Its largest ad expenditures backed Robert Tarlton, Sharon McCally and Joe Pool, who all lost primary challenges to incumbent Supreme Court Justices.

**Jackson Walker** PAC spent more than \$400,000, led by a \$50,000 contribution to Water Texas PAC (see Single-Issue PACs). It gave \$25,000 to Abbott and \$20,000 to Chief Justice Hecht. The firm also gave \$10,000 apiece to George P. Bush, Hegar, Straus, Paxton and to Supreme Court justices Boyd and Brown.

## Fast-Growth PACs

Percent Growth	2014 Spending	2012 Spending	PAC Name	Interest Category	2014 Rank
5,027%	\$5,498,548	\$107,257	Empower Texans	Ideological/Single Issue	3
495%	\$2,549,074	\$428,548	TOP PAC	Labor	10
254%	\$2,969,503	\$837,941	ActBlue TX	Ideological/Single Issue	7
222%	\$340,260	\$105,550	Oncor	Energy & Natural Resources	98
192%	\$657,588	\$225,446	TX Right To Life	Ideological/Single Issue	41
188%	\$308,637	\$107,036	Dallas Police Officer's	Labor	105
170%	\$508,262	\$188,564	Phillips 66	Energy & Natural Resources	59
161%	\$4,530,162	\$1,736,228	TX Assn. Realtors Issues	Real Estate	4
158%	\$881,975	\$342,313	Good Government Fund	Energy & Natural Resources	30
145%	\$2,102,740	\$858,791	Conservative Republicans of TX	Ideological/Single Issue	14
136%	\$293,260	\$124,403	Boma Advocacy Committee	Real Estate	111
126%	\$1,191,419	\$527,330	Back to Basics	Ideological/Single Issue	19
105%	\$745,226	\$363,173	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	Finance	35
102%	\$944,832	\$466,939	TX House Leadership Fund	Ideological/Single Issue	28
102%	\$1,500,867	\$744,244	Ryan Texas	Finance	18

Raw data suggest that the state's fastest-growing committee was the Bell County Democratic Women PAC. It reported spending almost \$1.6 million, up 8,000 percent. Driving the increase was a reported \$1.5 million Christmas luncheon. TPJ suspects that the PAC misplaced a decimal on this expenditure, perhaps following a liberal intake of holiday punch.

Fifteen major PACs increased expenditures more than 100 percent from the 2012 to the 2014 election cycle. Six of these fast-growth PACs are discussed in the Ideological/Single-Issue section. They include Empower Texans PAC, which won the fast-growth trophy by boosting its spending more than 5,000 percent to almost \$5.5 million. Empower catapulted from the state's 217<sup>th</sup> largest PAC to No. 3. Other fast-growth PACs are discussed in the "Real Estate," "Labor" and "Energy" sections.

Two Finance PACs grew by 102 percent. **Ryan Texas** PAC spent \$1.5 million after collecting 55 percent of that money from the tax consulting firm's founder: [George Brint Ryan](#). Ryan's PAC gave \$200,000 apiece to Glenn Hegar and Harvey Hilderbran, GOP candidates for the Comptroller office where Ryan presses corporate tax disputes on behalf of corporate clients. Comptroller Hegar's campaign took another [\\$462,250](#) from Ryan employees (meaning that one out of every 6 Hegar dollars came from this firm). Ryan PAC gave \$125,000 to Dan Patrick and \$100,000 apiece to Abbott, Dewhurst and Paxton.

**Compass Bancshares** PAC doubled its spending to more than \$745,000. This PAC spent just \$230,000 of its money in Texas, with much of that amount going to Texas federal candidates. Compass gave \$25,000 to Abbott and \$15,000 to Dan Patrick. It gave \$10,000 apiece to Speaker Straus and to Sen. Carona's failed reelection campaign. The much smaller Compass Bancshares-TX PAC dramatically contracted to just \$9,700 in expenditures (including the \$5,700 that it gave to Carona).



George Brint Ryan

## IV. Ideological & Single-Issue PACs

Spending by Ideological and Single-Issue PACs jumped 38 percent from \$47 million to \$65 million, accounting for 41 percent of 2014 PAC spending. Thirteen Ideological & Single-Issue PACs spent more than \$1 million each. Partisanship drove most top Ideological PACs, including 10 GOP committees and nine Democratic PACs.

Texas' No. 1 PAC, **Texans for Lawsuit Reform** (TLR), spent \$7 million to limit the legal liabilities of its wealthy donors (down from \$7.8 million in the 2012 cycle). TLR has put the Texas civil justice system so firmly [in the hands of business interests](#) that its leaders formed Texans for Education Reform to focus on other policies (see "New PACs").<sup>14</sup> After the recent deaths of billionaire TLR donors Harold Simmons and Bob Perry, H. Ross Perot of Hillwood Development became TLR's top donor (\$600,000). The PAC also collected \$500,000 from Houston Texans owner Robert McNair and TLR founder Dick Weekley.

### Top Ideological & Single-Issue PACs

2014 Spending	PAC	2014 Rank	2012 Rank	'12-'14 Growth
\$7,016,452	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	1	2	-10%
\$5,498,548	Empower Texans PAC (R)	3	241	5,027%
\$3,400,135	Republican State Leadership Com. (R)	5	6	23%
\$3,107,491	Republican Party of TX (R)	6	8	21%
\$2,969,503	ActBlue TX (D)	7	23	254%
\$2,903,957	Annie's List (D)	8	7	7%
\$2,634,081	Planned Parenthood Texas Votes	9		
\$2,459,478	TX Democratic Party (D)	11	10	41%
\$2,158,557	Lone Star Project Nonfederal (D)	13	489	5,593%
\$2,102,740	Conservative Republicans of TX (R)	14	22	145%
\$1,619,686	Associated Republicans of TX (R)	16	4	-54%
\$1,191,419	Back to Basics (D)	19	54	126%
\$1,086,771	Accountability First	22		
\$987,911	TX Federation of Republican Women (R)	25	28	30%
\$968,457	Texans for Education Reform	27		
\$944,832	TX House Leadership Fund (R)	28	59	102%
\$806,077	Travis County Democratic Party (D)	34	35	20%
\$657,588	TX Right To Life	41	133	192%
\$637,777	First Tuesday (D)	42	15	-45%
\$626,028	TX Rep. Representatives Camp. Com. (R)	43	26	-21%
\$535,068	House Democratic Campaign Com. (D)	51	18	-48%
\$428,565	University of Houston PAC	75	103	35%
\$425,267	TX Fed. of Repub. Women Convention (R)	77	95	29%
\$389,369	Tarrant County Democratic Party (D)	88	117	44%
\$343,265	Red State Women	97		
\$314,940	Texas Parent PAC	102	67	-22%
\$302,802	Kids First	108	152	60%

TLR spent most of its pile on Republicans, despite a few big Democratic outlays. TLR's biggest splurge was almost \$1.3 million to help Sen. Konni Burton win 53 percent of the vote. TLR also spent more than \$682,000 on Dan Patrick and almost \$519,000 to help elect Rep. Wayne Faircloth. While the Burton and Faircloth races were close, TLR's biggest Democratic expenditures went to candidates with negligible competition. It spent almost \$300,000 on Rep. Carol Alvarado and \$187,000 on Rep. Marisa Marquez. It also spent more than \$200,000 on Paxton.

Empower Texans PAC spent almost \$5.5 million, an increase of more than 5,000 percent from the \$107,000 it spent in 2012. Midland oilman and Empower founder Tim Dunn supplied 99 percent of the PAC's funding. It gave \$1.2 million to Dan Patrick and more than \$500,000 to [Ken Paxton](#) (it also guaranteed a \$1 million Paxton campaign loan). Empower's non-profit is the state's biggest spender of so-called "dark money" of undisclosed origins (see the "Dark Money" section).



Tim Dunn

Washington's **Republican State Leadership Committee** (RSLC) influences state races nationwide. It spent \$225,038 of its \$3.4 million in Texas in 2014. The PAC's top donors were Missouri mystery donor A.L. Henson (\$445,000), Vermont heiress [Lenore Broughton](#) (\$350,000) and Missouri government-spending critic Rex Sinquefeld (\$300,000).<sup>15</sup> RSLC PAC gave \$100,000 to Abbott, \$72,500 to Patrick and \$50,000 to the Texas Republican Campaign Committee. An RSLC subgroup, the Republican Legislative Campaign Committee, [named](#) Texas Speaker Straus as its chair in late 2015.

The **Republican Party of Texas** spent \$3.1 million. Republican Governors Association arm RGA Pennsylvania was the party's top donor, providing \$850,000. These funds are murky. The Republican and Democratic governors associations raise money from individuals *and* corporations, yet corporations cannot legally contribute to state candidates in Pennsylvania or Texas. While the gubernatorial groups claim to comply with such laws, the Center for Public Integrity [found](#) it impossible to verify such claims (the largest independent contribution reported in recent Texas history was RGA Michigan's \$3 million gift to Rick Perry in October 2010).<sup>16</sup> RGA Pennsylvania also bankrolled Red State Women (see "New PACs"). The party's other top contributors were the late nuclear-waste king Harold Simmons (\$300,000) and Houston Texans owner Robert McNair (\$140,000). Despite its RGA funds, the Republican Party did not contribute directly to Gov. Abbott's campaign. Its largest expenditures were \$247,000 to Franklin Strategy Group for the party website and \$230,000 in rent. Its top candidate expenditures went to individuals who won House seats with no more than 55 percent of the vote: Rodney Anderson (\$145,749), Wayne Faircloth (\$63,012) and Tony Dale (\$53,168). The party also gave six Houston-area district judges from \$43,000 to \$53,000 apiece.

Massachusetts-based **ActBlue Texas** spent almost \$3 million. This 254 percent spending increase did not increase its successes at the top of its ticket. ActBlue gave \$1.2 million to Wendy Davis (39 percent of its total), contributed \$119,000 to Rita Lucido's failed challenge to Sen. Joan Huffman and gave about \$108,000 apiece to failed Democratic nominees for lieutenant governor and comptroller. ActBlue also flipped \$182,080 to Planned Parenthood Texas Votes PAC. Harold Simmons' daughter Serena Simmons Connelly gave the PAC almost \$101,000. Nancy and John Solana of the Dallas-based Fikes Foundation gave \$26,000.

**Annie's List** spent \$2.9 million to elect more Democratic women to office. It struck out with its biggest bets, led by \$295,500 to Libby Willis, who lost her bid for Wendy Davis's senate seat. Annie's List also gave \$241,600 to Davis and \$110,589 to Leticia Van de Putte. Trial lawyer Steve Mostyn and his firm gave the PAC \$307,000. The next-biggest backers were Bonanza Oil's Lee & Amy Fikes (\$210,200) and Naomi Aberly (\$110,000).

**Planned Parenthood Texas Votes** spent \$2.6 million to get Texans to vote its way. They didn't. Fifty-eight cents of every PAC dollar went to the state's top two Democratic candidates who captured 39 percent of the vote: Wendy Davis (\$1 million) and Leticia Van de Putte (\$488,636). The PAC's No. 3 candidate was Senate loser Libby Willis (\$12,263). The PAC collected \$1 million apiece from Steve Mostyn and the Container Store's Garrett & Cecilia Guthrie.

The **Texas Democratic Party** spent \$2.5 million, including a total of \$500,000 in advertising expenditures with Great American Media and Desaro Rodriguez. Its biggest candidate expenditures were \$15,000 apiece on party headliners Wendy Davis, Leticia Van de Putte and Comptroller candidate Michael Collier. Party support then dipped to \$9,000 or less to a smattering of legislative candidates and to a larger pool of candidates for local-government offices in the big cities where Democrats can win. When the writing was on the wall in late October, Van de Putte's campaign kicked back \$549,000 to the party. This PAC also got \$100,000 apiece from the Mostyn



Firm and Sen. Kirk Watson's campaign. The Communications Workers of America gave \$75,000; Austin teacher [Marie Osborne](#) bequeathed \$68,721.

The **Lone Star Project** state PAC is run by consultant Matt Angle, who was chief of staff to Democratic Congressman Martin Frost. The PAC spent almost \$2.2 million, transferring half of that to its federal companion PAC. The state PAC spent \$480,000 either promoting Wendy Davis or attacking Greg Abbott. It gave \$92,500 to the Texas Justice Fund, Angle's non-profit "to protect fair voting." It gave \$25,000 to the Texas Democratic Party and \$13,500 to Libby Willis' failed Senate bid. Lone Star got \$410,000 from attorney Lisa Baron Blue and \$250,000 from David Alameel, who sold a dental-clinic chain. The PAC got \$100,000 or more from Bonanza Oil's Lee and Amy Fikes and plaintiff lawyer John Eddie Williams. It also received substantial union money.

Houston conservative activist Dr. Steven Hotze runs **Conservative Republicans of Texas**. It spent \$2.1 million, including \$1.2 paid to four vendors for mailers and \$112,031 to political consultant Blakemore & Associates. The PAC paid \$18,000 to Hotze's Campaign for Texas Families, which [opposed](#) the 2015 U.S. Supreme Court 2015 [ruling](#) barring states from prohibiting gay marriages. The PAC gave \$12,000 to Hotze's [Campaign for Houston PAC](#), which helped defeat the 2015 Houston Equal Rights Ordinance by arguing that it would invite men into ladies' rooms. Railroad Commissioner Ryan Sitton's campaign gave \$430,000 to Conservative Republicans. It got \$200,000 from tax consultant George Brint Ryan and \$125,000 from retired Western Refining executive Ralph Schmidt. The Barry Smitherman campaign and Weimar business consultant Hollis Taylor gave \$100,000 apiece. Spending by this PAC increased 145 percent, while spending by its sister Conservative Republicans of Harris County PAC contracted by 72 percent.



The **Associated Republicans of Texas** (ART) represents the party's pragmatic business wing that downplays divisive social issues. With Tea Party interests gaining clout, ART decreased its spending 54 percent to \$1.6 million. ART's top donor was beer distributor John Nau (\$125,000). Three others tossed in \$100,000 each: oilman Curtis Mewbourne, developer Woody Hunt and the campaign of Speaker Straus (Tea Party public enemy No. 1). ART's top expenditures were on Republicans who won House races with no more than 55 percent of the vote. It spent more than \$200,000 on Wayne Faircloth, \$86,000 on Rick Galindo and \$75,000 on Kenneth Sheets.

**Back to Basics** spent almost \$1.2 million, which all came from Houston attorney Steve Mostyn's firm. The PAC spent \$510,500 on the Libby Willis campaign and \$100,000 on Susan Criss, who lost to Rep. Wayne Faircloth. It spent \$55,000 on Kim Gonzalez, who lost a challenge to Rep. R.M Lozano. Back to Basics gave \$85,000 to the [Workers Defense Project](#), which promotes the rights of low-income workers.

The new **Accountability First PAC** spent more than \$1 million to promote ultra-conservatives in the Republican Primary (it spent more than 72 percent of its money before the March primary).<sup>17</sup> Four businessmen led by energy investor Jeff Sandefer (\$450,000) provided 86 percent of the PAC's money. Midland oilman Kyle Stallings, Don Dyer of Professional Janitorial Services and U.T. Regent Wallace Hall gave the PAC at least \$100,000 apiece. These donors have backed efforts to [topple](#) relatively moderate Speaker Joe Straus. PAC consultant Luke Macias has worked with the founders of the [Sandefer-funded](#) group that has tried to make embarrassing recordings of lawmakers. Three of Accountability First's favorite candidates were among the 19 House members who [voted](#) to oust Speaker Straus in early 2015 (Reps. Matt Rinaldi, Matt Shaheen and Tony Tinderholt). Three of the PAC's other favorites might have joined that mutiny if they had won their House races (Philip Eby, Jared Patterson and T.J. Fabby). This PAC spent at least \$45,000 opposing school bonds in far-flung communities from Denton to Katy and from Tyler to Seguin.

Two smaller Ideological PACs rank among the state's fastest-growing committees. **Texas Right to Life PAC** increased spending 192 percent to almost \$660,000. It spent more than \$121,700 on Virginia-based [Evolving Strategies](#) and almost \$100,000 on Colorado's Borromeo Consulting. Borromeo executive Joseph Arlinghaus's LinkedIn [profile](#) says he headed the 2014 Texas Gubernatorial Project. Encouraged by Abbott, Arlinghaus said that project and Evolving Strategies honed messages about Wendy Davis's "extreme" abortion positions to undermine support among traditional Democratic voters such as Hispanics. Texas Right to Life spent more than \$31,000 on anti-Davis ads. It also gave \$11,000 to Dan Patrick and \$5,000 to Ted Seago, who lost a GOP primary to Rep. Will Metcalf. Retired Western Refining executive Ralph Schmidt gave Right to Life \$85,000, followed by \$75,000 from Kathaleen Wall, wife of Texas Memory Systems head Holloway "Holly" Frost.

The Speaker's **Texas House Leadership Fund** more than doubled its spending to \$944,832. In its biggest expenditure it paid more than \$223,000 to consulting firm [Murphy Nasica](#) and gave \$104,000 to the Texas Alliance for Life. This leadership PAC spent more than \$93,000 to prop up Rep. Jim Keffer. The Speaker's committee also spent \$75,000 on Linda Harper-Brown and \$58,000 on J.D. Sheffield, who both got waxed by primary challengers. The Joe Straus campaign provided two-thirds of this PAC's money. Lobby shop [Blackridge Consulting](#) gave \$30,000. The PAC picked up \$25,000 contributions from Houston Texans owner Robert McNair, Ryan Texas PAC and Belmont Oil's J. Ralph Ellis.



Speaker Joe Straus



## New PACs

2014 Spending	2014 Rank	PAC	Interest Category
\$2,634,081	9	Planned Parenthood TX Votes	Ideological/Single Issue
\$1,086,771	22	Accountability First	Ideological/Single Issue
\$968,457	27	Texans For Education Reform	Ideological/Single Issue
\$487,046	65	TX Assn. of Consumer Lawyers	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$480,745	67	Citizens for School Readiness	Ideological/Single Issue
\$346,014	96	TX Realtors PAC	Real Estate
\$343,265	97	Red State Women	Ideological/Single Issue
\$292,547	112	North TX Conservative Coalition	Ideological/Single Issue
\$215,339	139	TX Future PAC	Construction
\$208,582	153	Texans for Positive Economic Policy	Ideological/Single Issue

Ten new PACs spent more than \$200,000 apiece. They include seven new Ideological PACs (the two largest ones are discussed in “Ideological PACs”). Three smaller Ideological PACs have education agendas.

Texans for Lawsuit Reform leaders formed **Texans for Education Reform** [to promote charter schools](#) and online education. This PAC raised almost \$2.4 million in the cycle. Five men supplied 74 percent of that cash. Ex-El Paso Corp. CEO Doug Foshee and Texans for Lawsuit Reform founder Dick Weekley gave \$500,000 apiece. Houston Texans owner Robert McNair, homebuilder David Weekley and oil baron Ray Hunt each gave \$250,000. The PAC gave \$115,000 to Sen. Charles Perry, \$50,000 to Sen. Konni Burton and \$35,000 apiece to Dan Patrick and Sen. Donna Campbell. It gave \$25,000 apiece to two Democrats: Rep. Naomi Gonzalez and the State Board of Education’s Erika Beltran.

**Citizens for School Readiness** promotes property-tax revenue for schools. The PAC got 70 percent of its money from [Collaboration for Children](#), a Houston non-profit advocating early childhood education. It spent most of its money on canvassing expenses, led by Elite Change, a firm run by ex-NAACP field director Dallas Jones.

Ex-Comptroller Susan Combs started **Texans for Positive Economic Policy**. It opposes the Endangered Species Act and revived a mothballed Comptroller Combs program. The 2010 [Financial Allocation Study of Texas](#) (FAST) tried to impose financial-efficiency metrics on school boards, which [panned it as a crude tool](#) to measure school performance. Combs’ successor killed the project, which her PAC [has kept alive](#). Almost all the PAC’s funds came from the Combs campaign (which had \$5.2 million leftover in the bank in 2015). The PAC paid almost \$65,000 to Pulse Red Communications for social media and web services. It spent \$35,000 for polling, gave \$25,000 to the Republican Party of Texas and paid almost \$23,000 for consulting to [party-animal](#) Gretchen Hamel’s Deep Red Strategies.

**Red State Women** formed to counter rhetoric about a GOP “war on women.” The [Dallas Morning News](#) noted PAC President Lara Keel’s longtime lobby ties to Mike Toomey, a confidant of Abbott consultant Dave Carney. In 2014 Red State dispatched Sen. Larry Taylor’s chief of staff, Cari Christman Ott, to attack Wendy Davis-backed equal-pay legislation. Christman, who was paid \$75,000 by the PAC, argued that [women are too busy](#) to litigate for equal pay. RGA Pennsylvania, an arm of the Republican Governors Association, supplied 71 percent of the PAC’s funds. Red State Women paid consultant Murphy Nasica more than \$70,000, spent almost \$13,000 on fundraising and more than \$9,000 on a social media.

The **North Texas Conservative Coalition** got 94 percent of its funds from Dallas businessmen Carl Westcott and Phillip Huffines. It spent almost \$300,000, giving 65 percent to [Bob Hall](#), who defeated Sen. Bob Deuell by some 300 votes. It also backed Rep. Matt Rinaldi and candidates for Keller City Council and a school district.

**Texas Future** spent more than \$215,000 on ads for 2015’s Proposition 7, which earmarks some sales taxes for highways. It got 44 percent of its money from the Texas Association of Realtors and 28 percent from construction interests led by the American Council of Engineering Companies.

The new **Texas Association of Consumer Lawyers** and **Texas Realtors PAC** are discussed in the “Lawyers” and the “Real Estate” sections.

## V. Labor PACs

Labor PACs spent almost \$12.1 million, up 48 percent from the preceding cycle. Most of the top Labor PACs below represent public sector employees. They include nine firefighter PACs, six police PACs and five teacher PACs. Just six of this sector's top PACs hail from blue-collar unions.

The Texas Organizing Project's TOP PAC spent \$2.5 million, accounting for 21 cents of every Labor PAC dollar. TOP PAC did not directly contribute to political campaigns. It ran a canvassing operation that spent \$1.9 million on canvassers, \$131,550 on political literature, \$72,000 on gas, \$57,000 on computers, \$16,000 on cell phones, \$14,000 on robo-calls and \$10,618 on T-Shirts. Steve Mostyn and his law firm gave TOP PAC \$869,000, or one-third of what the PAC spent. Other big contributors include the Service Employees International Union (\$575,031), the American Federation of Teachers (\$200,000) and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (\$100,000). The Texas Organizing Project non-profit affiliated with this PAC is discussed in the "Dark Money" section.

### Top Labor PACs

2014 Spending	PAC	2014 Rank	2012 Rank	'12-'14 Growth	Filer
\$2,549,074	TOP Political Action Committee	10	64	495%	66821
\$673,940	Fort Worth Firefighters Committee	40	25	-16%	16325
\$555,503	Houston Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	47	60	20%	15754
\$486,435	Texas State Teachers Assn.	66	57	0%	16346
\$430,281	Houston Police Officers Union	74	55	-18%	15604
\$428,287	San Antonio Professional Firefighters	76	107	43%	16258
\$394,007	Pipe Fitters Local Union 211	87	139	88%	56575
\$365,807	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	89	101	15%	15827
\$308,637	Dallas Police Officer's PAC	105	242	188%	16133
\$261,380	Plumbers Local #68	120	131	13%	15670
\$214,118	Fort Worth Police Officer's Assn.	140	87	-39%	15556
\$209,954	Austin Fire Fighters	145	293	146%	15617
\$196,837	Laredo Fire	155	839	1,800%	68655
\$185,038	Assn. of TX Professional Educators	163	137	-14%	15915
\$169,867	AFL-CIO State COPE Fund	180	186	10%	18807
\$160,033	Teamsters Local 988	185	223	35%	43527
\$143,500	TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	197	178	-9%	16361
\$142,824	Texas American Federation of Teachers	198	226	22%	15605
\$142,147	Deputy Sheriff's Assn. of Bexar County	199	208	11%	15992
\$138,500	UTU PAC	204	154	-26%	16109
\$138,497	Dallas Fire Fighters	205	185	-11%	15649
\$132,389	Education Austin PAC	212	181	-16%	31918
\$118,708	Lubbock Fire Fighters	226	326	56%	16537
\$117,551	Arlington Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	228	274	30%	16561
\$109,127	Austin Police Assn.	243	233	-3%	15883
\$106,852	Conroe Professional Firefighters Assn.	247	791	749%	67651
\$106,784	Ironworkers State COPE Fund	248	567	275%	16529

**Fort Worth Firefighters PAC** spent almost \$674,000, down 16 percent from the preceding cycle. Some of the PAC's biggest contributions went to candidates who lost 2013 bids for the local city council, including \$25,000 to Jim Lane, \$15,000 to Kathleen Hicks and \$10,000 to Frank Moss. The firefighters gave \$15,000 to Speaker Straus, \$12,500 to Sen. Jane Nelson, \$10,500 to Libby Willis's failed senate bid and \$10,000 to David Dewhurst.

The **Houston Professional Fire Fighters** increased spending 20 percent to more than \$555,000. Its biggest contributions of \$20,000 apiece went to local Democratic state lawmakers Carol Alvarado, Sylvia Garcia and John Whitmire. The PAC gave \$15,000 apiece to Republican Sen Joan Huffman and Speaker Joe Straus. It also gave \$12,500 or more to three 2013 Houston City Council candidates: winner Brenda Stardig and losers Andrew Burks and Graci Garces. The PAC spent \$29,000 on T-shirts and \$16,250 on voter mailers.

The **Texas State Teachers Association** spent almost \$490,000. It gave \$60,000 apiece to the National Education Association and to Wendy Davis. It gave \$30,000 to Leticia Van de Putte and \$22,000 to Libby Willis. It spent more than \$12,500 on the House campaigns of Susan Motley and Celia Israel. It gave \$10,000 to Phil Cortez. In its biggest local school board outlay, this union spent \$7,428 on James Lamonica, a failed candidate for the [troubled](#) El Paso Independent School District.

The **Dallas Police Officer's PAC** ranks among the fastest-growing PACs after boosting spending 188 percent to almost \$309,000. Its biggest contribution of \$12,500 went to Dan Patrick, followed by \$10,000 to Dallas District Attorney Susan Hawk. This police PAC gave \$5,000 apiece to Attorney General candidates Dan Branch and Ken Paxton. It gave the same amount to Sen. John Whitmire, then-Rep. Stephani Carter and to failed Dallas City Council candidate Jesse Diaz.

Greg Abbott was not a top beneficiary of the any of these major labor PACs. Spokespeople for law enforcement and retired teachers groups [criticized](#) Abbott in late 2015 for tapping Houston economist Josh McGee to chair the state Pension Review Board. McGee is vice president of the Laura and John Arnold Foundation, which has argued that public pensions are too generous.



Josh McGee

## Shrinking PACs

% Chg.	2014 Spending	2012 Spending	PAC	Interest Category	2014 Rank	2012 Rank
-100.0%	\$207	\$420,997	Citizen Leader PAC	Ideological/Single Issue	1,364	65
-99.6%	\$962	\$234,546	Community & Military Affairs Coalition	Other	1,263	129
-98.6%	\$7,778	\$568,739	Vote TX	Ideological/Single Issue	898	43
-97.6%	\$12,025	\$493,051	Conservative Voters of Texas	Lawyers & Lobbyists	782	56
-97.0%	\$4,099	\$135,312	TX Senate Democratic Campaign Com.	Ideological/Single Issue	1,041	199
-96.9%	\$14,201	\$453,682	Texans for America's Future	Lawyers & Lobbyists	741	62
-96.5%	\$16,250	\$464,354	Keep Metro Moving Forward	Ideological/Single Issue	714	61
-96.4%	\$5,308	\$147,776	Blue Cross & Blue Shield of TX	Health	994	191
-95.5%	\$6,000	\$134,000	Contran Corp.	Finance	961	202

Nine PACs that had spent at least \$100,000 apiece in the 2012 cycle slashed their spending by 95 percent or more. In the biggest contraction, **Citizen Leader** PAC plummeted from more than \$420,000 to next to nothing. Bankrolled by Houston biotech investor Leo Linbeck III, Citizen Leader attacked relatively moderate Republicans in the 2012 primary.

The **Community & Military Affairs Coalition** promoted a 2012 vote to expand the local tax district for Texarkana College. Trial lawyer Mikal Watts bankrolled **Vote Texas**, which backed local candidates and voter-mobilization efforts in San Antonio area. The Mostyn Law Firm funded **Conservative Voters of Texas**, which funded a 2012 **Senate** primary candidate who failed to beat Mostyn nemesis Larry Taylor.

The **Texas Senate Democratic Campaign Committee** collected money from the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, state Democratic senate campaigns and the state party. It spent that money on polling, Sen. Wendy Davis' failed gubernatorial bid (\$15,000) and made \$1,000 to \$2,000 investments in four senate races.

**Texans for America's Future** got its money in recent years came from First Tuesday PAC, the Mostyn Law Firm and River Oaks Area Democratic Women. It spent that money on mailers, a canvassing operation and radio ads. Developer and construction interests financed **Keep Metro Moving Forward**, which helped convince locals to continue funding Houston's Metro system in 2012.

In the past two cycles **Blue Cross & Blue Shield PAC** gave \$11,000 to Rick Perry and \$10,000 to Speaker Straus. It gave almost \$6,500 to Sen. Larry Taylor and \$5,000 to Abbott. The top Democratic recipients of Blue Cross money were Sens. Royce West and Judith Zaffarini at \$2,500 a pop.

**Contran Corp.** PAC promotes the main holding company of the [late](#) Dallas investor Harold Simmons. He and Contran controlled Waste Control Specialists, which operates a toxic and radioactive waste dump in West Texas. In 2011 Waste Control formed WCS PAC, which spent \$194,000 in the 2014 cycle. Contran's biggest contributions over the past two cycles were \$10,000 apiece to David Dewhurst and Sen. John Carona and \$12,500 to a "Good Government Fund" that used the same postal box as former U.S. Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison.



Waste Control Specialists' radioactive dump.

## VI. Specific-Purpose PACs

Most of this report focused on “general-purpose PACs” active in the 2014 cycle. During that period many so-called “specific purpose PACs” also reported political expenditures. Most specific-purpose PACs exclusively support a specific candidate, as in the case of “Texans for Greg Abbott.” Yet nine specific-purpose PACs collectively spent \$4.7 million for other purposes, most notably promoting ballot initiatives to fund massive infrastructure projects.

Three PACs provided liquidity to promote water-related constitutional amendments during a historic drought. Headed by ex-Rep. Allan Ritter, **Water Texas** PAC spent \$2.4 million to help pass Proposition 6 in late 2013. It tapped \$2 billion from the state rainy-day fund for water infrastructure projects. Most of Water Texas PAC’s [financial support](#) flowed from the water-intensive energy industry and from construction interests eager for desalination and dam contracts. [Keep Texas Working](#) acted as a pass-through that spent Water Texas PAC money on Prop. 6 mailers produced by the Eppstein Group. **H2O4Texas** PAC spent almost \$88,000 winding down in the 2014 cycle. It spent \$330,000 in 2011 to help pass Prop 2, which authorized the state to issue \$6 billion in water infrastructure bonds. H2O4Texas got most of this [money](#) from the water-intensive energy, chemical and microchip industries.

### Top Specific-Purpose PACs

Amount Spent In 2014 Cycle	Political Action Committee
\$2,357,311	Water Texas PAC
\$1,170,919	Texas Infrastructure Now
\$409,385	MTF (Move Texans Forward) PAC
\$283,510	Keep Texas Working Issue Advocacy
\$263,870	Texans for Accountability
\$93,702	Texans for Proposition 5
\$87,592	H2O4TEXAS PAC
\$55,733	Seguin `13
\$4,356	<a href="http://www.cookecitizens.org">www.cookecitizens.org</a>

Two specific-purpose PACs helped pass a highway-funding amendment in late 2014. Prop. 1 transfers half of the oil-and-gas revenue flowing into the state’s rainy-day fund to highway funding (an estimated \$1.2 billion per year). [Texas Infrastructure Now](#) PAC spent almost \$1.2 million. The Associated General Contractors of Texas (AGCT) supplied four-fifths of this PAC’s money. GOP operative Karl Rove’s wife, [Karen Rove](#), served as treasurer of this PAC before becoming an AGCT lobbyist in 2015. [Move Texas Forward’s](#) **MTF** PAC spent \$409,000 pushing the same pavement initiative. Ex-Gov. Rick Perry’s transportation appointees ran MTF. They include lobbyist Deirdre Delisi, banker Ned Holmes and insurer William Meadows. Construction and developer interests supplied more than half of MTF’s funds, led by highway contractor Williams Brothers Construction and its chief, James Pitcock. The new general-purpose Texas Future PAC promoted 2015’s Prop. 7, which earmarks some sales tax revenues for highways (see “Top New PACs).

**Texans for Accountability** spent almost \$264,000 on radio ads and “push polls” attacking [Dan Patrick’s](#) successful lieutenant governor campaign. Patrick primary opponent Jerry Patterson bankrolled these attacks with help from plaintiff-attorney interests led by Provost & Humphrey and John Eddie Williams.

**Texans for Proposition 5** spent almost \$94,000 to help pass a constitutional amendment authorizing reverse mortgages in November 2013. Elderly people typically obtain these loans that are secured by liens on their homes. Lenders later recoup their investment from the borrower’s estate. The reverse-mortgage industry bankrolled this PAC, led by Spring-based Reverse Mortgage Solutions.

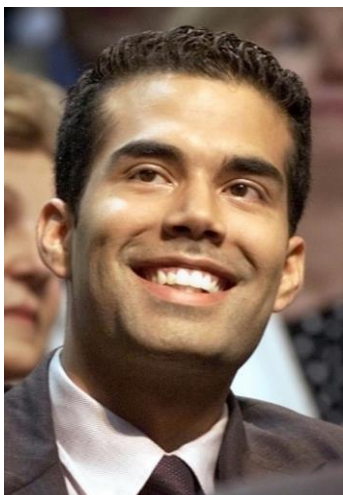


**Seguin '13 PAC** spent almost \$56,000 from local business interests to help pass \$103 million in bonds for schools, parks and a library. Steve Gaylord ran and funded the anti-tax [www.cookecitizens.org](http://www.cookecitizens.org), which ran ads to influence local elections and bond initiatives in Cooke County near the Oklahoma border.

### Extinct PACs

2012 Spending	PAC	Interest	2012 Rank
\$787,591	Maverick PAC Texas	Ideological/Single Issue	27
\$399,435	Texans for Economic Development	Miscellaneous Business	68
\$355,201	El Paso Corp.	Energy & Natural Resources	83
\$250,366	American Worker, Inc.	Unknown	123
\$156,101	Irving Fire Fighters Committee	Labor	184
\$138,362	TX Progress Council	Ideological/Single Issue	196
\$134,126	Maverick PAC USA	Ideological/Single Issue	200
\$110,339	RagingElephants.org TX	Ideological/Single Issue	235

Eight PACs that dropped more than \$100,000 apiece in 2012 spent nothing in 2014. The state and national **Maverick PACs** went dark after spending more than \$900,000 in 2012. New Land Commissioner George P. Bush co-founded Maverick to get younger Republicans involved in politics (old guys supplied most of the cash). **Texans for Economic Development** represents race track owners, who have gotten [little traction](#) trying to legalize slot machines through the legislature or through Racing Commission rules. **El Paso Corp.** was acquired in 2012 by gas competitor Kinder Morgan. **American Worker PAC** reported in its first and last disclosure that it returned a \$250,000 check from trial lawyer Mikal Watts. The **Irving Fire Fighters Committee** burned out. **Texas Progress Council**, which depended on the late Texas Democratic Trust, stopped progressing. **RagingElephants.org**, which ranked among 2012's top new PACs, raged into the night.



Land Commissioner George P. Bush



## VII. Texas' Biggest PACs (Spending More Than \$100,000)

'14 Rank	'12 Rank	'10 Rank	'08 Rank	'06 Rank	PAC Name	2014 Spending	Interest Category
1	2	1	4	1	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	\$7,016,452	Ideological/Single Issue
2	3	4	5	2	TX Assn. of Realtors	\$6,890,372	Real Estate
3	241	175	27		Empower Texans	\$5,498,548	Ideological/Single Issue
4	11	6	6	20	TX Assn. of Realtors Issues Mobilization	\$4,530,162	Real Estate
5	6	14			Republican State Leadership Committee	\$3,400,135	Ideological/Single Issue
6	8	12	3	4	Republican Party of TX	\$3,107,491	Ideological/Single Issue
7	23	15	24	831	ActBlue TX	\$2,969,503	Ideological/Single Issue
8	7	11	11	13	Annie's List	\$2,903,957	Ideological/Single Issue
9					Planned Parenthood TX Votes	\$2,634,081	Ideological/Single Issue
10	64	1275			TOP PAC	\$2,549,074	Labor
11	10	5	2	9	TX Democratic Party	\$2,459,478	Ideological/Single Issue
12	1	13	19	25	Border Health	\$2,335,151	Health
13	489				Lone Star Project	\$2,158,557	Ideological/Single Issue
14	22	24	181	680	Conservative Republicans of TX	\$2,102,740	Ideological/Single Issue
15	9	10	8	5	Valero Energy Corp.	\$1,792,366	Energy & Natural Resources
16	4	7	18	10	Associated Republicans of TX	\$1,619,686	Ideological/Single Issue
17	12	18	12	8	TX Medical Assn.	\$1,589,986	Health
18	30	21	54	17	Ryan TX	\$1,500,867	Finance
19	54	3			Back to Basics	\$1,191,419	Ideological/Single Issue
20	20	23	17	18	HillCo	\$1,105,559	Lawyers & Lobbyists
21	21	54	95	171	Atmos Energy Corp.	\$1,097,523	Energy & Natural Resources
22					Accountability First	\$1,086,771	Ideological/Single Issue
23	16	17	14	12	AT&T Inc.	\$1,073,350	Communications
24	17	20	21	22	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	\$1,058,811	Lawyers & Lobbyists
25	28	30	34	36	TX Federation of Republican Women	\$987,911	Ideological/Single Issue
26	19	22	23	55	Independent Insurance Agents of TX	\$970,415	Insurance
27					Texans For Education Reform	\$968,457	Ideological/Single Issue
28	59	37			TX House Leadership Fund	\$944,832	Ideological/Single Issue
29	24	48	76	102	HDR, Inc.	\$935,112	Construction
30	91	98	152	120	Good Government Fund	\$881,975	Energy & Natural Resources
31	41	34	30	35	Andrew & Kurth	\$856,560	Lawyers & Lobbyists
32	31	33	59	33	TX Farm Bureau	\$854,469	Agriculture
33	40	44	61	59	United Services Automobile Assn.	\$813,212	Insurance
34	35	29	31	53	Travis Co. Democratic Party	\$806,077	Ideological/Single Issue
35	78	949	125	155	Compass Bancshares, Inc.	\$745,226	Finance
36	34	27	25	30	Time Warner Cable	\$723,748	Communications
37	44	39	52	52	TX Apartment Assn.	\$723,493	Real Estate
38	29	42	29	32	TX Optometric PAC	\$715,338	Health
39	5	8	7	7	Texans for Insurance Reform	\$704,461	Lawyers & Lobbyists
40	25	45	26	51	Fort Worth Firefighters	\$673,940	Labor
41	133	256	141	112	TX Right To Life	\$657,588	Ideological/Single Issue
42	15	105	16		First Tuesday	\$637,777	Ideological/Single Issue
43	26	78			TX Repub. Representatives Camp. Com.	\$626,028	Ideological/Single Issue
44	47	41	35	31	Union Pacific Corp.	\$625,037	Transportation
45	84	65	44	37	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	\$605,108	Insurance
46	102	536			Comerica Inc.	\$591,964	Finance
47	60	111	171	128	Houston Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	\$555,503	Labor
48	49	56	69	81	TX Cornerstone Credit Union League	\$553,259	Finance
49	77				GEO Group, Inc.	\$552,996	Miscellaneous Business
50	46	50	55	45	CenterPoint Energy, Inc.	\$544,543	Energy & Natural Resources
51	18	9	10	15	House Democratic Campaign Committee	\$535,068	Ideological/Single Issue
52	58	59	48	58	TX Oil & Gas PAC	\$527,100	Energy & Natural Resources
53	79	67	80	79	Associated General Contractors of TX	\$523,025	Construction

54	92	106	47	44	Bracewell & Giuliani	\$522,939	Lawyers & Lobbyists
55	52	26	22	21	Vinson & Elkins	\$519,181	Lawyers & Lobbyists
56	48	32	28	24	Fulbright & Jaworski	\$518,214	Lawyers & Lobbyists
57	32	25	32	93	ConocoPhillips	\$510,239	Energy & Natural Resources
58	106	82	62	42	Q PAC	\$509,973	Finance
59	153				Phillips 66	\$508,262	Energy & Natural Resources
60	90	36	56	148	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn.	\$507,087	Agriculture
61	72	57	36	43	Winstead PC	\$500,300	Lawyers & Lobbyists
62	53	40	37	63	Wholesale Beer Distributors of TX	\$495,814	Miscellaneous Business
63	45	63	256		NuStar	\$492,934	Energy & Natural Resources
64	88	107	73	200	TX Deer Assn.	\$487,282	Agriculture
65					TX Assn. of Consumer Lawyers	\$487,046	Lawyers & Lobbyists
66	57	46	38	34	TX State Teachers Assn.	\$486,435	Labor
67					Citizens for School Readiness	\$480,745	Ideological/Single Issue
68	50	38	40	54	TX Dental Assn.	\$467,402	Health
69	70	69	91	70	TX Architects Committee	\$460,797	Construction
70	104	139			Houston Realty Business Coalition	\$454,144	Real Estate
71	109	137	113	100	TX Hospital Assn.	\$451,928	Health
72	33	77	148		TX Consumer Lenders PAC	\$444,625	Finance
73	76	51	71	57	Independent Bankers Assn.	\$439,953	Finance
74	55	66	58	68	Houston Police Officers Union	\$430,281	Labor
75	103	86	229	284	University of Houston	\$428,565	Ideological/Single Issue
76	107	134	117	117	San Antonio Professional Firefighters	\$428,287	Labor
77	95	118			TX Fed'n of Rep. Women Convention	\$425,267	Ideological/Single Issue
78	81	85	84	80	BNSF Railway Co.	\$421,077	Transportation
79	255	1024	900	331	Texans for Family Values	\$417,736	Lawyers & Lobbyists
80	134	165	118	574	NRG Energy Inc.	\$417,459	Energy & Natural Resources
81	93	52	42	50	TX Assn. of Builders	\$412,650	Construction
82	110	74	46	46	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	\$407,750	Transportation
83	39	83	544		State Farm Agents PAC	\$405,901	Insurance
84	98	112	72	73	Jackson Walker	\$404,518	Lawyers & Lobbyists
85	71	206	656		NCHA's TX Events PAC	\$400,700	Miscellaneous Business
86	96	89	122	123	TX Land Title Assn.	\$397,069	Real Estate
87	139	183	189	233	Pipe Fitters Local Union 211	\$394,007	Labor
88	117	100	138	154	Tarrant Co. Democratic Party	\$389,369	Ideological/Single Issue
89	101	53	131	101	San Antonio Police Officers Assn.	\$365,807	Labor
90	94	62	78	106	TX Society of Certified Public Accountants	\$363,269	Finance
91	105	95	130	133	Beer Alliance of TX	\$357,763	Miscellaneous Business
92	89	81	115	109	Gulf States Toyota Inc.	\$355,850	Transportation
93	100	91	132	174	TX Assn. for Home Care and Hospice Inc.	\$354,703	Health
94	118	92	93	89	Kirby Corp.	\$348,884	Transportation
95	74	68	104	96	TX Society Of Anesthesiologists	\$346,363	Health
96					TX Realtors PAC	\$346,014	Real Estate
97					Red State Women	\$343,265	Ideological/Single Issue
98	246	769			Oncor	\$340,260	Energy & Natural Resources
99	99	76	64	40	Baker Botts	\$331,292	Lawyers & Lobbyists
100	146	114	128	84	Gardere Wynne Sewell LLP	\$320,510	Lawyers & Lobbyists
101	130	157	204		Chesapeake Energy	\$317,552	Energy & Natural Resources
102	67	148	15	38	TX Parent PAC	\$314,940	Ideological/Single Issue
103	136	103	111	91	TX Bankers Assn.	\$313,867	Finance
104	63	75	65	65	Haynes & Boone	\$310,000	Lawyers & Lobbyists
105	242	258	266	230	Dallas Police Officer's PAC	\$308,637	Labor
106	97	70	100	103	Associated Gen'l Contractors Bldg Branch	\$308,500	Construction
107	138	121			Greenberg Traurig, P.A.	\$303,791	Lawyers & Lobbyists
108	152				Kids First	\$302,802	Ideological/Single Issue
109	115	90	43	108	TX Restaurant Assn.	\$295,712	Miscellaneous Business
110	516	102	50	78	MAXXAM Inc.	\$294,823	Finance

111	214	386	368	449	BOMA Advocacy Committee	\$293,260	Real Estate
112					North TX Conservative Coalition	\$292,547	Ideological/Single Issue
113	156	119	169	122	PSEL PAC	\$289,875	Energy & Natural Resources
114					Republican Party of TX Federal	\$273,754	Ideological/Single Issue
115	159	132	92	82	Greater Houston Builders Assn. (GHBA)	\$273,700	Construction
116	113				One TX PAC	\$272,797	Ideological/Single Issue
117	273	117	63	275	A&M PAC	\$272,586	Other
118	111	549	341		KBR Inc.	\$267,669	Construction
119	119	64	83	87	TX Consumer Finance Assn.	\$266,322	Finance
120	131	84	99	83	Plumbers Local #68	\$261,380	Labor
121	172	55	110	129	Libertarian Party of TX	\$261,089	Ideological/Single Issue
122	125	96	151	360	TX Construction Assn.	\$259,014	Construction
123	360	197	491	571	TX Alliance for Life	\$257,721	Ideological/Single Issue
124	114	94	79	67	Friends of the University	\$251,908	Other
125	213	222	271	373	Centene Corp.	\$245,950	Health
126	80	99			Hispanic Republicans of TX	\$244,802	Ideological/Single Issue
127	160	145	119	119	Apartment Assn. of Greater Dallas	\$240,775	Real Estate
128	69	73	70	72	American Electric Power	\$236,580	Energy & Natural Resources
129	121	101	94	88	Houston Apartment Assn.	\$233,853	Real Estate
130	122				Balance PAC	\$233,050	Lawyers & Lobbyists
131	141	128	74	137	TX Pharmacy Assn.	\$232,085	Health
132	315				Associations, Inc. Associa PAC	\$231,987	Real Estate
133	197	207	207	167	HCA	\$231,331	Health
134	162	161	156	127	Occidental Petroleum Corp.	\$228,275	Energy & Natural Resources
135	174	123	174	176	Lockwood, Andrews & Newnam, Inc.	\$227,269	Construction
136	86	61	60	47	K & L Gates LLP	\$225,588	Lawyers & Lobbyists
137	140	146	145	76	National Assn. of Insur. & Fin'l Advisors	\$218,448	Insurance
138	299				Libertarian Booster PAC	\$216,306	Ideological/Single Issue
139					TX Future PAC	\$215,339	Ideological/Single Issue
140	87	179	180	253	Fort Worth Police Officer's Assn.	\$214,118	Labor
141	158	172	123	222	MetroTex Assn. of Realtors	\$213,832	Real Estate
142	322	398	1058	522	TX Bipartisan Justice Committee	\$212,728	Lawyers & Lobbyists
143	144	143	103	131	TX Electric Cooperatives	\$212,070	Energy & Natural Resources
144	145	110	176	650	American Subcontractors Assn. of TX	\$210,946	Construction
145	293	274	338	219	Austin Fire Fighters	\$209,954	Labor
146	1298				Southwest Airlines Co.	\$209,565	Transportation
147					Texans for Positive Economic Policy	\$208,582	Other
148	220	124	158	126	Zachry Construction Corp.	\$207,598	Construction
149	148	97	68	16	RNDC	\$206,000	Miscellaneous Business
150	244	218	239	193	TX Civil Justice League	\$204,308	Ideological/Single Issue
151	237	413	163	207	Owens Corning	\$204,092	Construction
152	564	266	364	260	U.S. Anesthesia Partners of TX	\$204,090	Health
153	335				Educate Dallas (Dallas Reg'l Chamber)	\$201,285	Miscellaneous Business
154	501				Austin Kids First	\$197,224	Ideological/Single Issue
155	839				Laredo Fire	\$196,837	Labor
156					Austin Firefighters	\$196,135	Labor
157	66				Waste Control Solutions (WCS)	\$194,000	Energy & Natural Resources
158	193	581	548	855	Apache Corp.	\$193,200	Energy & Natural Resources
159	1209	150	179	577	Northside Bond Committee	\$189,962	Ideological/Single Issue
160	403	484	588	897	Austin Board of Realtors	\$187,931	Real Estate
161	132	141	214	263	Cash America International, Inc.	\$187,881	Finance
162	164	163	160	153	Friends of Baylor Med	\$185,500	Health
163	137	151	126	152	Assn. of TX Professional Educators	\$185,038	Labor
164	175	152	173	196	New Braunfels Republican Women	\$182,991	Ideological/Single Issue
165	231	235	339	262	TX Motor Transportation Assn.	\$182,500	Transportation
166	182	125	133	220	TX Radiological Society	\$182,073	Health
167		561	416	782	Brinker International	\$181,919	Miscellaneous Business

168	515	651	279		Young Conservatives of TX	\$180,750	Ideological/Single Issue
169	161	215	188	144	TX Instruments, Inc.	\$178,665	Computers
170	169	120	146	211	Energy Future Holdings Corp Energy PAC	\$178,650	Energy & Natural Resources
171	127	109	107	156	TX Health Care Assn.	\$177,451	Health
172	272				Progress TX	\$175,635	Ideological/Single Issue
173	194	154	102	75	TX Aggregates & Concrete Assn.	\$174,606	Construction
174					TX Coalition of Dental Service Orgs.	\$174,018	Health
175	135	699	162	61	Coca-Cola	\$173,448	Miscellaneous Business
176	218	202	97	195	Williamson Co. Republican Party	\$173,352	Ideological/Single Issue
177	147	219	153	97	TX Ophthalmological Assn.	\$171,310	Health
178	188	174	192	187	Halff Associates	\$171,028	Construction
179	215	169	251	192	Exxon Mobil Corp.	\$171,000	Energy & Natural Resources
180	186	164	230	184	State COPE Fund	\$169,867	Labor
181	163	162	210	202	TX Veterinary Medical Assn.	\$169,615	Agriculture
182	211	167	231	214	S & B Engineers & Constructors, Ltd.	\$167,150	Construction
183	168	265			Denbury Resources, Inc.	\$167,040	Energy & Natural Resources
184	201	138	127	141	Heart Place	\$161,000	Health
185	223	166	195		Teamsters Local 988	\$160,033	Labor
186	263	43			New American PAC	\$159,039	Ideological/Single Issue
187	205	240	282	261	TX Mortgage Bankers	\$158,860	Finance
188	256	550			Focused Advocacy	\$155,675	Lawyers & Lobbyists
189	390	716	1177	514	Group 1 Automotive, Inc.	\$153,480	Transportation
190	405	623	552	576	Dallas/Fort Worth Conservative Voters	\$151,881	Ideological/Single Issue
191	203	181	159	142	TX Food & Fuel Assn.	\$151,086	Miscellaneous Business
192	142	156	108	69	Licensed Beverage Distributors	\$148,500	Miscellaneous Business
193	279	212	155	210	TX Package Stores Assn.	\$147,000	Miscellaneous Business
194	238	177	200	124	TX & Southwestern Cattle Raisers Assn.	\$146,500	Agriculture
195	149	140	197	223	Houston Associated General Contractors	\$145,500	Construction
196	240	588	267	433	Pioneer Natural Resources USA, Inc.	\$144,030	Energy & Natural Resources
197	178	142	88	85	TX Classroom Teachers Assn.	\$143,500	Labor
198	226	243	215	238	TX American Federation of Teachers	\$142,824	Labor
199	208	129	124	105	Deputy Sheriff's Assn. of Bexar Co.	\$142,147	Labor
200	209	180	87	114	Energy Future Holdings Corp. Power PAC	\$141,686	Energy & Natural Resources
201	286	530			Suerte PAC	\$140,005	Ideological/Single Issue
202	691	346	381	431	TX Progress Fund	\$140,000	Energy & Natural Resources
203	276	1090			TX Taxi PAC	\$139,290	Transportation
204	154	188	186	209	UTU PAC	\$138,500	Labor
205	185	273	304	740	Dallas Fire Fighters	\$138,497	Labor
206					Leadership for Educational Equity - TX	\$138,119	Ideological/Single Issue
207	173	122	98	92	Beef PAC	\$137,583	Agriculture
208	126	611			Oncor	\$137,500	Energy & Natural Resources
209	253	189	263		Costello, Inc.	\$137,172	Construction
210	258	190	370		HNTB Holdings Ltd.	\$133,843	Construction
211	247	236			Tenaska	\$133,750	Energy & Natural Resources
212	181	176	172	113	Education Austin	\$132,389	Labor
213	935	1030	925	842	Christian Attorneys' for Texans	\$130,620	Lawyers & Lobbyists
214	243	796	513		Energy Transfer Partners	\$129,782	Energy & Natural Resources
215	308	205	246	216	Park Cities Republican Women's Club	\$128,499	Ideological/Single Issue
216	720				TX Patriots State PAC	\$128,300	Ideological/Single Issue
217	177				Webster Surgical Specialty Hospital	\$128,200	Health
218	224	220	225	226	Southwestern Research & Medical PAC	\$126,316	Health
219	283	245	408	134	Bexar PAC	\$125,215	Health
220	236	221	212	228	Chevron	\$124,000	Energy & Natural Resources
221	284	318			HR Green PAC	\$123,645	Construction
222					Encore Capital Group, Inc.	\$122,400	Finance
223	348	131	81	475	Devon Energy Corp.	\$120,901	Energy & Natural Resources
224	1008	782			Com. to Inform Voters on Business Issues	\$118,898	Miscellaneous Business

225	379	534	140	279	Home Builders Assn. of Greater Austin	\$118,821	Construction
226	326	287	439	319	Lubbock Fire Fighters	\$118,708	Labor
227	259	231	221	197	Apartment Assn. of Tarrant Co.	\$117,859	Real Estate
228	274	194	284	439	Arlington Professional Fire Fighters Assn.	\$117,551	Labor
229	805	671	499	159	TX Equity PAC	\$117,515	Ideological/Single Issue
230	265	191	143	90	Thompson & Knight	\$115,250	Lawyers & Lobbyists
231		147	222	175	TX Chiropractic Assn.	\$114,258	Health
232	633	761	891	862	Clear Creek Republican Women	\$113,849	Ideological/Single Issue
233	143	136	168	110	C Club	\$113,711	Ideological/Single Issue
234	269	241			Cobb Fendley	\$113,594	Construction
235					Mednax, Inc.	\$111,735	Health
236	176	286	136	66	Landry's Seafood Restaurants, Inc.	\$111,668	Miscellaneous Business
237	210				Harden Healthcare LLC	\$111,270	Health
238	320	209	196	163	TX Democratic Women	\$110,914	Ideological/Single Issue
239		355	389		DLCC TX Committee	\$109,975	Ideological/Single Issue
240	190	291	187	166	Planned Parenthood Gulf Coast Action	\$109,941	Ideological/Single Issue
241	51	58	85	118	Dow Chemical Co.	\$109,916	Energy & Natural Resources
242	685				Conservative Values Coalition	\$109,548	Ideological/Single Issue
243	233	431	371	235	Austin Police Assn. PAC	\$109,127	Labor
244	561				Marathon Oil Co.	\$108,750	Energy & Natural Resources
245	375	377	353	278	Austin Apartment Assn.	\$108,333	Real Estate
246	124	339	101	74	Lyondell Chemical Co.	\$108,305	Energy & Natural Resources
247	791				Conroe Professional Firefighters Assn.	\$106,852	Labor
248	567	233	503	515	Ironworkers State COPE Fund	\$106,784	Labor
249	437	444	473	608	TX Municipal Police Assn.	\$106,750	Labor
250	216	225	157	139	Verizon Communications, Inc.	\$106,456	Communications
251	1300	1127	546	434	Harris Co. GOP PAC	\$106,058	Ideological/Single Issue
252	250	155	161	199	ACEC Houston PAC	\$106,006	Construction
253	364	324			Grassroots America - We the People PAC	\$105,829	Ideological/Single Issue
254	507	378	670	787	San Jacinto Republican Women	\$104,441	Ideological/Single Issue
255	510	385			Houston Business-Education Coalition	\$104,218	Ideological/Single Issue
256	291	278	201	181	Hotel PAC	\$104,074	Miscellaneous Business
257	222	323	451	521	El Paso Electric Co.	\$104,033	Energy & Natural Resources
258	251	203	90	71	Energy Future Holdings Employee PAC	\$104,004	Energy & Natural Resources
259	75	144	129	198	Conservative Republicans of Harris Co.	\$102,519	Ideological/Single Issue
260	302	329	360	400	San Antonio Apartment Assn.	\$102,371	Real Estate
261	318	216	287	427	TX Tea Party Republican Women	\$101,548	Ideological/Single Issue
262	294	389	332	534	Galveston Windstorm Action Committee	\$101,048	Insurance

**Note:** The \$133 million spent by these PACs accounted for 84 percent of all state PAC money in the 2014 cycle.



## VIII. Notes

<sup>1</sup> The largest PAC expenditures typically are contributions to candidates or other PACs; PACs also spend money on overhead and other expenses that also are included here.

<sup>2</sup> [“Drilling for Dollars: How Big Money Has a Big Influence at the Railroad Commission,”](#) Public Citizen, December 2010.

<sup>3</sup> See also “Fracking Drains Water Supplies,” *Dallas Morning News*, August 29, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> This included \$35,000 to the [Targeted State Victory Committee](#) that those two federal PACs set up to redistribute large contributions.

<sup>5</sup> “In Climate Politics, Texas Aims To Be the Anti-California,” *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 2010. “Tailpipe Emission Regulations Unlawful, Abbott Says,” *Austin American-Statesman*, June 7, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> “Pipeline to Profit: Rate Hikes Meant to Boost Infrastructure Aid Gas Firm,” *Dallas Morning News*, August 20, 2013.

<sup>7</sup> “The Cost Conundrum: What a Texas town Can Teach Us About Health Care,” *New Yorker*, June 1, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> “Radiologists to Ask Legislators to Settle Dispute Over Scans,” *Austin American-Statesman*, January 8, 2009. The Government Accountability Office found that doctors with stakes in radiation centers are more likely to prescribe radiation for prostate cancer. See “Doctors Who Profit From Radiation Prescribe It More Often, Study Finds,” *New York Times*, August 9, 2013.

<sup>9</sup> The Texas Health Care Association made this plea in a full-page ad in the *Austin American-Statesman* on April 16, 2013.

<sup>10</sup> [“A Texas Senate Bill Would Revise State’s End-of-Life Procedure,”](#) *New York Times/Texas Tribune*, March 30, 2013.

<sup>11</sup> “Big Grant Not Reviewed,” *Dallas Morning News*, November 30, 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Craig Bickley, Mary Kelleher and Melissa McDougall.

<sup>13</sup> Bennett and his MJB Operating gave Texans for Lawsuit Reform a total of \$50,000 in the 2014 cycle.

<sup>14</sup> “Veterans of Lawsuit Reform Turn to Education,” *Austin American-Statesman*, February 18, 2013. An attorney with the smaller, less strident business-tort PAC, the Texas Civil Justice League, recently said, “The major tort reform stuff is probably done.” “Common Ground: Détente for Plaintiffs, Defense Lawyers at Lege,” *Texas Lawyer*, June 3, 2013.

<sup>15</sup> Sinquefield founded a conservative think tank called the Show-Me Institute. A judge sentenced a former employee of the institute to seven years in prison for embezzling more than \$650,000. “Marcia Jackson: Woman Who Embezzled from Show-Me Institute Gets Seven Years,” *River Front Times*, January 21, 2011. “Grand Jury Investigating Fraud at Show-Me Insitute,” *River Front Times*, February 26, 2010.

<sup>16</sup> This excludes internal transfers such as the \$17 million that Tony Sanchez contributed to his 2002 gubernatorial campaign or the \$5.9 million that Kay Bailey Hutchison shifted in late 2008 from her senatorial to her gubernatorial committee. Perry also received two \$500,000 checks from the Republican Governors Association shortly before Election Day 2006.

<sup>17</sup> Accountability First PAC also spent 95 percent of its wad by the primary runoff in May 2014.